CHAPTER II

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2.1 Preliminaries
The major objective of this chapter is to apply the sociolinguistic approach to the Hardy’s literary works: *Far From the Madding Crowd, The Return of the Native, The Mayor of Casterbridge, Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*. This chapter is aimed at analysing the varied linguistic features of the characters’ speech in the selected novels. The features are phonological, morphological and syntactic in nature. In addition it investigates dialect of their speech, i.e. whether it correlates between the way Hardy’s characters use language and their social background which is Hardy’s motivation behind the use of such linguistic variation. The following data is the expansion of the subject. It is useful to know the core of this research.

2.2 Sociolinguistics
In the 1930s, the Indians and Japanese first studied the social aspects of language; but a Swiss linguist named Gauchat also studied these aspects at the same time too. However, the West did not pay much attention to these aspects till much later in the
Sociolinguistics in the west first emerged in the 1960s and was pioneered by linguists such as William Labov in the US and Basil Bernstein in the U.K. The wave model of the late 19th Century became the foundation of socials motivation studies on language change.

Many regard Labov (USA) as the founder of sociolinguistics. He introduced the quantitative study of language variation and change, which has shaped the science of sociology of language into a discipline. That sociolinguistics might be seen as parasitical on sociology appears groundless, since the hypothesis being proposed is not the weak one of there being correlations between language form and social class membership but that, to some degree at least, social class can be defined in linguistic terms. Most of the sociolinguists consider themselves as linguists and try to attempt the discovery of regular correspondence between linguistic and social structure; moreover, they see their role as calling into question some of the assumptions of linguistics, with the intention of deriving a more satisfying description of language.

Sociolinguistics is introduced by Trudgill as "a relatively new sub-discipline within linguistics". It is developed in the last quarter of the 20th century. Before that relationship between language and society was ignored by linguists for the sake of theoretical advances. It investigates the interrelationship between language use and society. It can be defined as the study of language in relation to
society. Most of the growth in sociolinguistics took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Thus it can be seen how young the discipline is. This is not meant to imply that the study of language in relation to society is an invention of the 1960s- on the contrary, there is a long tradition of the study of dialects and in the general study of the relations between word-meaning and culture, both of which count as sociolinguistics by definition. This study tries to apply some sociolinguistic investigation tools to literary works, namely *Far From the Madding Crowd*, *The Return of the Native*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*, written by Thomas Hardy, which appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century, i.e. a century before the relationship between language and society was recognised as a field that is worth investigation. According to Bright language, like society, is structural; and that a sociolinguist has to show ‘the systematic covariance of linguistic structure and social structure and perhaps even to show a causal relationship in one direction or another.’

After presenting the sociolinguistic framework and the literary background to the study, an effort is made to analyse the linguistic features, which are phonological, morphological, and syntactic, in the speech of the novel’s characters. It tries to find a correlation between the characters’ speech and their social background. Finally, it tries to show that the author was aware of this correlation and used it as a means of characterisation.
Sociolinguistics is the study of language in its social contexts and the study of social life through linguistics. Thus, defined as above, sociolinguistics and linguistics need to be contrasted. The researcher offers the following data toward this goal.

2.2.1 Linguistics and Sociolinguistics
Linguistics and sociolinguistics is referred as separate concepts in this study. Sociolinguistics approaches language as an open system which interacts with a variety of factors. According to sociolinguists, “since speech is (obviously) social behaviour, to study it without reference to society would be like studying courtship behaviour without relating the behaviour of one partner to that of another”. On the other hand, Linguists perceive that language is a closed system that is not open, due to its own reasons or purposes. Radford says that “the concern of the theoretical linguist is to devise a theory of grammar.” He implies that the core purpose or function of the theoretical linguist is simply to create a concept of language structures. Linguistics differs from sociolinguistics in taking account only of the structure of language, to the exclusion of the social contexts in which it is learned and used. Sociolinguistics is the part of the study of language. Sociolinguistics focuses on the nature of language in general. It highlights characteristics of some particular language. It can focus more on both the nature of language and the nature of society.
The main thrust of the science of Sociolinguistics is the effects such as cultural norms, expectations and contexts on the presentation of language. Sociolinguistics also studies how lects—i.e., groups of words-- differ between groups separated by certain social variables, e.g., ethnicity, religion, status, gender, level of education, etc., and how creation and observance to these rules is used to categorise individuals in social class or socio-economic classes. The sociolinguistics studies what are called ‘sociolects’.

