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NOTES ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY.

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IN THIS PAPER THE AUTHOR IS PRESENTING AN OVERVIEW OF CURRENT RESEARCH, BOTH IN THE FIELD OF LINGUISTICS AND IN OTHER FIELDS, ON THE LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MEANING. THE MAJOR TOPICS DISCUSSED INCLUDE--(1) CULTURAL COMPENTENCE (LANGUE AND PAROLE, CO-EXISTING COMPETENCES), (2) DOMAINS AND ROLE RELATIONS, (3) SPEECH FUNCTIONS, (4) METHOD, (5) THE SPEECH EVENT, AND (6) NATIVE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING. APPENDICES TO THE PAPER INCLUDE BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE SEVERAL TOPICS AND A SECTION ON QUESTIONS AND REQUESTS. MOST OF THE WORK CITED IS BRITISH OR AMERICAN. THE AUTHOR IS CURRENTLY AT THE SCHOOL OF ENGLISH, UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS, LEEDS, ENGLAND. (JD)

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN MODERN LANGUAGES

Sub-Committee on Research

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by

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CONTENTS

A. TEXT

– The present notes aim to be in a sense a snapshot of a field of study on the move. They are far from comprehensive, and undoubtedly omit mention of several important writings and activities, noteably perhaps the forthcoming socio-linguistic survey of Eastern Africa (briefly described in a recent issue of the LINGUISTIC REPORTER). They may strike the reeder as unduly idiosyncratic in their organisation and general perspective; if so, this has been the cost of an attempt to impose or discover a coherent shape in a richly inter-disciplinary and rapidly growing body of work.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Linguistics as a social science.

The study of language, if it is to be acceptably comprehensive and relevant, has to match the scope and character of the language user's intuitions about the nature of meaning. For all of us, meaningful use of language, among other things, is that which appropriately reflects its social and cultural milieu and conveys social and cultural purpose. The present account takes stock of some current developments, both within and outside linguistics itself, in the study of the linguistic expression of social and cultural meaning.

In many respects the position today is still aptly reflected in some words written in 1929 by E.SAPIR: "It is peculiarly important", he remarks, "that linguists, who are often accused, and accused justly, of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general. Whether they like it or not, they must become increasingly concerned with the many anthropological, sociological, and psychological problems which invade the field of linguistics" (E.SAPIR, 1929a). The essay itself was significantly titled "The Status of Linguistics as a Science": significantly because the impetus to make linguistics a "science" has generally or until rather recently contributed in no small measure to notions of its relative independence (1) from most of the other "social sciences" (see for example N.CHOMSKY, 1965, p.20). It cannot now be said that linguistics continues to repel psychological problems, but it is still true to say that most linguists today are not sufficiently aware of, still less concerned about, issues familiar to anthropology and sociology. In the case of sociology the lack of involvement is, moreover, entirely mutual. There is a very noticeable lack of published interest in language - more however than in linguistics - among sociologists the world over. Yet for SAPIR (1929 and elsewhere) linguistics is above all a social science. Much more recently R.A.HALL, Jr. (1965) has been moved to place a similar emphasis on the social character of language: "..... there is the ever-present danger that .... ultra-structured grammar will lose touch with linguistic reality, which is that of individual humans speaking to and reponding to the speech of other individual humans in the context of their social relationships" (p.345). Compare too C.A.FERGUSON (1959): "Descriptive linguists in their understandable zeal to describe the internal structure of the language they are studying often fail to provide even the most elementary data about the socio-cultural setting in which the language functions" (p.437). On the side of sociology, it was pointed out in 1956 by the Americans G.N.PUTNAM and E.M.O'HERN that "Sociologists have merely skirted the edges of the sociology of language." In 1965 the British sociologist J.KLEIN wrote, in response to the isolated example of the London sociologist B.BERNSTEIN: "The difficulties of communication between members of different social classes are worth investigating in a systematic way. This kind of social study is still in its infancy" (p.210).

Some further views on the still largely potential importance of the study of language in culture and society, arranged chronologically -

F.BOAS (1911) in HYMES 1964c; p.17.
B.MALINOWSKI (1923).
B.MALINOWSKI (1935).
J.R.FIRTH (1935); p.17, 32; and "Sociological linguistics is the great field for future research" (p.27).
J.R.FIRTH (1937); esp. ch.8.
B.MALINOWSKI (1937).
C.LEVI-STRAUSS (1958), in HYMES 1964c; p.41 (it is by no means implied however that the general line of argument here is necessarily sound).
J.H.GREENBERG (1948), in HYMES 1964c; the author rates the picture as he sees it, without contention: "With the pragmatic aspect of language we arrive at the point where the interest of the ethnologist is greatest and that of the linguist merely marginal" (p.28). Compare J.R.FIRTH (1957) below, and much of D.HYMES (1964a).

J.B.CARROLL (1953); p.113; also fn.6 on p.240.
J.O.HERTZLER (1953); p.109.
U.WEINREICH (1953); p.4, 5.
K.L.PIKE (1954-60); esp. Part I, p.1-7, 21 etc. See now K.L.PIKE (1967).
E.HAUGEN (1956); much of this, for example: "The linguist's task is to identify and describe all cases of interference, and then to co-operate with other social scientists in accounting for them" (p.11).
G.R.PICKFORD (1956); p.211, 212, 220-3. Thus: "Sociology has not completed its analysis of class, but it is proceeding critically and it needs the help of linguists ... language certainly looks like being one of the clues." A great deal in the writings of B.BERNSTEIN pursues this point, including (1965), esp. p.144, 145.
K.L.PIKE (1956). A convenient starting-point for the study of PIKE's view of language.
C.A.FERGUSON and J.J.GUMPERZ (1960); p.2, 10, 11.
A.R.DIEBOLD (1961), in HYMES 1964c; p.496, 497.
J.J.GUMPERZ (1961), in HYMES 1964; p.416 ff.
D.HYMES (1961a); p.337 and (1961b); p.66.
C.A.FERGUSON (1962); p.3.
R.JAKOBSON (1963), in J.H.GREENBERG 1963; p.277: "The intensive collaboration of linguists with cultural anthropologists and psychologists in the Conference on Language Universals indicates that the present-day linguist is about to reject the apocryphal epilogue which the editors of Saussure's Cours added in italics: 'The true and unique object of linguistics is language studied in and for itself'. Do we today not conceive language as a whole 'in and for itself' and simultaneously as a constituent part of culture and society?"
T.A.SEBEOK (1963); p.58.
D. HYMES (1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1964d). Compare especially 1964b, p.31 ff., with J.J.KATZ and J.A.FODOR (1963), and fn. 9 below.
W.BRIGHT (1966); Introduction.
J.A.FISHMAN (1966); Appendix B, p.[illegible]24, fn.2, etc.

It should be understood that the references above are very far from exhaustive, and cannot properly be read outside their contexts. They are set out however because they make the same general point from different angles.

It would appear that the official position taken by the "social sciences" in respect of the study of language in social contexts is much the same both in Britain and the United States, if one can judge from representative reports, abstracts, and bibliographies (although see 1.21, iv, below). Three notable sources of information are:

i) "The American Behavioural Scientist Guide to Recent Publications in the Social & Behavioural Sciences", 1965. Contains 6,664 items, including some dozen pertaining to the study of language.

ii) "Report of the Committee on Social Studies", H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 2660.

iii) "Report of the Social Science Research Council, Dec. 1965 to March 1966", H.M.S.O., 11th Aug. 1966.

1.2 Sources of activity.

Such is the sheer scope of the subject, however, that one can still point to a very substantial amount of work on the general theme of "language in culture and society"; moreover the output appears to be progressively quickening. A large number of disciplines are represented, particularly anthropology. Some bibliographical comparisons will make this clear. For example, there is astonishingly little common ground between the 704-item Selected Titles in Sociolinguistics (Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, 1964), the 320-name index and bibliography of a large recent work by J.O.HERTZLER entitled A Sociology of Language (1965), and the bibliography worked into the present account. The sheer bulk of D.H.HYMES' Language in Culture & Society (1964), containing (at a conservative estimate) some

2,200 items, commands attention. These moreover overlap very little with the 658 items in the text of the classic Languages in Contact by U. WEINREICH (1953), which in turn have little in common with the 640-odd items in the complementary Bilingualism in the Americas by E.HAUGEN (1956). It is necessary to point out however that much of this prolific output stems from work carried out in the United States. This fact is well reflected in the next section (1.21); is seen in historical perspective by J.B.CASAGRANDE (1963), p.279, 280 and (esp.) fn.1, p.294; and is placed beyond all doubt by even a brief perusal of ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, which since 1964 has been largely devoted to the findings of contributing consultants to the Languages of the World File under development at Indiana University (see also 1.21, iii and iv below).

The most prolific source of information is undoubtedly the Center for Applied Linguisitcs (C.A.L.), Washington D.C., which among other functions produces a regular Newsletter which reports significant inter-disciplinary activity involving linguists of all persuasions. From this it is possible to learn for example about forthcoming and past major conferences, seminars, courses, etc. - which in the United States can amount in themselves to apparently influential events. The largest, as it would appear, took place at the University of Indiana in 1964 (iv below), lasting no less than eight weeks. A feature of such conferences is that they tend to be sponsored by such bodies as the Social Science Research Council, National Science Foundation, National Committee for the Teaching of English, Co-operative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education, etc., and are prone to recommend the establishment of new national committees.

1.21. Some recent conferences:-

i. Bloomington, Indiana. A conference on "Social Dialects and Language Learning", held in 1964. 25 participants, including linguists, psychologists, sociologists, and educators. Sponsored by the National Council for the Teaching of English (N.C.T.E.) and the Centre for American English of the Illinois Institute of Technology. Financial support was provided by the Co-operative Research Branch of the U.S. Office of Education.

Specific topic: Egnlish language problems of the culturally under-privileged. "One of the major objectives of the conference was to devise some means for facilitating a continuing exchange of information ...."

Publication: Social Dialects and Language Learning (ed. R.W.SHUY), 1965.

Further development: First meeting of a new National Committee on the subject held at the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington D.C.

ii. Symposium of the American Anthropological Association, 1963.

Publication: The Ethnography of Communication, (containing D.HYMES 1964a, S.ERVIN-TRIPP 1964, J.J.GUMPERZ 1964, W.LABOV 1964, E.M.ALBERT 1964, etc.).

iii. Bloomington, Indiana; May 17-19, 1962: "linguists were invited to participate with workers from four other disciplines - psychiatry, psychology, education, and anthropology - in a discussion of the developing study of non-verbal communication". Directed by T.A.SEBEOK. Five "state of the art" papers were prepared and distributed in advance (representing five disciplines), and debated at the conference itself.

Publication: Approaches to Semiotics (ed. T.A.SEBEOK, 1964). (Contains A.S.HAYES 1964, and E. STANKIEWICZ 1964).

iv. Indiana, for eight weeks in 1964, on socio-linguistics. Sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and National Science Foundation. In preparation for the seminar, the C.A.L. compiled an annotated bibliography of 704 books and articles, SELECTED TITLES IN SOCIO-LINGUISTICS. The only published product so far appears to be 'Language, Dialect, Nation' (E.HAUGEN, 1966a), in American Anthropologist, 1966.

Recommendations included: Social Science Research Council Committee on Socio-Linguistics; the establishment of cross-disciplinary fellowships.

v. University of California, Los Angeles, May 11-13, 1964. A conference on socio-linguistics. "Twelve specially invited scholars from other universities met for the occasion with members of the Los Angeles linguistics community .... in what was perhaps the first conference to be exclusively devoted to the field". Advance distribution of thirteen papers, discussed at the conference.

Publication: W.BRIGHT (1966).

1.22.Bibliographies, historical surveys, etc:-

"BULLETIN SIGNALETIQUE".
K.W.DEUTSCH (1953).
R.J.GOODELL (1964).
E.HAUGEN (1956).
E.HAUGEN (1964).
R.A.HALL (1966).
J.O.HERTZLER (1965).
D.HYMES (1963, 1964a, 1964b, 1964c),
J.J.GUMPERZ (1965b),
F.LOUNDSBURY (1959, 1962).
C.MOHRMANN (1961); p.110-127.
K.L.PIKE (1954-60); now (1967).
"SELECTED TITLES IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS" (1964): on "multilingualism, language standardisation, and languages of wider communication".
H.H.STERN (1962).
W.A.STEWART (1964).
V.VILDOMEC (1963).
U.WEINREICH (1953).
H. WENTWORTH and S.B.FLEXNER (1960).

2. CULTURAL COMPETENCE.

2.1 Langue and parole.

Before proceeding any further, it may be worth while asking whether the developing body of work referred to here holds out promise of powerful insights that can be applied right across the field. This is the natural requirement that any discipline or disciplines charged with the work will be tested against. In this connection it is instructive to consider the views of some very antipathetic critics of the British anthropologist B.MALINOWSKI, since he as much as anyone held to the conviction that language is of the essence of culture and society, and they of it. For MALINOWSKI (1935) the real linguistic fact is the "fullutterance within its context of situation" (p.11). Side by side with the context of reference "we have another context: the situation in which the words have been uttered". The duty of the ethnographer is to put words back where they come from, and the main object of linguistic study is "living speech in its actual context of situation", which in turn requires "the empirical approach to linguistics" rather than one "largely confined to deductive arguments" (1937, p.63). Further than this, the distinction between "parole" (or speech) and "langue" (or code) is a false one because the one must ultimately be some general norm of the other. Main emphasis must be placed therefore on parole.

A reasonable representation of the opposite view - that of the supposed utter hopelessness of a direct assault on parole - is given by J.BERRY (1966), who introduces a very recent edition of the second volume of The Language of Magic and Gardening in order, it would seem, to dismiss him once and for all from the linguistic scene. His main point is that the meaning of an utterance cannot be "determined" by its context of situation, far less analysed in those terms, since contexts are infinite. Unless some way of reducing such infinite variety can be found, context of situation will have to remain "below the level of general abstract theory" (xv), hence of no particular interest. This is a line of argument on a par with that of J.J.KATZ and J.A.FODOR (1963), whose illustration of the "disambiguation" problem inherent in such expressions as "alligator shoes" and "horse shoes" is designed to stress the infinite accidents which go into our "knowledge of the world".(2) For BERRY, for KATZ and FODOR, and for most (not all(3)) of those opposed to the notion of context of situation, the meaning of an utterance is autonomous, situation merely providing "a clue to the particular meaning with which the word is used" (xv) - or utterance, presumably.

In other words MALINOWSKI is regarded in this light as a behaviourist. Whether this is so or not, N.CHOMSKY's damaging review (1959) of B.F.SKINNER's Verbal Behaviour has to be reckoned with by all those who wish to study language in its context of situation. SKINNER had taken the position that it is futile to postulate inherent meanings for the forms of language, since these are unobservable and merely perpetuate "an outdated doctrine of the expression of ideas", kept alive by a "sort of patchwork" of undeveloped psychological notions. Unobservability means unaccountability, (4) and before we know where we are "meaning" will be "assigned an independent existence". The only way out is to assume that human verbal behaviour is not species-specific, so allowing oneself therefore to carry out controlled experiments in which the environment of animals is manipulated and responses observed. Thus "response" types can be related to "stimulus" types, and conclusions drawn for the causation of human verbal behaviour. On this line of argument CHOMSKY had a great deal to say, almost all of it securing the concurrence of many scholars, and not only those sympathetic to the particular linguistic theory put forward by CHOMSKY himself. A few of his main observations are: that we have no right to assume that basic underlying features of verbal behaviour are not specific to human beings alone, rather quite the contrary; that we "cannot predict verbal behaviour in terms of the stimuli in the speaker's environment, since we do not know what the current stimuli are until he responds" (p.553); nor for that matter is it possible to go in the opposite direction, identifying aspects of the environment from utterances, since we will then have to explain both scholarly and intuitive evidence for "latent learning", whereby the stimulus for action comes from inside the organism rather than from some external "reinforcing" agency; that the contribution made thus by the organism is clearly of great importance, and because of the limited capacity of the human brain (5) can only result from the acquisition of a finite set of abilities; that this in turn means that the human being in acquiring the ability to handle the infinite variety of language has mastered a finite set of rules (6); that the rules are "internalised" as grammatical competence" (7) by a process of inference on the part of the language user, who is genetically endowed with the ability to do just this; and finally that the analyst in turn has to infer the structure of competence from what he along with native-speaking informants - can observe and intuitively knows (8) of acceptable utterances. Elsewhere CHOMSKY deals with the question of the justification of descriptions of competence in terms of "external validation" (9) procedures - which seek to assess the acceptability of sentences generated by the linguist's rules in the light of native speakers' intuitions, and "internal validation" (10) - in terms of their apparent universality, simplicity, and consistency.

It must be emphasised that generative linguists, in their largely (but certainly not wholly (11) sceptical view of attempts to describe the "situational" aspect of language use, do not turn away, as "distributional" linguists seem to many to do, from fundamental questions of meaning. One of the main currents in generative theory is concerned with further developing the semantic component of grammatical competence. Utterances are alike or not alike because of their underlying semantic identity. The distinction between "deep" and "surface" structure was at no time not fundamentally (12) semantic. More recently, the semantic character of grammatical relations has been reduced by many generative linguists to specific sets of universal, fixed, innate semantic primitives (often, but not always, called "semantic markers") related to the rest of the grammar by similarly fixed "projection rules" (13). With this development the ever-present affinity with some basic assumptions of DE SAUSSURE (1931) becomes closer still. (14) DE SAUSSURE did not of course think in terms of generative rules, nor generative linguists in terms of an essentially social "collective conscience", yet both held a mentalist view of language. (15)

The term "mentalist" does not necessarily imply long-standing "traditional conceptual" notions of "dualism". (16) But neither in generative nor in Saussurean terms, does it reject the composite "sound-image" nature of linguistic units, whether they are phonemes (17), deep structures, lexical items, or whatever. It is its essentially relational nature that preserves DE SAUSSURE's "sign" against a valid imputation of dualism. (18) A sign is a relational composite of "significant" and "signifie" (with the latter compare "semantic marker"); the formal (19) structure of a language is expressed, again relationally, in terms of inter-relations ("valeur") among signs; and

signs are largely defined by such inter-relations ("logical and psychological relations that bind together coexisting terms and form a system in the collective conscience of speakers"). Language systems looked at like this appear like systems of metaphor - seemingly unlike constituents fused together to yield new and unified meanings. Metaphor, one might add, is not explained by turning a blind eye to one of its constituents, however interfused with the whole it may be; nor for that matter is it explained by extracting for inspection from each just so much as can be directly observed. So it may be with that part of the meaning of language which is social and cultural rather than semantic (in the sense in which the word is used in Saussurian and generative linguistics); that is to say not dualistically separable yet at the same time somehow inherent in linguistic form. That is to say, it is not necessarily the case that social and cultural meaning stand outside the structure of language, occasionally disambiguating sentences the sum of whose parts in itself convey nothing social or cultural. One is led therefore to question whether alongside grammatical competence (and in some way closely related to it) the language user may not possess what for want of a better term could be called socio-linguistic competence, both kinds of competence contributing to more general cultural competence. We shall turn immediately therefore to certain published hints of this nature.

2.2. Co-existing competences.

Both PIKE and FIRTH, critics of the dualism they see in SAUSSURE's sign, like MALINOWSKI come under attack on account of what is felt to be their behaviourism. M.GAUTHIER (1963) for example believes PIKE's examples of verbal /non-verbal patterning (breakfast, a church service, a football match) to have been carefully chosen to suit his particular purpose, being unusually ritualised, hence serving to hide the need to emphasise the creative aspect of language; moreover easily segmented, "tied to the surface of phenomena". FIRTH is taken further by D.T.LANGENDOEN (1964, p.307-9) for not having exemplified his categories at all: "Firth ... had not even shown how a linguist can isolate a single element of a context of situation". LANGENDOEN's objections hinge on the necessity to elaborate a prior "theory of culture" which will provide an account of "how individuals growing up in a particular society learn its cultural pattern and what is expected of them in it" (308, fn.9). He then hints at the need for a competence model for such a theory.

LANGENDOEN's brief footnote calls to mind something of the perspective which informs many of SAPIR's writings, linguistic and non-linguistic alike. For example: "An excellent test of the fruitfulness of the study of culture in close conjunction with a study of personality would be provided by studies in the field of child development. It is strange how little ethnology has concerned itself with the intimate genetic problem of the acquirement of culture by the child".(20) More recently, there is W. GOODENOUGH's now well-known criterion for cultural analysis, namely the need to specify what it is that a stranger to a society would have to know in order to perform appropriately in it.(21) J.B.CASAGRANDE (1963) makes reference to some observations of A.I.HALLOWELL in pointing out that few anthropologists specify in any but the most general terms "just what would be required of language if it is to do the work of culture" (p.287). G.A.MILLER (1965) suggests in passing that one day we might even have "pragmatic rules", capable of characterising "our unlimited variety of belief systems".(22)

The notion of pragmatic rules has been taken very seriously by O.WERNER in an article which aims to extend the assumptions underlying CHOMSKY's theory of grammatical competence to the "domain of pragmatics".(23) WERNER defines his pragmatic subject matter as, among other things: "a psychological analysis of the relation between speaking behaviour and other behaviour; a psychological theory of different connotations of one and the same word for different individuals; ethnological and sociological studies of the speaking habits and their differences in different tribes, different age groups, and social strata" (p.59). The last part "includes the 'ethnography of speaking' (D.HYMES, 1962, 1964a) and socio-linguistics". In one place WERNER states: "Pragmatics accounts for the ability of native speakers to understand (and use) language in a manner that is culturally appropriate and results in pragmatically interpreted sentences" (p.44). His however is a sentence-and word-based theory which owes much to the actual methods of KATZ and FODOR. "Minimum atomic Plans" take the place of "semantic markers", and comprise a "set of active verbs" which cannot be further subdivided "without difficulty". The attempt does not work out, its author admitting that the "cultural competence" he seeks may after all be "simply lists" (p.61).

M. DURBIN, on "The Goals of Ethnoscience", in the same volume, baldly reiterates some of the fundamental requirements for grammatical competence theory in CHOMSKY (1965).[24]

This then appears to be a dead end. One is struck particularly by the reversal of priority between goals and subject matter on the one hand and method on the other. It is difficult enough to deny that the semantic markers of KATZ and FODOR in their own domain may very well owe too much to the cognitive systems of their creators, that they are probably only susceptible of internal (not external) validation, never reaching beyond the "model" stage to the stage of a theory true to the subject matter, moreover multiplying nearly as fast as the knowledge-of-the-world "distinguishers" appended to them. But these entities when so literally translated into what might be a radically different field of enquiry seem surely even more alien.[25] It must not be assumed for instance that the contextual components of socio-linguistic competence would typically be realised as lexical items (as in the case of semantic markers). The relevant units may well be larger, or discontinuous, or phonological, etc. or all these together, a veritable "mixed bag", as A.MCINTOSH has it,[26] yet all a part of the structure of the language. Neither does it follow that the linguist should feel the latter to be only marginally relevant to his own concerns: standard Korean requires obligatory choices of verb-morphology in strict accordance with ingroupness and outgroupness, and in each case with selection of one of three points on a scale of intimacy, whenever another person is addressed (S.E.MARTIN, 1964); there seems no reason why the expression say in English of what appear to be rather similar sociological factors should not be as intensively studied, even though corresponding formal variations are not quite so obligatory - and not largely restricted to the morphology of the word, for that matter.

J.B.CASAGRANDE (1963, p.287) quotes some particularly well-chosen words of A.I.HALLOWELL (1955): "... all human cultures must provide the individual with basic orientations that are among the necessary conditions for the development, reinforcement, and effective functioning of self-awareness." HALLOWELL himself singles out three such basic orientations: self-other orientation, spatio-temporal orientation, and object orientation, each common to all cultures. It is noticeable that the kind of evidence which supports each one is, again, primarily that of words, grammatical and lexical. Thus, respectively, these include: personal pronoun systems, kinship terms, personal names, terms for psychophysiological processes such as dreaming, listening, etc.; names for places and significant topographical features; and the "orientation of the self to a phenomenological world of objects." To the extent that HALLOWELL has started from linguistic units of a certain sort, rather than from otherwise specifiable similarities in the experience of man, it would appear that attention might in consequence have been deflected away from factors of orientation which are characteristically not so marked, yet may be no less commonly recognisable as culturally relevant to choice of language. Yet one feels that this particular signpost does point in the right direction. The developing shape of socio-linguistic competence will be determined by our view of it as conceivably unique subject matter, not as a function of prematurely imposed method already established for what might be quite different ends.

Variety in the linguistic expression of comparable cultural meanings one should assume to be as wide as that of language itself. Recognisably recurrent cultural motivations for choice of one language or dialect in preference to another are likely to be equally relevant to choice among the minutest stylistic variants elsewhere[27]. At the same time, it seems hardly likely that every single feature in the grammar, or item in the lexicon etc., can be accounted for as culturally significant, or equally so, and there may be little sense in attempting a top-to-bottom analysis of the kind usually or so often favoured in linguistics.[28] Even so, there seems every reason to regard socio-linguistic competence in the same light as grammatical competence and the more inclusive cultural competence that contains them both as a finite set of abilities, largely universal, partly inherited, inherent in languages and in parts of languages (though not by any means in all or most parts), and more or less habitually and acceptably deployed in practice. The language user, one might say, has it in him to make sense of language in context, by registering what are in some way central aspects of it rather than by relying on his continuous and never-ending experience of alligator shoes and horse-shoes. The analyst's job is to infer what the language user registers, through observation of and introspection about behaviour. Finally, it will be necessary to attend to the fact that all features of language are in any case more, or less, habitual and more, or less, acceptable, as well as being either obligatory or optional. This moreover applies to

language users as members of particular cultures and particular societies (and parts of these) and as individuals.[29] When it comes to the cultural and social properties of language, the boundary dividing langue from parole may turn out after all to be thoroughly blurred. The present account aims to focus rather particularly on some of those recurrent concerns of socio-linguistics - and some not so recurrent - that appear to be reasonable candidates for recognition as fundmental aspects of cultural competence.[30]

3. DOMAINS AND ROLE RELATIONS.

3.1. Need for particularity

Clarification of the notion of "cultural competence" we have suggested can be sought by noting some of the recurrent concerns of socio-linguistics. This is so in spite of the apparently behaviouristic tendencies of much socio-linguistic work, yielding statements of the type: in environment x we can predict the occurrence of language y (or dialect, style, variant, etc.). The important point however is that in published work the same as it were reduced ingredients of environment do tend to recur, and not necessarily as a result of preconceived expectations.

