Sociolinguistics

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Unit 1

SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Contents

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1.0. Introduction

In the previous block we learned about the structure of language, however, we did not look at its functional aspect. Have you ever thought about how language functions in society? The way we talk with different people in different situations is different. For example, the manner in which we talk with our parents at home may be different from the manner in which we talk with them outside the home. The way we use language in different social contexts provides a lot of information about both how language works and the social relationships in a community. It also throws light on the way people indicate their social identity through their language. Look at the example given below which is a conversation between a husband and a wife, when their daughter is around.

Hari : Hi Dear!
Sita : Hi! You are late.
Hari : Yeah, that blasted idiot boss didn't let me come.
Sita : The baby is here.
Hari : Oh Sorry. Where is she?
What social message did you get from this conversation? Hari would not have used such strong language while talking about his boss if he knew his daughter was around. It matters who can hear us and where we are talking. The same message may be conveyed differently to different people. In this unit we will explore different aspects of language use in society. First, let us begin by examining what sociolinguistics is.

1.1 . What is Sociolinguistics?

When we talk of sociolinguistics, two terms catch our attention i.e. "Socio" or "pertaining to society" and "linguistics or "pertaining to language". A layman can guess that sociolinguistics has something to do with language and society. Technically, sociolinguistics is the branch of linguistics that deals with the study of language in relation to society. Language and society are like hand and glove. They are inter related as language can't exist without society. Sociolinguistics can throw much light both on the nature of language and the nature of society. We talk in different styles in different social contexts. Let us take an example of Hari when he talks with his boss in the office.

Hari : Good afternoon, sir.
Boss : There is a meeting at 7.00pm, I want you to be around.
Hari : Yes sir, I will surely be here.

This response reflects Hari's awareness of the social factors which influence the choice of appropriate ways of speaking in different social contexts. Sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used.

Sociolinguistics, like other subjects, is partly theoretical and partly empirical. What we mean by that is we can't just sit back and think about various aspects of language use. In other words, we can't solely rely on our personal experiences and draw conclusions about the use of language in society. First, because the way we interpret our own experience might not be right since most of us are not consciously aware of the wide range of variations in speech we hear in our everyday lives. And second, personal experiences are a very limited source to generalize about language in society or different societies. We need to go out, explore, collect the data, analyze it, make interpretations and then reach to a conclusion.

To be precise, sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They explore the social function of the language and the way it is used to convey the meaning. Sociolinguists explain why we speak differently in different social contexts. According to Fishman sociolinguists are interested in knowing *"who speaks, which language to whom and when"*. To elaborate what Fishman has said, it matters to sociolinguists;

a) who the speaker is, what his role in society is;

b) which language he/she is using, whether it is formal or informal, dialect or standard;

c) who the listener is, whether he/she is a boss, a peer or a subordinate, a father, a mother, a sibling, or a child;

d) when people are speaking, what the situation is, whether it is outside the office or in the office, at home or outside the home, in a meeting or at a party.

For example: Look at the following conversation:

Salesperson: May I help you?

Karan:Yes. Do you have these shoes in size seven?

Salesperson: I'm not sure. If you can't find them on the rack, they may be out of stock. But let me look in the stockroom.

Karan:Thanks. I'd like to try on a pair if you have them.

Salesperson: I'll be right back.

Karan walks into a shoe store. She wants to buy a pair of new shoes for herself.... What is the setting given above? Do you think we follow some social norms when we use language in real life situations be it with friends, parents, elders, seniors or colleagues? There is a difference in the way we speak to our friends and the way we speak to our relatives, teachers, or others of professional status. When telling your friend that you like his/her shirt , you say : " Cool shirt, I like that!" When telling the friend of your elder brother/sister

that you like his/her shirt, you say: "You look very nice today, I really like that shirt."

1.1.1 Sociolinguistics and linguistics

You might wonder how sociolinguistics is different from linguistics. Linguistics makes us aware of the structure of language whereas sociolinguistics tells us how we interact with each other using that structure in everyday situations. Dell Hymes (1974) has drawn a distinction between the structural and functional approaches to the study of language. The structural approach, as the term indicates focuses on the structure of language (code) and the analysis of code is given the primary importance. On the other hand, the functional approach focuses on the functional aspect of language i.e. its use in society. The analysis of language use is given primary importance and the analysis of code is secondary. The linguist analyzes the language out of context whereas the sociolinguist analyzes the language as is used in social context. In brief we can say, linguistics is the study of language, primarily the structure of language. Sociolinguistics, is the study of the use of language at different levels and for different purposes and different functions.

1.1.2. Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of language

Sociolinguistics is defined as the study of language in relation to society whereas the sociology of language is defined as the study of society in relation to language. The goals of sociolinguistics and those of the sociology of language are different. Hudson (1980) differentiates between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language as follows: sociolinguistics is "the study of language in society, whereas the sociology of language is "the study of society in relation to language". The focus of the two fields is different. In sociolinguistics we study society i.e. the context of language use to know more about *the language* and in the sociology of language we study language use to know more about *society*. A sociolinguist refrains from drawing conclusions about society and in the same way a sociologist prefers to ignore any discoveries related to language. No doubt, there is a difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language but the main difference is basically that of emphasis. It depends on whether the investigator is more interested in language or in society, and also on whether he has more skills in analyzing linguistic or social structures.

1.1.2 Sociolinguistics and related disciplines

Not only linguists and sociolinguists are interested in the study of language in society but also researchers from a variety of other disciplines like anthropologists, psychologists, educators, language planners, etc. are interested in unfolding the mystery of language.

For example, anthropologists have explored the kinship systems and some psychologists are concerned with the possible effects of linguistic structure on social and psychological behavior. Many educators are involved in language planning, development of language and teaching of the standard language. If we ask both linguists and sociolinguists to analyze a construction "Shut up", their approach to analysis will be different. A linguist will say it is an imperative sentence in which we can drop a subject. On the other hand, a sociolinguist will say it is a sentence used as a directive for giving a command and will give the norms of its usage in society.

Activity A

Analyze the piece of conversation given below on linguistic and sociolinguistic grounds. What difference do you find in the two approaches to analysis?

Sanjay: Poornima, can you come to a meeting on Friday?

Poornima: I am not sure. Let me check my schedule. When are you having it?

Sanjay: We are planning on having it around noon.

Poornima: Let me get back to you in a few minutes.

Sanjay: Sure. If I am not in, could you leave a message on my answering machine?
Poornima: Sure thing.

Discussion

You can think about the relationship between the two speakers, their roles and the situation in which the conversation has taken place. Also, whether the speaker is making a request or fixing an appointment, or making an invitation. This would be a sociolinguistic orientation to the analysis of the conversation. On the other hand if we analyse it from the linguistic point of view, we will be looking at the sentenc types and structures used by the two speakers.

Review question I

Make a list of all the names you are called by people who know you. For each name note who uses it to you and when or where. Do some people call you by more than one name? What are the reasons why people choose one name rather than another for you?

Names I am called by   By Whom   Where/When

_____

_____

_____

1.2 Varieties of language

Each language has many varieties and in a way language is a sum of all varieties. Ferguson (1971) defines variety of language as 'any body of speech patterns which is sufficiently homogenous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all formal contexts of communication'. Therefore, variety is defined in terms of 'human speech patterns' presumably sounds, words, grammatical features, etc. which we can uniquely associate with some external factors like geographical area or a social group.

Language varieties not only indicate a speaker's origin or aspects of their social identity (for instance, their social class or ethnic group) but they also carry certain social values related to the speakers who use them and the contexts in which they are habitually used. Language varieties therefore constitute a resource that may be drawn on in interaction with others.

Varieties can be classified on the basis of

a) Users – The focus is on language variations based on its users for example dialects and accents
b) Use – The focus is on language variations based on its use for example register

c) Social relations – The focus is on variations based on social relationships among speakers.

Let us discuss each of these in detail.

1.2.1 Dialects

Every language is a collection of many dialects. Dialect is related to variations, which can be regional i.e. based on the place, region or area where the users live. The variation can also be social i.e based on social status or class of the users. Dialect also refers to language variation that comes from a group of users that are relative in numbers, living in one particular place, region or area (Chaer & Augustina, 1995:83). The users of a dialect have certain features that mark them as people who have the same dialect. For example, people who use Urdu with dialect of Dakhini (spoken in South India) have their own specific features that are different from others who have the dialect of Khariboli (spoken mostly in Delhi). But they can communicate well with each other because those dialects are the varieties of the same language, Urdu.