The higher the social class the less is the variation. The differences in language use between diverse social classes can be illustrated by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker A</th>
<th>Speaker B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I done it yesterday</td>
<td>I did it yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He aint got it</td>
<td>He hasn’t got it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was her what said it</td>
<td>It was her that said it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Any native speaker of English would immediately be able to guess that speaker A is likely to be of a different social class than speaker B. The differences in grammar between the two examples of speech are referred to as differences between social class dialects or sociolects. Trudgill analyses the grammatical differences between these speakers and their connection to social background. He adds
that phonetic and phonological differences are inherent despite that they may not be evident in print.  

Sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language use and the structure of society. It takes into account such factors as the social backgrounds of both the speaker and the addressee, i.e. their age, sex, social class, ethnic background, etc. and the relationship between speaker and addressee (good friends, employer-employee, teacher-pupil, grandmother-grandchild, etc.) and the context and manner of the interaction (in bed, in the supermarket, in a TV studio, in church, loudly, whispering, over the phone, by fax, etc.), maintaining that they are crucial to an understanding of both the structure and function of the language used in a situation because of the emphasis placed on language use.  

2.2.2 Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language

Hudson defined sociolinguistics as ‘the study of language in relation to society’. Further he comments that sociolinguistics focuses on nature of language in general or it highlights the characteristics of some particular language.”

The main difference between sociolinguistics and ‘sociology of language’ appears to be one of perspective: the former focuses on society’s effects on language and the latter focuses on the effects of language on society. According to Joshua Fishman, sociology of
language examines the interaction between the use of language and the social organisation of behaviour. He further comments that the sociology of language focuses upon the entire gamut of topics related to the social organisation of language behaviour, including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviours toward language and toward language users.\textsuperscript{12}

Concerning sociolinguistic variables, Labov specifies the ideal sociolinguistic variable to be high in frequency, have a certain immunity from conscious suppression, be an integral part of larger structures and be easily quantified on a linear scale.

According to sociolinguists, the way people use language may reveal information about their social background. Trudgill (1995) speaks about two aspects of language behaviour that have a social dimension: the first is the role of language in establishing relationships between people and the second is the role of language in conveying information about people's background. Hudson also affirms that “people use speech in order to identify the particular social group to which they belong”.\textsuperscript{13} Hence it can be said that the language and speech are criteria for determining ethnic association.

Sapir remarked that language is a product of human social culture and therefore one should understand it in that way. He further says that linguists get accused for failing 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.\textsuperscript{14}

Coulmas expressed the following views in his \textit{Handbook of Linguistics}: “Sociolinguistics is the empirical study of how language is used in society. Combining linguistic and sociological theories and methods, it is an interdisciplinary field of research which attaches great significance both to the variability of language and to the multiplicity of languages and language forms in a given society.”\textsuperscript{15}

Language and society must be linked to each other. Avrorin admitted that “language cannot exist and develop outside society. The development of language is ultimately stimulated by the needs of social development.” However, the reverse is too true. As he continued to state: “Human society cannot do without language as the most important, most perfect and universal means of communication, formation of thought and accumulation and transmission of expression.”\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{2.2.3 Linguistic Variations or Language Variations}

According to Chambers major social factors which affect human behaviour and speech are class, sex and age. They determine the roles in society. Men, women and children frequently speak differently in society. The researcher has given examples in Chapter
IV of Hardy’s language according to each factor. Variations in language have social significance. For example, Chambers highlights in his text how an outsider to New York City, USA, would feel perhaps intimidated or ‘shouted down’ although it is customary speech habit in the city and a native New Yorker would accept it. He says, precisely, that it is due to ‘cultural difference’ and what is termed New York conversational style: ‘a lot of talk going on in casual conversation, much of which occurs at the same time.’ [One invariably gets an impression of more than one pair of conversants speaking simultaneously, throughout which one or the other has to shout.] He concludes, aptly, “The rules governing speech acts, though not encoded anywhere are understood thoroughly by natives and often understood by outsiders.” But social significance is only one part of the total science of sociolinguistics. The following example illustrates how women talk as opposed to men, and it also includes subject-matter:

[My aunts] told about the wild-looking town in Northern Ontario where Aunt Iris wouldn’t stop the car even to let them buy a Coke. She took one look at the lumberjacks and cried, “We’d all be raped!”

“What is raped?” said my little sister.