One might start for example with the use and development of a term like "domain", which has been applied (by J.A.FISHMAN, 1965, 1966) to "the occasions on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another" (1966, p.428). Recurrent domains would be such as "the family", "the neighbourhood", "governmental administration", "occupations", and so forth. At first sight, these bear some resemblance to the neo-Firthian categories[31] of "field of discourse" (M.A.K.HALLIDAY et al, 1964, p.90, 91; and R.M.W.DIXON, 1964a, p.37 ff.), and "register" (at any rate in the sense in which this term is used by A. DAVIES, 1965, as the language of "occupational groups"). "Domains" of language use are intended however by FISHMAN to be arrived at in a quite different manner. Instead of wishing to rely heavily on the linguist's direct perception of formal (grammatical, lexical, phonological, graphological) contrasts[32] - reinforcing or reinforced by his own perception of socio-cultural contrasts - FISHMAN stresses that "the appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behaviour obviously calls for considerable insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual settings at particular periods in their history" (reference is also made, esp. in fn. 15, to previous discussions along these lines, notably by E.HAUGEN, W.F.MACKEY, and U.WEINREICH).[33] What characterises FISHMAN's handling of a rather obvious category is however, not only his insistence on the inter-disciplinary identification of relevant domains; but also, second, the requirement that each domain be differentiated into role relations, such as judge - petitioner, etc. (though not all role-relation differences are necessarily related to language-choice differences: see fn. 19); third, the need to recognise a clear distinction between domain and topic; fourth, the need to relate psychologically "compound" and "co-ordinate" bilingualism in the individual to "overlapping" and "non-overlapping" domains to use (giving four resultant types of bilinguals); fifth, the tendency of certain domains to be more "maintenance-prone" in a language contact setting than others (this factor being related or not related to other sources of variance such as written or spoken medium, "formal"/"informal", "production"/"reception"/ "inner speech", etc.); and sixth, the implication that domain is the key concept in understanding language maintenance and shift, rather than "group intactness", "class", or "prestige" (generalisations couched in these terms are discussed on p.442 ff.).

FISHMAN leaves the identity of domains and their constituent role relations much more open than other writers appear to wish to do. In so doing, he is undoubtedly concerned to wait upon the emergence of more explicitly generalisable factors which might be possibly different from those (like "class" etc.) in current use. It should be noted that he is also more concerned with "socio-ecological purpose", bearing upon choice of language or dialect, than with a possibly different set of factors related to variation "within a code" (p.439). The linguistic "dominance configuration" (from U.WEINREICH, 1953) [34] of a speech community is seen as best expressed in terms of a chart showing "domains of language behaviour" horizontally and "other sources of variance" vertically, each intersection marked for identity, and change in direction, of language/dialect choice.

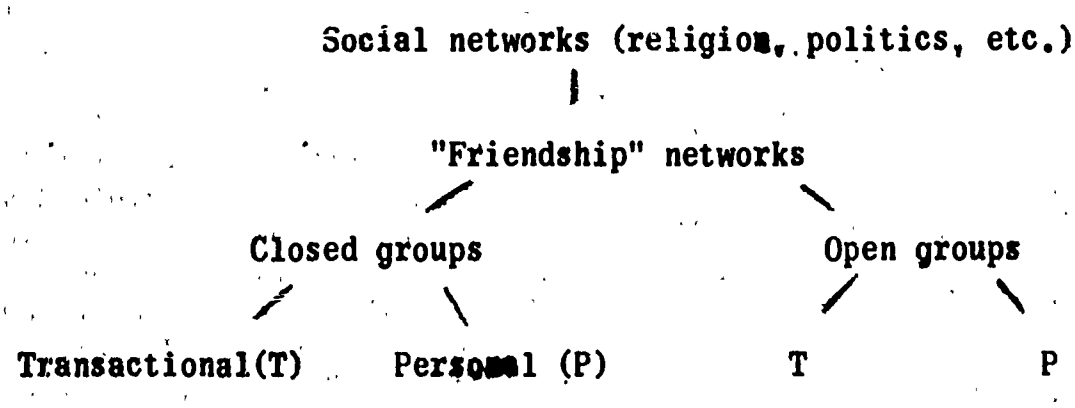
FISHMAN's awareness of the sociological dimensions of his category of domain deflects criticism on this core, but one is still led to question the assumption of an apparently pre-determined set of vertical sources of variance such as those he presents. For example, three degrees of "formality" are taken as a yardstick for the measurement of influential participant relationships. The question is, however, what other factors might have been taken into consideration alongside formality? There are those for example of "group intactness", "class", "presitge", and surely many others (see 3.2 below), which are discounted both horizontally as factors entering (as aspects of role relations) into the definition of each separate domain, and also (cutting across domains) vertically. It is not clear what the term formality itself is intended to imply. It is apparently regarded as something more general in scope than "prestige" and so forth, since these are not mentioned anywhere. The use of the term itself reminds one of a neo-Firthian category, correspondingly named "formality". But participant relationships surely do not resolve themselves on all occasions into degrees of formality and informality, one feels.(35) Similarly, the isolation vertically of a "written: spoken" distinction suggests a lack of consideration of other possibly relevant features of media of communication, such as for example the presence or absence of various kinds of visual component, the means or lack of means provided by the medium for immediate or delayed feedback or reciprocal communication (including interruption), the degree of isolation from an on-going activity, the particular mass media in question, etc.

J.B.CARROLL (1962) approaches the question of characterising "language learning situations" in a not dissimilar manner. He states that in order to study the "characteristics and course of the learning process ... a number of common types of language learning situations should be thoroughly investigated. These common types should represent various combinations of key variables" (p.75). Among these are: "degree of contact with the second language (aside from educational contact)" (p.73) - as, for example, "immediate family or household", "same neighbourhood" or "same town", the use of the second language by "a special group of individuals (e.g. a religious society, a servant class, ...)", etc. CARROLL's various categories are merely examples, and may or may not be intended to arise from the same depth of socio-cultural analysis as FISHMAN's. At the same time, CARROLL - in contrast to FISHMAN - refers to generalised factors of participant relationship (inherent in attitudes towards the second language) such as "relative social status", "instrumental value", "cultural and liberal values", etc., without reduction to a single scale of formality and without suggestion of their secondary relevance relative to domain itself (here seen in terms of situations instancing degree of contact with the second language).

There are many socio-linguistic approaches to the category of domain which to a greater or lesser extent resolve themselves into general factors of role relationship of the sort dismissed by FISHMAN. B.BERNSTEIN for example discusses choice of variety of English ("code") by school-children in relation to socio-economic class and domains such as the home, the playground, the classroom, etc. Domains of this sort are not however left unresolved. They are characterised in terms of activities and relationships which on the one hand stress "loyalty to the group" and "insulate the speaker from personal involvement", and on the other stress the expression of individual meaning and allow an "acquisition of skills which are strategic for educational and occupational success". BERNSTEIN's hypothesis (1966 is the most recent published statement) is that a "sharp stratification" (the phrase is that of W.LABOV, 1966a, p.190, fn.12) on the sociological side between "some sections of the working class strata, especially lower working class", and, in contrast, "middle class and associated strata", relates very closely indeed to an equally sharp distinction between the availability (for the lower working class) of a group-oriented "restricted" code of English, and, for the rest of the population, the availability of this code plus an individual-oriented "elaborated" code.(36) Domains as such are the mere occasions on which these more pervasive factors operate to constrain choice of language. To take one of BERNSTEIN's less familiar examples (1964), the middle-class psychiatrist poses an unfamiliar problem for his working-class patient, that of elaborating his own personality; the occasion itself however, might form one of many physically quite different occasions, each posing the same kind of problem. J.KLEIN (1964) sees the same factors at work in the husband-wife family quarrel, where "problems will be phrased in an incomplete way and the real nature of the decision may never be revealed" (p.173). KLEIN speaks of the "cognitive poverty" of certain sectors in society, which she calls a "stubborn determination not to develop" (p.87); that is to say, in large part a disinclination to develop the power to express oneself.(37) Domain of use, as a category, in this view of things acquires meaning when it can be regarded in terms of very generalisable factors of role relationship.

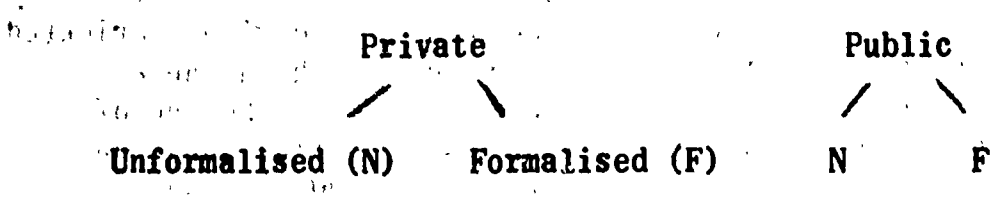
In general, socio-linguistic investigation tends not to stress the observation of correspondences between linguistic and domain variety, but rather attempts to explain linguistic variety in terms of more generally recurrent, or abstract, factors. J.J.GUMPERZ (1958) and (1966) provide examples of contrasting emphases which might well reflect a more general recent trend. In the earlier account, GUMPERZ explains that in "urban agglomerates in the so-called plural societies of the east" there is often a high degree of "role specificity" - the round of daily activity "segmented into a series of separate spheres governed by distinct and often conflicting norms." This leads to the preservation of linguistic norms (relative absence of complete code-merging) but allows considerable overlap of one sort or another, noteably a "code-switching style" for each language, marked by extensive structural interference. In the later account, of code-switching between "rana malet" (the local dialect) and "bokmal" (the literary, religious, and generally high prestige dialect), in a Norwegian country district, GUMPERZ refers to various "social networks"(38) (religious, political, and so forth), but dispenses with all these in favour of a specific set of generalised factors: "friendship networks" (in terms of "closed" and "open" groups, rather in the manner of the sociological distinction between "primary" and "secondary" groups(39)), "transactional" and "personal" settings, and local/non-local topics. Choice of dialect is related not so much to the analysis of each particular domain as to what amounts to eight possible combinations of these more generalised factors. One notes in passing, however, that GUMPERZ wishes to generalise types of setting without reference to factors like "class", "prestige", etc. (p.38), hence in this respect ranges himself alongside FISHMAN. There is no theoretical reason, he states (p.34), why socio-economic status, education, and so forth, should automatically be directly relevant.

There is certainly no general agreement among socio-linguists about what the more general factors in the field might be, let alone about how they might be defined . once stipulated or suspected. Likely correspondences turn out on inspection as often as not to fall short of exact identity. J.J.GUMPERZ (1966) makes use of a distinction between "closed" and "open" networks based on friendship ties ("linguistic similarity is most closely reflected through friendship ties": p.35), each observed either in "personal" settings (calling for the expression of individuality) or in "transactional" settings (calling for "linguistic etiquette" and the suspension of individuality):-



STEWART (1963) states that "two main kinds of behavioural variables play an important role as the determiners of language usage in any social situation" (p.156):-

(The term "formalised" is paraphrased as"formally prescribed")



To these variables STEWART feels drawn to add one more, distinguishing between "a colloquial and a more formal style of speech, say, from Joos' casual to consultative", signalling a change in the "mood of ..... discourse" (p.158). BERNSTEIN, as we have seen, is concerned with whether the use of language is or is not group-oriented, but does not specify four distinct possibilities.

It can be seen that for BERNSTEIN the suspension of individuality is rather closely related to the focus of the participant on the (closed) group, hence not "personal" - yet at the same time not "transactional"; and "public" rather than "private", but (according to the sense one chooses to stress) both "formalised" (calling for language which is highly predictable and normative) and "unformalised" (calling for language which is appropriate for "informal gatherings" rather than for "official ceremonies" and the like). STEWART's term "formalised" does not equate with GUMPERZ's "transactional", since he observes that in the course of generally unformalised behaviour the speaker might suddenly shift to a "formalised" language not because the setting had suddenly become transactional but rather the "mood" of the discourse had changed (the example provided is that of a "Haitian friend with whom I had been on Creole speaking terms for some time" who switched to French with a switch of topic to that of the health of his mother: p.157).

Seeming synonymity among different terms and identity in the meanings of the same term are normally more apparent than real, whatever the particular field of linguistics one chooses to study. In socio-linguistics it is especially necessary to guard against the too rapid assumption of common labels like "class", "power", "prestige", "status", "solidarity", "acquaintanceship", "formality", etc; particularly if a clearly specified connection with particular settings or occasions is not maintained or demonstrated.(40) FISHMAN's basic perspective then is valuable, amounting to a methodological warning (see 5 below) not to be distracted by the ready availability of neat axes and labels, but rather to seek well grounded understanding of the actual situations in which language is used.

Few domains of language use, or even factors of participant relationship can be assumed to be universal.(41) Perhaps none are. But whether this is so or not the description of situational variety has to take account of the ways in which different social groups indulge in different activities and exhibit different inter-personal relationships. The categories in FISHMAN's chart, or in CARROLL's "language learning situations" are only likely to hold good for (particular groups of) immigrants in say one part of America and (particular groups of) language learners in say one part of Nigeria respectively: hence FISHMAN's emphasis on the need for insight into "the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual settings". Moreover, there is no doubt that the sociological identification of social groups (indebted to the sociologist's perception of largely non-linguistic markers) in general precedes any solely linguistic indentification. The point is obvious, yet has to be made. A study such as that of W.LABOV (1966a; see also 1964 and 1966b) could not have been undertaken without initial use of sociological data of considerable complexity, concerned with socio-economic groupings in New York City. In connection especially with LABOV (1966b) it has to be conceded that the linguist as linguist is quite powerless to estimate types and obtain measures of, for example, social mobility. Yet, as LABOV shows rather convincingly, social mobility is a strong candidate to put alongside measurements of the social status quo. Much of one's language behaviour, that is to say, is probably normative, in the sense of conforming to one's own ideas of the norms of the group we aspire to rather than the performance of the group we belong to. From an anthropological angle, W.GOODENOUGH (1961) makes the same point in stressing the "intense concern" of the individual with the various symbols (which are more than "mere markers") by which they might prove to themselves and the world that they are achieving appropriate goals of "social identity". In a sense, a very important key to the schoolchild's language performance is precisely his notions of where, socially, he is heading. LABOV notes a much closer correspondence between "lower middle class upward mobility type" and "upper middle class" speech (at any rate in respect of the particular phonological variants studied) than between the former and "lower middle class stable mobility type", the former also showing the strongest subjective endorsement of the norms concerned (1966b).

It is not of course possible to apportion people each to one single group in society. LABOV points out for example that socio-economic classification alone fragments into several characteristics, moreover acquired at different times in a person's life: educational level, occupation, income, etc.: that cases of "status incongruence" are not at all infrequent; and that these are reflected in linguistic behaviour. J.KLEIN (1965, p.430 ff.) gives a useful account of differing sociological schemes of classification for social differences.(42) There is clearly very great need for collaboration between sociologists and linguists in this matter, particularly if one accepts the strictures of BERNSTEIN, KLEIN,

PICKFORD, PUTNAM and O'HERN, and others referred to in 1.1 above.

"Social group", with particular reference to linguistic correlates, is approached from various angles in:-

B.BERNSTEIN (throughout).
G.L.BROOK (1964); ch.7.
C.A.FERGUSON (1959).
J.J.GUMPERZ (1958; etc.).
M.HAAS (1944).
M.A.K.HALLIDAY, A.McINTOSH, P.D.STREVENS (1964); ch.4.
E.HAUGEN (1956, 1962).
J.S.KENYON (1948).
J.KLEIN (1965).
W.LABOV (throughout).
S.NEWMAN (1964).
G.R.PICKFORD (1956).
G.N.PUTNAM and E.M.O'HERN (1955).
R. QUIRK (1958).
E. SAPIR (1921, 1931b, 1933).
L.SCHATZMAN and A. STRAUSS (1955).
T.A.SEBEOK (1963) (On "social dialects" in the animal kingdom).
W.J.H.SPROTT (1958). See fn.39 above.
R.W.SHUY (1965).
W.A.STEWART (1964, 1965).

3.2 General Factors.

Allowing for the dangers implicit in a too ready acceptance of neat axes and labels, intuition suggests the likelihood that underlying the undoubted variety among domains, social groups, topics, etc., there will still be certain factors of cultural competence that are universally applicable. Moreover, it would be surprising if their identity were particularly obscure - at any rate at a certain level of awareness. There is therefore some sense in pursuing the literature of socio-linguistics from this point of view. Leaving aside the very popular concern with "formality", three terms are particularly recurrent: "status", "power", and "solidarity", each possessing several apparent or near synonyms (as "prestige" with "status", group "loyalty" with "solidarity", etc.). Further than this, the first two (not infrequently interchangeable: rightly or wrongly) are often made to contrast in their effect on choice of language with the third. However, the sociologist's distinction between "status" and "power" would seem to be quite as pertinent. Briefly, "status" concerns evaluation (socially conditioned in varying degrees) of the characteristics of others - including their language - while "power" concerns the actual exercise of "force", "domination", or "manipulation" by one person or group over another (see L.A.COSER and B.ROSENBERG, 1964, p.134-143). Neither may be easy to observe or define (43) but the distinction itself seems to be important for its bearing upon choice of language. Partial or complete overlapping is, of course, not uncommon (indeed, all three can come together on occasion: one can speak of the solidarity of status and power). But in a sense the more interesting cases are likely to be those where non-congruence is most apparent, not only of each with the other but among different types of the same general factor (especially, perhaps, "status"). The linguist is likely to be especially interested in these cases in which choice of language seems most problematical or, in other words, least predictable.

To what extent does the individual language user, and the larger speech community, select languages, dialects, styles, variants, etc. in accordance with needs to reflect and establish particular relationships of status, power, and solidarity? Do these same needs (44) govern a range of behaviours from the selection and development of a "standard" language, writing system, etc., to the exact choice of words suitable for addressing an old friend over the garden fence?

Standard languages can arise from two main sources: first, from the promotion of a language largely used outside the "speech community" (see 8 below) to the role of superposed medium of communication, in cases where none of the several indigenous languages or dialects are considered suitable; and second, from the selection of one particular local dialect from two or more candidates, including the possible development of one or other of the varieties of a language in a situation of "diglossia" (or the standardisation of some mixture of these: see C.A.FERGUSON, 1959).(45) Once chosen, the socio-political decision to recognise the existence of a "language" where, structurally (and/or by various criteria of

intelligibility), the term "dialect" might conceivably be more appropriate, is of course very common (as in the case of Dutch and German for example). It has not infrequently been pointed out that three basic factors have to be welded together by the community and those in power, namely the need to reinforce the unification of the community itself, to assert its separation from outside neighbours, and to ensure its ability to communicate internationally.(46) The first two of these are clearly aspects of group solidarity, the last any aspect of the need for status and power - power being naturally conferred by any "window on the world". What strikes one about each particular locale however is precisely the particularity or seeming uniqueness of what these very general considerations entail or imply (compare fn.40 above), yet still with hints of resemblances. E.HAUGEN (1959) provides a thought-provoking account of the then standard language situation in Norway, where the rival varieties of "bokmal" and "nynorsk" can be spoken of, without too much risk of over-simplification, as "more civilised" and "more Norwegian" respectively. Such factors as status, power, solidarity, etc. will no doubt, in the course of time, find an equilibrium which will allow the one or the other, or some form of fusion of the two, to emerge as standard, but it is worth pondering the fact that governmental support (reflected for example in educational policy) has not effectively checked the decline of nynorsk since 1945. Risking an over-stereotyped view of things, one might say that "power" is not winning out over "status". Even so, if HAUGEN is right in pointing to the "urban sub-standard" bridge variety as the nascent standard language, then again we may be witnessing the long-term but possibly inevitable success of relatively low-status everyday communicative efficiency (and of course commercial utility) over a relatively high-status form of language. The survival of English rather than French after 1066 helps to undermine the generalisation that the more prestigeful language displaces the less prestigeful (see J.A.FISHMAN, 1966, p.444, 445, for several other examples), and so too (closer to the Norwegian case) does the story of the origins of modern Standard English in south-eastern dialects of apparently low social status yet high utility value. The various papers on this subject by (in particular) N.DAVIS, also by J.DOBSON (1961) and E.EKWALL contain lessons of some considerable relevance to modern problems.

In a sense, any functional attribute of a language, whatever its status, confers "power" on the user. The "high" variety in a situation of diglossia, if indeed it "is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (C.A.FERGUSON, 1959, p.435), must correspondingly lack power of a certain sort - not only through its non-use for conversational purposes but also perhaps, in consequence, through some degree of functional atrophy. The fate of Sanskrit and Latin in particular among high-status literary languages needs no more than mere mention. The "power" of casual conversational language reminds one that vernacular too have their special strength, contributing to and deriving from the strength of small-group solidarity. There is the well-known passage by E.SAPIR (1931a): "Generally speaking, the smaller the circle, and the more complex the understanding already arrived at within it, the more economical can the act of communication afford to become. A single word passed between members of an intimate group, in spite of its apparent vagueness and ambiguity, may constitute a far more precise communication than volumes of carefully prepared correspondence interchanged between two governments." There is reason to take what SAPIR is saying here quite literally not so much in order to advocate the promotion of local vernaculars at the expense of more widespread languages, as to retain regard for the unique effectiveness of many languages or dialects precisely because they serve this purpose so well. If a "restricted code" exists for English it too has power (and, incidentally, aesthetic qualities, hence a kind of status: see B.BERNSTEIN, 1961a, p.308; and A.A.HILL, 1958, p.291), the power which comes from social cohesiveness and identity, the power the politician and advertiser alike seek to tap. Paraguay has been called an interesting "language laboratory" in that it presents a picture of unusually stable co-existence between a world language, Spanish, and a geographically restricted vernacular, Guarani. J.RUBIN (1962) points out that (at the time of writing) 52% of the pupulation were bi-lingual. Spanish is the language of "power", Guarani of "solidarity", broadly speaking. RUBIN wishes to explain choice of one or the other in terms of this pair of axes first, and by reference to others (socio-economic class, urban/rural origin, topic, sex, etc.) second. Leaving aside the question of whether this is the right sort of hierarchy to recognise (it leans heavily on the need to reduce a complex situation to simple dimensions, and may well be rather too deductive in method: see 5.1 below), the interesting - indeed powerful - slot may quite possibly be where positive solidarity intersects with equality of status. At this point Guarani is the normal medium. Now to the extent that dyads in general tend towards, or at any rate seek, precisely this relationship,(47) so Guarani is well placed to survive pressure from the general superior status of Spanish.(48)

Solidarity among equals does not always of course confer the kind of power that survives. The predicament of the Hawaiian schcolchild faced with the ticklish problem of having to code-switch on appropriate occasions between the high-status non-solidary standard English he is taught in the schools and the form of "vulgar" English (related historically to pidgin English) which symbolises solidarity with his peers (ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, 6, 7, Oct. 1964, p.76 ff.) - and for this reason possesses, for him, equally high status of a sort - can be illustrated all over the world in many different contexts. The primary function of BERNSTEIN's "restricted" code, for example, springs to mind. So too does the phenomenon of "age-grading" whereby an apparently consistent use of low-status dialect among lower class Negro boys (rather than girls) in Washington D.C. is restricted to those of very young age who have not yet been "acculturated" to the more prestigious dialect (.W.A.STEWART, 1964). At the age of seven or eight, noticeable dialect shifting takes place, fairly independently (in STEWART's view) of formal education. The power of language or of a particular form of language to confer solidarity brings with it a very real but often insecure, form of status. W.LABOV (1963) relates the tendency to centralise diphthongs among inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, a small island off Massachusetts, to feelings of resentment against incoming economic exploiters; fishermen in particular, and of a certain age (30-45), form the focal point for the expression (including linguistic expression) of independence. "I think we use an entirely different type of English language" expresses consciousness of the need for status attaching to solidarity. "Hypercorrection" is most pronounced among young men who had left for the mainland but then returned, and it may be noted in passing that hypercorrection may also be a normal feature of upward social mobility (LABOV, 1966b), hence very much an expression of status feelings. U.WEINREICH (1953) suggests that frustrated superiority feelings can give rise to intense language loyalty, resentment being cause "among the more steadfast members of the dominated group, a resentment which brings with it unswerving language loyalty" (p.101). However, as J.A.FISHMAN points out (1966, p.444, 445), this would be a questionable generalisation if taken too far, and WEINREICH too concedes the need for qualification, in pointing out that "a group's language loyalty and nationalistic aspirations do not necessarily have parallel goals" (p.100).

These various considerations apply naturally to the adoption of any one language or dialect for special purposes, or in particular domains, as well as to the adoption of a standard language for the whole community. In December 1964 the writer had occasion to make a rather rapid assessment of the classroom linguistic experience of Somali school pupils, in order to make recommendations which might bear upon a re-assessment of the educational linguistic policy of the country, with special reference to the creation of a national university ("SOMALIA" 1964). The Somali Republic is admittedly more nearly homogeneous linguistically than perhaps any other African state, but from the point of view of individual bilingualism it would appear to present as heterogeneous a picture as most. The mother-tongues are Somali, Rahanwiin (unintelligible to Somali speakers: B.W.ANDRZEJEWSKI, 1962; J.J.PIA, 1966), and a Bantu tongue, Chimini. In terms of numbers speaking each mother-tongue language, one might agree with ANDRZEJEWSKI and PIA in regarding Somalia as a basically monolingual country, that is, speaking Somali. However, three outside languages (Arabic, Italian, and English) are used each for certain purposes and by certain groups and are used as media of instruction in certain parts of the educational system - each one very nearly qualifying as a "major" language, using C.A.FERGUSON's criteria (1966b). One of these, Arabic, presents on top of this its own picture of diglossia. All in all, the use of the phrase "linguistically homogeneous" for Somalia would be somewhat misplaced (see H.KLOSS, 1966, esp. p.138 on the less extreme examples of Malta and Luxemburg).

It is not uncommon for a Somali to handle - for various purposes, but very largely also as a consequence of his schooling - each or any of Arabic, English, Italian and at least his own dialect of the vernacular Somali. Some also speak Swahili, the primary "vehicular" language of East Africa. Each returning graduate or school leaver from overseas, moreover, is liable to speak at least one other language. The socio-linguistic facts are likely therefore to be complex, but it is clear that linguistic planning for the educational system could alter the whole picture quite radically, given time.

There are two main educational fields to consider - the school system inside Somalia, on the one hand, and the experience of schcol-leavers studying overseas, on the other. The language patterns of school curricula in the north of the country differ markedly from those in the south. To quote a small extract from the

Report (SOMALIA, 1964):- "In the north, a child first passes through a Koranic school where the medium of his instruction becomes modern colloquial Arabic, and where he becomes acquainted with the Classical Arabic of the Koran. Some time before he is ten years old (in rural areas this may be between ten and fourteen) he moves on to an Elementary School, where Arabic continues to fulfil this role as medium of instruction At this point, English is being taught as a subject. At the Intermediate stage, English assumes this medium function, and retains it throughout the Secondary School. Arabic, meanwhile, is taught in the Intermediate and Secondary Schools as a subject language; at Sheikh Secondary School it takes up nearly 13% of the total curriculum time. In the south, Arabic is used as the medium of instruction in the first two grades of the Elementary school after which - at present - Italian assumes this function. English was introduced in the Academic Year 1963/64 in Grade 3 of the Elementary School as a further second language, alongside Arabic. It is intended to replace Italian as the medium of instruction in Grades 3 and 4 by Arabic in the near future. Italian is currently the medium of instruction in the Intermediate Schools, while in the Secondary Schools in the south there are three media, depending on the school - Italian, Arabic and English.(49) It is intended that, ultimately, as in the north, English will become the medium of instruction in the Intermediate Schools in place of Italian, but no final decision has yet been taken with respect to these or to the Secondary Schools." The Report goes on:-

"There are at least two major aspects of this situation to be noted. First, the output from the schools is composed of multilingual individuals with varying competence in each of several languages. As it stands, this situation does not easily lend itself to single medium teaching at any further institution of learning. Second, as the three members of the Unesco 1962 Educational Planning Group remarked, the curriculum 'stresses the linguistic side of education too strongly'. This second point is certainly so. In Elementary Schools in the south, 50% of the pupils' time is spent learning Arabic and Italian - against a home background of Somali."