Regional dialect is spoken in one part of a country based on region. For example, the English spoken in Yorkshire and Scotland are regional dialects. Similarly, Hindi spoken in Banaras and Bihar are regional dialects. Regional dialects tend to show less differences from their close neighbours and greater differences from distant neighbours (Spolsky, 1998:29). Regional variation or regional dialect can also be found in the international world. The variation can be distinguished from the pronunciation, vocabulary and even from the grammatical differences (Holmes, 2001:124). Pronunciation and vocabulary differences probably are the easiest differences that people are aware of between different dialects of English. We will discuss the pronunciation differences separately in accent. Here we will focus on vocabulary and grammatical differences.

We have different varieties of English spoken across the world. We have British English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English. The examples of the vocabulary differences can be found in the term used by Australians, people of England and New-Zealanders. Australians use the term sole parents, while people who live in England use single parents and New-Zealanders call them solo parents. South Africans use the term *robot* while British call exactly the same thing as *traffic light*. Similarly, there are some grammatical differences, which are found in different varieties of English. For example, Americans prefer to use "do you have" while the British English use "have you got", Americans use "gotten" while most people in England use "got", many Americans use "smelled" while most British English speakers prefer "smelt" and Americans ask "did you eat?" while the English ask "have you eaten? " I have listed down some of the differences in American and British English below for you.

American	British
Do you have a match?	Have you got a cigarrete?
She has gotten used to the pollution.	She's got used to the pollution.
He dove in, head first.	He dived in head first.
Did you eat yet?	Have you eaten yet?

A *social dialect* is also called a sociolect and is spoken by a group of people belonging to a particular social class. e.g English spoken by upper, middle and the lower class in London are social dialects. Sociolects are dialects determined by social factors rather than by

geography. Sociolects often develop due to social divisions within a society, such as those of socio-economic class and religion. In New York City, for example, the probability that someone will pronounce the letter *r* when it occurs at the end of a syllable, as in the word fourth, varies with socio-economic class. The pronunciation of a final *r* in general is associated with members of higher socio-economic classes.

1.2.2 Accent

When we talk about different accents in a language, we are referring to differences in pronunciation between speakers of a language. The differences in accents are variations which occur either due to the geographical region in which speakers live or due to their social class. For example, Received Pronunciation (RP) spoken in the south of England by educated speakers and Cockney used by uneducated speakers in London are accents of English. The word *god* pronounced by an American sounds like *guard* pronounced by a British speaker of English and the word *latter* sounds like *ladder* to many non-American English speakers.

1.2.3 Registers

The term register refers to the varieties based on occupation characterized by variation in lexicon. It is the specialist use of language related to various occupations. You might have observed when we go to a doctor we come across some words which we may not use in our everyday conversation. For example, Pulse rate, Blood pressure, stethoscope, prescription. Similarly we can think of the register of law, the register of advertising, the register of education and other professions. This specialist use of language, especially of vocabulary, is different from the way the same word is used in general parlance or by a layperson. For example, the word *sister* has a different meaning in general everyday language (sister – sibling) and in the world of medicine (sister – nurse). Similarly, the *mouse* that visits your storeroom is not the same as the *mouse* attached to your computer.

According to Halliday (1964) three variables viz field, tenor and mode of discourse determine registers. Field is the subject matter or the topic of the discourse, tenor is the relationship between the participants and the mode is the channel of communication i.e. written or spoken. For example Field can be Science –Zoology, Tenor: Student -Teacher, Mode: oral, lecture.

1.2.4 Styles

Varieties can also be characterised based on the social relations between the hearer and the speaker, from the point of view of formality (1992). Joos(1961) suggests five styles in spoken English based on the scale of formality.

Frozen: The printed language which cannot be changed e.g. proverbs, fixed expressions, the quotations in the Bible. e.g. A stitch in time saves nine is a proverb and remains fixed, we cannot change it. You might have also come across so many quotations from the bible which haven't changed across time. e.g. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

The same idea can be expressed in different styles depending on the social relation between the hearer and the speaker. Let us see how the below given sentence can be said in five different styles based on the scale of formality.

No Parking. (Written outside a shopping mall) is an instruction.

Formal: One -way participation without any interruption e.g a prime minister's speech, official meetings, instructions.

Example : Cars are to be parked in the basement.

Consultative : Two-way participation. Background information is provided – prior knowledge is not assumed. Interruptions are allowed.

Example : Would you mind parking your cars in the basement?

Casual**:** In-group friends and acquaintances. No background information is provided. Interruptions are common.

Example : Please park your cars in the basement.

Intimate**:** Very close relationship, non-public. Intonation is more important than wording or grammar.

Example : Hey Guys! Drive your cars to the basement.

Activity B

Look at the following phrases and say which kind of style is used in each of them.

Coming down to the pub?

Would you like to go to the pub?

You are cordially invited to accompany me to the pub.

PUB LUNCHES TO BE ORDERED AT THE FOOD COUNTER.

Discussion

The style can be formal, informal, casual, consultative or frozen.

1.2.5. Standard and non-standard varieties:

A standard variety of language is the variety which is given either legal or quasi-legal status. It is usually the variety used in the media, for education, for official purposes etc. For a standard variety a recognized dictionary, a grammar, and a system of pronunciation is available.

A non- standard variety is not given the legal status and generally no references are available.

1.2.6. Native and non-native varieties:

The variety which is acquired by a speaker from the childhood in natural settings and in which his/her first socialization takes place is the native variety of language. On the other hand, the variety which is learned by a speaker in a formal setting like school and is learned after the child has acquired its first language is the non-native variety. American and Canadian English are the native varieties of English whereas Indian English is the non-native variety.

Activity C	*Try to list some expressions from Indian English.*

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<u>Discussion</u>

For example *cousin-brother* for male first cousin, *out of station* for out of town, *would-be* (for fiancé/fiancée)

1.3. Speech communities

The ways of speaking can vary remarkably from one culture to another, even in the most basic ways. For example, it has been pointed out (for instance, Schegloff 1972) that most middle class white Americans have a 'no gap, no overlap' rule for conversational turn-taking. If two or more people are engaged in conversation and if two speakers start to talk simultaneously one will very quickly yield to the other so that the speech of two people does not 'overlap'. On the other hand, if there is a lull in the conversation of more than a few seconds' duration, the participants become extremely uncomfortable. Someone will start talking about something unimportant just to fill the 'gap' or the group will break up.

This rule is so inbuilt among speakers that they hardly can think of any other way in which the communication can be carried out. But Reisman (1974) found that it was quite the usual practice for Antiguans to carry on discussions with more than one speaker speaking at the same time. On the other hand, Saville-Troike (1982) reports that there are American Indian groups where it is common

for a person to wait several minutes in silence before answering a question or taking a turn.

The rules for speaking can be different from one social group to the next. It is obvious that a social group can't be all citizens of the same country; American middle-class whites and some American Indians have different rules for conducting conversations. It cannot be decided on the basis of speaking the same language, either. In England, for example, conversations in public places like restaurants are subdued such that people who are not in the conversing group cannot hear what is being said. American public conversation can easily be overheard by anyone else in the same average-sized room unless what the group has to say is particularly personal or secret. Yet the two nations share the English language. Therefore, ethnographers of communication have developed the concept of speech community. The term probably derived from German *Sprachgemeinshaft* (\spra⬚kg⬚mi⬚nsha⬚ft\) is often used by sociolinguists to refer to a community based on language.

Defining ' speech community' has proved to be far from easy. Different researchers have defined speech communities from different perspectives. Some have focused on shared language use, some on frequency of interaction by a group of people and others on shared attitudes and values regarding language forms and language use. Let us take a look at some of the definitions.

1) The simplest definition of "speech community" is given by **John Lyons (1970: 326)** i.e. 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. It is possible to delimit speech communities in this sense only to the extent that it is possible to delimit languages and dialects.

2) Hymes (1967/72:54-5): "A community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety... A necessary primary term... it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity." Hymes insists that speech communities cannot be defined solely through the use of linguistic criteria. The way in which people view the language they speak is also important, that is, how they evaluate accents; how they establish the fact they speak one language rather that another; and how they maintain language boundaries. For Hymes, participating in a speech community is not quite the same as being a member of speech community. A person does not need to be a member of speech community for participating in it.