“Oh-oh,” said Iris. “It means you get your pocketbook stolen.”(1983)

The writer, Alice Munro, adds that pocketbook is American (she must be British or Canadian by contrast) and that neither she nor her
sister knew the word but she understood that rape meant something different, ‘it meant something dirty.’ This demonstrates not only how women speak among themselves but also how children speak with adults. This indicates that “Females show a greater sensitivity to socially evaluative linguistic features than do males.”

One may conclude that women, being more aware and perhaps determined by social evaluation, are more aware than men for such a reason. We are often perceived and judged by speech as well as action. “In careful speech, women use less stigmatised forms than men, and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern.” Besides echoing this sentiment, Labov expresses the opinion that women are influenced by public opinion and therefore speak with this awareness. He further states that they experience that their speech and language helps them to impress others.

Syntax and syntactic variations are significant aspects of sociolinguistics. Syntax is the structure of sentences, whether written or spoken. A variation occurs according to several factors related to a society and most particularly to the speaker. For instance, an educated speaker will ordinarily follow syntactic rules and a less educated one will resort to a variation. Lisa Green has augmented her analysis with examples of such variations, definitively by African American speakers:
“Don’t nobody want no tea?” and “Nobody don’t want no tea.” The educated speaker will say “Doesn’t anyone want tea?” and “Nobody wants tea.”

Miss Green accounts for her study in the following terms:

Because one of the goals of sociolinguistics is to understand the correlation between social factors and linguistic variation and ordering of linguistic constraints with respect to variability of rules, variation theory is an integral part of the research paradigm.

Referring to age as a social factor in language and linguistic differences, apart from dialect, Bernstein studied differences in working class (wc) and public school educated (ps) children in Britain. He remarked in his research that normal social environments develop non-dialect linguistic differences and that they may be distinguished by forms of speech. “This difference is most marked where the gap between socio-economic levels is very great.” The deciding factor may be education, since the regression lines used in his research of public school educated children were more similar than among working class children. He explains that the difference arises because of organization of the two social strata and the emphasis on language potential. After stressing the difference, the language use forms which result “orient the speakers to distinct and different types of relationships to objects and
persons.” He denies that education or ‘measured intelligence’
plays a role. Intelligence, according to Bernstein, enables the
speaker to successfully “exploit the possibilities symbolised by
socially determined forms of language use.”

A given population contains several types of speech or language
variation, or what we may refer to as “vernacular of a subgroup with
membership typically characterised by a specific age range, age-
graded variation, and indications of linguistic change in progress.”
Street youths and children indulge in their own “language” for
several reasons, including: (1) To enhance their own cultural
identity (2) To identify with each other, (3) To exclude others, and
(4) To invoke feelings of fear or admiration from the outside world.
Whereas not entirely based on age, it does apply to all individuals
within that age group in the given community. The next unit is
related to the core data. It concerns language, dialect and accent.

2.2.4 Language, Dialect, Accent and the Related Research

Prior to taking up the matter of dialect as language variation, let us
agree that language is a social fact. Every language is a social
product and every society constitutes itself through language.
Sociolinguistics is therefore the science of ‘real life languages in a
social context.’
Variations in language include dialect and idiolect. The study of dialect has traditionally been centred on the speech habits of social groups who differ from the rest of the community in employing a system which is clearly distinguishable from the ‘standard’, the variety normally described by the ‘pure’ linguist. A technical difference between language and dialect is that a dialect is a different form of the same language. It has the same alphabet and grammar as the language but the pronunciation and usage differs from the language. This is the case with Standard English, which, in the United Kingdom, has as its dialects like Berkshire, Yorkshire, Suffolk, etc., and in the United States, New York and Texan as dialects. A dialect is also commonly referred to as patois (Fr.), which resembles a class or an ethnic dialect. Referring to the idiolect, we read that the various linguistic features can combine into “distinguishable modes of utterance or spoken styles.”26 As an example, Page mentions Colonel Pickering’s speech in Shaw’s *Pygmalion*.