At the school-leaving level, the facts state that over 500 students were studying 26 subjects in 17 overseas countries (representing at least 12 different native languages) at the degree level, while more than 500 others were following 12 very distinct types of course in 13 overseas countries (in at least 10 languages). Such students, as a group, will be possessed of fluent abilities in many different languages, more than half of which play no normal part in Somali life. That is to say, translation (in fields where translation may be particularly difficult) necessarily takes on what can only be imagined as survival value for many of the most highly educated members of society. Moreover, in the case of those languages which are used in Somalia, overseas students are bound to bring back with them varieties more in keeping with each particular overseas environment than with that of Somali life itself. The real strength of an international language, it should be remembered, is quite largely a function of its power and adaptation to national or otherwise local environments; and this entails certain advantages attaching to their being learnt locally.(50)

Status, power, and solidarity are hard at work in discriminating among the three main outside languages in Somalia. Arabic draws much of its strength from the fact that Somalis are Muslims. In some schools at least the English lesson provides merely another vehicle for the teaching of the Koran - through the use of translation. Arabic is in many respects the language of prestige, par excellence. Italian however is the predominant language of commerce and (slightly less so, beside Arabic) law: one does very nearly all one's shopping in Italian. English, on the other hand, is the language overwhelmingly used by United Nations personnel, by many overseas delegations, and so forth. The ever-present underlying tension between Arabic and English (and to a lesser extent Italian) is painfully obvious in respect of the long-standing but still unresolved and extremely delicate problem of whether to develop an Arabic or a Roman script for Somali: the Somali government were not necessarily prepared in 1964 to accept any outside linguistic advice. Somali itself has the strength and weakness of any other vernacular, and being unwritten into the bargain ("When a road accident occurs, the police will question witnesses in Somali, but write their report in Italian in the south, or English in the north...": ANDRZEJEWSKI, 1962, p.177), would seem to be a rather weak candidate for official status, or indeed for additional strengthening beyond a certain stage in the educational curriculum.

The writer's experience of advising on the teaching of English at the State University of Ulan Bator, in the Mongolian People's Republic, and teaching English there, during April and May 1966, proved instructive in this respect. A run-down of some favourite learners' "centres of interest" (requiring expression in English) might be interestingly compared with those which might obtain elsewhere: agriculture, especially animal husbandry, land cultivation, dairy farming, etc.; travel inside and outside the country, including transport by ox, camel, and horse; national customs and legends; sport, especially wrestling, horse-racing, and archery; Mongolian cooking; at home, especially the "yurt" in the countryside; research into locally relevant scientific and technological problems; wild life and hunting; clothes, especially the national dress; sightseeing, especially museums of historical interest; and so on. These are not, of course, wholly unfamiliar - as mere labels. But it is what English looks like when made to do an adequate job of expressing each one that is distinctive [illegible]. Only to some extent can the relevance of each centre of interest to the use of English be properly assessed by making a socio-linguistic survey of current practice, since in this kind of context (which, in kind if not in degree, bears certain affinities with that of Somalia) English has a number of uses that are only potential until there are those competent to realise them. This means that at least some of the basic uses for the language being learned will be to some extent a function of what goes on in school classrooms (just as psychologically "compound" and "coordinate" bilinguals are largely produced in the classroom: see H.H.STERN, 1963, p.18, 19). One is inclined to wonder whether the teacher who is a native speaker of the language being taught, and represents a different culture, is or is not better placed to adapt the language to the pupils' socio-cultural needs than the teacher whose culture and native language are those of the pupils; unless, of course, the latter is also an extremely competent bilingual. That is to say, exploitation of the various qualities of adaptability in the language may not be at all easy for the non-native speaker or learner, particularly if it is his intention to resist incipient creolisation. Perhaps this is a major if not the greatest single crux in the language learning problem: the achievement of bilingualism without prejudice to one's cultural identity.(54)

Motivation to learn or use another language or dialect is bound up with the factor of intelligibility. This becomes particularly clear by a reading of H. WOLFF (1959). Faced with the task of devising orthographies for Nigerian languages and dialects, WOLFF made a fairly natural starting assumption that intelligibility would be largely predictable from contrastive structural analysis. This proved in very many cases not to be so; indeed the phenomenon of non-reciprocal intelligibility pointed rather to the disturbing play of local economic and power structures, along with feelings of "ethnic self-sufficiency" (p.443), giving rise to what amounted to "[illegible] orders of intelligibility". As WOLFF points out, the nature of intelligibility itself is still all too little understood. Nevertheless the question presents itself of whether certain forms of socio-linguistic contrastive analysis might not have correlated more closely with intelligibility. At advanced levels of learning, the more resistant [illegible] comprehension are undoubtedly socio-linguistic in nature. The [illegible]ed overseas learner of English for example takes a long time to master socio-linguistic distinctions in the language of very common everyday occurrence. In the present connection it should be noted that factors of relative status and power, group solidarity, and many more such aspects of socio-cultural meaning, are not only differently symbolised by languages as wholes but also expressed by each language in a more or less systematically different fashion. Mention was made in 2.2 above of word-oriented socio-linguistic analysis.(55) But it is rather the relatively "mixed bag" system not lending itself to neat tabulation (neither in the textbook nor in the learner's mind) that provides the greatest difficulty, especially where symbolisation of factors of status etc. is already a sensitive matter across language or dialect boundaries. Perhaps then it is not wonder that some degree of correlation between non-linguistically observable relationships of this general sort and intelligibility ratings can be arrived at - yet fail to connect with more direct aspects of linguistic other than socio-linguistic interfere

References pertaining to "standard" languages and "vernaculars" (in alphabetical order):-

D.ABERCROMBIE (1956); ch. 4.
W. BRIGHT and A.K.RAMANUJAN (1962); discuss in particular the role of literacy as a prestige factor countering linguistic innovation; the case of Icelandic referred to in the ensuing discussion by E.HAUGEN.
L.F.BROSNAHAN (1963).
W.E.BULL (1955); highly critical of the assumption in U.N.E.S.C.O. (1953) that "the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil." Stresses the limitations of vernaculars, and difficulties involved in the rapid extension of their usefulness. Compare D.HYMES below (1961b). But see also R.A.HALL, 1966, ch.10.
C.A.FERGUSON (1959).
C.A.FERGUSON (1966a, 1966b).
P.L.GARVIN (1959). Properties necessary for a standard language. With this, compare E.HAUGEN (1966a).
P.L.GARVIN and M.MATHIOT (1960).
J.J.GUMPERZ and C.M.NAIM (1960).
J.J.GUMPERZ (1961).
R.A.HALL (1966); 131 ff.
E.HAUGEN (1956).
E.HAUGEN (1959).
E. HAUGEN (1962). In defence of normative attitudes.
E. HAUGEN (1964).
E. HAUGEN (1966a). Properties necessary for a standard language, all or some of which are lacking in a vernacular. Remarks (compare W.E.BULL, 1955, above) bear upon U.N.E.S.C.O. (1953).
E. HAUGEN (1966b). Emphasises the role of the written language in language planning; description or creation of a norm; planning for diversity as well as for uniformity; difficulty in learning versus difficulty in use; enrichment of standard language by study of dialects; "prestige"; the role of the linguist.
F.W.HOUSEHOLDER (1962).
D. HYMES (1961b); Argues for the recognition of a "full"/"advanced" distinction among languages, implying much the same conclusions as that of BULL (1955), etc.
D. HYMES (1964c); p.523-6: a large "topical bibliography".
R.B.LE PAGE (1964); p.21 ff. On the use of vernacular languages in education; pro's and con's for the use of the vernacular, short-term and long-term.
W.G.MOULTON. (1962).
G.E.PERREN and M.F.HOLLOWAY (1964).
P.S.RAY (1963).
H.H.STERN (1962). Deals with the desirability of learning an international language, in the early chapters.
W.A.STEWART (1962).
J.L.M.TRIM (1961).
U.WEINREICH (1953); p.99-103. Language standardisation as a consequence of "language loyalty"; "the symbolic association of a language as a standardised system with the group's integrity". But see J.A.FISHMAN (1966); p.442.
H.WOLFF (1959). Non-equivalence between structural likeness and mutual intelligibility of languages and dialects - bearing upon the problem of devising new orthographies.

4. SPEECH FUNCTIONS

The reduction of what might seem to be infinite numbers of "domains" to more manageable proportions invites then the use of general factors of "role relationships", such as "status" of one sort or another, "power", "solidarity", etc. There are of course others that have not been dealt at all or at any length here, such as: length of acquaintanceship; friendship; generation; kinship; degree of uncertainty about relationships on the part of either or both (or all, as the case may be) of the participants - which will make among other things for more or less spontaneity or deliberateness in the formulation of utterances; expectation and amount of "feedback" (see esp. A.WILKINSON, 1965); and so forth. All these tend to have the quality of relatively stable or gradually evolving relationships. In this respect one sees a close analogy with the basic elements of personality; the former can be thought of as describable in terms of a finite set of factors which co-occur in particular ways to characterise a potentially infinite number of domains, while the latter similarly co-occur to characterise presumably infinitely differentiated individual personalities.

But there are other functions for language which may likewise, taken one by one, be finite in number, yet enter into more composite sets of co-occurring functions which may again verge on the infinite. One speaks here of such everyday co-occurring purposes as "commands", "requests", "invitations", "suggestions", "advice", "offers of assistance", "acceptance or non-acceptance of non-compliance with a request", "gratitude", "agreement and disagreement", "greeting", "leave-taking", "encouragement", "permission", "promising", "apology", "threats", "warning", "insulting", "pleading", and so forth. There are very many such terms in everyday language (one might compare, on a different plane, G.W.ALLPORT'S collection of 18,000 terms in English referring to personality characteristics: referred to in ALLPORT, 1963). Most can be switched from "giving" to "asking for" ("advice", etc.); or related to different participants or persons (hence especially tied to participant relationships), as in: "I wonder if you've thought of -", "So you think it would be a good idea if I -", "He tried to get me to -", etc. (see the amusing exercises in S.I.HAYAKAWA, 1952, p.96); made negative or positive; conveyed or recognised by a mere word, or a tone perhaps, or alternatively be only apparent at the end of the chapter or six months later or "between the lines", or through all of these means together; understood or not understood in the manner intended (cf. T.BURNS, 1957, and 5.23 below); deliberately ambiguous; and so forth. One cannot classify functions of this sort as say "purpose" or aspects of "social control" or "progmatic" functions, and so forth, since all of these overlap with many other functions such as the expression (including establishment) of "status" etc. Or in other words the clarification (etc.) of relative status is a basic form of social control, highly purposive, and serving many pragmatic ends. It is not even easy to accept such a distinction as that of E.HAUGEN (1956, p.96) between the two basic social functions of language of "communication" and "identification", since (to take up just one necessary qualification) one must agree with J.R.FIRTH in his insistance that it is part of the Frenchman's meaning to sound like one (that is to say, he communicates this meaning).

Perhaps one of the more reliable criteria for separating out what we intuitively do feel to be an underlying difference between say the expression of status and the expression of a command is that of relative permanence and recurrence. "Power", "status", "solidarity" (etc.) relationships hedge us in more or less continuously, yet it is very intermittently indeed that we wish to give orders, strike up or discourage acquaintanceships, say goodbye, express agreement, and so on. These are recurrent but non-continuous functions which in a temporal sense are the less inclusive. In terms of duration and recurrence the physical aspects of "domains", and particular "topics" too, occupy an intermediate place: a man may be a manager of a firm and talk about certain things only, for six hours every day - and then switch to another domain and set of topics.

J.R.FIRTH (1935) chose to refer to the more intermittent type of function as "speech functions", reserving for such categories as "familiar, colloquial, and more formal speech", or "the languages of the School, the Law, the Church, and all the specialised forms of speech", the term "speech situations". He does not however apply the criterion of duration/recurrence, since as examples of the latter he includes "such common situations" as "address", "greetings, farewells or mutual recognition of status or relationship on contact, adjustment of relations after contact, breaking off relations, renewal of relations, change of relations", etc. FIRTH's reiteration of the word "relations" underlines the fact that for him "situation" is largely a matter of addresser-addressee relationships;(56) it certainly forces one to regard say the expression of group "solidarity" and "agreement" alike as expressions of role relationships. The time factor therefore would seem to be the only real distinguishing criterion.

"Attitudes" of course stand in a similar relationship to the more pervasive elements of personality, activated relatively intermittently yet marked always by the stamp of the individual. One might suppose too that the expression of agreementand disagreement and the like will always be marked by such factors as relative status, length of acquaintanceship, etc. There is reason therefore to study the expression of the latter in terms of the corresponding expression of the former. We have already implied (3.1 and 3.2 above) that domain analysis - while not forgetting the necessity for constant renewal of connection with data on the ground as it were - might profitably take the form of the analysis of the expression of corresponding but more generalisable factors of role relationship. Therefore (to pick up FIRTH's terminology) there is reason to regard "speech functions" as indispensable points of reference in socio-linguistic analysis.

There is very little published work which seeks to approach the language behaviour of speech communities or social groups (or individuals for that matter) in

terms of domains themselves approached in terms of role relationships not only of the more prevasive but also of the more intermittent sort. Most socio-linguists tend to select linguistic points of reference which are rather readily definable in formal terms (such as the realisation of the first consonant of 'thing', 'thought', etc. as stop, affricate, or fricative: W.LABOV, 1964, 1966a, 1966b), or the selection of first name, title and last name, etc. as forms of address: R.W.BROWN and M.FORD, 1961; and so forth - see 5.23 below). One might question however whether these are as interesting, either linguistically or sociologically, as the varied linguistic realisation of such everyday purposes as those we have been referring to. Linguistically speaking, the features answering to these latter purposes will tend to be very much less atomistic and homogeneous, yet still require <u>linguistic</u> description. Sociologically speaking, the adoption of more functional points of reference might, one suspects, throw if not more light at least a different light on the structure of society which one thereby infers. Indeed, it seems fairly apparent that misinterpretation of the various dimensions of meaning attaching to say an innocent request like "You couldn't change half-a-crown for me, could you?" can often be far less noticeable to either participant (hence far more persistent) and far more annoying (57) than the kind of unintelligibility that might arise from the use of /t - /where one uses /θ - /oneself.(58) BERNSTEIN addresses himself to matters of this more socially functional sort, so too does S. ERVIN-TRIPP (1964), and a few others, but there can be little doubt that current attention to such matters in no way reflects how fertile a line of enquiry this could be.

Methodologically speaking, there are of course difficulties in identifying the occurrence of "commands", "requests", etc. This will be returned to shortly. But we have agreed that goals and subject-matter take precedence over methodology. Many of these functions, besides being extremely recurrent (witness the large number of "conversational formulas" and "everyday idioms" books for learners of English as a second language - inadequately selected and presented as they normally are), are, if anything, more immune from "conscious suppression" (W.LABOV, 1964, p.166) or censorship than say LABOV's sharply delimited phonological variables - which people often are rather conscious of (as LABOV shows himself). At the same time, evidence for deliberation in choice of language in these respects would seem to have very considerable interest in itself, and in all probability still be relatively free of - certainly more revealing and inclusive than - those highly conventionalised social attitudes commonly associated with the pronunciation of individual phonematic units.(59) It should also be mentioned in passing that the linguistic study of literature can gain much from a similar perspective, in seeking, that is to say, for "strands of things" that run through the whole work, reflecting the play and development of different characters, moods, intentions, and so on, against a constant backcloth of socio-linguistic norms (see A.McINTOSH, 1965, p.20).

The relatively slight attention that has so far been paid to these matters has tended, as we have implied already, to be rather discursive or programmatic. R.JAKOBSON's spectrum of functions according to relative focus on the various constituents of the speech event has the merit of showing that linguistics might have something to say in this area, even if it means that the analyst is not faced with discrete yes/no alternatives but rather with the continuous gradience which also characterises the expression of emotive elements and the like.(60) JAKOBSON's scheme has been taken up more recently by D.HYMES (1964a, p.21 ff.), who wishes description of the speech event to entail a very comprehensive set of factors indeed. In HYMES's paper the general stress laid on "inner structural relations and purpose" (p.22) does not carry with it any particular emphasis on participant relationships. B.MALINOWSKI (1935) clearly articulated the view that "pragmatic" functions stand very near the heart of language in use; indeed, "it is the pragmatic use of speech within the context of action which has shaped its structure" (p.52). Whether or not one feels scepticism for MALINOWSKI's structural descriptions (see J.R.FIRTH, 1957), the question can still be asked whether the structure of each language might not answer in a deeply systematic manner not only to some conceivably distinct "inner form" but also to those more recurrent functions which involve the human being from the earliest stages of language acquisition.

The term "pragmatics" itself, which is particularly associated with MALINOWSKI's view of language, flits in and out of this general area of concern. As U.WEINREICH (1963) points out, the field of pragmatics has "virtually no conventional content" (p.30 and fn.12). D. HYMES (1964a, p.10) refers the possibility of a "structural pragmemics" to the total set of functions which he derives from JAKOBSON. J.H.GREENBERG had earlier (1948) drawn much the same picture as that of HYMES for the pragmatic dimension of language, alongside the "syntactic" and the "semantic", placing the

view of pragmatics, vastly wider still - at any rate in principle - has already been referred to (2.2 above). The term itself is a useful one however if it is taken in the more or less everyday sense which MALINOWSKI gives to it, namely to do with language as an "instrument of action", and more generally with its users (see also C.MORRIS, 1938).

In this context, U.WEINREICH's handling of what is pragmatic in language (1963) is instructive. First of all, WEINREICH wishes to restrict its coverage to that "paradigm of discourse features which comprise assertion, and features incompatible with assertion and with each other: question, command, and attitudes to the content of discourse, insofar as they are coded" (p.150). The requirement of mutual incompatibility would appear however to rule out, on one occasion or another, even the exemplified categories - as they appear already to have ruled out for WEINREICH such functions as "suggestion", "advice", etc. Thus the question "What are you going to do about it then?" as often as not conveys what would appear to be a clear question and a clear command simultaneously. The constituents of this utterance which express question and command so overlay one another than "incompatibility" would be very difficult to explain or demonstrate. Nor do "attitudes" easily lend themselves to an either-this-or-that approach: approval and disapproval (p.152) can undoubtedly both be expressed at once, in relation to an identical target, even in say particular renderings of the word "yes". We all sooner or later learn to express agreement simultaneously with disagreement, fear with longing, etc. (again see WEINREICH p.152), in such a way as to throw doubt on their incompatibility - non-linguistic and linguistic alike (but see Appendix 2). WEINREICH's attention, to return to a point already made more than once, rests on those highly coded formal markers (verbal morphology, question particles, etc) that seem to correspond most directly with particular functions, rather than on "mixed bags" of formal features that come together in answer to functional needs. The principle involved is clearly articulated: "In this paper it will be assumed that the grammatical description of a language is not only autonomous vis-a-vis the semantic one, but is also presupposed by it" (p.146, but see also p.192: "Postscript 1965"). Yet one feels that nothing is really autonomous in the make-up of language, and too strong a leaning towards one direction or other in analysis must tend to distort or shrink the picture.

WEINREICH makes a further distinction between signs as "designators" and signs as "formators", the former consisting of a sign-vehicle and a designatum, the latter of a sign-vehicle and "an implicit instruction for an operation, such as negation, generalisation, and the like" (p.145). "A designatum may be said to constitute a set of conditions; in a situation in which such conditions are actually fulfilled.... the token of the sign may be said to denote" (p.145; compare C.OSGOOD's distinction in the same volume between "denotation" and "connotation", the latter concerning "affective reactions to signs" where WEINREICH's "designation" concerns the "intensional structure" of language: it is difficult to assess the degree of equivalence). Similarly transformative-generative linguistis regard context of situation as merely "disambiguating" alternative possibilities of meaning (see 2.1 above). This may or may not be so; the point at issue is whether or not the distinction between designators and formators itself is misleading. WEINREICH states: "But for our purposes we can apply Carnap's working definition of 'designator': 'all those expressions to which a semantical analysis of meaning is applied'" (p.149). He goes on to contrast "bread", "smear" and "fast", on the one hand, with "or" and "this", on the other, as examples of designators and formators respectively - corresponding roughly therefore with the very traditional notion of language as consisting of "full" words and "empty" words. The difficulty of such a distinction is exemplified by the cases of Thai "hat", "bat", meaning "royal hand", royal foot", regardless of who is speaking to whom, and Tibetan "u" and "go", both meaning "head", but each chosen in accordance with the attitude of the speaker to the listener or subject of discourse. The Thai words are referred to as examples of designators, the Tibetan as formators (p.155). The criterion applied here is simply that while the former type of meaning is semantic, the expression of attitude, or rather inter-personal relationship, is not semantic. Yet in each case it would be equally possible to refer to pairs of semantic components each realised by one formal item. To do otherwise amounts to the expulsion of significant areas of meaning from semantic analysis (note: ".... there must be a clear-cut realisation that the province of linguistic semantics is the study ..... of the designational system proper to each language", p.190. In other words, the study of meaning (which is WEINREICH's concern) should come down to the job of correlating the forms of language (not confined to "labels", etc. : note that for WEINREICH "status labels" come under "designation": p.155) with a range of contextual factors within which role relations, elements of personality, and so forth, play as large a part as any other components of meaning.

Suppose for example one were interested in the expression of "commands", "requests", "invitations", "suggestions", "advice", etc. (SKINNER's "mands"). It would not be difficult to list some hundreds of differently structured examples of even the most overt utterance-initiating expressions, many of which incidentally illustrate the crucial role of phonological features in distinguishing otherwise formally identical utterances (see Appendix 2). Labels like "command", "request", etc. are of course by no means easy to define. What might be a "command" for the speaker or writer might have the force of a "request" or mere piece of "advice" for the listener or reader (see T.BURNS, 1957). Moreover, for any one person what a "command" is will depend on what a "request" is, and a "suggestion", etc. Quite intuitively speaking however, there would still appear to be a set of terms here amounting to a semantic field in their own right, each term linked perhaps by a common component - which might informally be referred to as the intention of inducing someone else to do what one wishes him to do. Definition of each particular term cannot be achieved purely conceptually or notionally, in the manner of dictionary definitions without examples. Behaviouristic definition is equally inadequate, as we have seen in referring (earlier in 2.1) to CHOMSKY's criticism of SKINNER: the two main issues (to reiterate) being first that what the receiver does is not the whole point, if one thinks (as one must) of the traditional and everyday regard for the intention of the speaker (N.CHOMSKY, 1959, p.567), and second that experimental methodology found useful for studying animals may be quite irrelevant when it comes to the study of human verbal behaviour.

However, one should not be concerned to rule out notional and behaviouristic considerations - since if one does this they may very well somehow re-assert themselves through some back door as it were as part of the subject matter of language: the recognition of formally linguistic overt markers (and systematic relationships among these) which certainly assist one in inferring relevant notional and behaviouristic categories may itself depend to no little extent on one's awareness of notional and behaviouristic categories in the first place. It seems impossible to analyse in <u>one</u> direction. Further than this, it should not be assumed that the only kind of <u>overt</u> marker is the formally linguistic. "How about another one old chap?", spoken in the nicest possible way, might induce a gasp of fear on occasion ... (note W. LABOV's "contextual" criteria, 1964, for the recognition of "casual" speech). There are undeniably overt "para-linguistic" markers to consider, and non-linguistic. Even so, as many from F. BOAS (1911) onwards have pointed out the forms of language are often (perhaps deceptively) the more observable, on the whole, and serve well as reference points for the description of correlations among notions, behaviours and forms.

The task of describing systematic relationships holding among the vastly differentiated command/request (etc.) forms of a language like English and such factors as social group, domain, role relationship, related "speech functions" (gratitude, apology, etc.), topic, attitude, channel of communication (speech, writing, mass media, etc.), and so forth, in terms of the relative frequency and acceptability of each, has (not surprisingly) not yet been tackled. What <u>is</u> surprising however (as already suggested) is that even severely delimited parts of fields such as this have scareely been described or even (apparently) contemplated as a valid subject for linguistics - or socio-linguistics for that matter (see however: E.M.ALBERT, 1964; B.BERNSTEIN, esp. 1961b; S.ERVIN-TRIPP, 1964; A.MaINTOSH, 1963). See also 5.23 below.

The methodological problems involved are of course acute, highlighting (among other things) the question of the relative usefulness and feasibility of observation and introspection. To put the matter crudely, it is not enough to hang around with a tape-recorder waiting for commands, requests, and the like to happen. They may not happen for uncomfortably long periods of time, and even a vast amount of tape may not in the end contain more than a small proportion of what one knows very well might have been said. On the other hand, merely listing expressions and asking oneself or some other informant(s) to annotate likely or appropriate role relationships etc. (or, alternatively, starting out from non-linguistic factors and thinking of or asking for expressions which fit) may provide more information on "belief systems", individual powers of imagination, degrees of social inhibition, and so forth, than on what in fact goes on in performance. The best way to proceed, speaking generally, is of course to make use of both in conjunction, for example, prompting participants in a tape-recorded discussion, after the event, to suggest how else they might have phrased this or that expression, and why or why not, and what they might have said if the role relationship, topic, etc. had been different in certain respects, and so forth. Perhaps the really valuable advances in this field for some time to come will be methodological, the working out of ways and means for acquiring data.

Description itself in turn will possess the utmost value when it provides contrastive information, across languages, dialects and social groups.(62) It is not possible to do more than envisage in very general terms a set of "universal" speech functions. Yet there seems no reason to doubt the possibility that these may amount to the most deeply rooted and persistent universals of all, the very building blocks of cultural competence.

5. METHOD

5.1 Inductive and deductive

The main difficulty presented by the study of parole is that of finding some sort of order among the "imponderabilia of everyday life" (MALINOWSKI) or, as SAPIR put it, the "nooks and crannies of the real". One does not wish merely to mirror the complex phenomena to be described or explained without adding or altering anything. How does one make sense of context? The difficulty with langue is that of constantly renewing the connection with the phenomena to be explained. Ours has been called an age "riddled with abstractions, often inadequate to a stubbornly plural reality" (W. WALSH, 1964). How can one make sense out of context?

Interest in parole tends to attract a predominantly inductive approach, in langue a predominantly deductive approach. But these should be regarded merely as tendencies. It is not possible to work purely inductively or purely deductively. There will always be something of both present, in whatever sort of equilibrium. The pattern of deciding how much of each can be given various kinds of illustration. For example, taking a predominantly inductive case, in his study of "components of social culture" relevant to the choice of personal pronoun in nineteenth century Russian literature, P. FRIEDRICH (1966) had to decidewhether or not or how long to postpone speculation about the more general operation of some much smaller number of components, or whether to stick to the ten which to him seemed to emerge from the observed "facts". Those he settled for were general enough: "topic", "context", "age", "generation", "sex", "kinship", "dialect", "group membership", "jural and political authority", and "emotional solidarity". In discussion, it was suggested that he could just as effectively have operated with two only: "power" and "solidarity". FRIEDRICH countered: "I prefer a large number of analytical distinctions that are only one or two steps from the data, as against only two categories that would require many intervening steps and subdivisions." In other words, only if the "power" inherent in "age" operates upon choice of pronoun in exactly the same way as the "power" in "jural and political authority" will nothing be lost by handling only the larger concept "power" without reference to the smaller more specific categories. Identity of operation includes, of course, degrees of independence or inter-dependence which each category exhibits relative to others, in its relationship to choice of language. (63)

Although there is a great deal of difference between on the one hand starting with ten factors which have (so far as the analyst is able) been allowed to emerge inductively from the data, and subsequently in some way demonstrating and eliminating redundancies, and on the other deductively checking whether two more powerful and speculative factors work in practice, it is still, as suggested above, usually difficult to avoid doing both, and probably in some measure impossible. The unavoidable necessity for some reductionism is expressed by J. B. CASAGRANDE (1963) in these terms: " ... we still are left with the largely historical task of accounting for the particular phenomena of specific languages and cultures, but I would ask whence come the explanatory principles in terms of which these accountings are cast, and in the case of comparative studies, whence come the categories and concepts that permit valid comparison" (p.291). The point he is making is that they do not, and cannot, all spring from the ground to be examined. Some prior perspective is essential for analysis. It need not perhaps be more than temporary - in K. L. PIKE's terminology, an "etic" framework for the discovery of "emic" contrasts (64) - but the analyst has to bring something to the data, just as the infant in acquiring the language presumably does.