3) Gumperz (1968/71:114): '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 usage". This concept assumes that members of the speech community share a set of grammatical rules, which sets them apart from other speech communities. Moreover, the members of the speech community interact frequently and regularly with each other. Gumperz also argues for regular relationships between language use and social structure. "The speech varieties employed within a speech community form a system because they are related to a shared set of social norms" (*ibid*.116) Such norms, however, may overlap language boundaries: e.g. Czech, Austrian German, and Hungarian speakers may share norms for speech acts, topics, conversational participation, etc.

Each of the definitions allows us to define a set of people who have something in common linguistically – a language or a dialect, interaction by means of speech, a given range of varieties and rules for using them, a given range of attitudes to varieties and items. The sets of people defined on the basis of different factors may differ radically – one criterion allows overlapping sets, another forbids them, and so on. However, this doesn't mean we need to reconcile the different definitions with one another, because they are simply trying to reflect different phenomenon. At the same time they all purport to be definitions of the same thing – the 'speech community'.

Having said that, the concept of 'speech community' is perhaps less useful than it might be, and a more productive approach requires us to ask how individuals relate to society – specifically, how they relate through the language, languages, or varieties they employ. However, this approach will result in a very different view of what a speech community or any other group is. A community or a group will be any set of individuals united for a common end, that end being quite distinct from ends pursued by other groups. Consequently, a person may belong at any time to many different groups or communities depending on the particular ends in view.

To substantiate this approach, let us take an example. A Person from Punjab who lives in Delhi speaks in Punjabi with his/her family at home, in Hindi with friends, in English with colleagues. In the course of the day he/she will switch his/her identification from one community to another, possibly even in the course of a single utterance. He/She belongs to one speech community at one moment and to a different one at another.

Each individual therefore, is a member of different speech communities. It is in the best interests of people to be able to identify themselves on one occasion as members of one community and on another as members of another. These communities may or may not overlap. One of the consequences of such intersecting identifications is, of course, linguistic variation: People do not speak alike, nor does any individual always speak in the same way on every occasion. The variation we see in language must partly reflect a need that people feel to be seen as the same as certain other people on some occasions and as different on others.

Review question III

(i) Identify the linguistic features which distinguish (a), (b), (c) and (d). What levels of linguistic analysis does the variation involve?

(ii) What non-linguistic and social factors are likely to account for the different ways of saying the same thing illustrated.

(a) Refuse should be deposited in the receptacle provided.

(b) Put your rubbish in the bin, Jhanvi.
(c) Please tender exact fare and state destination.
(d) Give me the right money and tell me where you're going.

_____
_____
_____

1.4. Linguistic competence and communicative competence

Linguistic competence is defined as the ability of a speaker-hearer to speak and understand language in a grammatically correct manner. The emphasis is put on grammar e.g. a linguistically competent person would know which structure is acceptable in their native language or they would know the correct use of tenses in their language, though they may not be able to explain the grammatical rules.

According to Chomsky "linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of emphasis and interest and errors(random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance language perfectly" . The focus of the attention is upon

questions such as which among grammatical sentences are most likely to be produced, easily understood, less clumsy, more natural.

Hymes (1971) criticizes this notion of competence based on the fact that real communication, which involves the use of language in society, is not taken into consideration. He proclaims that there is nothing like a homogenous speech community or an ideal native speaker – listener. All we have is diversity in communities, differential competence and a repertoire of code/varieties/styles. Therefore, Hymes came up with a theory which takes into consideration such factors which he called *"communicative competence"* . The theory of Communicative competence is based on four points :

1. Whether and to what degree something is formally possible. By being *"formally possible"* we mean how far the sentence is grammatically possible.

    E.g. *You is my friend is formally not possible in English that is it is grammatically incorrect.

2. Whether and to what degree something is feasible, i.e how far something is acceptable keeping in view the psychological constraints.

    E.g. Colourless green ideas sleep furiously . Though this sentence is grammatically perfect, it is not acceptable since it doesn't have any meaning.

3. Whether and to what degree something is appropriate in relation to context.

    E.g. If somebody asks you "How are you"? and your reply is "Linguistics is a good subject ", the answer is not appropriate in the context.

4. Whether and to what degree something is actually performed. i.e. the kind of sentences we usually use in our daily communication.

    E.g. If I say "John kicked the bucket" not many non native speakers will understand the meaning of this sentence which is John died but if I say "John died or John passed away", most of us will understand what it means.

This theory takes into account both the grammaticality as well as the usability of language.

Activity D	*Analyse the following sequence of conversation based on the parameters of communicative competence. This is a conversation between a boss and an employee Ritz .*

1) Boss : Hello Ritz!
Ritz: My wife is good.
2) Boss : Did you type the letter which I gave you yesterday?
Ritz : *Letter I no type.
3) Boss : What do you mean?
Ritz: I'm sorry. --look, we all know it is easier to sin and ask forgiveness than to NOT sin in the first place.
Boss : Whatever it means, you are pushing your luck.

Discussion

You may relook at the four parameters of communicative competence given by Hymes discussed above and say which parameters are followed and which are violated. You may see whether the sentences are grammatically correct, appropriate to the context , feasible. In the 1st question, the answer is not appropriate, in the 2nd question the answer is ungrammatical, in the 3rd question the answer is not feasible.

1.5. Ethnography of communication

In order to speak any language correctly, a person needs not only to know its vocabulary and grammar, but also how to use language appropriate to the situation. Hymes (1974) has proposed an ethnographic model, which takes into consideration the various factors that are involved in speaking. Hymes has used an acronym S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G for the factors that are relevant in understanding the model.

S (**Setting and Scene**): **Setting** refers to the time and place where a conversation/speech takes place i.e. physical conditions in which speech takes place. Scene refers to the abstract psychological setting, or the cultural definition of the occasion. For example the prime minister's Independence Day speech will have its own unique setting. There can be a range of scenes within a particular setting e.g. from serious to joyful.

P (**Participants**): **Participants** are simply those who take part in the speech. It includes various combinations of speaker-listener, addressor-addressee, or sender-receiver. The same person can take one or different roles in a conversation. A conversation between two people involves a speaker and a listener whose roles change. In a religious sermon, it will be addressor-addressee with no role change.

E (**Ends**): **Ends** refer to the purpose, goals and outcomes of an exchange. The goals can be personal or social. E.g. A trial in a court room has a particular social goal however, the various participants i.e. the judge, jury, defence, prosecution, accused and witnesses will have different personal goals.

A (**Act sequence**): **Act sequence** refers to the form and content of the event i.e. what is actually said; precise words and how they are used. Public lecture, casual conversations, and cocktail party chatter are all different forms of speaking. E.g. The grandmother's story might begin on the request of children. The story's plot and development would have a sequence structured by the grandmother. There might be some interruptions during the telling. Finally, the children might appreciate the tale and move to another subject or activity.

K (**Key**): **Key** refers to the "tone, manner, or spirit" in which a particular message is conveyed. It can be light hearted, serious, mocking, precise, pedantic, sarcastic etc. it includes the non-verbal gestures as well.

I (**Instrumentalities**): **Instrumentalities** refers to the mode of communication, e.g. oral, written, telegraphic, email and the actual forms of speech employed, such as the language, dialect, code, or register that is chosen.

N (**Norms of interaction**): **Norms of interaction** refers to social rules governing the event and participants actions and reactions e.g loudness, silence, gaze return and so on. For example, there are some norms of interaction in the classroom or church.

G (**Genre**): **Genre** refers to the clearly demarcated types of utterances e.g poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures etc. These are all 'marked' in specific ways in contrast to casual speech.

1.6. Bilingualism/ Multilingualism

Bilingualism is a sociolinguistic phenomenon and the definition of the term has been a subject of much debate. According to Baetens Beardsmore 'bilingualism as a term has open-ended semantics'. In other words, bilingualism may mean different things to different people, as there is no one definition of bilingualism. For Bloomfield "It is native-like control of two languages". In contrast to it, Mackey (1962), defined bilingulism as 'the ability to use two languages'. Weinreich (1953) defines it as "the practice of alternately using two languages", while Haugen (1953) suggested 'a point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language' to be a starting point for defining bilingualism. Diebold defines it "as the ability to use two languages in the environment of the native language". Therefore, these definitions range from Bloomfield's high expectations to Mackey's, Weinreich's and Haugen's relaxed requirements of the mere ability to use two languages.