Sociolinguistics, on the other hand, has tended to focus on the social group and the linguistic variables it uses, seeking to correlate these variables with the traditional demographic units of the social sciences: age, sex, socio-economic, class membership, regional grouping, status and so on. It studies the properties of language and languages which require a reference to social and contextual factors in their explanation.
Studies of native societies in the West Indies have shown the real relationship between language and society:

The individual creates for himself patterns for his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished, to the extent that
(a) he is able to identify the groups
(b) he has access to them and the capacity to analyze their behavioural systems
(c) his motivation is sufficiently powerful and either reinforced by or reversed by feedback from the groups as to his being allowed to join.
(d) He is able to change his behaviour. 27

Therefore, what we have is an image of someone “A” observing and studying a selected social group or class and deciding whether to join it or avoid it. Once he identifies them, he gains access and watches/analyses them and that determines whether he will join them or avoid them. The response from these groups is a significant factor, as it is for any candidate. If they accept him, he joins and if they reject him, he avoids them and seeks another group. Social mobility in any modern country is an example. One wants to join the upper classes and avoid being looked upon as a member of the
lower classes. This is what has been termed as ‘Social Darwinism’ in England.

The study is interested in producing an analysis of regional or social dialects in order to investigate whether language change is in progress.\textsuperscript{28}

Sociolinguistics is concerned with larger scale interactions between language and society as a whole.\textsuperscript{29} Obviously, the classical method treats society as an organised group of people and language as the means of communication. Wardhaugh (2006) mentions variations between the two. First, he suggests that social structure may influence linguistic structure and behaviour. As an example, he uses the difference in language between children of different ages and between children and adults. But being imitative and formative, children’s English from an early age (age 1 year to about ten years) is an attempt to imitate their parents and older siblings, or vice versa.

Scholars on the issue of both dialect and accent assert that dialect refers to varieties distinguished from accent by differences of grammar and vocabulary of a single language, whereas accent, as we have seen, refers to varieties of pronunciation. Like Petyt gives the example of Cumbrian as a dialect because of inherent differences in both grammar and vocabulary from English but notes that Berkshire is an accent because of a different pronunciation.\textsuperscript{30}
On the topic of accents and accent differences, Trudgill and Hughes (1979) mention the common feature of regional accents: /ʌ/. Shwa is considered a vowel, since its sound is slight compared to other vowels of the English language. They list territories whose accents do not use this sound in many words and add that, as a sound or phoneme in English language, it is fairly recent. They mentioned its source phoneme /ɔ/\, a product of the north and midlands of Britain. Furthermore, this sound and words bearing it are distinguished in Welsh, Scottish, Irish and southern English [the three former dialects are derived from an old tribal language called Celtic—Researcher] but are not distinguished in the northern and midland areas. The following table highlights this issue:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>But</th>
<th>Put</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RP</td>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western, modified northern I</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified northern II</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypercorrect northern</td>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The views of lay people about language are often quite simplistic. One illustration concerns the relationship between the so-called
standard language and the non-standard dialects associated with those languages. Standard French and Standard English, for example, are varieties of French and English those have written grammar books, pronunciation and spelling conventions. These are promoted by the media and other public institutions such as the education system and are considered by a majority of people to be the ‘correct’ way to speak these two languages. Non-standard varieties are often considered to be lazy and in ungrammatical forms.

Sociolinguistics is the field of dialect studies. It is a field of study that assumes that human society is made up of many related patterns and behaviours, some of which are linguistic. Language is generally perceived as a tool to communicate meaning but, as a tool of communication, it also establishes and maintains social relationships. Spolsky (1998) gives the example of a mother-child relationship, owner of the farm and worker, landlord and servants etc. But it is pointed out that the cause of this exchange is maintaining a personal bond. People in a society frequently belong to different backgrounds but need to communicate with each other. Due to this differentiation, there are variations in the language. For example, there is Standard American English and Black American English, used by the Negroes in the US. Trudgill highlights this by explaining the two aspects of language: first, to establish the social relationship and second, to identify the speaker. He gives the example of British businessmen, one from London and another
from Norfolk, presumably. ‘Dialect’ is more specifically regional than a ‘patois’, which refers to rural speech or to a very select group of speakers. Dialects have wider geographical distribution than a patois. In most cases, the group speaking the patois consists of lower class or lower strata speakers. We may talk about a middle-class dialect but not, apparently, about a middle-class patois. Therefore, although nobody objects to ‘regional dialect’ and to ‘village patois’ the same may not be true of ‘regional patois.’

The term ‘dialect’ can also be used to describe differences in speech associated with various social groups or classes. There are social dialects as well as regional ones. An immediate problem is that of defining social group or social class, of giving the proper weight to the various factors that can be used to determine social position—factors such as occupation, place of residence, education, ‘new’ versus ‘old’ money, income, racial or ethnic origin, cultural background, caste, religion, and so on.