Pure speculation, however, imposed on the data by the analyst, is equally liable to prove useless, except no doubt for the analyst caught up in the elegance of his own "internal" validation. CASAGRANDE points therefore to techniques which, in C.C. FRAKE's words (1962), aim to "tap the cognitive world of one's informants," discovering those "features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, andmaking decisions." That is to say, what might otherwise be unwarranted and overly pre-conceived reductionism by the analyst is replaced by the discovery of far more intuitive reductionism on the part of the participant. Or, to put it another way, the process for

the analyst is both one of deduction (imposing categories and concepts that permit questioning of the informant) and of induction (allowing the informant himself to be part of the data). The informant responds in the light of his experience, but still within the terms imposed on him by the questions. This means that he may well be drawn in effect to identify with their general drift, that is to analyse in their light, and respond accordingly. (65) This will be partly a question of personalities. Behind some apparently explicit statements of methodological intention and achievement one often seems to detect implicit, far-reaching, and possibly unconscious bargains struck between analyst and informant. As SAPIR has rather cogently put it: "The personality of the anthropologist and of the individual with whom he interacts must structure the method". This in turn, one must add, entails the question of how representative the informant might be of the particular social group in question (see W. H. WHITELEY, 1966, p. 146)

5. 2 Whose job?

Most work then is recognisably both inductive and deductive, explicitly and implicitly so, leaning in its various phases one way or the other. In either case, however, a relatively more "closed" or "given" set of terms is related to a more "open" or problematical set. (66) It is the latter which stamps the direction of work as more sociological, linguistic, etc.(67) For example, a given body of phonological data or a given recorded text, if analysed inductively in terms of abstract sociological correlates, should to this extent (and it is a very large extent) be regarded as a sociological piece of work. Conversely, the inductive working out of patterning within linguistic correlates of a set of sociological observations would be an essentially linguistic operation. Again, a linguistic speculation or given set of categories once correlated with sociological variables takes on a sociological aspect; and the places of sociological and linguistic can, as before, be reversed. One might go so far as to suggest that in broadly inter-disciplinary work what one starts out from certainly need not be what one is primarily interested in. The opposite is far more likely in fact to be the case. The difficulty of course lies in the need to develop the grounds of a starting-point which largely falls outside one's own discipline.

In practice, the study of language in its social and cultural context covers a range of activities extending from the basically linguistic to the basically non-linguistic (in each case very often stopping short of appropriate involvement on the other side) and to some recent delineations of a "second descriptive science comprising language, beside that of present linguistics proper" (D. HYMES, 1964a) - some features of which there may be good reason to regard as direct potential extensions of the scope of linguistics itself.

5. 21 Linguistic.

Of basically linguistic work the most obvious is perhaps that which investigates linguistic habits and abilities associated with given socio-regional groups, whether in terms of choice of language, dialect, or style. The very use of the term "language", if B. BLOCH and G. L. TRAGER's definition be accepted ("a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group co-operates"), obliges one to specify what is meant by a "social group". (68) But also essentially linguistic are studies such as those of E. STANKIEWICZ (1964) into "the linguistic devices which serve to signal the emotional attitude of the speaker", which have "so far been insufficiently and unsystematically explored" (p.266); (69) and indeed, as we have suggested, all work which explores the linguistic dimensions of phenomena "given" in terms which may belong outside linguistics.

The identity of the analyst himself, and his interests outside his own field, naturally matter a great deal. The value of linguistic correlates of say sociological categories is likely in general to be more limited (moreover linguistically so) if those categories have been put there by the linguist as linguist. As J. LYONS has pointed out, all that is measured is not meaning..... A very noteable quality in MALINOWSKI's approach to language is precisely the degree of validity in its original non-linguistic premises. MALINOWSKI's faithfulness to the particulars of the social and

cultural environment in which language is used led FIRTH (1957) to criticise what for him was MALINOWSKI's excessively "realist" (70) approach, emphasising - as FIRTH put it - the "brute fact" or "concrete situation" in which the utterance is "directly embedded". FIRTH himself, however, in contrast, seems rather to have run into an excessively deductive train of thought about matters largely non-linguistic. Those who in turn criticise FIRTH's categories for "context of situation" do so in general not so much for their being arrived at too deductively as such, as for their being too normative, (71) excluding mention of reference, (72) lacking illustration, (73) and so forth. FIRTH establishes a very broad initial grid, as one might say, for the world of experience:

The relevant features of participants (persons, personalities):

(i) The verbal action of the participants

(ii) The non-verbal action of the participants

The relevant objects

The effect of the verbal action.

At the same time, however, particularly in "The Technique of Semantics" (1935), FIRTH paints a picture of persons and personalities in terms of their "accumulation of social roles" (74), and for this reason states that "Unity is the last concept that should be applied to language". FIRTH had a live interest in sociology, and the general impression left by his writings is of a general tendency towards deductive statement invaluably modified by natural curiosity in fields lying ostensibly outside linguistics.

Knitted in to this somewhat ambivalent perspective is FIRTH's clear (and of course quite unexceptionable) injunction to utilise scrupulous descriptive linguistic techniques. One has to avoid "loose linguistic sociology without formal accuracy" (J. R. FIRTH, 1935, p. 31). But he did not go so far as to require that the categories of context of situation should themselves be determined by formal linguistic analysis. (75) This is the theoretical view of "neo-Firthian" linguists in this country, and has been most clearly articulated by M. A. K. HALLIDAY (1961). HALLIDAY splits "context of situation" into "context" and "situation", the former comprising categories of the latter which are relevant to choice of language. It is where the contextual categories come from that matters. All, from the most general ("register") downwards, are defined formally, which is to say in terms of grammatical (lexical, phonological, graphological) contrasts. More particularly, contextual meaning is required to be "logically dependent on formal meaning", (76) the statement of the one to "logically precede" that of the other. This is a view of linguistics which in effect tends to place method before subject-matter (rather as in the case of O. WERNER, above). Logical dependence on formal meaning must mean, in practice, over-dependence on the linguist's direct perception of formal contrasts, and these moreover must be couched in terms of (hence derived from) his own particular descriptive theory, which itself owes nothing to contrasts of a "situational" kind. A register category such as "tone" or "patronising and/or jocular" (J. ELLIS, 1966, p. 85) becomes part of the linguist's equipment because, in looking directly at the forms of texts, he has perceived certain patterns which he decides to label in this way. Accordingly, very elaborate grid systems, "logically" derived from formal contrasts, can be placed over the world of experience, or "situation". (77) It is said that for the linguist two otherwise discrete "situations" are identical if their formal realisations are identical. One can only reflect however that such a case must surely be impossible to illustrate. Leaving aside the question of whether or not this is a behaviouristic view of language use, the question of identity is a wholly relative one: how similar must two texts be to be "identical"?

The dependence of context on form appears then to come down to dependence on the linguist's own personal perception of formal contrast. But this in turn, one suspects, derives in large but ambiguous measure from his perception of situational contrasts in the first place. The starting-point for all schemes of register may after all very well be in part the linguist's non-linguistic view of the world. If this is so, then independence from other disciplines in the study of context is

likely to be a distinct drawback. There is little gain in clarity from M. GREGORY's view (1967) that the linguist should beware of a "failure of nerve" in the face of situational variety, and instead feel more free to "make" situational facts. W. S. ALLEN's statement is quoted with approval: "There are no facts in linguistics until the linguist has made them." This may well be so, but GREGORY then goes on to state that the situational facts which interest him as linguist are those which have "high potential contextual significance": the linguist's task is to study the "fixed ways of coping with certain recurring situations." The drift of his remarks, and the perspective of this particular phrase alike, place main emphasis on the "fixed ways" rather than on the "recurring situations!" Making facts does not justify total independence for the discipline concerned in their making. (78)

Neo-Firthian institutional linguistics" was intended by T. HILL (1958) to be concerned with "particular cases" rather than with "general principles of the tongue-speaker or tongue-community relation," the latter being the field of sociological linguistics. But as J. ELLIS (1965, p. 6, fn. 7) points out, sociology itself gives no terminological recognition to the distinction between general and particular, and in any case there is no doubt nine years later, that the real distinctions are quite different.

References ("neo-Firthian" institutional linguistics):

J. C. CATFORD (1965).
A. DAVIES (1965).
R. M. W. DIXON (1964a).
J. ELLIS (1965,1966).
M. GREGORY (1967).
M. A. K. HALLIDAY (1961).
M. A. K. HALLIDAY, A. McINTOSH, P.D. STREVENS (1964).
T. HILL (1958).
J. SPENCER and M. GREGORY (1964).
P. D. STREVENS (1964).
A. WILKINSON (1965).

5. 22 Anthropological/Sociological.

To say of any investigation or discussion that it is partly or largely non-linguistic does not in itself imply that it has little to do with language nor that it has little interest for linguistics. Take for example the approach by J. RUBIN (1962) to the question of bilingualism in Paraguay. Over half the population switch between Spanish and a vernacular language called Guarani. "Code-switching" behaviour of this sort is the given linguistic ground for the investigation of sociological and psychological factors that might bear upon choice of one language or the other - such as for example socio-economic class, urban and rural locality, intimacy, power relationships, sex, and so forth. A comparable range of factors, as we have seen, emerges from P. FRIEDRICH's study of personal pronoun usage in nineteenth-century Russian literature, where again the initial data is defined linguistically while the findings are social-psychological. W. LABOV (1963) notices a marked degree of centralisation in the pronunciation of diphthongs among some of the native inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, a small island off Massachusetts. What were the predisposing factors? They, hence the study itself, take us into an intriguing politico-sociological exploration. All three studies could have gone the other way: what, for example, are some of the characteristic linguistic habits of teenagers in the Paraguayan countryside, of dramatis personae in a Russian novel, of fishermen in Martha's Vineyard? It will of course only be when <u>all</u> the facts are told that the two approaches will yield the same answer and bear the same complexion.

5. 23. Linguistic, with sociological connections.

No less interesting however, but from a different point of view, are those apparently non-linguistic undertakings that seem as if they ought, by virtue of their goals and subject matter, to contain a strong linguistic component - yet do not. As we have suggested earlier, discussion or recognition of linguistic matters is in fact very infrequent in the field of sociology. There are some noteable exceptions however.

B. BERNSTEIN, throughout his writings, draws the attention of sociologists and others to the central importance of language to their concerns: "Speech marks out what is relevant - affectively, cognitively, and socially - and experience is transformed by that which is made relevant " (1961a). J. KLEIN (1964), discussing the social background of "cognitive poverty" ("a stubborn determination not to develop") returns frequently to BERNSTEIN, A. R. LURIA ("social class differences in the urgency with which the child is encouraged to talk well", p. 488, etc.), the language of "complex, meaningful play, which proceeds from some preliminary project and involves the steady unfolding of this project in a series of play activities" (p.501), socially differentiated tolerance of "ambiguity" (p.521), and so on, and does so naturally as a sociologist. We shall select five particular examples in which awareness of potential linguistic interest does not, in contrast, appear to be present, or at any rate is not articulated.

(i) T. BURNS (1957) reported the results of an investigation which he made into some aspects of the communication systems of eight firms in Edinburgh. Part of his study concerned the extent to which managers and staff diverged in their understanding of subject-matter, and in their understanding also of whether messages were intended on the one hand to be "instructions and decisions", or on the other, "information and advice". In the first case, subject-matter, wide discrepancies showed up in over a third of all cases, and in the second in no less than half the cases. But what exactly was it, one might ask, that differentiated the successful communications from the unsuccessful? There may very well, that is to say, have been linguistic as well as sociological factors at work.

(ii) It is clear that not a few of the "speech functions" which FIRTH mentioned, and many which he did not mention, as entering into our "linguistic human nature" are now the province of social psychology, but minus - in very many cases - any involvement with linguistics or even a linguistic perspective. Many pieces of work stop short at precisely the point where linguistic description seems crucially relevant. For example, much interest has been centred on the discussion group interaction work of BALES and his associates, an acceptably detailed account of which is available in W. J. H. SPROTT's excellent introduction to social psychology called Human Groups (W.J.H. SPROTT, 1958). BALES is concerned with the possibly alternating attention of the seminar group to, on the one hand, the appointed task area, and, on the other, to an interpersonal area where factors such as status operate. Suggestions, requests for opinions, agreement, disagreement, and the like, are open to either or both interpretations. But as SPROTT points out, there is the difficulty for the observer-investigator of knowing which remarks should come under which categories. In other words, there is an absence of underlying studies (along with the development of appropriate methodologies) of for example how different social groups convey suggestions under particular conditions of status relationship. We have all asked ourselves, at some time or another, "How do I put this to him? How does one get this sort of thing across?" These are sub-vocal markers of widespread socio-linguistic phenomena, or problems. The relation between BALES' work and socio-linguistics is incidentally rather analogous to that between literary stylistics and socio-linguistics: there is a "stylistics" of group discussion, conversation, etc. still awaiting development, long after FIRTH so clearly advocated its pursuit.

(iii) The American scholar W. LOBAN concludes, on the basis of longitudinal work, that one can get a fair measure of the school pupil's "maturity of mind" by observing how extensive are his means for expressing the notions of tentativeness, supposition, and so forth (see R. BRADDOCK, 1963). The "socio-linguistic" questions that present themselves are: over the years, how has the pupil in question, and how have other pupils, placed in different social circumstances, heard tentativeness expressed, and who by, etc.? W.W. and W.E. LAMBERT (1964,p12, 13) refer to a recent investigation carried out by teams of researchers from Cornell, Harvard and Yale, into the identifications of major social pressures upon children in six quite different cultures. Data was factorised into seven major areas. Four of these quite naturally raise the question: how is this kind of pressure exerted linguistically? The first concerned the demands for independence made on children, the exercise of which apparently relates to the later development of achievement needs, and even, it is suggested in

passing, to the economic development of the country one generation or more later. The socio-linguist would observe that different values are placed by different sectors in society on the motivation of linguistic independence in small children, and it seems, on the face of it, a feasible proposition to study how this is achieved. The second, third, and fourth areas of pressure relate to such matters as praise and discipline, and to no less an extent seem to be as it were translateable into linguistic terms. On these issues, see esp. B. BERNSTEIN (1961a, 1961b, 1961c, 1965).

(iv) Another concern of sociologists (or better perhaps "social psychologists": see W.J.H. SPROTT, 1958, p.19, and W.W. LAMBERT, 1964, p.2 ff., and fn. 39 above) in this general field is with the question of verbal reinforcement: "uh-huh", "I see", "go on", "I'm listening", "yes", "good boy", and so on. The relevant scholarly literature of social psychology makes interesting reading. Perhaps not surprisingly, it seems that one can change a speaker's preferred sentence structures by saying "good" whenever a particular structure appears (W.W. LAMBERT, 1964, p. 75). How long would it take, like this, to make a speaker set to chat away at random, provide one with an account of his views on classical music? One can do it, apparently, Implicit in all this are more general questions of how patterns of verbal reinforcement, including the reinforcement of others by the very young learner, enter into socio-linguistic usage.

The converse activity of what one might call conversational opportunism does not appear to have attracted attention. Part of the listener's job, for instance, is to watch out for "thematic" cues which might connect with what he wants to say anyway or serve as associational hints to say something he had not already intended to say. There are not only cues of this sort, of course, but also as it were take-over cues which in effect say to the listener, "help me out", or, conversely, "be quiet I want to keep talking." The more thematic cues might include, to take a simple example, lexical items which will prompt the use, by the listener, of items from various associated lexical sets. The transition points between units of any sort are often more interesting than the units themselves, and in the case of conversation such points are only partially marked by change of speaker. The linguist, sociologist, etc., no less than anyone else, might very understandably wish to know what he is not doing when he finds himself unable to indulge in those forms of verbal repartee that are most highly valued in particular parts of his own society. Among many others, this too is the kind of problem implicit in FIRTH's statement that "Neither linguists nor psychologists have begun the study of conversation; but it is here that we shall find the key to a better understanding of what language really is and how it works" (1935, p. 32).

(v) The last example will be that of R.W. BROWN and M. FORD's (1961) investigation of "Address in American English". This piece of work is unfortunately least explicit where it might have been most linguistic. The authors state: "It is desirable to study social structure in everyday life, but much of the everyday behaviour that is governed by social dimensions is difficult to record" (p.234). Instead they aim to infer aspects of social structure from their abstraction of speech patterns, (79) in this case "forms of address". Their general approach is stated to be a "sort of controlled induction" (p.235). However, the various phases of induction and deduction, and the various forms of informant analysis, are not easy to identify. For example, forms of address are said - without further explanation - to be "reasonably well described by a single binary contrast: FN or TLN" (first name; title and last name). Now this is a quasi-linguistic assumption, which ought to have been based on prior linguistic investigation into variable means for the expression of address, not merely in terms of name-selection but also in terms of other co-occurring formal features: "good morning!", "how are you getting on?", etc. (80)

From this point BROWN and FORD's study matches in principle those of RUBIN, FRIEDRICH, and LABOV (5.22 above). Correlations (with FN/TLN usage) of a social-psychological nature are sought, initially and primarily in thirty-eight modern American plays.(81) Factors such as degree of acquaintance, age, sex, occupational status, and so forth, all familiar enough, emerge; but it is not apparent how they emerge: how deductive in fact is their "controlled" induction? The authors conclude that, as in the case of personal pronoun usage in many Indo-European languages, we might

well detect the operation of the two pervasive scales of "power" and "solidarity". And further, these are felt to be abstractly linked in that "intimacy" is seen to co-occur with "condescension", and "distance" with "deference" (the senior person can afford to be the more familiar ...). This, they go on, may be a "linguistic universal"(p.239). What we have been saying however about the very attenuated nature of the selected forms of address strongly suggests that even if the investigation were largely inductive the authors might still be working towards sociological correlations based on somewhat arbitrary linguistic grounds; or at any rate of an overly simple atomistic nature. See also fn. 59, and Section 4 generally,

There are further reasons why the linguistic validity of this particular study is in doubt. Over the whole of America the uniformity of address usage it is suggested "must be great" (p.234). But an assumption of this sort must be wrong: identity has to be found, not imposed or assumed. "Unity is the last concept that should be applied to language". Three sets of supplementary data are used as "checks" on the conclusions drawn from the plays: direct informant observation (within what terms of reference is again not clear) of usage in a Boston drafting firm, questionnaires for business executives at M.I.T., and tape-recordings of children talking in Kansas. The extreme heterogeneity and indeed vagueness of setting (geographical, social, physical, numbers present, fact and fiction, etc.) is matched by the variety of data-gathering techniques - not merely to the extent that these can be given unequivocally differing labels but, more significantly, in that the reader is left to guess what the informants were instructed to do, how far the authors themselves were busy illustrating a ready-made hypothesis with ready-made categories, and the extent to which the criterion throughout was obligatory, habitual, or acceptable usage.

These authors were seeking to locate dimensions of social structure in the form of "semantic rules" which might be universal. Their general aim is not entirely distinct from that of C. OSGOOD's "semantic differential" investigations. OSGOOD attempts to locate dimensions of "subjective culture" in the form of "common semantic factors" which might also be universal. It is instructive to compare their methodologies.

OSGOOD (1963) explores how affective meaning systems vary across cultures, languages, and "concepts". He begins by selecting 100 concepts (words) which have been "selected by linguists and anthropologists as being 'culture-fair' and that have survived a stringent back-translation test with bilinguals from all of the .. language-families represented." (82) 100 high-school boys in each country are made to respond to each concept with one "qualifier (adjectives in English)". These are then ranked for frequency, and compared - for each concept - across the various groups of responding subjects (100 concepts times 100 subjects times 6 countries). The 50 top-ranking qualifiers are then associated with each other by 6 fresh groups of 100 subjects and the results factorised. Three well-defined factors (or clusters of responses) emerge from this, and are given the labels "evaluative", "potency", and "activity". (83) These are found to be noticeably constant across subjects but (surprisingly) not so across concepts. They are regarded, consequently, as potential semantic universals.

OSGOOD's control over experimental variables is most rigorous after the point at which the various "concepts" are chosen. Why words, why these words, and why qualifiers in response?). Unlike BROWN and FORD, OSGOOD is careful to elicit information from comparable groups in a comparable manner, and more general factors are arrived at with the use of explicitly inductive procedures owing nothing to pre-conceived categories on the part of the analyst. (84)

5. 24 Borrowing and influence.

Inter-disciplinary collaboration involves locating unsuspected problems and clarifying distantly suspected problems as much as, if no more than, taking ready-made problems to someone else for advice. But even the latter course involves a far-reaching choice between supposedly self-sufficient borrowing on the one hand and allowing oneself to be

genuinely influenced by what one borrows on the other. Not many will adopt the standpoint of G.A. MILLER (1965) when he urges his fellow psychologists, "to propose and test performance models for a language user" but in so doing to rely on the linguist to give them "a precise specification of what it is a language user is trying to use". Earlier, in Plans and the Structure of Behaviour, MILLER (and his co-authors) had acknowledged that certain psychological assumptions would have to be radically modified in the light of recent advances in grammatical theory. This is an extreme example of basic theoretical influence, illustrating the point made by C. LEVI-STRAUSS (1958): "..... when an event of (some) importance takes place in one of the sciences of man, representatives of neighbouring disciplines are not only permitted but required to examine promptly its implications and its possible application to facts of another order."

Such a degree of influence may very well be felt to endanger the proper autonomy of one's own discipline within its proper area of competence. But self-sufficient borrowing, on the other hand, is not normally possible. A need is felt for information relevant to one's own problem but belonging to another discipline; very often the precise available nature of the available information is such as to preclude its direct integration into the framework of one's own discipline (see for example D.S. BOOMER, 1964); one is then prompted to restrict the range of questions that we put into the original formulation of one's problems. The "application" of linguistics to the teaching of English as a native or foreign language is just such a case: education can easily become restricted in kind and scope so as to fit in (and, by degrees, fit in with) linguistics, and so runs the risk of ceasing to be itself(this particular case will be dealt with later). Many feel indeed that inter-disciplinary borrowing leads all too readily to processes of (for say the linguist) "drifing into sociology", "sliding into psychology" (both phrases from M. GREGORY, 1966), or to even worse fates. The line between allowing oneself to be influenced by or merely to borrow from another discipline is always difficult to draw. (85)

Goals and subject matter have priority over methodology, but even so methodological insight is naturally worth seeking, wherever it may be found. Thus E. SAPIR (1929a): "Linguistics is of strategic importance for the methodology of social science". This is so because firstly language "betrays ... such regularities as only the natural scientist is in the habit of formulating", and secondly "it is a regularity of infinitely less apparent rigidity and of another mode of apprehension on our part" (p.166). K.L. PIKE (1956) expresses the need for a single methodology: "An event comprised of both verbal and non-verbal activities ... could not be analysed by the combination of a linguist and a non-linguistic anthropologist, since ..... any joint analysis by the two of them would merely be an aggregate of conclusions" (p.59). Perhaps the most fruitful perspective is that of J.Z. YOUNG (1955) who speaks of the distinct "language" of each discipline, in effect its favourite ways of talking about its phenomena and abstractions, its systems of "metaphor" for its purposes. The search for new insights can gain fresh impetus by talking about one's own familiar problems as if they were someone else's, asking questions like: is the brain (like) an electric circuit? Suppose it were, then how would we talk about it? He writes: "It seems that a science goes on finding out more and more detail within one language system until new comparisons are introduced". Looked at like this, medical scholarship appears to have advanced from one "rewarding analogy" to another; moreover, the search for rewarding analogies and new language systems has in most cases been carried out in the fields of other just conceivably connected disciplines.

6. THE SPEECH EVENT

We have assumed that some initial idea of what "basic orientations" might be can be distilled from the mass of on-going socio-linguistic work. So, to recapitulate very briefly, what sort of work is likely to have most value? First of all, whatever its disciplinary label, one has to be on the lookout for studies which are faithful to the subject matter one believes in. Then, in general, one should incline towards basically inductive approaches which allow relatively open-ended possibilities for categorisation (otherwise one would suspect the presence of ready-made answers); even so, basically deductive approaches are also valuable if the

categories used can be realised in intuitively satisfying and verifiable instances of behaviour. In either case excessively neat atomistic entities have to be more than merely elegant. The role of informants should be made as clear (and data as overt) as possible - whether gathered by observation or by introspection. Attempts to establish the independence of any single discipline must always be most critically scrutinised: these too often amount to far-reaching claims to dictate all the categories to be used (language for the linguist's sake), along with, sometimes, demands to reject all consideration of certain levels of experience as inaccessible to rational investigation by anyone at all. The aim throughout should be to make sense of context, in context.

The fundamental context is the speech event. The boundaries and structure of the speech event are complex indeed. There are always little events inside big events, extended "strands of something or other which permeate long stretches of text and produce a gradual build-up of effect" (A. McINTOSH, 1965, p.19), and so forth. All of these things moreover are in no small measure related to the viewpoint or focus of each of the participants themselves. This is so in a cultural sense (witness A.I. HALLO"ELL's story of the old man diligently attending to what the Thunder Birds had to say)(86), in a generational sense,(the speech events of very small children are not our own speech events), and in an everyday sense (the speech event seen as a set of "ventures in joint orientation", a process of very imperfect sharing, each participant both creatively and conventionally structuring and re-structuring his own view of things.(87) The speech event is far removed, that is to say, from the text as merely recorded. (88)

K.L. PIKE (1954, 1967) attends to three types of participant focus: "depth of focus" (size of the unit of behaviour percieved), "breadth of focus" (how many units at a time), and "height of focus" (over what stretch of time). The unit which is so perceived is regarded as a composite of verbal and non-verbal behaviour (a "behavioureme"), and is a unit in virtue of its "purpose" or "meaning" (89). It is structured into three "complex overlapping components" called "modes": the "feature" mode (identificational features, some of which are naturally elusive and difficult to identify objectively), the "manifestation" mode (physically realised substance), and the "distribution" mode (dispersal among the rest of the units). (90) PIKE is therefore concerned with depth, breadth and height of focus in each of three modes. It is regrettable therefore that he finds relatively little space (and, most uncharacteristically, very few references) for the question of focus itself, although he attaches some importance to it. Moreover, no distinction is drawn between two basic means by which focus is attained - which we may term conceptualisation and expectation.

Informally speaking, conceptualisation in the present context is taken to refer to what people think they do and ought to do, and what and how they think about what they (think they) do, allowing "they" to be used reflexively or otherwise, and "do" to refer to verbal as well as to non-verbal behaviour. Expectation concerns what people expect or imagine they will do (did, would do, would have done, etc.).