Based on the degrees of proficiency of speakers in two languages, bilinguals are categorized as Balanced bilinguals, Dominant bilinguals, Passive or recessive bilinguals, Semilinguals or limited bilinguals.

1.6.1. Balanced bilinguals

Lambert et al. (1959) used the term *balanced bilingual* for the first time in Canada. The term was used to describe individuals who are fully competent in both languages. Most times the term is used to describe those who have perfect control over both the languages in all settings which is quite possible. However, Baetens Beardsmore (1982) argued that balanced bilingualism is close to impossible to achieve and is very uncommon. Fishman(1972) went a bit ahead arguing that bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both languages in all topics. According to him bilinguals organize their languages in functionally complementary spheres. e.g English-hindi bilingual may be able to speak both languages fluently, but is likely to use Hindi exclusively in certain situations or while discussing certain topics. Fishman emphasized that it is is this complementary nature of language functions that makes sure the survival of bilingualism, since no society needs two languages to perform the same set of functions.

1.6.2. Dominant bilinguals

Dominant bilinguals are those bilinguals who are dominant in one language. The less dominant language is referred to as the subordinate language. However, the term 'dominant' may not be applicable in all domains. A person who is dominant in Hindi may not exhibit his/her dominance in all areas. For example, a Hindi-English medical practitioner may speak Hindi most of time except when he/she is discussing medical science related topics as he did his training in medicine in English.

1.6.3. Passive or Recessive bilinguals

The *passive* or *recessive* bilinguals are those bilinguals who are gradually losing competence in one language, mostly because of lack of use. For example, a Hindi speaker migrated to America may find himself/herself isolated from a Hindi speaking community as he will be interacting with English speaking Americans. Over time, his/her proficiency level in Hindi may deteriorate due to non – use.

1.6.4. Semilinguals or limited bilinguals

Hansegard (1968) used the term '*semilingualism*' for the first time to refer to Finnish minority students in Sweden who lack proficiency in both languages. Hansegard, has described semilingualism in terms of deficit in six language competences :

- Size of vocabulary
- Correctness of language

- Unconscious processing of language (automatism)

- Language creation (neologization)

- Mastery of functions of language (e.g. emotive, cognitive)

- Meanings and imagery

As per these parameters, semilinguals are deficient in comparison to monolinguals both quantitatively as well as qualitatively and it is because of low academic achievement of minority children.

Activity E	*1. Rate the competence of your own language(s). in each of the four macro skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Use a five point rating scale (1= weak, 5= excellent)* *What factors did impact on your rating?* **Discussion** For each of the macro skills, consider how your rating may change when you are performing your tasks (e.g. reading a book versus reading a newspaper, ordering at a restaurant or making a presentation to your class) categories, think whether this is the case in all domains of activity. 2. Think of the bilinguals you know in your surroundings. Are they balanced or dominant or passive? If you put them in one of the categories, think whether this is the case in all domains of activity.

1.7 Diglossia

The term diglossia coined by Fergusson (1959) is defined as a situation in which 'two varieties of language exist side by side throughout the community, with each variety having a definite role to play'. Ferguson explained diglosssia under nine rubrics ; function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon , and phonology.

 Function : Function is the most crucial criterion for diglossia. There are two distinct varieties of the same language i.e. H – high and L- low.   There are situations in which only H is appropriate

and others in which only L is appropriate with very little or no overlap. In Arabic, H is Classical Arabic, the language of the Quran and L is the colloquial forms of the language. In Greek, H is called *kathare'vusa* (puristic) and L is called *dhimotiki* or demotic. In German-speaking Switzerland, H is standard German and the various Swiss German dialects are the L. The person who learns such languages has to learn the functional use of its varieties. The H variety is used for formal purposes and L for informal. Ferguson lists the following situations in which H and L are used.

H variety	L variety
Sermons in church or mosque	Instructions to servants, waiters, workmen.
Speech in parliament	Conversation with family, friends, collegues
University lecture	Radio 'soap opera'
Poetry	Caption on political cartoon
News broadcasts	Folk literature
Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture	

Prestige: Speakers in diglossic communities consider H as superior, more elegant and more logical and L as inferior to such an extent that they may deny its existence.

Literary heritage: A considerable amount of the written literature of a language is in the H variety which is appreciated and respected by the speech community and contemporary literary work in H is considered to be a continuation of this great tradition.

Acquisition: The L variety is considered to be acquired by a child in natural settings at home whereas the H variety is learned in more formal settings like in school.

Standardization: It is the H variety of language for which recognised grammars, dictionaries, pronunciation guides, and books of rules for correct usage are written.

Stability: Diglossia typically lasts for several centuries and is an extremely stable phenomenon. Tension between H and L in diglossia is relieved by the development of mixed, intermediate forms of language in which features of both the varieites are available. Using H words in L is common however using L words in H is not usual.

Grammar: There are remarkable differences in H and L : H has grammatical categories not present in L and has an inflectional system of nouns and verbs which is much reduced or totally absent in L. For example, Classical Arabic has three cases in the noun, marked by endings; colloquial dialects have none. It can be said that the grammatical structures of L varieties are simpler than their corresponding H varieties.

Lexicon: Most of the vocabulary of H and L is shared. There are some words like technical and learned terms in H which have no equivalent in L and similarly there are some words such as for homey objects like farm, cooking utensils etc in L which have no equivalents in H. It all depends on the probability of a word to be frequently used in H or L variety. However, the existence of the paired items, one in H and one in L, is the striking feature of diglossia as far as lexicon is concerned. For example, in Greek the H word for 'house' is *ikos* and the L word is *spi'ti*

Phonology: The range of differences in the phonological system of two varieties vary. The phonological systems of the two varieties may be quite close as in Greek or extremely divergent as in the Swiss- German case.

After discussing the features of diglossia, let us look at its complete definition given by Ferguson (1972) "Diglossia is a relatively stable language 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's scheme was revised by Joshua Fishman, which came to be known as 'Fishman's extension'. According to Fishman (1967), in some societies the functional roles of H and L were played by different languages, rather than two specially related forms of the same language. He gave the example of Paraguay, where for the general population Spanish is considered H while the indigenous

language, Guarani, is considered L. Fishman (1967) pointed to the following relations between bilingualism and diglossia:

- ➢ Bilingualism without diglossia : e.g. German- English bilingualism in Germany.
- ➢ Bilingualism with diglossia : e.g. Guarani – Spanish bilingualism in Paraguay.
- ➢ Diglossia without bilingualism: e.g. Classical and colloquial Arabic in Egypt
- ➢ Neither diglossia nor bilingualism: e.g. monolingual parts of the USA.

Fishman's extension thus gives an important way of categorising societies by their speech repertoires.

Activity F

What kind of bilingualism do you find in the place you are living? Is it a diglossic situation ?

_____
_____
_____

_____
_____
_____

Discussion

There can be many possible answers to this question. You may be speaking many languages. You may be living in a place where you speak one language at home and another outside home. It may be your individual choice of speaking in one language and not in another or it may be a diglossic situation if the whole society has some norms of speaking in one language at home and in another outside home

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1.8. Language contact

When speakers of different languages interact closely, there is influence of one language on another. Language contact occurs in a variety of phenomena, which includes borrowings, code mixings and switching.

1.8.1. Borrowings

The most common way that languages influence each other is the exchange of words. Borrowings are the incorporation of foreign words into language to explain the concept for which the word is not available in the native language. For example words like Computer, Internet, Server in Hindi are borrowed from English.

1.8.2. Code Mixing

A code can be a language, variety or style. If a word from the other code is used in the native language, inspite of having a word for a concept, it is called code mixing. For example, saying 'tum mera *wait* karo bahar' instead of saying 'tum mera *intizaar* karo bahar' in Urdu is an example of code mixing.