Dialect describes a language variety where a user’s regional or social background appears in his or her use of vocabulary and grammar. This description is a very open one, and there is continuing debate about its application to particular varieties. Before considering these, it may help to explain the related feature of accent. (Some linguists include accent, along with lexis and grammar, as a feature of dialect.)
The phenomenon occurred in the early 17th Century when Elizabeth I was queen of England, and the royal bard [the classical word for poet] was William Shakespeare. The best example of Shakespeare’s knowledge and application of dialect is *King Lear*. Examples of dialectical pronunciation or variations in standard pronunciation include /f/ instead of /θ/, and from /θr/ to /dr/. The other common feature, which was perceived as standard in those days, was the addition of ‘-e’ at the end of words. In reference to ‘class dialect’, Shakespeare was likewise aware of upper and lower class differences of speech.

The next notable case is, as Brook notes in *The Language of Shakespeare*, when Launcelot Gobbo, a minor character, slurs the title character, Shylock, the Merchant of Venice. Gobbo refers to Shylock as a devil but apologises parenthetically by adding ‘saving your reverence’. He is attributed as adding, at first, the expletive: ‘God bless the marke’ used to stave off evil omens. Three more points are worth mentioning here. The former is that Shakespeare’s low-life characters—e.g., Launcelot Gobbo and the Clown of *The Winter’s Tale*—used the term a *leuen* for eleven, but the term persists at present in the Northern and Eastern dialects. The latter is that Brook advises that any group of people using the same variety of the language can be thought of as speaking a class dialect *if the link is not regional*. So, a class dialect is related more to the group of users rather than to a regional context. Dickens’ cockney
speakers may be thought of as such, while the characters of the Bröntes and Hardy are also regionally linked.

Lincolnshire, apart from other dialect areas of England such as Yorkshire or Lancashire, is more regular in pattern of its past tenses. Lincolnshire speakers truncate their past tenses after the verb feed [p. simple: fed] in all cases: weed-wed, clean-clen. ['Wed’ is the present tense of ‘to wed’, or ‘to marry’, as in “Kerry weds Charlotte”; and ‘clen’ does not exist as a standard past tense] Other cases are snow-snew, thaw-thew, saw-sew. As regards the Lancashire and Yorkshire dialects, Brook explains that dialect reflects the speakers’ characteristics and that the grim quality of dialect tales from these parts reflects a more Scandinavian characteristic.35

Sociolinguistics focuses on other sources of variation. Class and occupation are among the most important linguistic markers found in society. That class and language variety are related, a fundamental finding of sociolinguistics, is hard to disprove. As several sociolinguists have indicated, members of the working class tend to speak less standard language, while the lower, middle and upper middle class will in turn speak closer to the standard. However, the upper class, even members of the upper middle class, may often speak ‘less’ standard than the middle class. This is because not only classes but also class aspirations are important.
As a note on class aspirations mentioned above, Labov discovered in the 1960s that social aspirations affected speech patterns and that this is a feature of class aspirations too. To put in other words, in the process of wishing to be associated with a certain class (usually the upper class and upper middle class) people who are moving in that direction socio-economically will adjust their speech patterns to sound like them. When/if a certain member of a lower class wishes to fit into a higher class, s/he will attempt to speak like those in his/her desired social group. However, it is pointed out that people dropping from a higher class to a lower class will behave in a similar manner. Yet very few persons in a modern society will freely imitate the lower class, except as a jibe. All too often, the lower class desires to elevate to a higher class and will endeavour to imitate it.

In 1984, Downes explained that one significant factor of natural languages [English, French, etc.] which requires social explanation is variability. To illustrate this case, he used the word butter. Between British English and its American/Canadian counterparts, there was a certain notable variation of pronunciation, which reasserts itself in Hardy’s use of certain words and phrases. The British received pronunciation of butter is /bʌtə/. The American/Canadian variety voices the t as /d/ and adds final r to the shwa: /bʌtə/. Downes adds that the dialects of Scotland and Ireland are also ‘r-full’. Thus, we are reminded that Hardy was aware of
this difference and emphasised it through his Scotch character Donald Farfrae: “warrld” “advairrtisement.” Downes offers an interesting diagram on this point:

```
+-------------------+
| butter            |
+-------------------+
   | sound 1          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | RP British       |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 2          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | General Cockney, |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 3          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | Parts of New York|
   +-------------------+
   | sound 4          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | Canadian i.e. London|
   +-------------------+
   | sound 5          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | the West City    |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 6          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | And many working|
   +-------------------+
   | sound 7          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | Country of working|
   +-------------------+
   | sound 8          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | American class   |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 9          |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | England class    |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 10         |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | (e.g. New York upper middle class) |
   +-------------------+
   | sound 11         |
   +-------------------+
   | /bʌtə/           |
   | variety           |
   +-------------------+
```