The fundamental relevance for a socio-linguistic approach to the speech event of what and how (including how far) people think about what they do deserves some treatment. Conceptualisation in this respect ranges from the intuitive, where in effect we cannot put what we are doing into words (or where the language - or language in general - has no appropriate and available means of expression) to the fully verbalised analytical: see fn. 43. It can be correct or mistaken ("commands" mistaken for "advice", etc.: see T. BURNS, 1957, in 5. 23 above). And it can possess or lack clarity of focus: what we and others do may be not so much mistaken as simply lost from sight, unattended to in the rush of events, as when we make efforts to explain ourselves better, strike an appropriate note of uncertainty or deference, verbally and non-verbally reinforce others when they speak, wait for cues, and engage in a thousand and one other such activities, taking little note at the time of what exactly we are doing.(91) In this latter connection, it has been said that with their very slow

torrent of words coming at him every time he is spoken to, thereby dodging the effects of small but cumulative errors. It is a moot question how far (or whether) the receiver employs selective processing strategies for handling grammatical deep structures, (92) semantic or pragmatic content, (93) etc. Across a longer stretch of time, processing consists inter alia of adopting in a sense a somewhat more conscious strategy of necessary laziness or "non-committedness ... storing the gist of many successive sentences perhaps rather 'openly' till we see where we are being led," this being "part of the condition of a proper attitude of anticipation" (A. McINTOSH). The producer rather similarly, in effect plans ahead, (G.A. MILLER et al, 1960; A. SUMMERFIELD, 1964), choosing among alternative "routes" to a "destination", or, if one wishes, among alternative choices answering a given need. The routes or choices that are not selected, as J. LYONS (1964, p. 25) points out, impart meaning to the one that is. Ranges of possible choice, allowing for all types of constraint, are often likely to be extremely wide in most normal language behaviour: a journey involving just ten calls can be made in more than three million different ways. Both in the short term and the long term producer and receiver appear to be engaged in very similar kinds of conceptualising activity. This of course is fundamental to generative linguistic theory (94), but even in the present more informal context one can suggest several similarities. Neither, for example, attends to all parts of the total utterance or text, the producer rarely rehearsing what he is going to say (he trusts, interestingly enough, that somehow it will all work out), the receiver attending as it were to the "gist" of the stored input at invervals (and over the long term listening or reading "lazily" or non-committally). Both may of course err in registering what is actually intended, or even said ("Did I say that? Surely not!"). For both, meaning is largely a function of choice among permissible alternatives. Both are concerned to avoid enslavement to the immediately preceding. And both have the task of achieving some degree of empathy with the other's conceptualising processes.

There can be little doubt that different (groups of) people have different ideas about language and its use, both in general and on particular occasions; are more, or less, aware of what is going on linguistically; handle what they hear or read in a more, or less, deliberate manner; and plan utterances differently. Factors of this sort characterise participants in the speech event, and so very largely characterise the speech event itself. B. BERNSTEIN's work is now well-known for the manner in which he distinguishes "codes" of a language ("varieties", or "styles", one may wish to call them) according not only to their grammatical, lexical, and phonological characteristics but also according to certain formative attitudes to language and conceptualising processes of language production and reception. As we have seen, BERNSTEIN wishes to connect classes in society with the use of one or both of two codes (by the "lower working class" and "middle class" respectively), termed "restricted" and "elaborated". The first of these has the primary function of serving as a set of "social symbols", the second as a set of "individuated symbols", the first being more predictable, fluent, repetitive, etc., the second more idiosyncratically planned, hesitant, complex, etc. (95) The working-class child is not normally spoken to by his parents in a grammatically complex manner reflecting and encouraging the use of complex reasoning. For him education is an overly linguistic puzzle. "It is important to realise that the working-class boy's difficulties in ordering a sentence and connecting sentences ... are alien to the way he perceives and reacts to his immediate environment. The total system of his perception, which results in a sensitivity to objects rather than to the structure of objects, applies equally to the structure of a sentence". The educational crunch is indeed the hardest to bear; the child from a poor background finds himself having in effect - however he does it - to translate (while learning the code of) his middle-class teacher's utterances. Scholastically, socially, ("The attempt to substitute a different use of language ... is an attempt to change ... the very means by which he has been socialised": 1961a, p.304), and affectively, he suffers as a direct consequence.

Moreover, and very probably of even more fundamental importance, for the middle-class child "a theoretical attitude is developed toward the structural possibilities of sentence organisation" (1961a, p. 291). Now if this is indeed a marked characteristic of educated language use,

it readily suggests a tendency towards generation of utterances in the one social group, recall in the other. The interesting alternative, in the light of modern generative theory, is not the former but the latter: for how long and to what extent are the generative capacities of some people not set in motion? E. HAUGEN (1962) lays considerable emphasis on the pressures exerted on the child by his peers to conform to linguistic norms. How far do these amount to pressures to recall, and how far (if so) are they offset by adult pressures not to conform in this way (see also comments in W.W. and W.E. LAMBERT, 1964, in 5.23 above) ? Is there perhaps a critical age for the development of a habit one way or the other? (96)

BERNSTEIN is also saying (1965, esp. p.150) that certain aspects of social structure and their linguistic manifestations lend an intra-linguistic dimension to the "linguistic relativity" hypothesis of B.L.WHORF. J.B. CARROLL and J.B. CASAGRANDE (1958) explain what this is: "The linguistic relativity hypothesis is a special case of the culture-personality theory ... each language ... develops special ways of communicating. These ways of communicating create special needs, special responses, and lead to the development of special modes of thinking. The alternative to the linguistic relativity hypothesis would be a statement that the behaviour of a person is not a function of the language he happens to speak or be speaking, that his modes of categorising experience and dealing with his world operate independently of language, that language is simply a way of communicating something which is in every way prior to its codification in language" (p.20). As D. HYMES (1961a) puts it: "One will find other statements of this view, ranging from the sweepingly provocative to the gently urbane!! (p.325).

References (culturally-slanted "linguistic relativity"):-

F. BOAS (1911); p. 17 ff.
A.R. DIEBOLD (1964).
D. HYMES (1961a); p. 324-337.
D. HYMES (1961b); p. 59, 60
D. HYMES (1964c): p. 5-11 (Note the distinciton drawn here between language as "a socially inherited system ... seen primarily in terms of the cognitive function of distinguishing or expressing meanings," and as activity in social contexts). Also Part III
E. LENNEBERG (1953, 1962).
J. LYONS (1963); p. 39, 40, 80-87.
E. SAPIR (1924).
E. SAPIR (1933); p. 26 ff.
N.C.W. SPENCE (1964).
B.L. WHORF.

BERNSTEIN heavily underlines our intuitive feeling that different social groups using the same language within the same speech community cannot be expected to make equivalent use of available features, including generative possibilities, in the language. WHORF concerned himself with the significance of habitual use of certain aspects of a language, rather than their mere existence. W.H. WHITELEY (1966, p.150 ff.) has stressed this distinction in connection with classificatory systems such as kinship terminology, folk medicine, colour terminology etc., asking the question who makes habitual use of what aspects of a given language.

References (implying - if no more - socially slanted "linguistic relativity"):-

B. BERNSTEIN (1965).
U. BELLUGI and R. BROWN (1964); p. 109, 116.
D. HYMES (1961a); p.341 ff.
D. HYMES (1964a); p. 19 ff.
D. HYMES (1964d).
J. KLEIN (1964).
D. LAWTON (1963, 1964).
W.P. ROBINSON (1965a, 1965b).
L. SCHATZMAN and A. STRAUSS (1955).
S. ULLMAN (1962); p. 243 ff., esp. 252.

- related to scholastic achievement by the school pupil

B. BERNSTEIN (1961a); p. 304 ff.; and throughout.
"ENGLISH" (1965); p. 26.
J. FLOUD (1961).
E. FRASER (1959).
A. INKELES (1966);p. 271 ff.

Introspection suggests however that we do not simply store incoming information until points are reached when we make a "decision" about it all. We also predict, although again what kinds of features we predict or try to predict is not at all certain - it may be for instance that we are relatively set to predict items which are to receive tonicity. It is difficult to experiment, since no informant can state what he has predicted or processed (after a delay), particularly since predictions are no doubt multiple. The poet of course, and the lyric writer for the top ten, and all of us at some time, consciously aim to set up predictions or expectancies in the reciever in order to confirm or deny them (or both), and we can work backwards too, realising for instance in retrospect that some earlier expected choice had been in fact improbable in the later event. The process of expectation, one feels, is not wholly a behaviourist fabrication. It is true that not many would now identify with G.A. MILLER's position in 1951, namely that "Sequential grammatical habits can be discussed within the framework of an associative theory of verbal behaviour". But there may yet be some truth in what lies behind the behaviourist psychologist's remark, quoted by K.LASHLEY (1951), that he "had reached the stage where he could arise before an audience, turn his mouth loose, and go to sleep" (p. 184). As J.R. FIRTH (1937) put it, "Whatever is said is a determining condition for what in any reasonable expectation may follow" (p. 94). He called this "contextual elimination", affecting both producer and receiver alike. Unrehearsed talk, lecturing, etc., is full of wrong turnings induced by the immediately preceding co-text and by the direction taken by the on-going situation. Introspection - which even here, where it is most difficult, may not be entirely without value - further suggests that even mid-word expectancies are set up in the receiver, since we are often surprised when they are not confirmed: it could of course be argued that this is some kind of hindsight at work, but it seems reasonable to assume that it is not. "Well, I'm afraid it's - ", even without the customary glance at one's watch, is normally more than enough, without completion. It is not surprising that very few investigations into relationships between predictability and abilities to predict on the one hand and social group, abilities to comprehend, etc., on the other, have been undertaken, in view of the methodological difficulties involved, yet there can be little doubt that the self-propelling power of language shapes the course of the speech event no less than many more observable environmental factors. Socio-linguistic analysis should therefore take account of such matters.

7. NATIVE - LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

The teacher of English as a native language is well aware of the size of his problem. There is abundant evidence of the "regrettably low" standards of English attained even by school leavers and university entrants (THE EXAMINING OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE, 1964, p.2), while students at the university have been said to suffer from an "appallingly low level of performance" (J. SMALL, 1964), and, in prose work, to give their tutors an impression "both of awkward labour and of breathless rush" (G.S. FRASER, 1965). These problems are not new. They had been seen in very much the same light, and were fully debated, as long ago as shortly after the First World War (cf. R. QUIRK, 1959, p. 9, fn. 1). Even at the postgraduate level, the normal run of research papers is not marked by any particular clarity in expression, and the urgent but difficult task of popularisation rarely attracts the best scholars (R. CALDER, 1963). The NEWSOM REPORT best focuses the problem of native language teaching at the Junior Secondary level: "They are not likely to persevere unless something is done to lessen their greatest handicap - that inability to express themselves which soon convinces them that they have nothing to express --- A double obligation rests upon the schools. They have to provide the background of conversation and exchange of information which an educated family offers, and they have to coax their pupils to take part in it"(ch.14)

The conclusion cannot easily be escaped, therefore, that few of us are sufficiently sensitised to the language we and others use. Language study is too often seen by the school-child as a kind of summation of rules (of a strictly non-generative kind), and by the adult as something already mastered, and certainly not worth studying "to stretch the scope of experience, to enlarge the possibility of maturity" (W. WALSH, 1959, p.245). It may be true in turn that the quality of the teacher - of any subject - is "best indicated by his use of language" (W.WALSH, 1964), and that there is accordingly an over-riding need not so much for new technique of native-language teaching as for new perspectives in the study of native-language learning.

To begin with, one must be absolutely clear about the priorities involved: learning before teaching, and a proper understanding of what is learnt as basis for the study of the learning process itself. But one must equally be on one's guard against equating "language" with any one (only) of its many aspects. For example, language is not some kind of instrument which is put to use, the use that is to say divorced from the thing itself. It is difficult to avoid some degree of metalinguistic ambiguity: the English language works with a very great deal of "concretisation" (as B.L. WHORF has pointed out rather graphically) and it is natural to speak of "the use of English" without necessarily intending any such divorce. Yet there are many who do wish to see a basic distinction of this sort. G.A. MILLER (1965) for example, as we have seen (5. 24 above), wishes the linguist to give the psychologist "a precise specification of what it is a language user is trying to use". One often hears teachers too, of very different persuasions, agreeing in principle that, to quote one, "there is no point at all in showing children how to use language unless they have some language to use". Perhaps the crudest expression (happily dying out in examinations and the classroom alike) is the time-honoured ritual of grammatical analysis. This has been referred to, in some of its classroom manifestations, as "a kind of mumbo-jumbo about as remote from linguistic practice as anything could well be" (A. McINTOSH, 1963, p.119), awkward labours characteristically spent on short stretches of concocted language well within the repertoire of the normal six-year old. It is probably best too to assume that even a prolonged course in modern structural linguistics is unlikely to implant practical skill in handling the native language (R.C. O'DONNELL, 1964). An infinitely more sophisticated development of the wish to keep language and its use quite distinct is that of transformative - generative linguistics (see 2.1 above). It is one of the purposes of the present account, however, to direct attention to language as more than a set of grammatical rules. (97) Socio-linguistic perspectives and descriptions, by no means necessarily confined to the language being used or taught or taught about, are as relevant - if not a good deal more relevant - to the needs of the English teacher as any amount of grammatical expertise.

The task of teaching a subject to a child, or indeed to an adult, is one of representing the structure of that subject in terms of his own experience or way of looking at things. It is now a familiar if perhaps not universally established axiom of modern educational thought that any idea can be represented, as J.S. BRUNER (1960) puts it, "honestly and usefully" in the thought forms of children of school age. A teacher of mathematics at the University of Illinois has this, for instance, to say about the introduction of set theory to quite junior classes in the school: "It may be that nothing is intrinsically difficult. We just have to wait until the proper point of view and corresponding language for presenting it are revealed. Given particular subject matter or a particular concept, it is easy to ask trivial questions or to lead the child to ask trivial questions. It is also easy to ask impossibly difficult questions. The trick is to find the medium questions that can be answered and that take you somewhere. This is the big job of teachers and textbooks" (J.S. BRUNER, 1960). Speaking of the teaching of geometry and physics, B. INHELDER writes: "Basic notions in these fields are perfectly accessible to children of seven and ten years of age, provided that they are divorced from their mathematical expression and studied through materials that the child can handle himself." The recent U.N.E.S.C.O. publication entitled "Failure in School" points out that the vocabulary of history as taught in French schools may be in large measure unintelligible to pupils. (98) It goes on: "There is little doubt too that the early stages

of number work may be impeded by children's ignorance of the precise meaning of such apparently simple terms as 'plus' and 'minus', 'multiply' and 'divide'." (99) It has often been said however that in the English class subject and medium are one and the same. If this is really so then it would seem likely that the problem of translation does not face the English teacher to the same extent as it faces say the mathematics teacher. In practice however one recognises the same four-way distinction between the teacher's idea of what the subject is, the pupil's idea, the teacher's use of language, and the pupil's. Superimposed upon this general pattern moreover is a further dimension that is largely absent in the case of other curricular subjects; that of evaluative attitudes. The geologist would not dream of being sarcastic about the Ice Age, whereas the English teacher, no less if no more than anyone else, might about aspects of language and its use.

The teacher's task is not however simply that of identifying with the learner in his use of language, let alone in his views about language. It is also that of leading him somewhere, in mastery of and knowledge about the native language just as in the case of any other subject. But the real danger still lies in loss of contact rather than in loss of direction, especially at those stages at which interest and attitudes are most at stake. There are three main principles to be borne in mind: one, that the learner should be involved in a basically inductive approach to the subject (cf. H.A. GLEASON, 1964) which admits at the same time of a good deal of "intuitive" as opposed to "analytical" learning, especially in the early stages; two, that the nature of the pupil's and teacher's natural and acquired interests in and attitudes towards language and language users are indeed crucially important, and should be studied; and three, that it is equally essential for the teaching of English to possess a disciplined basis.

Much thought has been given to the intuitive learning of subjects like mathematics. If intuitive learning in this particular field does provide the best foundation for later analytic learning, and if the teacher's task is so to arrange things that intuitive learning in early stages is allowed to develop naturally and yet purposefully into analytic learning, without loss of intuitive ability, then there is every reason why one should be thinking along these lines in the field of native-language teaching. Unwillingness on the part of the teacher to translate his own analytic knowledge into the intuitive mode of the young learner can do much damage. A too premature formalism has the effect of making the pupil believe that he has yet to learn something which in a sense he already knows, with the consequent danger of warping the pupil's intuitive powers. The fortunate child is encouraged to play with numbers long before he is expected to put what he is doing into words. It is now widely believed that the ten-year-old child can handle, if not put into words, the operations of what one authority has termed "a formidable amount of highbrow mathematics." In more general terms it has been said that intuition is founded on "a combinatorial playfulness that is only possible when the consequences of error are not overpowering or sinful" (J. S. BRUNER, 1962). Knowledge about language too should presumably therefore be rooted in an environment which allows what the child feels to be "free" play with words - even if this is what the teacher knows to be "controlled" play. What is more, every transition from intuitive to analytical activity should if possible follow from evidence of readiness on the part of the particular pupil(s). And it is infinitely better, one imagines, to make such transitions too late rather than too early.

The writer does not pretend to be able to illustrate teaching strategies that succeed in establishing intuitive-leading-to-analytic learning in the native-language context. It is clear however that success or failure in this respect will depend largely on whether or not attention has been paid to the second and third principles; and here the linguist (sociologist, etc.) can have much to say. We shall take the third first. J.S. BRUNER (1960) writes on behalf of thirty-five top-ranking scholars, representing many disciplines, attending the 1959 Woods Hole Conference on the teaching of science in American primary and secondary schools: "The experience of the past several years has taught at least one important lesson about the design of a curriculum that is true to the underlying structure of its subject matter. It is that the best minds in any particular discipline must be put to work on the task. The decision as to what should be taught in American history to elementary school children or what should be taught in arithmetic is a decision that can best be reached with the aid of those with a high degree of vision and competence in each of these fields."

The American author of "Realms of Meaning", 1964, (P.H. PHENIX), a study of principles in curriculum design, puts the matter in a slightly different way: "The teaching of material from any discipline should always be considered specially in relation to the character of that discipline and not to some supposed principles of teaching in general." In this light it is therefore significant for native-language teaching that the study of language in its broader social contexts, and having regard to its social functioning, is progressively developing its own disciplined basis.

In a sense, it is the only basis for a disciplined study of socially patterned attitudes towards language. The English teacher faced with a class of English pupils is faced in effect with a set of attitudes to language : language in general, other people's language, expressions in particular, notions about "correctness", and so forth. He in turn must strike his pupils, consciously or otherwise, as likewise a bundle of attitudes. Both sides of the picture therefore need to be studied. The methodological crux however is the extent to which attitudes can be elicited without in the process putting them into the subject's mind in the form of questionnaires, etc.; and, perhaps no less, the extent to which strength of attitude can be measured, and its relationship to performance. Analogous problems faced W.E. LAMBERT et al (1961) in their assessment of various types of motivation to learn a second language (see 3.2 above); in their case, however, attention was directed almost entirely to just the most prominent attitudes to the other culture. Attitudes to language will subsume these but will also embrace much else besides. For example, attitudinal studies underlie and are to some extent presupposed by attempts to arrive at a consensus of opinion among the members of this or that group of teachers concerning the nature of pupils' weaknesses. Socio-linguistic investigation into such matters would both rely on information provided by the teacher and elicit and interpret it in the light of what may already be known about teachers' attitudes. Clearly the two types of investigation go hand in hand. Yet the matter rests finally with the teacher. He, not the linguist, is ultimately in the best position to assess the range of "errors" made for example in his pupil's reading: inability to follow clear but obliquely expressed statements of opinion ("of course it could be argued that ...."), to respond to metaphor, to adapt to a writer's handling of expectancies of one sort or another, etc. (100)

The English teacher's task, perhaps above all else, is that of involving the pupil in spoken language activity of the right sort. Reference has already been made to what the NEWSOM REPORT (esp. ch. 14) has to say in this connection. The teacher, says W. WALSH (1964,ch. 1), has to develop a "sense of touch", a "linguistic tact" which balances the need for "sympathetic projection" against the needs of the theme of the lesson. Now for all we know there may be certain features in the language of the teacher, the way he encourages, checks, agrees, disagrees, changes the subject, expresses surprise, shows amusement, supplies information, and so on (see esp; 4 above), perhaps too the way he reveals to his pupils what his own attitudes are to their language, that help to make for success or failure in this respect. There is a very real sense in which his handling of language affects the situation not as a mere adjunct to more powerful factors of personality but as ingredients (including acquired ingredients) of personality: "linguistic human nature" embodied in the teacher himself. There seems no necessary reason, in principle, why it should not be possible to predict about certain aspects of the language of this or that teacher that his pupils are that much more, or less, likely to make certain types of linguistic response - or to respond at all. (101)

Attitudes towards and interest in language are as important as interest in topics to discuss or to write about, etc.: but not necessarily or always more important. For most teachers there must be a strong implication that interest is very much part of the "point" in such a statement as this of A.H. MARCKWARDT (1961) : "The linguist's claim that a child of six has a grasp of all the fundamental language patterns is quite beside the point as far as the teacher of composition is concerned". It was pointed out in R. BRADDOCK (1963), a compendious review of research into written composition in schools in the United States, that little was then known about the question of writing interests, nor even about how to set about investigating the matter. Socio-linguistic perspectives might however

have some bearing on what it is the learner might conceivably be interested in conveying in writing. "Centres of interest," for example, in writing as in speaking or reading, are not necessarily best reduced to or elicited merely in terms of "topics" : the analysis of writing interests might just as profitably be undertaken in terms of domains, role relations, speech functions, attitudes, media, etc., recognising that each such category admits of very considerable refinement. The title of a writing assignment may indeed be the only immediate stimulus for interest, but will surely not in itself generate whatever subsequent interest the pupil might come to feel as the business of writing gets under way. The development of knowledge in areas such as these depends to a large extent on what is put into the education and re-education of practising and potential teachers. There are two main areas of concern: in-service courses for teachers and administrators, and B.Ed. syllabuses (and, in certain places, non-degree syllabuses) in colleges of education. In the long run the second may be the more important of the two.

There is some considerable doubt at the present moment among linguists, psychologists and teachers as to whether or not linguistics and psychology have very much to say that is relevant to problems in language teaching. N. CHOMSKY (1966), for example, speaks for many others in asserting: "I am, frankly, rather sceptical about the significance, for the teaching of languages, of such insights and understanding as have been attained in linguistics and psychology" (p.43). He goes on to point out that these disciplines are "in a state of flux and agitation": in both some feel it necessary to shake themselves free from what CHOMSKY himself regards as the myth that linguistic behaviour is "habitual" and that a fixed stock of "patterns" is acquired through practice and used as the basis for "analogy" (p.44). Teachers, he says, "have a responsibility to make sure that ideas and proposals are evaluated on their merits" (p.45). This is true, but two very closely related points still need to be emphasised : one, there is danger in some current tendencies to minimise the benefits - however indirect - that might accrue from an informed interest in linguistic thinking (see for example R. O'MALLEY, 1964); and two, the flux and agitation that grips one branch of a discipline may sometimes have the effect of masking the developing conviction in another branch that all this flux and agitation leaves some very central issues quite untouched. To proclaim for example that "it is only under exceptional and quite uninteresting circumstances that one can seriously consider how 'situational context' determines what is said, even in probabilistic terms" (N. CHOMSKY, 1966, p. 46) seems to say more than in fact it does. It seems to suggest for example that a relationship of "determination" is a kind of primitive assumption of any approach to language in context. Socio-linguistics however, in asking what "situation" is, asks such questions as what it looks like from inside sociology and anthropology (disciplines ignored by CHOMKSY, and by so many others, in a totally arbitrary manner), and from inside the individual, what the non-infinite component parts might be that come together to form no doubt infinitely varied situational profiles, how these relate to (not "determine") linguistic form, and so forth. To state or imply that there is not a great deal of interest in the contextual patterning of language is to fly in the face of universal intuition.

Intuitive feeling tells us, for example, even if the nearest available linguist does not, that the native language is acquired from the earliest years in context, and that the particular context in each case matters a great deal. One might therefore be surprised to learn that very little thought indeed is currently being given to the matter. In contrast, psycho-linguistic investigation, with virtually no reference to social context, is well established : see for example U. BELLUGI and R. W. BROWN, (1964), F. SMITH and G. A. MILLER (1965), J. LYONS and R.J. WALES (1966). In the first of these collections a plea by D. HYMES for attention to the acquisition of social functions by the infant along with the forms of language passed totally unheeded in published discussion. Abstracts of recent and current investigations such as those provided in THE LINGUISTIC REPORTER (April 1965) and I.J.A.L. (33,1,1967) paint much the same picture, without one single really clear exception among some fifty items. There is need for socio-linguistic investigation into such matters as : the functional discriminations displayed by the langaage of 3 - and 4-year-olds; attitudes of parents and nursery school teachers to what is appropriate and inappropriate in the infant's language and in their own linguistic "handling"

of infants (what is "correct" or desirable, how and whether to correct or enrich verbal behaviour, how and how much to encourage verbal independence and/or play with words, etc. - in each case related to what is in fact practised); the development of recognisably distinct patterns of language choice according to domain, role relationship, etc.; the development and nature of attitudes to language on the part of the child himself (particularly perhaps among those who have suffered a geographical and/or social transition of some sort - how early does sensitivity on this score reveal itself?); and so forth. It is largely a question of "applying" socio-linguistic questions (that have perhaps already been thought of or looked into in other quite different connections) to the situation of the very young language learner.

More work has been done on somewhat later stages in the child's development; yet even here, apart from such exceptions as that of B. BERNSTEIN in this country and the Urban Language Study in the United States, not a great deal has been achieved or planned. The Urban Language Study (a project of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington; see LINGUISTIC REPORTER, Oct. 1966) aims to provide teaching materials for "Standard English as a second dialect for culturally disadvantaged Negroes.. in selected schools of the District of Columbia"; it claims to uncover "mistakes remarkably like those made by all but the most gifted learners of foreign languages", and argues accordingly that the Negro should be seen as endeavouring to "acquire a second grammatical system in addition to the first". (102) Other indications of more than awareness of such problems are provided by : A. INKELES (1966, p.271 ff.) who points to work in progress in the United States on the variable linguistic competence of children from different social backgrounds; J. SCUPHAM (1966), who discusses the connection between linguistic and intellectual advancement; the NEWSOM REPORT and the Schools Council's Report entitled "ENGLISH", both of which display sharp awareness of the central role of language ability in the development of intellect and personality; and, to close the list a little arbitrarily perhaps, V. P. JOHN (1963), who reports a programme of work that seeks to ascertain "those patterns of linguistic and cognitive behaviour that are .... related to the socio-economic environment" of slum children.

What then of the B.Ed. syllabus in say "language and education"? To what extent should it have a socio-linguistic component - or even basis? The writer at any rate is convinced that a substantial proportion of the work should be of this nature, especially in the early stages; that sensitivity to the nature of one's own and others' performance, spoken and written, which should undoubtedly in any case be developed continuously throughout any such course, is of its nature largely socio-linguistic, hence invites the use of appropriate and disciplined perspectives; that the student's appreciation of the nature of attitudes to language and language users is well developed by reference not only to the native British context but also to settings much further afield; and that in general commitment to any one theory or set of categories is to be avoided at all costs. In these terms the writer wishes to reaffirm the direct and substantial relevance of linguistics to the study of native-language learning and teaching.

8. SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING AND TEACHING

The question of whether, and how, linguistics might be "applied" to problems of second-language teaching is now a very familiar one. But there is reason to believe that the sheer urgency of the problem has distracted attention from the value that might accrue from enquiries into processes of second-language learning. The same priorities apply as in the native-language case: 1) what 2) is learned and 3) taught.

Some of the opening remarks of D. E. BROADBENT (1967), on the state of current knowledge concerning the psychology of modern language learning, provide an interesting framewrok for socio-linguistic interpretations of the same problem:-

> " a) There is very little indeed that has been published directly in this area using the methods and criteria of academic psychology.

b) There is a very large amount of expertise and opinion-based activity amongst language teachers, which is based on assumptions about human behaviour and which seems to work. It would not however come up to the scientific standards of a purist psychologist.

c) There are a large number of areas of general psychology which are of relevance, but the full implications have not been worked out in the special situation of language learning."

In a) and c) here one might quite adequately replace "psychology" by "socio-linguistics". In b) however, if one had so to generalise, it would be necessary to recognise some degree of failure on the part of language teachers in general to recognise the very basic relevance of the learner's socio-linguistic environment, behaviour, motivations, attitudes, and so on. This does not amount however to total absence of awareness of the existence of such considerations. They may loom large enough in the teacher's experience, yet still strike him as belonging to the periphery of his concerns, in the sense that language continues to be seen as some kind of sum total of grammatical, phenological and lexical items and systems basically independent of social function. Trends in second-language teaching have long followed, and will continue to follow, trends in the academic study of language; but socio-linguistics, being relatively new on the linguistic scene, has not yet made much of an impact on teachers and textbooks. "Situational" approaches to language teaching derive much of their undoubted impetus and value from psychological "assumptions about human behaviour", rather than from the conviction that what is learned is shaped and coloured to a marked degree by underlying socio-linguistic factors. To put the matter another way, it must be very common experience for the second-language teacher to feel that he is imposing, through the instrumentation of textbooks, syllabuses, examinations, etc., a kind of language and kinds of skill which are quite alien to the real needs of his pupils; and equally common to feel that sympathy for their needs, interest in their interests, and personally acquired information about their general environment, would gain much from the insight that might stem from disciplined studies of the place of language in their lives. Every language teacher knows how powerful the generative nature of language learning can be on those occasions when motivation to communicate is at its highest. If CHOMSKY is right to doubt the basically "habitual" and analogical nature of linguistic behaviour, and if at the same time generative linguistics is still very far from achieving a "level of theoretical understanding that might enable it to support a 'technology' of language teaching" (N. CHOMSKY, 1966, p.43), then there seems all the more reason to orient the selected content of syllabuses towards a proper understanding of some of the socio-linguistic dynamics of learning situations. (103)

One of the first requirements for sound language teaching is for adequate socio-linguistic descriptions of those features of speech communities that bear most heavily on the needs and motivations of the particular learners concerned. In speaking of Somalia (3.2 above), it was pointed out that socio-linguistic surveys cannot be fitted meaningfully into a uniform set of categories or questions. For one thing, the list and its complexities soon becomes prohibitively large, for another not all items on it will be of equivalent significance everywhere. J.A. FISHMAN (1966), as we have seen, stresses the need to identify and describe domains of language use against the background of socio-cultural dynamics particular for the speech community concerned. The same principle applies - or should at the outset be assumed to apply - to all other relevant features, noteably of course features characterising bilingualism and bi-dialectalism in the community.

Bilingualism and bi-dialectalism must of course be seen against a background of linguistic analysis applied to each given language or dialect. But descriptive analysis in multilingual settings invites contrastive analysis, and contrastive analysis the analysis of "interference" and "integration" (see E. HAUGEN, 1956; A.R. DIEBOLD, 1961; W.F. MACKEY, 1967). (104) The important point however is that all such analysis should relate to the operation of socio-linguistic factors as seen from the standpoint of the speech community itself (on the speech community as focus in analysis,

see: U. WEINREICH, 1953, p. 83 ff.; E. HAUGEN, 1956, p.91 ff.; J.J. GUMPERZ, 1958, 1961, 1964, 1965, 1966; C.A. FERGUSON, 1959, 1962, 1966a, 1966b; C.A. FERGUSON and J.J. GUMPERZ, 1960; D.H. HYMES, 1961a, 1961b, 1964a, 1964b, 1964c: esp. p.385 to 390; ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, 6,6, June 1964, p.2 ff.; J.A. FISHMAN, 1965, 1966: esp. Appendix B; W. BRIGHT, 1966). These will include, at a very general level of abstraction the following: the degree to which the community itself, or parts of it, is monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, diglossic, etc., and the relation of such facts to the facts of individual bilingualism and linguistic exposure (105) mode of use (production, reception, inner speech); the identity of regional and social groups characterised by habitual choice of language; "domains" of use in terms of physical settings and role relationships; speech functions; channels of communication (note that the various mass media can also be taken up under physical features of domains); conventionally recognised status terms for languages such as "standard", "official", "classical", "vernacular", "pidgin", "creole", "high", "low", etc.; attitudes towards (including motivations for learning) languages, dialects, styles, habits of bilingualism and bi-dialectalism, etc. - and towards users; the nature and effects of language planning (as, for example, choice of media of instruction in schools and higher education, adoption or modification of writing systems, deliberate hastening of lexical expansion: see E. HAUGEN, 1966b, for a general discussion); the nature and extent of socio-cultural adaptation suffered by languages and dialects in contact, not least by second-languages in school curricula (including emphases of this nature lent to a second language by teachers of it who happen to be native speakers of - for the learners - some other second language); and topic, or subject-matter (a difficult notion, but one which is not necessarily to be relegated to second place behind "domain", as J.A. FISHMAN, 1966, wishes to do). Any and all of these factors can be regarded in terms of statistics (speakers, languages, geographical extent and density and distribution, etc.); beliefs entertained by various groups of persons (concerning others as well as themselves - comparisons of various sorts would be instructive: see H.M. HOENIGSWALD, 1966); directions of change; levels of proficiency (involving questions such as the nature of intelligibility - reciprocal and non-reciprocal, of "compound" and "coordinate" bilingualism, etc.); inter-relationships with other factors (including various forms of incompatibility - as between language and skills taught in schools and those used or valued or needed in the community outside the school); how each factor not only inter-relates with others but also assumes greater or lesser relevance or power to override the effects of others; and finally the appropriateness or otherwise of different methodologies for analysis (noteably involving a choice between the use of introspection and observation, artificial and naturalistic settings, relative to each other and in various degrees: see esp. S. ERVIN-TRIPP, 1964).

A large number of quite distinct types of investigation could be sketched out drawing on different combinations of all such factors at various levels of refinement. To what extent it would be possible to generalise, as J.B. CARROLL (1962b) would wish to do, among "language learning situations" with the use that is to say of certain fixed factors ("key variables": p.75), and excluding all others, is a moot point. CARROLL wishes to "make predictions concerning the characteristics and course of the learning process" in each type of situation, assuming that each can be "discovered to have numerous analogues" (p.76). But in order to stand a real chance of finding analogues to a situation such as "native American children learning French in American public schools," and extending as widely as "many classrooms of countries in the British Commonwealth(U.K., Canada, Australia), in West European countries, and in certain parts of the U.S.S.R." (p.76), one's key variables would have to be very general indeed: yielding, it would seem, equally general predictions. (106) Each of CARROLL's key variables are indeed very general. "Degrees of difference between languages," historically derived, are specified as precisely five in number, and concern the sound system, grammar, vocabulary and writing system without reference to socio-linguistic considerations and without reference to the various particular respects in which totally unrelated languages may be strikingly similar or dissimilar. Prominent among these are those systems of contextual-structural correlations in which there is evident comparability or non-comparability. J.C. CATFORD (1965, p.45) illustrates the different contextual and structural values of personal pronoun forms in Bahasa Indonesia and English. The former gives

reference, and between "familiar" and "non-familiar" relationships; English but not Indonesian has gender distinctions; and so forth. French, Italian, etc., match Indonesian more closely than does English in the second person (tu, vous); and more generally, there are the many languages which also obligatorily convey an exclusive/inclusive distinction somewhere in the morphology of the pronoun, verb, etc. Comparabilities of this sort must have effect on the language learning problem. There are no doubt many differences between Standard Korean, Bahasa Indonesia, and French. The obligatory expression in Korean however of an "in-group"/"out-group" distinction, in its choice of verb suffixes for address (see S.E. MARTIN, 1964, p.409), is relateable in kind to Indonesian and French pronoun usage. Japanese, on the other hand, although in most respects rather similar to Korean, does not do this except in the case of verbs meaning "to give". Even more general likenesses between two genetically quite unrelated languages in respect of their expression of a rather considerable range of (say inter-personal) meanings by rather comparable grammatical means (but without exact equivalence in either respect) may still have some bearing on the language learning process. The codification by means of distinct levels of familiarity and deference in in-group and out-group language by the use of a small class of suffixes is not even remotely paralleled, structurally speaking, in a language like say English. There are however recognisable similarities to be seen in a language as far removed as the Bantu language Yao (see K. MBAGA and W. H. WHITELEY, 1961), in which by no means incomparable dimensions of "formality and informality" are expressed with the use of certain prefixes and suffixes applied to certain grammatical forms. Languages are in a very real sense more meaningfully compared, the more comparison is compositely structured and contextual; and the more comparison is focussed on aspects of languages rather than on whole languages the better.

Even when all this is recognised, however, its applicability to the learning situation itself will still vary enormously with another of CARROLL's variables: "the skill of the teacher in the second language and in teaching it." But what precisely (or even generally) is implied by the term "skill"? This appears to be the only "key variable" that could be made to connect even remotely with the question (otherwise ignored) of what respects of the L2 are in fact taught - rather as if this were some kind of constant across all the situational analogues from Canada to the U.S.S.R. "Level of attainment expected" too (p.73) begs an equally large number of questions; it may be true to say of American children learning French in American public schools that "it is expected that each child will progress as far as he can toward full competence in all aspects of French" (p.75), but what do "full competence" and "all aspects" mean? It is noteable that CARROLL's other two hypothetical examples of types of situation duplicate this requirement, rather than elucidate it contrastively. In some respects on the other hand CARROLL multiplies distinctions in an equally imprecise manner. What for example is gained by asserting a categorical distinction between "positive", "neutral", and "negative" motivation? What is the nature of "intrinsic" as compared with "extrinsic" motivation? If intrinsic motivation "has to do with the child's own attitudes towards the learning of the language", extrinsic motivation with the "rewards or punishment which emanate from others", then one has to arrive at some means for identifying the distinguishing characteristics of self-emanating motivation. This is not to deny its validity, however, since some such distinction allows one, as we have seen, to escape the rigours of behaviouristic lore (see 2.1 above); but is it therefore appropriate to contribute to the codification of a given situation by reducing the complexities of motivation to exactly one out of exactly nine possible permutations? The appearance of precision may simply succeed in concealing the relativity of what it is one is attaching labels to.

Even more important however is the question of what CARROLL chooses to omit entirely from his list of key variables: for example the uses to which it is expected thelearner will put his knowledge of the L2 after leaving school (who uses what language with whom and when ... in the speech community); how far the learner and his teachers know what these are, in other words the broader socio-linguistic "belief systems" at work in the learning situation; the extent to which the learner will be required later on to switch codes according to the play of one contextual factor or another - and, more immediately, the nature of the code-switching habits

environment; the extent to which, and respects in which the pupil can be observed to "pick up" the L2 outside the school, and how far these natural processes of language learning are taken into account or even envisaged by teachers, textbooks, administrators, etc. ("degree of contact with the L2," one of CARROLL's variables, sub-categorised into four cases, does not in itself connect with the question of what the pupil makes of the various situations in which he might stand a chance of learning something); the amount and direction of socio-cultural adaptation or "integration" suffered by the L2 (at the hands of native speakers of the learner's L1 ... of the L2 itself ... or of some third language), how this factor relates to levels of achievement of one sort or another, and the manner in which the L2 is adapted to meet problems presented by extreme socio-cultural heterogeneity among pupils in the same school or class; (107) and so forth. No doubt these particular questions could easily be supplemented by others. (108) The real point however is that each such question is not necessarily to be answered by reference to some set of cardinal points or "cases". One cannot reduce the matter to algebraic notation (see also the discussion arising from C.A. FERGUSON, 1966b).

Needless to say the study of socio-linguistic factors affecting the learning situation can be conducted by other than survey techniques reflecting the status quo. It may sometimes be more instructive to initiate something and see what happens, as was done quite noteably by G.E. PERREN (1959a, 1959b, 1960) in the early stages of the Nairobi Special Centre English-medium "PEAK" Course. In aiming to establish an explicitly educational element in the selection and grading of teaching material it was felt necessary, among other things, to pay very particular regard to the social environment of its young learners. Much too can be learned directly from the use of adult or near-adult learners of an L2 as, in effect, informants. The teacher who speaks the L2 natively and who is enabled to set aside textbooks and syllabus requirements for a reasonable period of time, and who is fortunate enough to possess a tape-recorder and find it welcomed in the classroom, can elicit much valuable information. The writer found himself in this position in the Mongolian People's Republic for a teaching period of 180 hours during April and May 1966. The mutual benefit to be gained from focussing most lessons on the very natural desire among the learners themselves to give expression to their own cultural heritage soon became evident. This aim can be achieved of course not only by bluntly asking for this type of information but also by inviting it to assert itself through the use of imaginary situations or even informal games.

The problem of what to tell the learner (as well as the teacher) about the language being learned has been referred to in connection with the native language. D.E. BROADBENT (1967) points out that the current tendency to minimise teaching of an abstract knowledge of the L2 may not take sufficient account of the extent to which the learning of a principle will transfer to a new situation. He goes on: "To take an analogy, it is necessary for a pilot to learn the fine muscular movements of flying an aircraft ... It is also useful however for him to understand the principles of aerodynamics so that he is not surprised to stall in a high speed turn, and it is essential for him to understand the principles of navigation rather than to be taught the way to each new city by practising specifically on that route" (p.9). BROADBENT's general point lends support to the view that the second-language learner no less than the native-language user-learner will benefit not a little from instruction in the nature of language, and of his task as a language learner. Moreover, this would entail explanation of language learning as the making of discriminations that are not purely grammatical, phonological, lexical, etc., but also (or rather) socio-lingusitic. Further than this, he should be made more aware than he might already be of certain aspects of the roles played by the L1 and L2 in his community. The question is not merely that of whether principles should be taught explicitly, as one of what principles should be taught.

Different processes of language learning result not only in a contrast between compound and coordinate bilingualism, but also in different shades of compound bilingualism, depending on the nature of the existing

It may be worth looking further into the possibilities inherent in a socio-linguistic basis for the explanation of language and second language teaching material with a view to assisting the learner in developing a beneficial form of compound bilingualism. Learner and teacher alike are bound in any case to conceptualise their task in some degree. The language lesson itself is a speech event in its own right, in which all concerned are therefore engaged, at various levels of awareness, in focussing on one aspect or another of meaning (see also 6 above).
The kind of psychological insight which sees language learning as more than the development of "basic perceptual and motor skills", more that is than the unthinking and uncreative development of specific responses to specific stimuli, is by no means incompatible with the imparting of an underlying socio-linguistic perspective.

NOTES

1. It can be too easily forgotten that the first mainsprings of modern linguistics lay in the work of anthropologists like BOAS and SAPIR. On linguistics as a "science", P.M. POSTAL (1966, p.153 esp.) argues (like R.B. LEES, N. CHOMSKY, etc.) that the presumed methods of science should not have priority over goals and subject matter. D.H. HYMES (1964b, p.8) contrasts unwarranted general "independence" with proper "autonomy" in particular respects.

2. That is to say, there may be shoes for alligators or shoes made out of alligators, but nothing in the organisation of the language tells us which sense is currently appropriate.

3. Not, for example, "distributional" linguists like Z. HARRIS, for whom utterances do not have inherent meaning.

4. This is SKINNER's view. One should not forget that the use of introspection is not confined to generative linguists only. A. MARTINET's statement (1964) that "Modern 'structuralists' are at one in ... rejecting introspection in its entirity" is misleading.

5. Thus F.C. FRICK ("Perceptual Problems" in Current Trends in Information Theory) compares the 35 bits per second achieved by the human being reading randomly chosen words as fast as possible and the several million bits per second transmitted by television.

6.)
7.)
8.) See Appendix 1.
9.)
10.)

11. See J. LYONS, 1966: "But the analysis of situation is a programme that should be pushed forward by linguists" (p.292).

12. Refer to N.CHOMSKY (1957) for example. Also 1964a: "In general, as syntactic description becomes deeper, what appear to be semantic questions fall increasingly within its scope" (p.76,77). And 1965, esp. comments on p.99, 132 ff., 141 ff. Note here the postulated semantic non-significance of transformations which fall outside the base component (thereby emphasising the semantic identity of deep structures).

13. See J.J. KATZ and J.A. FODOR (1963); J.J. KATZ and P. POSTAL (1964).

14. "Langue" and "parole" are indeed related (N. CHOMSKY, 1964, p.4) to "competence" and "performance", as the continued frequent use of the terms by generative linguists attests. N.CHOMSKY (1964a) emphasises the differences, but still finds the distinction itself a crucial one (see esp. p.52).

15. Note esp. N. CHOMSKY (1964a): "In evaluating a particular generative grammar, we ask whether the information that it gives us about a language is correct, that is, whether it describes correctly the linguistic intuition of the speaker (Saussure's 'conscience des sujets parlants', which to him, as to Sapir, provides the ultimate test of adequacy for a linguistic description)".

16. See P.M. POSTAL (1965), fn.16.

17. SAPIR's essay "The psychological reality of phonemes" (1933) is frequently referred to in this connection.

18. See K.L. PIKE (1954-60), ch.2, and (1967), p.149: brief and somewhat cavalier references. What PIKE himself intends to convey is not, one feels, so very different from what SAUSSURE intended to convey.

19. The whole sign, not merely the signifiant, is a "form".

20. See also D.H. HYMES (1961a).

21. See W.H. GOODENOUGH (1957), p.37; also, for a relatively informal yet informative treatment from this angle, C.O. FRAKE (1964).

22. See also U. WEINREICH (1963), fn.12; also, less specifically on "pragmatics", D. HYMES (1964b), p.35.

23. This is in Anthropological Linguistics, 8,8 (November 1966), a set of essays on the theme of "ethnoscience", the product of a symposium organised by the 1966 Meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society.

24. Assuming, that is, an exactly equivalent set of categories for analysis in terms of cultural competence.

25. They seem alien enough to many in their own field of enquiry. One might suppose that componential analysis is likely to be of direct relevance in this connection: if so, it is worth reflecting, with J. LYONS (1963a, p.180), that componential analysis might satisfactorily locate coordinates for kinship systems, yet be unable to do so for most other semantic fields. The attempt to impose a distinctive feature patterning upon the use of words at large, and in so doing to make minimal reference to work of a fundamentally similar nature already done outside linguistics, seems to pave the way for criticism of the same order as that of C. LEVI-STRAUSS when, originally in 1945, he dismissed an earlier sociological attempt at a distinctive feature analysis of kinship on the grounds that it was neither realistic, nor simplifying, nor explanatory. "If system there is," he wrote, "it could only be conceptual" (1958, p.42). In a sense, KATZ and FODOR are engaging in a kind of micro-sociology in much of their semantic work, which might well fall far short of what they concede to be the merely "limited theory of selection by socio-physical setting" (p.489) within reach of self-confessed socio-linguists.

26. A. McINTOSH (1963), esp. p.120-1: on markers of "involvement" between Celia and Rosalind in As You Like It. "My main purpose in sketching this example has been to show that a preoccupation with a certain kind of stylisitc 'tone' or 'atmosphere' forced me to consider, all in one group, a heterogeneous collection of grammatical resources... which grammarians would not normally bring together in this way ..."

27. Compare for example the application of a "power : solidarity" distinction by J. RUBIN (1962) to help to explain preferential selections of the Spanish or Guarani language in Paraguay, with its application, earlier, by R.W. BROWN and A. GILMAN (1960) to selection from pronoun variants in many Indo-European languages.

28. See A. McINTOSH (1965). The single isolated text, or set of texts, might well be regarded as a form of accident, not obliging anyone to observe all of it equally.

29. "Grammaticality" and "acceptability", hence all system in language, being infinitely relative, seem to demand statistical treatment in the final analysis. See G. HERDAN (1967) for a very sharp statement of this view.

30. D.H. HYMES (1964a, p.5) sketches a "British point of view" (deriving largely from the work of MALINOWSKI) which sees the relation between language and other aspects of culture as interdependence between different aspects of the same event or social action. "Language itself is seen as primarily an activity ..." In general, this appears to be undeniable; one has only to note J.R. FIRTH's rejection of DE SAUSSURE (in J.R. FIRTH, 1950, p.179-181), and the current emphasis of "neo-Firthian" linguistics upon observable patterning at the level of "context" (see 5.21 below). But it is equally the case that if there is a single American tradition in this general field it is that which emphasises the special importance of language to the understanding of the unconscious patterning of mental phenomenen (see again D.H. HYMES, 1964c, p.12). E. SAPIR (1927b) epitomises the general perspective which still informs much American work. See 1.2 above.

31. See 5.21 below.

32. A "domain" of language use is as much a two-sided notion as DE SAUSSURE's "sign", calling for both linguistic and socio-cultural description. This being so, it is not the prerogative of the linguist alone, nor the sociologist alone, nor anyone else alone, to provide such description. In practice, however, and necessarily, there has to be a general direction of analysis such that a largely linguistic statement is made on the basis of or concerning largely sociological (etc.) data,

33. He writes: "It would seem that since we are concerned with the possibility of stability or change in language behaviou. .he one hand, we must be equally concerned with all of the forces contributing to stability or to change in human behaviour more generally, on the other" (p.441). There is need, he goes on later, for "more general theories of personal, social and cultural change ..... it will be necessary for t. udy of language maintenance and language shift to be conducted within the co. of studies of intergroup contacts that attend to important other-than-language processes: urbanisation (ruralisation), industrialisation (or its abandonment), nationalism (or de-ethnization) .....etc. The overall objective is a "typology of language contact situations" (p.446) capable of systematising how the "American immigrant case" differs from the "Anglo-American conquest case", and so on. Reference is made to R.A. SCHERMERHORN "Toward a General Theory of Minority Groups" (1963) and to earlier work of a similar nature. FISHMAN goes on to suggest that although "anthropologists, historians, linguists, sociologists and psychologists" have long studied "phenomena related to language maintenance and language shift", yet "only rarely and recently has such interest led to a definition and formulation of this field of study in its own right" (fn.2, p.424).

34. In WEINREICH's view each one of a bilingual's languages may be "dominant" (or not dominant) in terms of several criteria separately: relative proficiency, mode of use, order of learning and age, usefulness in communication, emotional involvement, function in social advance, and literary-cultural value, each discussed in turn (p. 75-79). The specific question of "domains" is treated under a separate heading (p.87 ff.), and is oddly enough not referred back to "usefulness in communication" (p.77) - which is stated to be an"easily measurable factor". It is difficult to pin down WEINREICH's view of "domain". On p.98 it is stated that the"difficulty of ranking two mother-tongue groups in hierarchical order is aggravated by the need to rank functions of the languages as well" (the term "functions" for WEINREICH having earlier, p.87,been used more or less synonymously with "domains"). But he goes on (p.98) to elevate "difference in social status" above functional diversity as an "expedient" restriction of the term "dominant". However, later still, and now in connection with "language shifts", it is stated that these "should be analysed in terms of the functions of the languages in the contact situation, since a mother-tongue group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in others" (p.107). At this point, reference is made to the discussion of domains on p.87. Also at this point WEINREICH interestingly enough relegates "a simple statement as to which language has higher 'prestige' or 'social value'" to a lesser place behind domain analysis and analysis of such matters as urbanisation, religious affiliation, and so forth (p.108). FISHMAN in effect reinforces certain developing tendencies observable in WEINREICH's work, in general away from over-simplification of one sort or another.

35. See for example J.C. CATFORD (1965, p.90), A. DAVIES (1965, p.26), J. ELLIS (1966, p.83), M.A.K. HALLIDAY et al (1964, p.92, 93), J. SPENCER and M. GREGORY (1964, p.88,89), P.D. STEVENS (1964, p.29), M. GREGORY (1967, p.185), A. WILKINSON (1965). It is not so much that all these writers (and several others) regard participant relationships themselves as easily reducible to a single scale of formality, as that to each author corresponding linguistic variety can be described in terms of some such single scale. There is a useful discussion of "formality" in J.L. FISCHER (1958). FISCHER questions whether there might or might not be a more or less universal "formality complex" to which many diverse factors contribute: compliance, tenseness, femaleness, topic, socio-economic class, etc. He is surely right however to suggest that in cultures other than the American the same inter-personal factors may not co-occur to constrain choice of linguistic form upon one such scale. There are many related questions one might wish to add: in any given language, for example, are there certain formal features which do seem to answer to a more or less replicable formality complex of social factors, while other features answer to quite different sets of social relation-ships? - It seems often to be the case for example that relatively simple morphological or phonological oppositions or tendencies (-in/-ing; the initial consonant in "thing" as stop or affricate in New York speech: W. LABOV, 1964, 1966a, 1966b; verb morphology in standard Japanese and Korean: S.E. MARTIN, 1964; even prefix patterns in the Bantu language Yao: K. MMAGA and W.H. WHITELEY, 1961) do seem to relate to comparable formality complexes (allowing for the uniqueness of each culture at a more refined level of analysis), yet will the same factors necessarily operate to constrain choice of more "stylistic" or less highly codified variants, or of one dialect or language rather than another? These are questions socio-linguistics has to ask, not - as FISHMAN appears to do - prejudge.

36. In various places BERNSTEIN provides details of what the two codes look like when analysed. One is liable to be struck however not only by the "restricted" range (in many empirical aspects) of such [illegible]

(more seriously) by a puzzling distinction (made as recently as 1966) between "linguistic" and "verbal" on the one hand and "paralinguistic" and "extraverbal" on the other. Grammatical and lexical contrast are seen to belong with the first, while factors of rhythm, stress, pitch, etc. are regarded (along with gesture and facial expression) as aspects of the second. The elaborated and restricted codes lean heavily in the one and the other direction respectively. In the former, "meanings will have to be expanded and raised to the level of verbal explicitness", while in the latter "the unique meaning of the individual is likely to be verbally implicit". One would have imagined that a fairly crucial ability of the cultured person is that of handling a large range of inter-personal meanings through the use of systematically contrasted features of intonation and so forth - these being just as much linguistic as paralinguistic or (which is surely not the same thing) extralinguistic.

37. See the very frequently (and necessarily) reiterated emphasis in the NEWSOM REPORT on the inability of many school pupils to get themselves across. Thus: "They are not likely to persevere unless something is done to lessen their greatest handicap - that inability to express themselves which soon convinces them that they have nothing to express ..... A double obligation rests upon the schools. They have to provide the background of conversation and exchange of information which an educated family offers, and they have to coax their pupils to take part in it" (ch.14). See also the following paragraphs: 49, 50, 86-89, 247, 291, 324, 329, 330, 346, 467, 468, 484, 485.

38. GUMPERZ distinguishes among role-governed social networks in India elsewhere (1961, p.420; also 1965a): networks of marriage, caste, trade, pilgrimage, etc., each related to the use of some particular vernacular, "argot", standard language, and so forth, with or without code-switching and differential proficiency in production and reception.