1.8.3. Code Switching

Alternating between two codes is called code switching. In other words, if we make use of two different codes simultaneously or switch from one code to another in a discourse, it is code switching. For example

Tum kal kahaan thi, I wanted to talk to you.
There are four types of switching. I have explained all the four kinds with reference to a bilingual speaker who knows Hindi and English
Intersentential switching: It is the kind of switching in which the switching occurs outside the sentence or clause level i.e. each clause or sentence is in one language or the other. e.g. Hindi/English.

woh kitaab mujhe mili *that you were looking for*
Intra sentential switching: In this type the switching occurs within the clause or sentence. e.g. bacche aaj *simply good* khel rahe hae.
Tag- switching: It is the kind of switching in which tag words or set phrases from one language are inserted into another language. e.g. You are from Delhi, *Hai na*?
Intra-word switching: The switching in which the change occurs within a word boundary is intra-word switching. e.g. 🔲🔲🔲🔲🔲🔲 for schools.

Activity G	*How often do you switch from one code to another? List the examples of switches you have come across. Analyse the following piece of conversation and explain the pattern of switching.*
	Hindi and English —In this example, Rita and her younger sister, Liza, speak Hindi and English with Anita outside of their apartment building.
	Liza: Oh, I could stay with Anita? Rita: — but you could ask *baba* and *aayi* to see if you could come down. Liza: OK. Rita: Anita, if I leave her here would you send her upstairs when you leave? Anita: I'll tell you exactly when I have to leave, at ten o'clock. *Aur abi nav bajhe hae.* ("And it's nine.")

Rita: Liza, *mae tumhe Anita ke paas chod deti hun.* ("I'm going to leave you with Anita.") Thank you, Anita.

Discussion

You may be switching from Hindi to English, or Hindi to Punjabi or from Standard language to a dialect. The switching may be inter-sentential, intra sentential or tag switching.

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Answers to the review questions

QI. This is the example of one of the possible answers. Your answer may be different.

Name	Speaker	When/where
Shekhar	grandparents	home, letters
	Teachers	school
	Doctor	surgery, hospital
	Mother	when annoyed
Shekharwa	mother, father	most of the time
Shekharwa -Babwa	mother	when feeling affectionate
Sheki	friends, brother	most of the time
Babwa	friends	outside home to annoy me
Shekhar Pratap	parents	when very annoyed
Mr Shekhar	strangers	letters, shops

Parents often call children by a variety of names depending on how they feel towards them. The person in the example above is called *Shekharwa* by his mother in most circumstances, but when she is annoyed with him she calls him *Shekhar* or even *Shekhar Pratap.*

Friends often have a range of names for each other too. Friends call him *Sheki* most of the time, but *Babwa* when they want to tease or annoy him. In some cultures people have one name, which is used only in the family and another for use outside. In some cultures people have a ceremonial name used only on very formal occasions. Marital status is sometimes relevant to the choice of address form (e.g. Miss vs Mrs and choice of surname).

Q II

Software	Computers
Syllabus	Education
Phonemes	Linguistics/phonetics
Reporter	Media
Tsunami	Weather
Insomnia	Medicine
Schizophrenia	Medicine
Java	Computers
Marketing	Business Management
Paperback	Publications
Houseful	Cinema

QIII. The first, (a), uses a passive grammatical structure *should be deposited,* for example, which avoids any mention of the people involved. By contrast (b) uses an imperative verb form, *put,* and an address form, *Jhanvi.* This utterance is much more direct and it specifies whose rubbish is the focus of the directive. *Refuse, deposited* and *receptacle* are all more formal and less frequent words than *rubbish, put* and *bin.* Both sentences express the same message or speech function: they give a directive. But they are not interchangeable. If your mother said (a) to you as you dropped a bit of paper on the floor, it is likely you would find it odd. You might assume she was being sarcastic or humorous, but you would not be likely to consider it a normal way of speaking to someone she knew well.

Vocabulary choices. *Tender* vs *give, state* vs *tell, destination* vs *where you're*

going, exact vs *right.* Use of *please* in (c).

Syntax. Both sentences use imperative structures, but the more formal verbs in (c) assist in avoiding the use of the personal pronouns *me* and *you which* occur in (d). The determiner is omitted before *exact fare* and *destination,* which increases the impersonality of the expression. These are both places where *your* could have occurred, for instance.

(ü) The medium of expression is relevant since (a) and (c) are much more likely in writing than in speech. Written and spoken languages differ in many specific ways. Whether spoken or written, sentences (a) and (c) are also more formal and distancing. If they were spoken they would be appropriate only in the most formal context, between strangers or people who did not know each other well, or where the speaker was far superior or more powerful than the addressee. Sentences (b) and (d) would be appropriate in speech in informal contexts. The address form in sentence (b) shows the speaker knows the addressee and suggests they know each other well. It could be seen as softening the directive, making it gentler.

QIV. (a) (i) This is a recorded telephone message and therefore the speaker does not know the hearer. This is reflected in the lack of address term and the formal syntax.

 (b) (i) Despite the initial greeting *good morning* which can be used to strangers and acquaintances, the speaker clearly knows the addressee well. Two affectionate endearment terms are used *(little one, pet)*. These are terms appropriately used downwards in status (e.g. mother to child, older person to younger, nurse to young patient).

(c) (i) The address forms *(Mr Bhaskar, sir),* as well as the initial phrase, as apology for interruption *(Excuse me),* suggest this is an utterance from a subordinate to a superior and that the two do not know each other well.

Unit 2

PRAGMATICS

Contents

Unit 2
PRAGMATICS

2.0 Introduction

In the previous unit we saw about how language plays a role in society. In this block we will learn more about the use of language in context and how we frame our sentences based on our knowledge of our surroundings.

2.1 . What is Pragmatics?

Human beings being social beings communicate and use language in society. Most of us do not always or usually say what we mean. We usually mean much more than our words actually say. For example if I say, "*it is cold here*" it can mean, "*I want the windows to be closed*" or *the "I want a room heater to be on"* or "*I want some warm clothes to wear*". Sometimes we may mean something quite different from what our words express, or even just the opposite. A teacher might tell a student who doesn't attend the lectures regularly "*I am happy you don't attend the lectures, your parents must be proud of you*".

Pragmatics developed as a sub field of linguistics in 1970s and many definitions were proposed for it. Let us have a look at some of the definitions

Pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning; According to this definition, pragmatics deals with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker and interpreted by a listener. It analyses what people mean rather than what the words or phrases in those utterances might express. For example: "All men are mortal", all we need to know is the meaning of men (people) and mortal (do not live for ever). i.e. we just need to know that the meaning of men is 'people' and mortal is 'do not live for ever'. We don't need to know anything more than the literal meaning.

Pragmatics is the study of contextual meaning; This type of definition is concerned with the interpretation of what people mean in a particular context and how the context influences what is said. It takes into account how speakers organize their phrases in accordance with who they are talking to, where, when and under what circumstances. For example " ***She is a baby***" can mean different things in different contexts to different people. It can mean, she is a small child or an immature person or new to some field or not very experienced.

Pragmatics is the study of how more gets communicated than is said; This definition puts emphasis on how listeners can make inferences about what is said in order to arrive at an interpretation of

the speaker's intended meaning. For example: In a newspaper there is an advertisement saying "***Baby and Toddler Sale***". The normal interpretation of it would be that the store is doing the business of selling babies and toddlers. However, the intended meaning is that the store is selling clothes for babies.

Pragmatics is the study of the expression of relative distance. This definition is based on the degree of proximity between the listener and the speaker. Based on how close or distant a listener is, speakers choose how much is to be said. Closeness, whether it is physical, social, or conceptual, implies shared experience. For example two friends can talk about anything and everything about the world whereas a stranger asking for a direction in a new place will have a limited conversation with the person whom he asks about the way.

To be precise, pragmatics is the branch of linguistics that studies *language use rather than language structure*. It is independent of language structures, rules and principles. It is the study of the ability of natural language speakers to communicate more than that is explicitly stated, the ability to understand another speaker's intended meaning and the ways speakers reach their goal in communication.

Activity A: *Here are some ways of asking someone for tea. When and with whom, might you prefer one way of offering rather than another? Why?*
Should I make (us) some tea?
Would you like (me to make) some tea?
Can I make you some tea?
Let's have a cup of tea
How about a nice cup of tea?
I could make you a cup of tea.
Do you drink tea?
Discussion

We use different expressions for parents, friends, strangers, and maids in different situations. For example when you want to tell somebody they have made some mistake, which kind of expressions do you use. Will you tell them directly or will you make it covert in your expressions?