**Source:** Downes, W. 1984. 'Language and Society'. p.15.

In referring to the relationship of language and society, we have read about two opposing theories of language which take stock of both standard and non-standard language. The theorists involved here are: Basil Bernstein (UK) and William Labov (US). Accordingly, Bernstein has been labelled a proponent of ‘language deficit’ or a deficit theorist, while Labov is an opponent thereof. He makes a distinction between ‘elaborated code’ (i.e. the language) used by the middle class and the ‘restricted code’ used by working class. According to him elaborated code has complex grammar and it is accurate but restricted code is grammatically simple. Bernstein
argues that working classes face a cognitive deficiency due to lack of access to ‘elaborated code’ (i.e. language) and that the ‘restricted code’ of the working class is grammatically simple. But we should note here that the former code is imposed by the middle class.

Contrast to this, Labov claims that the non-standard varieties like the so called restricted code are rule-governed systems in their own right. In other words, he says that non-standard varieties are different but not deficient. Labov shows through his samples of speech that speakers of non-standard varieties like Black English are capable of complex, logical, symbolic and expressive speech. To this N. Krishnaswamy et al comments that people tend to ‘use the norms of standard variety and label the non-standard ones as ‘incorrect’ and ‘illogical.’ This is the result of middle-class bias.\(^3^6\)

One more distinction is that Labov used the living situation instead of a test space, like Bernstein:

\(\text{As a last note in this issue, mention is given that dialect surveys aim at the rural populace because isolated rural communities preserve traditional, conservative speech habits and the speakers possess knowledge of such dialect forms.}^{3^7}\)

Barrett has studied the relationship between dialect and humor and the creation of stereotype character. He has commented thus:
Dialect humor has been acknowledged in passing by linguists, literary scholars, and humor scholars, but none have given much attention to dialect humor as a component of language study or as more than a trifling component of humor. Therefore, a broader and more thorough study of dialect humor and its concomitant stereotypes in both linguistic and literary humor can inform language and humor study by observing how language creation and linguistic competence are reflected in speakers' uses of dialect humor. Moreover, how language attitudes are reflected in and perpetuated by the presence of such stereotypes is discussed as a cognitive function informing our use and understanding of language; the existence of dialect humor reflects a good deal of that understanding. 

With due reference to Hardy’s Southwest region, Wakelin has described the use of language and dialect in various regions of England. He mentions that Standard English (StE) has replaced Cornish, the native dialect of Cornwall and that the West is more standard—because the Standard was introduced late. In his 1981 study, Wakelin included further data from the Survey of English Dialects (SED):

En is used for it (object) as well as for him in the southwest of England, besides which the forms he, him and occasionally she, her may also be used to denote
an inanimate object over a rather wide area in the west
but in more scattered examples […] The full
implication of the use of he, him, she, her for inanimate
objects have not yet been explored. 39

Sterling sheds further light on this issue. At first, she stipulates that
the way of speaking overshadows the content of one’s speech,
which is perhaps true in many cases. Many times, people react to or
respond to the tone or the manner of the speech rather than to its
content. She continues to add that “language expresses much more
than what it signifies by its words.” Language expresses the
individual’s situation in relationship with others, for “social
allegiances, that is, which groups they are members of and which
groups they are not. In addition, they [people] use language to
create and maintain role relationships between individuals and
between groups in such a manner that the linguistic varieties used
by a community form a system that corresponds to the structure of
the society.” 40 When does sociolinguistics relate to literature? The
researcher offers the next unit to support the relationship.

2.3 Literature and Sociolinguistics
Owing to the use of dialects and speech varieties of English by the
writers since the middle and late Victorian period, it has become
essential for the researcher to discuss the relationship between
literature and sociolinguistics in detail. First of all, writers such as
the Brontes, Dickens and Hardy contacted and knew the speakers of
dialects in their time and location and included them as character, often major player, in their respective novels.