39. On "open" and "closed" networks, compare W.J.H. SPROTT (1958). In particular, p.9 ff.: definition of "social groups"; p.15 ff.: "primary" and "secondary" groups; p.53 ff.: "external" and "internal" systems of communication in the group; p.57 ff.: types of primary group - according to interests and permanence; etc. See also W.W. LAMBERT and W.E. LAMBERT (1964), p.87 ff., on primary and secondary groups (briefly). (Both SPROTT and LAMBERT incidentally characterise their work as "social psychology" rather than "sociology", and each is concerned to discuss this distinction (SPROTT, p.19 ff.; LAMBERT, p.2 ff.). LAMBERT remarks that social psychology is often referred to as "micro-sociology").

40. The nature of the occasion, its meaning for the participants, may vary not only with observable factors like physical setting etc., but also with perhaps unsuspected characteristics of participants - or groups of these. Thus W.P. ROBINSON (1965b) suggests that "lower working class" subjects may respond to the "same" topic (for example capital punishment) on the same occasion with the use of a different code from "middle class" subjects: yet one should not assume that this particular topic will necessarily prompt the use, for all subjects, of a particular way of speaking, were this available.

FISHMAN believes topic to be far less significant than domain where choice of language or dialect, rather than variant, is concerned. Not enough is known about the dynamics of code-switching to generalise, however, and one should be alive to the possible operation of many such unsuspected features of "domain".

In a sense, the validity of any general factor such as "prestige" or "formality", even when all agree about their relevance as labels to choice of language, will depend upon precise situational specification. F.W. HOUSEHOLDER (1963) provides some illuminating details concerning the uses of the "literary standard" Katharevusa (K) and "dialectal" Demotic (D) in present-day Greece. The mere recognition of the former as the literary standard does not in itself for example predict its equal representation (with D) in the literature of art history, biography, and some science; nor its exclusive use in most newspapers for news stories as well as editorials; nor its use for "social" letters; nor its inappropriateness for nearly all artistic, literary, and theatre criticism; and so forth. FISHMAN's elevation of "domain" over "topic" does not easily square with the apparent importance of the latter in the dynamics of rapid code-switching between K and D (p.130): compare the observations of W.A. STEWART (1963) on the importance of "mood of discourse", clearly in part governed by topic, above. HOUSEHOLDER also stresses the conscious focus of "Greek folk culture" on vocabulary, rather than on grammar, this having the effect of promoting lexical but not grammatical continuity from K to D, speakers judging usage in general in terms of vocabulary. Description at this level of

41. See J.B. CASAGRANDE (1963), p.280 ff., and references mentioned there; plus C. KLUCKHOHN (1962), p.273 ff. There appears to be little indication in anthropological thinking of universalities other than such as "wants" and "moral concepts" (KLUCKHOHN, p.277), etc. This accords with J.R. FIRTH's "pessimistic picture of linguistic human nature", drawn with a few "very general categories" (1937, p.95); and, of course, with the remarks of A.I. HALLOWELL referred to above.

42. One should note, as a methodological point of some generality, the impossibility (noted by M. STACEY, referred to by KLEIN) of "placing everybody, even broadly, in one class system"; that is to say of classifying people "on an objective characteristic, thus apparently identifying and measuring a group, although it has not been observed in operation". The preferred alternative is that of describing groups "which have been seen to exist". An analogous view of things is that which focusses on specific domains, which do "exist", rather than on supposedly universal characteristics, which might or might not apply in particular cases.

43. The politically-minded reader may have noted the wistful remark by Douglas Jay, once President of the Board of Trade, that "power" is "rather a myth", a "very difficult animal to find once you're in contact with it". There is an interesting brief discussion in S. SILVERMAN (1966, p.917 ff.) of what "power" and "prestige" are. In particular he points out that "social intimacy" - our "solidarity" - is not always expressive of "social equality" - in the sense of equality of prestige. Nor will socio-economic rank, education, or any other census item - bearing comparison that is to say with the general factor of "power" - necessarily correspond with prestige as responded to by the bearers of the culture concerned. Nor will prestige factors necessarily lend themselves to existing terminology in the language. With this last point, one might compare W.W. and W.E. LAMBERT (1964) p.44 ff. and the discussion of "intuitive " and "analytic" modes of thought in J.S. BRUNER (1960) and (1962).

Compare too J.L FISCHER (1958); 486 ff. "... people adopt a variant primarily ... because it expresses how they feel about their relative status versus other conversants, "bringing about a "protracted pursuit of an elite by an envious mass and consequent flight of the elite," this being "the most important mechanism in linguistic drift." He goes on to discuss the need to apply prestige indices to linguistic variants - indices whose "threshold" will fall as time goes on (necessitating the appearance of new series of variants, to be chased in turn ...). FISCHER admits however that an elite is not to be easily identified, and adds: "The study of social factors in linguistic drift is in the field of the sociology of language rather than linguistics proper". U. WEINREICH (1957) makes much the same point: "The linguist's oversimplified model of a 'prestige slope' on which innovations slide down will presumably be modified to allow for the diffusion of foreign material into national languages in a slangy 'anti-prestige' direction" (p.191). But this too in effect stresses the fact that "prestige", like its sister term "status", (and for that matter "power", "solidarity", and the like) is a many-faceted notion which demands of the linguist that he be something of a sociologist in order to make certain types of linguistic statement. D. HYMES (1961b) writes that a language may be retained without its possessing prestige, as for example in the case of "anti-white language loyalty" (p.62 ff). He too warns the reader, however, to beware of "the blanket term of an unanalysed differential 'prestige'" (p.74).

44. The term "needs" is not intended in itself to strike any one psychological chord more than any other; rather, it should be allowed in this context to have the same (admittedly imprecise) value as HALLOWELL's "basic orientations" (see 2.2 above).

45. See C.A. FERGUSON's definition of "diglossia" in FERGUSON (1959), p.435. Very broadly, the stable co-existence of two structurally rather different varieties of a single language, the one of "high" status the other "low", each appropriate to distinct contextual roles. See also esp. W. WRIGHT and A.K. RAMANUJAN.

46. See for example P.L. GARVIN (1959), E. HAUGEN (1966a), G.E. PERREN and M.F. HOLLOWAY (1965).

47. This is the underlying assumption (rather, that the "inferior" person normally seeks familiarity) of R.W. BROWN and M. FORD (1961), but of course it may be questioned.

(H. KLOSS, 1966): domains of use outside the classroom; the influence of role relationships of one sort or another upon choice of language; the incidence of code-switching, integration, and interference; directions of language maintenance and shift (see J.A. FISHMAN, 1966, Appendix B); correspondences or non-correspondences between bilingualism and biculturalism; mutual or non-reciprocal intelligibility among languages (H. WOLFF, 1959); the usage of regional, socio-economic, and other social groups involving an assessment among other things of relationships between ethnicity and choice of language; socio-cultural change of one sort or another, such as urbanisation, migration, industralisation, etc. (J.A. FISHMAN, 1966, Appendix B); and so forth (see also 8 below). At the same time, emphasis has to rest on the relative importance of such matters. It is necessary to avoid the danger of a mere listing and equivalent weighting of all those considerations that might be relevant to however small an extent.

51. It is unfortunate that plans for a national university (which inter alia, could have applied its hand to the problem of socio-linguistic education - a sine qua non for sound language planning) appear to the outside observer to have got no further since 1965.

52. For American students studying French in Louisiana and Connecticut the ("integrative") F - Scale and Orientation Index scores correlate very poorly with scores for "oral production", "achievement", and "aptitude". Each of these two indices were obtained from replies to questionaires asking for reasons for studying French (Part I, p.7, 8). Neither correlate at all impressively with "intensity of motivation", with the exception of the Orientation Index in Connecticut. Correlation with "ability to comprehend complex discussions in French" averages approximately nil (that is to say, there are negative correlations): it is of interest however to note that verbal I.Q. fares no better in this respect, whereas a semi-creative item on J.B. CARROLL's battery of aptitude test items ("spelling clues") achieves some measure of significance. There are notable differences in the Maine results however, particularly with respect to the F-Scale Index (reflecting "authoritative or undemocratic tendencies and generalised prejudicial orientations towards foreign peoples"). Instrumental motivation ratings fare on the whole even worse than integrative ratings. At the same time, intensity of motivation ("in terms of work done for assignments, future intentions to study and make use of the language, amount of practice given to the language....", etc.,) correlates reasonably well with such as "mid-year French grades", etc. - as one might expect. So whence does the intensity arise?

53. There is an interesting but somewhat neglected treatment of bilingualism and biculturalism in N.A. MCQUOWN (1963). The author subjects five Mexican bilingual informants (one Spanish-speaking non-Indian "ladino" and four vernacular-speaking Indians) to T.A.T. and photographic "cultural projection" tests, seeking to relate responses to these with linguistic admixtures of Spanish and Indian vernacular respectively. Only two informants showed themselves to be both bilingual and markedly bicultural, in the sense that although, as in two cases, the native speaker of an Indian vernacular might display much evidence of "hispanicising" and "slavish literal translation" in his use of the vernacular, at the same time he might display very little sympathy or sense of identity with the Ladino culture. Further than this, there is an evident distinction between knowledge of and feeling for the other culture (MCQUOWN's informant no.4). This study is concerned to explore the characteristics of bilingual mediators between two cultures.

54. This is clearly a crucial problem for the language teacher and underlines the extreme undesirability, in principle, of using teachers and "advisers" who speak neither language natively. Yet this is the very widespread practice of for example UNESCO. See also 8 below.

55. Good examples are: R.W. BROWN and M.FORD (1961) - more fully discussed in 5.23 below, R.W. BROWN and A. GILMAN (1960), and S.E. MARTIN (1964).

56. One might compare the broader span of R. JAKOBSON's approach to the functions of language (1962), which he sees in terms of a hierarchy of "focus" on the part of each participant on each of the characteristic constituents of the speech event: addresser, addressee, channel, code, message, and context. Directions of focus are expressed as corresponding functions: emotive or expressive, conative, phatic, metalingual, poetic, and contextual, respectively.

57. A shopkeeper whose shop stands too conveniently near a row of parking meters responded to this request by the writer not long ago with some annoyance: "why does everybody say 'can't'?"

58. After all, one soon adjusts to "I tought I taw a puddy tat" language....

59. See also fn.40: awareness of the socially symbolic value of language is always more or less sharp according to different features of the language in question. In general, the more interesting features from this point of view are those the choice of which engage the user in a good deal of deliberation of the sort which is not entirely reducible to consciousness of gross social stereotypes or even conscious awareness at all. Leave-taking repertoires, for example, are not arrived at or handled quickly or easily. Who among us has not caught himself at some time or another trying to get away, casting around in his mind for the right formula, the odd word or two, or long story for that matter, that does the trick smoothly and acceptably? J.R. FIRTH (1935) undoubtedly had this sort of thing in mind when he wrote that "conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think". The term "ritual" here should not mislead one into thinking of such choices as straightforward. Slotting into the right ritual in such respects is not so easy, not so conscious, yet still deliberate and revealing.

60. See also T.A. SEBEOK (1963, p.56 ff., and references); and E. STANKIEWICZ (1964, p.248).

61. The linguist may be his own best informant, but if it is someone else's language he is studying the question can arise too of whether or not he must or can or should make use of an intermediary who both "knows" the person(s) concerned and possesses a good measure of the linguist's experience or awareness of problems in the use of introspection. This is inevitable of course in these cases where the usage of a large number of people has to be gathered from a representative informant, and in the study of children's language. Not long ago a functional analysis, exploratory enough, of the language of two three-year-old nursery school children in a one-hour natural play situation (recorded and observed unseen) was carried out by an experienced teacher (Mrs. J.Y. Tough, Institute of Education, University of Leeds) and the writer. A very recurrent functional distinction indeed soon established itself, between the description of objects (and the other participant) and their manipulation. The distinction seemed certainly to be there, yet was by no means matched by formal linguistic contrasts of an immediately obvious sort. In this as in other respects much reliance has to be placed on the interpretative ability of the knowledgeable or perceptive informant.

62. Code-switching itself, between languages and dialects, may sometimes be governed by such functions: at any rate the possibility should be entertained until disproved. This will also apply to the "integration" of two languages (E. HAUGEN, 1956, p.39 ff., uses this term for those cases where borrowed items either clearly are or clearly are not altered in structure: where there is uncertainty the term applied is "interference"). Similarly, one can look at phenomena of inter-language "influence" (the coining of new words, extension of meanings, etc.) and "displacement" (the loss or accretion of functional power by one language under pressure from another language or culture) from this same viewpoint. And of course the question of the extent of "functional relativity" across languages (D. HYMES, 1961b. fn.48 above) acquires further meaning in this particular respect. For an interesting example of proficient bilingual code-switching, considered to some extent functionally, between English and Spanish in very young children, see M. CAMPBELL, 1967.

63. For example, consider the trouble sometimes caused by having to weigh together the relative significance of factors of age, sex, seniority, length of acquaintanceship, physical setting, identity of others present, etc., when choosing the "right" address form...

64. It is possible to get the impression from PIKE that the looking-in-from-outside perspective acquired by the polyglot (synchronically or diachronically orientated, incidentally) is not of great value to the linguist. This is not what PIKE himself intends to say, and would be quite misleading.

65. The distinction between intuitive and analytical thinking has been touched on in fn.43 above, with references. From the present methodological point of view one notes CHOMSKY's call for "ingenious experiments" to achieve external validation, and their recent use in practice by R. QUIRK in his study of acceptability judgments. As QUIRK points out, linguistically naive informants are hard to come by. S. SILVERMAN (1966) provides an informative account of informant (or "participant" : PIKE) analysis deliberately prompted by himself, in his capacity as outside investigator, in his enquiries into prestige stratification in a central Italian community. His problem in

effect concerned cultural competence: how to "discover the principles by which the bearers of particular cultures organise their universe and respond to it in culturally appropriate ways". SILVERMAN makes use of techniques whereby specially selected informants are made to progressively sort pairs of families known to them according to relative prestige ranks; also to attempt to specify what it is in each case that seems to prompt that particular sorting. That is to say, his informants are pressed to reveal and even formulate systematic aspects of cultural competence of which they themselves may initially have been relatively unaware.

66. At any rate, a bias of this sort is methodologically expedient, even if, as R.A. HALL jr. (1965) points out, verbal behaviour itself is not unidirectional. Although subject matter does have priority over method, it does not follow that method should therefore reflect subject matter in every particular. In this respect at any rate the dangers are fairly apparent. J.B. CARROLL (1962a) provides an example of negative results attending the attempt to relate two sets of already "given" factors (structural and semantic in this case), while R.M.W. DIXON (1964b) illustrates the difficulties arising from the opposite approach: keeping that is a very open mind about both sides of a "correlation". It is noteable however that DIXON asserts the "relative priority of external meaning": "we are likely to recognise very much stronger and more general sorts of external correlations than if we had only looked at external meaning after internal meaning" (p.109). But there are no clear target areas in DIXON's external meaning: his real focus of attention is still on "pure" correlations which are not anchored as it were on one side or the other. In other words, the approach is markedly inductive both "internally" and "externally".

67. Mere identificational labels usually provide little guidance. They tend to proliferate; besides "anthropological linguistics" and "socio-linguistics", there are "ethnolinguistics", "the ethnography of communication", "the sociology of language", and (occasionally applicable) "ethnoscience". Some scholars work within this general field without making use of any of these terms at all: J.A. FISHMAN (1966) for example, whose work is nevertheless introduced by E. HAUGEN as a study in "socio-linguistics". J.A. FISHMAN (1965), concerned with much of the subject-matter of (1966), is entitled "Who speaks what language to whom and when?".

Perhaps the most persuasive definition of the general area (whoever owns it) is that of J.J. GUMPERZ (1964): "the study of verbal behaviour in terms of the social characteristics of speakers, their cultural background, and the ecological properties of the environment in which they interact". Perhaps one of the least satisfactory statements is that of A. CAPELL (1966), who states that the relationship between linguistics, anthropology, and sociology" is best referred to under the title 'socio-linguistics'" because "it is more nearly self-explanatory than ethnolinguistics". He does not therefore go on to explain. One should note in passing that the implications of "socio-linguistics" and "the sociology of language" (J.O. HERTZLER, 1953, 1965) are very different; "psycholinguistics" is not placed in quite the same position in this respect.

68. This particular quotation was referred to by C.A. FERGUSON and J.J. GUMPERZ (1960), but is worth repeating, since its implications are indeed considerable.

69. STANKIEWICZ's essay prompts A.S. HAYES (1964, p.154 ff.) to argue for more attention to "expressive language"(in which "functions" are the starting-point against which to investigate "linguistic correlates"), to be set against the study of "para-language" (whose limits are "operationally defined in terms of a closed linguistic system": i.e. the starting-point is quite different). E.M. ALBERT (1964) points out that in Burundi "manipulation of emotions by aesthetic devices is the principle business of speech behaviour"; she goes on to discuss linguistic means for such functions as "petitioning a superior for a gift", "visiting", "how to express disagreement with one's superiors", "how to signal a change in the situation from official business to informal conversation", etc. - all central to the culture concerned (and to our own?) - just as "how to ask for a drink in Subanun" is for those who live there (C.O. FRAKE, 1964). The proper fulfilment of all such studies is or would be very largely linguistic. Section 4 above is of course undeniably linguistic, from this point of view.

70. Not dissimilar in spirit to MALINOWSKI is the American sociologist E. GOFFMAN, who advocates the investigation of given "occasions", or "encounters", or what he once refers to as the "neglected situation" (1964).

71. A rather rare instance of support from a generative linguist for [illegible]

72. J. LYONS (1966, p.293). "Restriction of the notion of reference to observable entities", hence its acceptable"incorporation into an empirical theory of semantics", might not have seemed as easy to FIRTH as perhaps LYONS is implying. Every schoolchild, teacher, linguist, philosopher etc., has difficulty with such a question as "is it concrete or is it abstract?" - which is about the same question as "is it observable or is it not?".

73. As D.T. LANGENDOEN (1964) points out: see 2.2 above.

74. FIRTH would appear to have been something of a "role psychologist": see G.W. ALLPORT (1963).

75. Does one gather a hint of this however from the last sentence of the quotation from Fritz Guttinger in FIRTH (1935)? — "Thence arises in the last analysis the necessity, if the goal-direction, activity-regulating aspect of words and sentences is to be isolated for consideration, to describe the sphere of linguistic forms from strictly formal viewpoints".

76. But see fn.15, where W.E. BULL's Time, Tense and the Verb, which approaches context "from non-language" is referred to as an "important" study which would have to be "part of a study of context which starts from form as well as from objective reality". The point seems to be conceded, albeit obliquely, since there is no mention here of unidirectional logical dependence.

77. See J. ELLIS (1966) for an example. It should be noted that some of the terms in "institutional linguistics" are not used equivalently. Note for example the use of "register" by J.C. CATFORD (1965), p.89 ("the performer's social role on a given occasion"), which seems to correspond with the use by others of "social dialect" plus "field of discourse"; but "register" for A. DAVIES (1965) p.23 ("varieties of English used by occupational groups"), might be included alternatively as part of "social dialect" alone.

78. At the same time, this is a relative matter. That is to say, emphasis lies on the word "total", since one still has to recognise the fact of partial dependence on the part of sociologists, etc., on linguistic data - if not very extensively on linguistics. See for example the reference to G.R. PICKFORD (1956) in 1.1 above, and in general 5.23 below. HALLIDAY makes use of the term "shunting" in relation to the grammatical scale of rank. It is difficult to see however why it should not be just as applicable horizontally: from grammar etc. out to situation, and back again....

79. F. BOAS (1911) had much earlier stated the principle clearly: "... the very fact of the unconsciousness of linguistic processes helps us to gain a clearer understanding of the ethnological phenomena".

80. The authors are aware of these, as anyone must be, but refer to them only in passing (p.241).

81. The use of fictional sources is surely questionable, of course.

82. There is probably an inevitable degree of circularity in the whole investigation. If the concepts are really "culture-fair", then presumably associations arising from them will similarly prove to be uniform. It might be equally interesting to look for cultural differences among the meanings of apparently common concepts by the use of simple association tests. See G. GOUGENHEIM et al (1956).

83. Exemplified respectively by "good-bad", "strong-weak", and "fast-slow".

84. It is difficult to say how many further examples of linguistically underdeveloped sociological work one might find, without being a sociologist; or for that matter examples of educational, psychological, and anthropological work of this nature. One begins to suspect that with a change of attitude linguistic problems from as it were outside sources might begin to proliferate. Some years ago, a revealing investigation into the relative importance of home environment and I.Q. to school achievement was carried out among Aberdeen schoolchildren (E. FRAZER, 1959). Eleven environmental factors were taken into account, only one of which (reading habits of parents and children) involved anything approaching direct linguistic observation. It would therefore appear that a possibly crucial factor - linguistic background - was left buried among several related measurements.

85. There is of course a large distinction between borrowing or being influenced by the subject matter and the methodology of another discipline. C. [illegible] (1966)

86. See D. HYMES (1964a); p.14, 15.

87. See F. FEARING (1964), who reminds us that in a sense there are precisely as many "situations" as there are participants.

88. See too the persuasive remarks of B.C. BROOKES (1958).

89. Compare the remarks of J.B. CARROLL (1964), esp. p.29, on our lack of knowledge of the units selected by the language user.

90. This is a long-established set of distinctions in Continental social psychology, according to M. GAUTHIER (1960).

91. U. WEINREICH (1963, p.147) draws attention to the "desemanticisation" of language, the rather frequent failure of utterances to "represent the language in its full capacity as a semantic instrument". The more pressing task for linguistics, according to WEINREICH, is to "explain the elevator, not the doorbell". But one is inclined to doubt the value of such a perspective. "Phatic communion" for example is (in its own right) extremely functional, although possessing semantic meaning of a sort not entertained by WEINREICH ... and very probably, on occasion, not at all conscious. R. JAKOBSON (1962) levels criticism at C.F. VOEGELIN's espousal of a "casual"/"non-casual" distinction in the use of language: "Any verbal behaviour is goal-directed"(p.351).

92. See G.A. MILLER (1962b), on the now familiar notion that we may tend to remember sentences as summations of non-transformational plus transformational elements; that therefore we may process what we hear in some such manner. See also A. SUMMERFIELD (1964).

93. See J.B. CARROLL (1964, p.26 ff.).

94. The language user's competence underlies both production and reception.

95. A rather lengthy test was given in 1963 to fifty "lower-working class" 10-year-olds in Edinburgh. Given a sentence-beginning, written on the blackboard, they had to get out their pens and "finish off the sentence in as many different ways as you can", and quickly. This was done over a period of time, without rehearsal, for 35 items, yielding for analysis 25,000 sentences. Scores were allotted according to grammatical variation in the responses. Overall scores ranged very widely, two bright examinees of I.Q. 76 and 107 coming out top, as their teacher had expected. Some of the responses were ingenious, and would seem to have reflected, in slow motion, something of the perhaps unsuspected planning capacity of such pupils. It seemed too to be the case that grammatical resourcefulness was bound up with situational resourcefulness. See J.B. PRIDE (1963).

96. There are some promising reports of work being conducted in the United States, in for example this statement by A. INKELES (1966): "We may eagerly await the second volume of The Review of Child Development, which is to give us a chapter on 'Language Development and its Social Context'. If we are to judge from advance reports on the studies of Martin Deutsch and Irving Taylor at the Institute for Developmental Studies, we may yet meet some surprises in discovering that it is not the number but the use of words that distinguishes the underprivileged child." It would appear that a main distinction in this work is that between "a conceptual mode of expression" and "the motoric mode" (p.271, fn.7).

97. Games analogies are popular, but are not often used to stress the point that rules and physical moves all serve one end: winning the game. Rules which tell you what you can and cannot do are not the end - or beginning - of the matter.

98. Compare some possibly more far-reaching remarks by D. Cane[illegible], "The development of formal thinking", in British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1962, on "time and tense" difficulties in the presentation of history. It is pointed out that most children possess a very rudimentary time sense, and are particularly troubled by the presentation of historical ideas and events in a sequence other than historical.

99. One is reminded of the views of R.A. HALL jr. (1966) - see fn.110 below - on the role of pidgin languages in the teaching of arithmetic. If such items are difficult to grasp it does not follow that they are best "translated" into

100. E.M. BLACK (1961) reports a valuable piece of stock-taking work of this sort. The question of assessment arises as it always does: seen not merely in terms of rank errors, dire weaknesses, and gross infelicities, but also - far more profitably - in terms of various degrees of appropriateness to many different dimensions of meaning.

101. Perhaps it need not be pointed out that the more relevant linguistic aspects need not be purely grammatical or lexical. Compare fn.36 above.

102. See also the useful article of W.A. STEWART (1965).

103. One of the purposes of the present account is to emphasise the fact that socio-linguistics is not wholly or even essentially behaviouristic in its implications.

104. Interference in particular may on occasion be sufficiently pronounced to justify reference to a distinct "code-switching style" of a language, conventionally appropriate for use when speaking to native users of another language. On this, see esp. J.J. GUMPERZ (1958).

105. H. KLOSS (1966) aims to categorise various relationships between the bilingualism of the speech community itself and that of individuals or individual groups in it.

106. Compare for example the manner in which "integrative" and "instrumental" motivation have variable relevance for native American children learning French in American high schools according to locality: see W.E. LAMBERT et al (1961), and fn.52 above. The same assumption of uniformity is expressed in R.W. BROWN and M. FORD (1961) in their study of "Address in American English": over the whole of the United States "the uniformity must be great" (p.234); on this see 5.23 above.

107. M. GUTHRIE (1962) sees English (as a second-language) as frequently operating in a "cultural void", relatively free from severe prescription, socially stratified to a marked degree, each local variety possessing its own canons of correctness, as compared with French. The different "cultural atmosphere" of the two languages may, he suggests, have something to do with the higher standards of achievement in French than in English in comparable situations.

108. For example, there is the problem of the place to be accorded to pidgin languages in the educational curriculum. R.A. HALL jr.(1966) describes pidgins as "the very first stage of rudimentary language learning" (p.127), more drastically reduced in grammatical and lexical shape (often in terms of number, case, gender, etc.) than supplemented (with for example aspect markers which may trace from "sub-stratum" languages). The general question of a "functional relativity of languages" is again spotlighted by the case of pidgins and creoles (see fn. 48 above). It is claimed that Neo-Melanesian pidgin has been found adequate for Europeans to discuss with each other such subjects as theology and international law. However, the substance of HALL's descriptive statements about pidgins and creoles, and any familiarity at all with texts in these languages, does not so easily bear out his optimism. The sentence-structures of pidgins tend to be relatively simple; with for example much co-ordination: subordinating conjunctions are rare. Now if an item like "because" is rare, then there is bound to be that much less functional power attaching to the language. Similarly, if vocabulary is reduced in the sense that the range of meaning of many items tends to be very wide, then one is thereby simply reminded of the lexical pitfalls of Basic English. A great deal of metaphor (bearing, incidentally, some considerable likeness to Anglo-Saxon) of the "grass of the head/face/mouth" variety can be poetic and amusing - owing much to the rough humour of traders - yet fail to cover up a well-nigh crippling absence of lexical refinement. HALL considers that since, as in New Guinea, pidgins are sometimes essential as a lingua franca among non-Europeans, more use should be made of them in the educational system. "It cannot be said that one language is intrinsically inferior or superior to another; and it is universally recognised that learning should begin in the child's mother tongue" (p.141). Hence the teaching of arithmetic in pidgin in New Guinea is preferable to using English: "you have to be sure what you mean and say it clearly, in which case there is no danger of being misunderstood. Pidgin has no big empty words or abstract nouns like "multiplication" or "division" which the native learner can use grandiosely without knowing what they mean. Talking Neo-Melanesian in class forces both teacher and pupils to talk sense" (p.145).