2.2. Grice's Maxims/Cooperative Principle

Herbert Paul Grice was a British philosopher of language and his work is one of the foundations of the modern study of pragmatics. He looked at the natural assumptions used in conversations and developed the notion of "conversational maxims" — implicit rules that speakers follow — in order to determine what provokes listeners

to dig for implicit meaning. Grice's cooperative principle which says *"Make your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged"* forms a basic description of how people ordinarily act in conversations. The four conversational maxims derived from the cooperative principle are given below

Maxim of Quantity: Information
1. Make your contribution to the conversation as informative as necessary.
2. Do not make your contribution to the conversation more informative than necessary.
It means we should give as much information as is asked for. e.g. If I ask somebody 'Which Country is John from'? If the answer given is 'John is my friend, he is very polite and he is from a country in Asia called India. In India there is a place, Delhi which is also the capital of India…….' violates the maxim of quantity because I get information more than I asked for. Or if the answer is "John is from Asia", the maxim is again violated because I get less information than is required.

Maxim of Quality: Truth
1.Do not say what you believe to be false.
2.Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
According to this maxim, a speaker should not say what he/she thinks is false or lacks enough evidence. e.g. somebody saying 'The Tajmahal is in New York' is violating the maxim of quality.

Maxim of Relevance: Relevance
Be relevant (i.e., say things related to the current topic of the conversation).
According to this maxim a speaker should speak what is relevant in accordance to the conversation. For example the answer ' I watched a good movie yesterday' to the question "In which school do you study?" is not relevant.

Maxim of Manner: Clarity
1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary wordiness).
4. Be orderly.
According to this maxim a speaker should speak clearly and in an organized manner without giving room to any ambiguity. For example a person saying 'I met John and Peter yesterday. He did not talk to me. I met him in the college. He talked to my friend …….' is violating the maxim of manner. It is not clear whom the person is referring to, John or Peter, and the sentences are not organized systematically.

If the overt, surface meaning of a sentence does not seem to be consistent   with the Gricean maxims, and yet the circumstances lead us to think that the speaker is not voilating the cooperative principle, we tend to look for other meanings that could be implicated by the sentence. This is called **conversational implicature**. In the example given below, Satish may appear to be violating the requirements of the maxim of quantity.

Ruth: I hope you brought milk and curd.

Satish: hmm, I brought milk.

After hearing Satish's response, Ruth has to assume that Satish is cooperating and not totally unaware of the quantity maxim. If he had brought curd he would have mentioned, adhering to the quantity maxim. Ruth infers what is not mentioned was not brought. In this case, the meaning is implied, Satish has conveyed more than he said via a conversational implicature.

Grice did not, however, assume that all people should constantly follow these maxims. Instead, he found it interesting when these were "flouted" or "violated" (either purposefully or unintentionally breaking the maxims) by speakers, which would imply some other, hidden meaning. The importance was in what was *not* said. For example: "It's raining" is in violation of quality and quantity of spoken language; however, in context (e.g. when someone has suggested a game of tennis) the reasoning behind this 'fragment' sentence becomes clear.

Activity B *Analyze the following expressions and say whether Grice's maxims are followed or violated and if so, why?*.

A. Rohan: When are you coming home?

Meena: I will codify that question to my superiors and respond at such a time as an adequate answer is preparable.

B. Mary : You really love me?

Sameer: I like rocket planes, and college football, and things that go real fast.

C. Rohan : A lot of people are depending on you.

Meena: Thanks, that really takes the pressure off.

Discusssion You may like to see whether the answers to the questions in the above given conversation are relevant, whether the maxims of quality, quantity and manner are followed.

2.3. Conversational Analysis

A conversational structure has been described using many metaphors. For example conversation is a dance with the conversational partners coordinating their movements smoothly or it is like traffic crossing an intersection, involving lots of alternating movements without any crashes. Much attention has been paid to structural properties of conversations and how they reveal what actually is going on in language use. Let us take a look at the example;

John: Have you seen the Taj Mahal?

Mary : No, I have heard a lot about it but haven't got a chance to see it yet. What about you?

John : I went to Agra to see the Taj Mahal last week. It is very beautiful

Mary : I am planning to go there next month.

Peter : Hey ! I would also like to join you

Sally : Even I don't mind accompanying you guys.

Peter : Are there any other tourist attractions in Agra ?

John : Not sure, you might think of going to Jaipur. It is called the "pink city"

Mary : That is a wonderful idea

Sally: Yeah, that sounds interesting.

In the institutionalized types of conversations like in the classroom, in the   courts, religious sermons, a structure is imposed right from the beginning. For example, students in the classroom can speak only after being asked to take the floor or after seeking the permission from the teacher for doing so. However, exchanges in informal conversations are locally managed. By locally managed we mean who takes what turn in the conversation as the interaction develops. Turn taking is not random and it reveals aspects of social

organization because of which conversational analysis takes a vital interest in turn-taking phenomenon. The initiation of a turn, or 'taking the floor may be self-selection or other-selection. For example in the conversation cited above John selects to introduce a topic and John selects Mary for taking the turn. Peter, John and Sally voluntarily speak without being selected.

2.3.1. Adjacency pairs
Adjacency pairs is one of the central concepts of conversation analysis. There are some regular patterns in the structure of conversation. An adjacency pair has the following characteristic
- It is a sequence of two communicative actions.
- The two actions often occur adjacent to each other.
- One action is a first pair part and another action is a second pair part. They are sequentially ordered.
- They are categorized or type connected.

For example, a request is the first part of a request-granting/rejection pair. The response to a request must be granting or rejecting the request. When a first pair part occurs a second part is relevant in the next turn and participants expect it to be there for example

Thank you   You are welcome.
Congratulations   Thanks.

In some adjacency pairs the initial actions get only one type of response: greetings and questions, for example

 Hi   hello
Good Morning   Good Morning

In other pairs alternative actions as responses can be expected, for example request – granting/rejection, offer - acceptance/rejection, assessment - agreement/disagreement. Preference organization is associated with the selection of the second pair part .For example in case of a request, granting is a preferred part and rejections are dispreferred.

The following extract of a conversation between a customer and a travel agent gives an illustration of a preferred second pair part of the request-granting/rejection pair

7. A : Have you any flights from Hyderabad to Kochi?
8. B: For which date would it be?
9. A : For the 19th of December .1
10. B: Let me check please!
11. A : Yes
12.B: Yes, we do have one flight from Hyderabad to Kochi on the 19th of December.

Line 7 is the first pair of a request-granting/rejection pair by the customer. In line 12 the agent responds with a preferred action:

"Yes, we do have one flight from Hyderabad to Kochi on the 19th of December."

2.3.2. Presequences

The common tactic in conversations is to check out the situation before performing some action. In cases where such a preliminary action is itself the first pair part of an adjacency pair and is followed by a second prior part, the resulting structure is a presequence. The presequence precedes and projects some other conversational action. From the first pair part, the recipient can project what sort of an action might follow the presequence.

The following parts of the extract from the illustrations mentioned before are examples of presequences

1.Could you tell me, are you the XYZ travel company?
2.Yes, we are.
3.And do you book air tickets as well?
4.That is right, we do.
These question-answer pairs can be perceived as presequences
leading to the request for information about the flights.

2.3.3. Insertion sequence
Sometimes the first part of the adjacency pair leads to another adjacency before the actual expected response to the action is given. Recipients need more information or clarification before deciding whether to grant or reject the request.
The following parts of the extract from the illustrations mentioned before are examples of insertion sequences in 12 by giving the preferred response.
8.B: For which date would it be?
9.A : For the 19th of December .
10.B: Let me check please!
11.A : Yes
This part is the response to the first part of a request - granting /rejection pair in line 7. Before producing the second pair part in reply to the request, the agent needs some clarification. The agent inserts a question in line 8. This question itself is the first part of an adjacency pair which is necessary before producing the second pair part of the request - granting /rejection pair. Line 10 can be perceived as the request of the agent to hold on a minute. The customer is granting this request in line 11. The request - granting /rejection pair is closed.

Activity C *Look at the below given examples of a conversation and say which kind of conversational sequences they are. Also, try to identify the adjacency pairs used.*

Example A .
  A. So, that's agreed?
  B. Yep, agreed.
  A. Good, I knew you would.
  B. Yes, no problem really.
  A. Thanks for the help.
  B. Don't mention it.
  A. Okay, I will be back soon.
  B. Okay, then, bye. Take care.
  A. Bye.