These last comments require some rejoinder, and on various levels. First, there is some difference between being forced to "talk sense" and being forced to try to talk sense. Second, one must not condemn a language (English in this case) merely because one has seen it badly taught: there is plenty of evidence

for the possible effectiveness of the teaching of all subjects on the curriculum at a very early age through the medium of a second language (see H.H. STERN, 1963, esp. references to G.E. PERREN therein; and W.E. BULL, 1965, referred to above; note that STERN's is a UNESCO publication, post-dating UNESCO, 1953, which HALL commends on this issue, by ten years). Third, the sense of SAPIR's compelling statement "When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the head-hunting savage of Assam" is surely that in the course of time and in very favourable circumstances a "little language" (HALL's apt expression for pidgins) can become a big language: there is nothing in its structure to prevent this happening. But languages are not enriched overnight; nor will a pidgin become vastly more functional when it becomes a creole merely because it is now the mother tongue of a social group. Talking sense in pidgin, one would have thought, means talking sense only up to a certain point in the elaboration of the subject-matter of a large number of domains, particularly the scientific. At the same time, pidgins must possess their own special strengths, proving their origins in the "successive and reciprocal imitations" of particularly urgent but restricted needs for communication (see AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 6, 7, 1964, esp. p.20 ff., on Hawaiian pidgin English). A pidgin has been called an "ad hoc example of a lingua franca" (ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, 6, 5, 1964). If education is to be effective, its medium will have to be more than ad hoc.

References pertaining to pidgins and creoles:-

R.A. HALL jr. (1966); contains a very comprehensive bibliography.
J. REINECKE (1938).
R.B. LE PAGE (1957, 1958, 1960, 1961).
J.L. DILLARD (1963).
J. RUBIN (1963).
ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS 6, 5; 6, 7; 6, 8 (1964).
D. HYMES (1964b); p.543-6: a large "topical bibliography".

APPENDIX I

The references to generative linguistic theory provided in this Appendix (numbers refer to footnotes in the text) are fairly liberal because: a) generative linguistics works with assumptions that have gained wide acceptance and are very radically opposed to those which inform most studies of language in its broader contexts, therefore deserves to be seriously attended to; b) many of its most meaningful contrasts and concerns (rules vs. patterns; competence vs. performance; the need to discover "universals"; the study of meaningful correspondences among sentences - etc. - below the level of merely "surface" patterns; evaluation from "within" the theory or, alternatively, by reference to native informant response; the nature of "acceptability"; etc.) are not necessarily peculiar to any single approach to the study of language, and may come to have increasing relevance (direct or indirect) for the study of language in context.

6. See for example N. CHOMSKY (1961b, p. 138-141; 1965, p.15-18, and compare fn.30, p.205); J.J. KATZ and J.A. FODOR (1963, p.481-2); G.A. MILLER (1962b, p.754ff.; 1964; 1965); P.M. POSTAL (1964a, p.8). On "finite state languages": N. CHOMSKY (1957, p.19 ff.); G.A. MILLER et al (1960, p.144-8).

7. On the distinction between "competence" ("the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language") and "performance" ("the actual use of language in concrete situations"); and on generative grammars as theories of competence -

   a) on the distinction itself:- N. CHOMSKY (1957, p.48; 1958, p.240; 1961a, p.120, 121; 1964a, p.52-60; 1965, p.3-15); J.J. KATZ and J.A. FODOR (1963, p.482-3); J. LYONS (1963b; p.436 ff.); G.A. MILLER (1964, esp. p.36; 1965); P.M. POSTAL (1964a, p.90, fn.83); R.P. STOCKWELL (1963, p.44 ff.); J.P. THORNE (1964, p.35 ff.).

   b) on the need to discover linguistic universals ("deep underlying similarities among languages": N. CHOMSKY, 1965, p.35):- To the extent that a description of the grammar of a language rests upon linguistic universals, so it achieves "explanatory adequacy": it has "explained" aspects of the universal human ability to acquire linguistic competence:- N. CHOMSKY (1964a, p.61-79, esp. p. 61-68. Compare p.61, 62 with 1965, p.30-1; and p.63 with 1965, p.34; 1965, p.15-37).

   c) on methodologies for the elicitation of competence:- N. CHOMSKY (1964b, p.35ff.: the aim should be to study comprehension rather than production, since the input for the first can be more controllable). Compare G.A. MILLER (1962, p.751) on the need to give priority to comprehension over learning and memory. Also E. LENNEBERG on experimental evidence of ability to comprehend speech without the ability to produce it; with which, compare G.A. MILLER (1964, p.32).

   d) on performance in particular:- N. CHOMSKY (1961a, p.126-7, fn.16; 1965, p.10-15; J. LYONS (1963a, p.33 ff.; 1963b, p.440-1); G.A. MILLER (1962a; 1962b, p.760 esp.); J.P. THORNE (1964, esp. p.42).

   e) on performance versus competence models in terms of "expiricist" versus "rationalist":- N. CHOMSKY (1965, p.47-59, esp. on taxonomic linguistics as empiricist, p.52 ff.; and on "the child's discovery of what from a formal point of view is a deep and abstract theory", p.55-9).

(8a) On the distinction between "deep" (intuitively known) structure and "surface" (observable) structure in grammar, allowing
   i) equivalent "surface" analyses (as given by taxonomic theories) of sets of sentences to be re-presented as non-equivalent "deep" analyses (compare "John is easy to please" and "John is eager to please"),
   ii) given single sentences to receive more than one("deep") grammatical analysis ("flying planes can be dangerous"),
   iii) non-equivalent (or wholly dissimilar) "surface" analyses of sets of sentences to be compared with equivalent (or near equivalent) "deep" analyses (compare "it's easy to please John" and "to please John is easy", etc.).

Note that the problem is not that of simply pinning alternative "surface" analyses onto given sentences.

Introductory

N. CHOMSKY (1957); ch.8 (on i, ii, iii). Note fn.2, p.87 (which in effect, suggests total absence of "constructional homonymity" = ii at the "deep" level). The arguments here are presented with some clarity, and still deserve attention, ten years later.

N. CHOMSKY (1964a); p.52 (very briefly); p.66-68 and 82-85 on i), iii); p.74-76 pm ii).

E. BACH (1964); chapter 1 (on i, ii, iii).

R.B. LEES (1958a, 1958b); on i), iii) for the most part.

G.A. MILLER et al (1960); p. 153 (ii); p.151-2 (iii); p.12 ff. (on the relevance of transformational insights to psychology in general).

More advanced

N. CHOMSKY (1958); p.237 (on ii). (This is a clear, detailed, and explicit exposition, of i, ii, iii and other issues, but in many respects now superseded).

N. CHOMSKY (1961b); up to p.180 specifically (i, ii, iii).

N. CHOMSKY (1962); ii ("I don't approve of his drinking") and iii ("John's drinking the beer", "John drinks the beer", "the beer is too strong for John to drink", "John's drinking of the beer", etc.).

N. CHOMSKY (1965); p.63-68, leading to p.68-74 (in the first instance) on iii.

R. OHMANN (1964); especially p.430 ff (on iii on the whole, with perhaps individual "cognitive" conclusions).

P. POSTAL (1964a); p.35-38, fn.64, p.111 ff. (on iii).

b) There are said to be conditions which must be imposed on the rules in order that the speaker (or listener, or analyst) will not arrive at differing analyses of given sentences (see esp. P. POSTAL, 1964, p.9-17; also R. STOCKWELL, 1963). If the rules satisfy these conditions they possess "strong generative capacity" (see N. CHOMSKY, 1964a, fn.4, p.53; 1965, p.61-2).

c) On the apparent inadequacy of taxonomic theories to achieve strong generative capacity:-

N. CHOMSKY (1957); chapters 5 and 8 (on the same areas of weakness as dealt with by STOCKWELL, 1963, plus a treatment of ambiguity, and notes on "concord" - which is a form of discontinuity).

N. CHOMSKY (1958); p.215-219 (on discontinuity, and its resolution by the adoption of, in this case, an obligatory transformation: see also p.228).

N. CHOMSKY (1961a); p.128 (on coordination), p.135 (on discontinuity).

N. CHOMSKY (1961b); p.177 ff. (on ambiguity and relationships between sentences).

R.B. LEES (1958b); early parts (largely on ambiguity).

R.B. LEES (1958a); p.140 ff. (on discontinuity).

P. POSTAL (1964a); p.23, 24, 73, fn.97 (on coordination); p.67 ff., 110 (on discontinuity, the problem of which "provides in microcosm a picture of the general approach of classificatory linguistics to grammatical questions"); p.73 (on anaphora: see also CHOMSKY, 1964a, p.68); 73 (on deletions: see also POSTAL, 1964a, p.35 ff., fn.64, and p.111 ff.: on relationships between sentences).

R.P. STOCKWELL (1963); p.34 ff (on failure to handle discontinuity, co-ordination, and grammatical relationships between sentences "where the native

J.P. THORNE (1964); on POSTAL (1964a) above (briefly).

Note: The above references concern strong generative capacity only. It is said, however, that (mathematically speaking) taxonomic grammar will not even achieve weak generative capacity: that is, will not allow the speaker (or hearer, or grammarian) to generate (as opposed to analyse) all possible grammatical sentences in "natural languages".

9. Evaluation takes two forms: internal and external. Internally "on grounds of its relation to a linguistic theory that constitutes an explanatory hypothesis about the form of language as such", and externally "on grounds of correspondence to linguistic fact" (CHOMSKY, 1965, p.27). It is related in any case either to "strong" or to "weak" generative capacity, or to both, and is a matter of "grammaticality".

"Grammaticality" is not equivalent either to "acceptability" or to "normality" (see CHOMSKY, 1957, p.13 ff. in the first place).

External justification of grammars

This is achieved more readily in respect of weak generative capacity, but even here little advance has been made: there is not much in the transformational literature which is simply "out-dated".

E. BACH (1964); p.4 ff.

N. CHOMSKY (1957); p.13 ff, chapter 9 (on the nature of the "intuition" to which the linguist can rightly appeal: viz, intuition concerning "linguistic form" or "grammaticality" rather than "acceptability" or "normality").

N. CHOMSKY (1961a); fn. 25, p.129.

N. CHOMSKY (1961b); the whole article. Note the treatment of the use of objective tests for the elicitation of judgments of grammaticality (viz., inherently less important than "introspective judgments": see especially fn.18). "Degrees of grammaticalness" (but see also CHOMSKY, 1965, throughout, and p.75-79 in the first place).

N. CHOMSKY (1964a); p.79 ff (on introspective judgment and operational tests).

N. CHOMSKY (1965); p.3-27, including fn.1 especially.

N. HOIJER (1957); not part of transformational literature, but deals with the historical development of appeals to introspective judgment, and types of judgment (see also CHOMSKY, 1957, chapter 9, and MACLAY and SLEATOR, 1960). Note remarks of E.M. UHLENBECK, 1957, on the need for (experimental) psychological handling of the problem.

R.B. LEES (1964); p.96 ff. Two issues: how to elicit "judgments" of grammaticality from the infant; evaluation is not at all a matter of "which grammar converges on the data faster".

S. LEVIN (1962); note the concluding discussion, centred on the problem of the significance of introspective judgments.

J. LYONS (1963a); p.20 ff (especially on the "limits of grammatical description"; cf. CHOMSKY, 1961b, fn.32, p.190, and S. LEVIN, 1962).

J. LYONS (1963b) p.439 ff.

H. MACLAY and M.D. SLEATOR (1960); on the independence of the three types of judgment (see CHOMSKY, 1957) in weak generative terms. Experimental evidence (which gives only relative measures, however).

J.P. THORNE (1964); p.34 ff.

10. Internal justification of grammars

This is said to relate to "a much deeper and hence much more rarely attainable level (that of explanatory adequacy)" - CHOMSKY (1965), p.27.

N. CHOMSKY (1965); p.27-47 (note especially the view that "simplicity" as

an evaluative criterion has been much misunderstood: p.37 ff).

N. CHOMSKY (1964a); p.61 ff.

H. HALLE (1962, 1964).

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APPENDIX 2

There are 132 utterance-initiating expressions and expressions in the list at the foot of this Appendix. Even leaving aside the question of their phonological manner of delivery, it is clearly easy to add more, not merely by drawing on recursive potentialities. Looking at the matter from the contextual end, one recognises domains, role relationships, etc. which attract markedly conventional - even rigidly stereotyped - usage, alongside those which appear on the face of things to defy systematic linguistic analysis. The nature of this kind of data necessitates multi-dimensional analysis in any case, in order to be meaningful: grammatical, lexical, phonological, and contextual (or "semantic") terms. Methodological expediency, however, if nothing else, will dictate choice of a) a general direction of analysis (say from a "given" or pre - selected contextual base towards formal linguistic correlates, or vice-versa), along with b) a predominantly inductive or deductive approach, and c) relatively "closed" sets of variables (items, categories, etc.) to be correlated with relatively "open" sets (see Section 5). For example, one might envisage as one phase of investigation a particular context (young female teacher taking a class of 11-year-old grammar school girls for an art lesson in a particular socio-regional setting, etc.) as the "fixed" starting-point. Notation is made of as many stretches of text as by introspection (with or without observation or recording) one tentatively identifies as embodying the expression of some given speech function (say "commands", "requests", etc.). In addition, and to a greater or lesser extent in accordance with pre-determined categories (i.e. more, or less, deductively), one annotates each such instance in terms of as many further-refined contextual variants as seem relevant. At this point one might wish to proceed in terms of a "cube of data" (C. OSGOOD, 1963): setting stretches of text against contextual variants against formal linguistic constituents; and slicing the cube in any of the three possible directions, so as to arrive at a series of two-dimensional representations. For example, slicing the cube in one direction will show stretches of text against formal-linguistic constituents, for each contextual variant in turn.

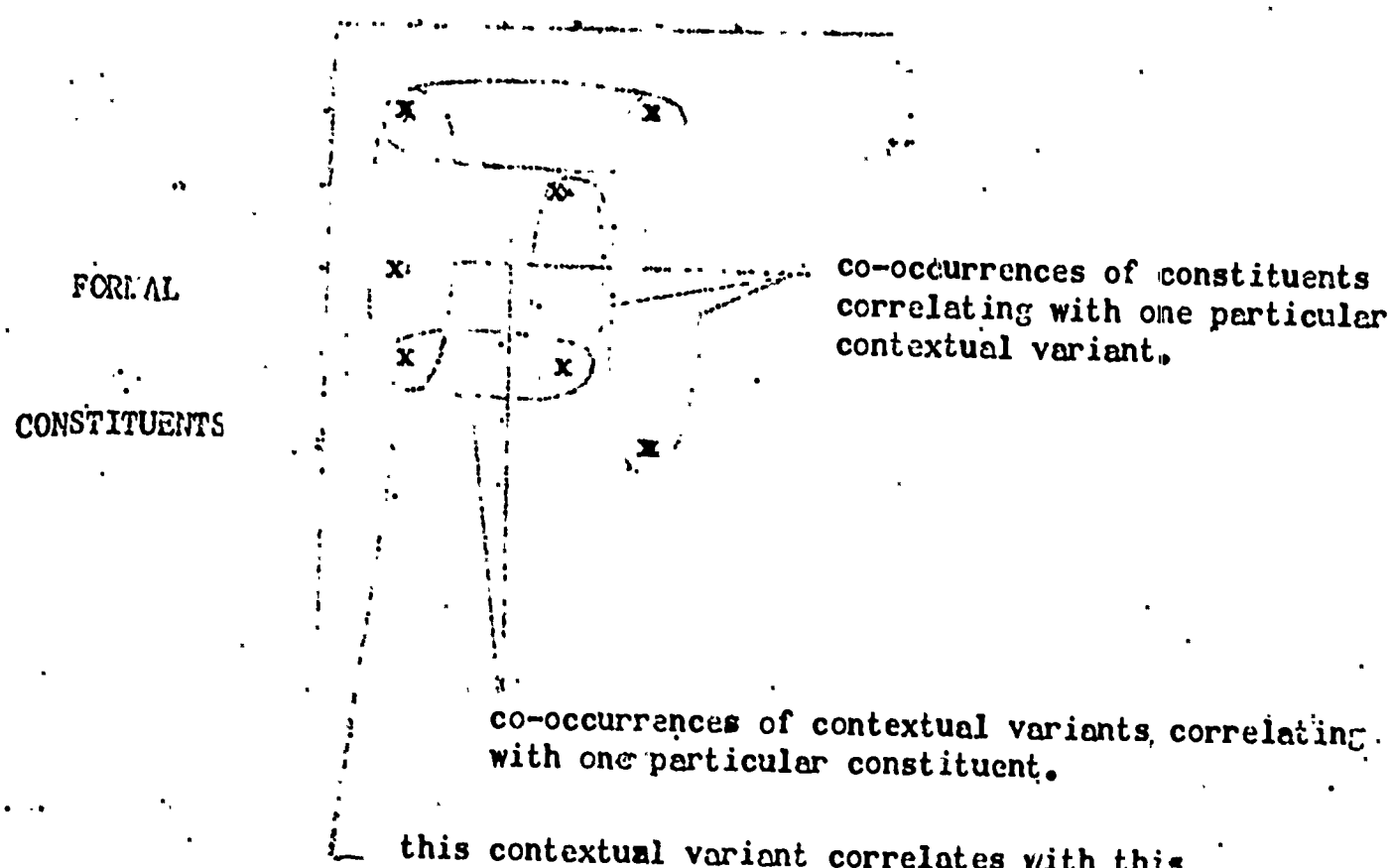
Let us suppose however that we wish to arrive at a statement of constituent-context correlations which cut across each particular stretch of text. It would be necessary therefore to plot given contextual variants against overt formal constituents relevant (or apparently relevant) to these - the product that is to say of largely inductive and socio-linguistic rather than possibly more deductive and purely formal analysis. Correlations should be sought among contextual variants (are there any restrictions on contextual co-occurrences severe enough to invite the use of the term "incompatible"? - see reference to U. WEINREICH, 1963, in Section 4, and immediately below), and among formal constituents; but of course the interesting and aimed-for correlations are those which link (correlations of) contextual variants with (correlations of) formal constituents. The formal realisation of a given contextual meaning will vary according to what other contextual meanings are also present, and whether and how these are formally realised. One conveys suggestions to one's seniors, juniors, intimate friends, etc. in quite different ways. Conversely, the same formal constituent will mean very different things according to the presence or absence of other formal-contextual components:-

Do you mind doing the washing-up?

You don't mind doing the washing-up, do you?

In these instances, one seems to detect the same tone-group; but in the second the use of the negative plus tag ending virtually disallows the interpretation that might normally be placed on the first, i.e. impatience, sarcasm, "why isn't it done already?", familiarity with seniority or equality of status, etc. (see note at foot of Appendix).

The extent to which analysis should be confined to the establishment of correlations is however a very basic question. In order to escape a wholly behaviouristic perspective it seems necessary to take account of the fact that although contextual variants may add up to finite lists, they can nevertheless combine into infinitely varied sets. This much has been implied in Sections 2.2, 4, and elsewhere. Hence a picture of correlations (even cutting across individual stretches of text) such as the following must necessarily be largely non-generative:-



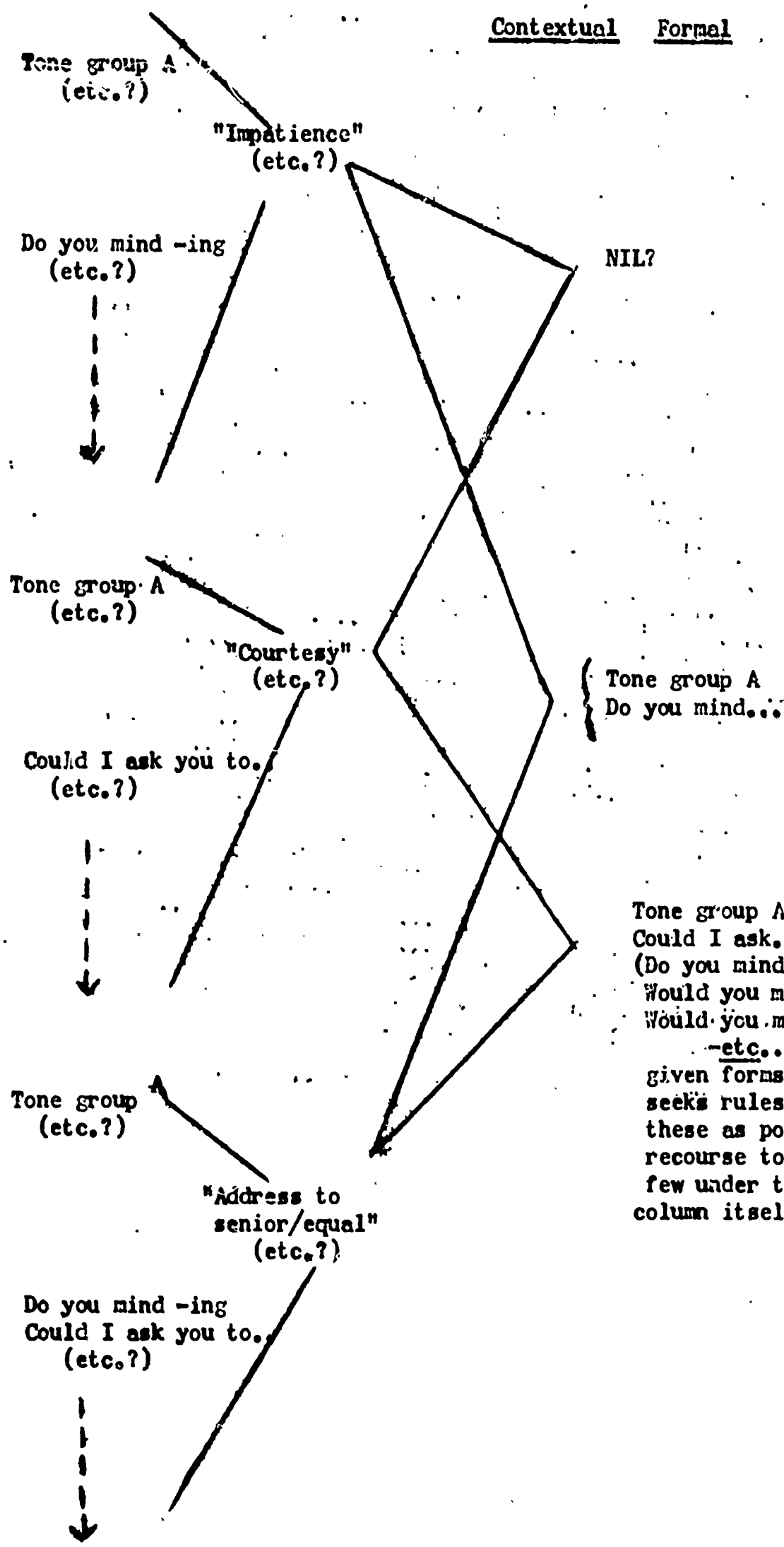
Transformative-generative theory requires both grammatical (and semantic) categories and their manner of combination to be describable in finite terms even though sentences generated thereby are infinite in variety. Some kind of (no doubt very loosely) analogous approach to speech functions would seem likewise to require contextual variants not only to be finite in number but also to co-occur in a finite number of ways. That is to say, there must be contextual incompatibilities so numerous as to allow the finite description of contextual compatibilities; but in such a way as to allow for seemingly strange functional assortments to present themselves across very short stretches of text ("question" and "command", "approval" and "disapproval", etc. ...see Section 4). One needs to know what happens to formal constituents which correlate with individual contextual variants when those contextual variants co-occur. Information of the sort indicated in the chart above would form an indispensable point of departure for this subsequent stage.

Referring briefly to the two utterances

Do you mind doing the washing-up?

Could I ask you to do the washing-up?

the kind of data requiring analysis could very roughly be indicated thus:-



SOME UTTERANCE-INITIATING EXPRESSIONS

Would you ..? Would you kindly ..? Would you mind ..ing ..? Do you mind .. ing .. ? Mind you .. . You wouldn't mind .. ing .. would you? Would you please ..? Would you perhaps ..? Would you care to ..? Would you like to ..? Would you be prepared to ..? Would you agree to ..? Would you be kind enough to ..? Would

you be good enough to ..? Would you be so kind as to ..? Could you ..? Could you please ..? Could you possibly ..? Could you perhaps ..? Will you ..? Will you keep quiet! Will you please ..? Just you .. May/might I trouble you to ..? You go and ..... Go and .. ! How about ..ing. Be a good chap and .. . Do I take it that you wouldn't mind .. . Why not .. ? Why don't you ..? Do come and .. . Let's .. . What do you say to our ..ing..? What I want to do is .. . Don't you think we'd better ..? I'm inclined to think that you .. . There's a lot to be said for .. . Are you going somewhere? If you could get me some string .... . The successful athlete always trains regularly. The ball should he thrown quickly. No .. ing .. . If you don't watch out, you'll ... . Tea, please. Silence please! Scissors! I'ld like you to .. . I'ld like ..ed (please). I'ld be pleased if you would/could .. . I'ld be (most)grateful if you would/could .. . I'ld be (most)obliged if you would/could .. . Would you oblige me by .. ing ..? I want you to .. . I want ..ed (please). I wonder if you would/could (perhaps/possibly) ..? I wonder if you would like to ..? I wonder if you would care to ..? Kindly .. . Shut the door. Keep off the grass. Please shut the door. Shut the door, would you. Shut the door please. You ought to .. . You've got to .. . You might (perhaps) ... You can .. . You could .. . You can't .. . Perhaps you might .. . You couldn't .. ? Couldn't you ..? You'ld better .. . Can't you ..? Wouldn't you ..? Perhaps you'ld better .... Hadn't you better ..? Do you think you could ..? Do you think it would be advisable to ..? It would be (much) appreciated if you (would/could) .. . I would be (greatly) relieved if you (would/could) .. . I'ld love .. . I wouldn't mind .. . Shall I ..? I think you'ld better .. . I think it would be a good thing if you .. . I think what you'ld better do is to.. . I suppose what you'ld better do is to.. . Th: best thing is (for you) to .. . You'ld be well advised to .. . I would advise you to .. . Come on! For heaven's sake .... Go on! I dare you .. . I would like to invite you to.. . May I invite you to ..? Might/could I ask you to ..? I'ld like to ask you if you would ../. Would you mind if I asked you whether you would ..? I would suggest that you .. I would suggest .. ing .. . Might I suggest that you .. . I suggest we .. . Could I persuade you to ..? I beg you to .. . I would request that you ../ . May I request you to ..? I demand that you .. . I command you to .. . I order you to .. . I must instruct you to .. . I feel I ought to encourage you to .. . Could I tempt you to .. ? I require you to .. . You are requested/required to .. . Remember to .. . Don't forget to .. . Don't fail to .. . If you come at 12 o'clock you'ld be able to .. . All members of the course will .../are urged to .../are expected to .../are required to .../ should .../are to .../. It is (not) advisable (not) to ... You are (not) advised /recommended (not) to ... -ing is not advised/recommended. It is urged upon all members that .. . That'll do. That's enough of that. Can I ask you to suggest an alternative date? Would February be all right? Now now.

-Responses to these can of course also be listed and related..

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