Example B: A boss to a secretary
  A. Are you doing anything important right now?
  B. No, not really
  A. Okay, then, can you do this letter for me? I need it in a hurry.
  B. Yeah, sure.

Discussion

The conversation can be a closing sequence, an opening sequence or a pre-request. The closing of a conversation may not be direct. An actual closing may involve several steps, there may be some pre closing signals. Similarly for making a request there may be some pre request signals.

Source : Wardhaugh

Activity D *List down the adjacency pairs in you language/s.*

Discussion
For example *Namaste – Namaste, shubhraatri - shubhraatri , Salaam u alaikum – Walaikum salaam,* etc

2.4. Presupposition and entailment

Speakers often assume certain information is already known by their listeners. Since some information is treated as known, such information is generally not stated and consequently will count as part of what is communicated but not said. For describing two different aspects of this kind of information technical terms presupposition and entailment are used.

A **presupposition** is something a speaker assumes to be the case before making an utterance. They assume some part of information,

which is not overtly expressed in their utterance to be already known. Speakers, not sentences, have presuppositions. Let's begin our conversation on presuppositions with a little riddle. Riddles are built on presuppositions and noticing them is step one.

Solve this riddle:

3 men walk into a hotel looking for a room to share. The hotel clerk tells them it's $30. So they split it 3 ways and pay $10 each.

A little later the clerk tells the bellboy to return $5 to the 3 men as he mistakenly overcharged them for the room. The bellboy is confused as to how to divide the $5 evenly amongst the 3 men so he decides to return only $3 and give them $1 each. He pockets $2 for himself.

So since the bellboy returned $1 to each man it means they only paid $9 each. $9 paid by each of the 3 men = $27. If the bellboy only kept $2 that makes $29. Where did the other dollar go?!

Did you solve it yet?

This is an example of presuppositions in action. They are the most unconscious part of the riddle, or any riddle for that matter. Spend a few moments pondering this then come back when you're ready...

Whether you solved it or not is not important..Once you understand how to identify them you will have the key to almost every riddle you come across. Without the implication these presuppositions create there is no riddle.

In the above example the presupposition is in the last sentence, look at it again and think clearly through that sentence and the solution will appear.

Since the bellboy returned $1 to each man this means that they only paid $9 each. To be more precise and clear, each man paid $10. The hotel clerk returned $5. $30 minus $5 = $25. The bellboy kept $2, which makes $27. $3 dollars are returned $1 to each man, which makes it $30. and the last part....where did the "other" dollar go?"

In fact, there is no "other dollar". It was merely suggested to you and your unconscious automatically accepts it. Unless your conscious mind catches it first.

Presuppositions are embedded in virtually every conversation we have. They are the unconscious compass that directs your attention in a specific direction.

Did you catch it when I asked "Did you solve the riddle yet?" This presupposes **you "can" solve it**. The word "yet" implies it is solvable, we just don't know *when*!

Let us take another example :

[I] John's brother bought two new cars.

In producing the utterance [I], the speaker will normally be expected to have the presuppositions that a person called John exists and that he has a brother. The speaker may also hold the more precise presuppositions that John has only one brother and that he has a lot

of money. All of these presuppositions are the speaker's and all of them can be wrong, *in fact*.

The concept of *presupposition* is often treated as the relationship between two propositions. In the case below, we have a sentence that contains a proposition (p) and another proposition (q), which is easily presupposed by any listener. However, the speaker can produce a sentence by denying the proposition (p), obtaining as a result the same presupposition (q).

Radha's cat is cute. (p)

Radha has a cat. (q)

When I say that *Radha's* cat is cute, this sentence presupposes that *Radha* has a cat. In

Radha's cat is not cute. (NOT p)

The same thing holds true, that is, it presupposes that she has a cat. This property of presupposition is generally described as *constancy under negation*. Basically, it means that the presupposition of a statement will remain constant (i.e. still true) even when that statement is negated.

2.4.1. Types of Presupposition

In the analysis of how speakers' assumptions are typically expressed, presupposition has been associated with the use of a large number of words, phrases and structures. These linguistic forms are considered here as indicators of potential presupposition, which can only become actual presupposition in contexts with speakers. The types of presupposition are:

2.4.1.1.Existential presupposition

It is the assumption of the existence of the entities named by the speaker.

 For example, when a speaker says "John's shirt is new", we can presuppose that John exists and that he has a shirt.

2.4.1.2.Factive presupposition

It is the assumption that something is true due to the presence of some verbs such as "know", "regret" and "realize" and of phrases involving glad, for example. Thus, when a speaker says that she didn't realize someone was ill, we can presuppose that someone is ill. Also, when she says "I'm glad it's over", we can presuppose that it's over.

2.4.1.3. Lexical presupposition

It is the assumption that, in using one word, the speaker can act as if another meaning (word) will be understood. For instance:

Ana stopped running. (>>She used to run.)

You are late again. (>> You were late before.)

In this case, the use of the expressions "*stop"* and "a*gain"* are taken to presuppose another (unstated) concept.

2.4.1.4. Structural presupposition

It is the assumption associated with the use of certain words and phrases. For example, wh-questions in English are conventionally interpreted with the presupposition that the information after the wh-form (e.g. when and where) is already known to be the case.

When did she travel to the USA? (>> she traveled)

Where did you buy the book? (>> you bought the book)

The listener perceives that the information presented is necessarily true rather than just the presupposition of the person asking the question.

2.4.1.5. Non- factive presupposition

It is an assumption that something is not true. For example, verbs like "dream", "imagine" and "pretend" are used with the *presupposition* that what follows is not true.

I dreamed that I was rich. (>> I am not rich)

We imagined that we were in New York. (>> We are not in New York)

2.4.1.6. Counterfactual presupposition

It is the assumption that what is presupposed is not only untrue, but is the opposite of what is true, or contrary to facts. For instance, some conditional structures, generally called counterfactual conditionals, presuppose that the information, in the if- clauses, is not true at the time of utterance.

If you were my daughter, I would not allow you to do this. (> you are not my daughter)

Indicators of potential presuppositions discussed so far are summarized for you in the below given table.

Type	Example	Presupposition
Existential	the X	>>X exists
factive	I regret leaving	>> I left
non-factive	He pretended to be happy	>>He wasn't happy
lexical	He managed to escape	>>He tried to escape
structural	When did she die?	>>She died
counterfactual	If I weren't' ill	>>I am ill

Activity E

Identify the presuppositions that are possible in the following sentences.

He didn't realize he was not well.
He stopped smoking
When did you buy the bike?
He pretends to be ill.
If you weren't my friend, I would not have helped you.

Discussion

The presuppositions in the above examples can be factive, lexical, structural, non – factive, counterfactual.

Review question II
Consider the following scenario and try to figure out why communication has led to a misunderstanding
. Does the man make wrong assumptions or does the woman violate the maxim of information? There is a woman sitting on a park bench and a large dog lying on the ground in front of the bench. A man comes along and sits down on the bench.
[II] Man: Does your dog bite?
   Woman : No
(The man reaches down to pet the dog. The dog bites the man's hand.)
   Man: Ouch! You said your dog doesn't bite.
   Woman : He doesn't. But that is not my dog.

_____
_____
_____
_____

2.4.2. Projection Problem

When a simple sentence becomes part of a more complex sentence, it is expected that the presupposition of a simple sentence continues to be true. However, the meaning of some presuppositions (as 'parts') doesn't survive to become the meaning of some complex sentences (as 'wholes'). This is known as the *projection problem*. Let us look at an example:

a) Nobody realized that Mary was unhappy
b) I imagined that Mary was unhappy.
c) I imagined that Mary was unhappy and nobody realized that she was unhappy.

Through these examples, we can observe when the speaker utters (a), we can presuppose that *she was unhappy a*nd that, when she utters (b), we can presuppose that *she was not unhappy*. However, when the speaker utters (*c*)*,* we can't understand what the speaker means by that utterance without a context because the two parts have an opposite meaning.

In an example like the one given above, the technical analysis may be straight forward, but it may be difficult to think of a context in which someone would talk like that. Let us look at another example, which may contextualize better. In an episode of a TV soap opera, two characters have a dialogue

John :II a) It is so sad. Peter regrets getting Lata killed.

Sam: b) But he didn't get her killed. We know that now.

If we combine both the utterances given above we have the sequence, c)'Peter regrets getting Lata killed; but he didn't get her killed'

One way to think about the whole sentence presented in *c* is as an utterance by a person reporting what happened in the soap opera that day. In the example above, when the speaker utters *he didn't get her killed* actually entails *Peter didn't get her killed* as a logical consequence. Thus, when the person who watched the soap opera tells you that *Peter regrets getting Lata killed, but he didn't get her killed*, you have a presupposition q and NOT q. In this case, we can infer that Peter thought he was the murderer of Lata but, in fact, he was not.

A simple explanation for the fact that presuppositions don't 'project' is that they are destroyed by entailments. Now let us see what entailments mean.

An **entailment** is something that logically follows from what is asserted in the utterance. It has more to do with the logical meaning of the sentence and is not based on assumptions. It is the relationship between two sentences where the truth of one requires the truth of

the other. For example, the sentence *the president was assassinated* entails *the president is dead.*

The meaning is drawn from the utterances. Sentences, not speakers have entailments. In the example II, Sam's utterance of 'he didn't get her killed' actually entails 'Peter didn't get Lata killed' as a logical consequence. Thus, when the person who watched the soap opera tells us that 'Peter regrets getting Lata killed, but he didn't kill her', we have a presupposition q and an entailment NOT q. This shows that *entailments* (necessary consequences of what is said) are simply more powerful than *presuppositions* (earlier assumptions). In the example below, the power of entailment can also be used to cancel *existential presuppositions* .

The King of India visited us. (The king of India does not exist)

Activity F *Analyze the following conversation and try to explain how each remark in the conversation relates to what has gone before and what follows. This is a simple home –coming routine.* Speaker B is in the house as speaker A enters and takes off his coat. *Let me tell you, Charlie is a cat*.

- A. (Loudly) Hi, Sharda!
- B. (Loudly) Hi ,Hari!
- A. (Quietly)Hi Charlie! Had your dinner?
- B. (Quite loudly) I have fed the animals already.
- A. (Walks to kitchen) Been home long?
- B. Just a few minutes. I was out in a school all afternoon.
- A. Ah. We eating at home?
- B. Could I suppose.
- A. No. Let's go out. I have got to look for a book.
- B. OK. Give me a few minutes to get changed. By the way…..
- A. Yes?
- B. Oh, nothing. Chinese food?
- A. Yeah. If you want. I'll take the dog out for a walk while you get ready. (Loudly) Rufus!

Discussion

The conversation gives us an idea about the routine things that take place in the house of the speakers. For example the animals are fed by the 'speaker A' usually, the food is prepared at home, the dog is taken for a walk. Have you been able to identify some other things?

2.4.3. Ordered entailments

Generally speaking, entailment is not a pragmatic concept (i.e. having to do with the speaker meaning), but it is considered a purely logical concept.

Look at the examples below:
1) John ate three sandwiches.
a) Someone ate three sandwiches.
b) John did something to three sandwiches.
c) John ate three of something.
d) Something happened.

When a speaker utters sentence 1, the speaker is necessarily committed to the truth of a very large number of background knowledge. On any occasion, in uttering 1, however, the speaker will indicate how these entailments are to be ordered. That is, the speaker will communicate, typically by stress, which entailment is assumed to be the foreground, or more important for interpreting intended meaning, than any others. For example, when the speaker utters the following sentences, she indicates that the foreground entailment, and hence her main assumption, is that John ate a certain number of sandwiches.

a) John ate THREE sandwiches.

b) JOHN ate three sandwiches.

In B, the focus shifts to JOHN, and the main assumption is that someone ate three sandwiches. Stress in English functions to mark the main assumption of the speaker in producing an utterance. As such, it allows the speaker to mark for the listener what the focus of the message is, and what is being assumed.

A very similar function is exhibited by a structure called 'it-cleft' construction in English, as we can observe in the example below:

a) It was Mary who did the work.
b) It wasn't ME who took your jacket.
In both the examples above, the speaker can communicate what she believes the listener may already be thinking (i.e. the foreground entailment). In b, that foreground entailment (someone took your jacket) is being made in order to deny personal responsibility. The utterance in *b* can be used to attribute the foreground entailment to the listener(s) without actually stating it (as a possible accusation).

Activity G	*What might happen if you said to a friend , out of the blue each of the following? Do you think these kind of statements can be offensive or can have some negative connotations, if yes, why?*
	a. Your husband/wife is still faithful to you.
	b. Your shoes are clean today.
	c. Didn't you beat your wife today?

d. The sun did rise this morning.
e. I am the luckiest person in the world.
f. You are smiling today.

<u>Discussion</u>

Sometimes our expressions if not used properly may mean something, which can offend others. For example if we tell a friend "your clothes look tidy today ", it may offend the person. He/she may understand that his/her clothes don't look tidy everyday.

Review question III

Q3. Each problem presents a short dialogue. You must identify which maxim is being *used* or *violated*. You may be asked to figure out the implication, or it may be given to you.

1. Lata: Come on, I'm taking you to the gym.

Kiran: Yeah, and pigs can fly.

What is Kiran implying?

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

2. Kapil: What happened?

Kiran: He got attacked by a giant bug, and he passed out.

Implication: He passed out because he was first attacked (in other words, the order in which the events occurred is: (1) he got attacked; (2) he passed out.)

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

3. John: We just have to fly real close to the corona of the sun!

Kiran: You're lucky you're pretty.

What is Kiran implying?

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

4. Lata: Do you have any pets?

Kapil: I have two wee baby turtles.

Implication: Kapil doesn't have any other pets besides the two turtles.

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

5. Kiran: Tell them what happened!

John: Kiran saw an object or entity strongly resembling a giant bug.

What is John implying?

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

_____
_____
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Answers to the review questions

I. The maxim of relevance is violated in the conversation. The answers are not relevant to the questions asked.

II. One of the problems in this scenario has to do with communication. Specifically, it seems to be a problem caused by the man's assumption that more was communicated than was said. It isn't a problem with presupposition because the assumption in 'Your dog' (i.e. the woman has a dog) is true for both speakers. The problem is the man's assumption that his question 'Does your dog bite?'and the woman's answer 'No' both apply to the dog in front of them. From the man's perspective, the woman's answer provides less information than expected. In other words she might be expected to provide the information the last line. The woman gives less information than is expected.

III. 1. Lata: Come on, I'm taking you to the gym.

Kiran: Yeah, and pigs can fly.

What is Kiran implying?

Kiran refuses to go to the gym with Lata.

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

Quality. Kiran is saying something which is clearly untrue. By combining the "yes" response with a clearly un   true statement, Kiran is implying that the actual response is "no."

2. Kapil: What happened?

Kiran: He got attacked by a giant bug, and he passed out.

Implication: He passed out because he was first attacked (in other words, the order in which the events occurred is: (1) he got attacked; (2) he passed out.)

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

Manner. According to the maxim of manner, you are supposed to say things in an orderly way, so you should say events in the actual order in which they occurred. When a person says "This happened and that happened," you assume they mean "this happened, and then that happened."

3. John: We just have to fly real close to the corona of the sun!

Kiran: You're lucky you're pretty.

What is Kiran implying?

John's idea is stupid.

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

Relation. Kiran is going off topic, talking about John's looks rather than his idea.

4. Lata: Do you have any pets?

Kapil: I have two wee baby turtles.

Implication: Kapil doesn't have any other pets besides the two turtles.

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

Quantity. According to the maxim of quantity, you are supposed to say the strongest statement you possible can. So we have to assume that's what Kapil is doing. If he actually had, say, two turtles and a dog, he should have made the stronger statement "I have two turtles and a dog" instead of the weaker (but still true) statement "I have two turtles."

5. Kiran: Tell them what happened!
John: Kiran saw an object or entity strongly resembling a giant bug.

What is John implying?

Whatever Kiran saw, it wasn't a giant bug.

What maxim creates that implication, and why?

Manner. John is using unusually vague and ambiguous language. By describing what Kiran saw in an unusual way, he's signaling that there's something unusual about it—it isn't what it seemed to be.
Alternate explanation. John is signaling a minor violation of quality. He can't just say "Kiran saw a giant bug" since he isn't sure if it's true, so he avoids violating quality by using words especially chosen to signal his uncertainty.

48