Charles Dickens is less reverential towards his upper class characters. Brook gives an example of Lord Frederick Verisopht. Dickens has taken pains to emphasise to lengthen the vowels of the speech of Lord Frederick Verisohpt. It is the most sustained representation of upper class speech in Dickens’s works. [æ] is represented by a-a (or –a-a or a-a-) as in pa-ack, wa-ax, pla-an, ba-ad, da-amn, ma-an; [e] by ey, ay or ea-a, as in deyvle, deyvlish, playsure, nayver, jee-alous, [ei] by a-a-y a-ay or a-a, as in da-ay, na-ay, a-age.\textsuperscript{41}

A common feature of Dickens and Hardy is the use of words like ‘Gad’. However, the users are at opposite ends of the social spectrum. Dickens’ character is Verisopht and Hardy’s character is a rustic. Another striking similarity in speech between characters of two distinct writers is George Eliot’s Adam Bede and Hardy’s Tess Durbeyfield. Ingham remarks in \textit{Dialect in the Novels of Hardy and George Eliot} that Eliot’s Adam Bede would speak standard English with characters of higher standing but whenever he wished to be especially kind to his mother (he) fell into his strongest native accent and dialect, with which at other times his speech was less deeply tinged.
Of Tess Durbeyfield, Hardy has already mentioned that she would speak in the dialect with her mother, or when excited. But she would speak the Standard English with other characters, such as Angel, Alec D’Urberville, her brother or Lisa-Lu, etc. Miss Ingham points out, astutely; that the realistic novelist would make his/her characters speak ordinary English when they were “high enough up the social or educational scale”42 They would modify their speech according to their listeners.

Page reminds us in the following passage that novelists face ‘divided loyalties’ as writers because the endeavour to represent speech literally and accurately assumes second place to the author’s ‘overall fictional purposes.’ This was in point of fact something Hardy was aware of and noted when he exclaimed that his purpose was to show the character of his speakers.43

Besides, the speech itself arises from context in real life. In literature, this relation to extra-lingual features is only partially-rendered by language. In fiction, the writer plays the same role, by fitting a character’s speech to a given imagined situation from which the context is drawn. In both life and drama, the spoken dialogue carries information via its phonological components.44 Page continues to mention that the written word is only imperfectly able to convey this much:
The fact remains that the twenty six letters of our alphabet, however ingeniously combined and supplemented by other graphical indications, can scarcely begin to represent the infinite variety and subtlety of speech.\(^4^5\)

For that reason, perhaps, he says that George Bernard Shaw presented the cockney pronunciation of his heroine, Eliza Doolittle, only thrice in the play. Shaw’s heroine wanted to imitate her upper class counterparts and run a standard flower shop in the city. Other examples of this understanding occur in the works of Hardy or Dickens, as the researcher has given in this chapter. Mark Twain, a famous American novelist, realised that after “‘talk” (speech and dialogue) is put into print you recognise that it is not what it was when you heard it; you perceive that an immense something has disappeared from it.’\(^4^6\) What appears to be missing or lost, perhaps displaced from memory are actual pronunciation and the context of the speech. We recall what someone has said and try to reproduce it as written dialogue but we may not recall the context in which it was said or we recall the context vaguely.

Widen has indicated that most children used a different language among themselves or at home than they did at school. It is noticed that many writers in England then were aware of this and Hardy is among them; i.e., ‘a whole host of writers from Hardy (1883) to Harold Orton (1962) testify to the fact that dialect-speakers are bi-
dialectal, having one [form of speech] which they use to one
another and one which they use to the educated.'

Variation of speech and dialect is frequent in Hardy’s literature:
Sue Bridehead is educated and speaks with a Standard English,
Drusilla Fawley uses some variation. Hardy’s variations include
dropping certain sounds from the word. e.g., Troutham is
addressing Jude about feeding the birds rather than scaring them
away:

'So it's, “Eat my dear birdies”, is it, young man? “Eat,
dear birdies” indeed! I’ll tickle your breeches and see
if you say “Eat, dear birdies” again in a hurry. And
you’ve been idling at the schoolmaster’s too, instead of
coming here, ha’n’t ye, hey? That’s how you earn your
sixpence a day for keeping the rooks off my corn!”
(Hardy, Jude, UBSPD, p.15)

When Jude’s aunt Drusilla is talking about Troutham, however, the
speech is less refined:

“If ye can’t skeer birds, what can ye do? There! Don’t
ye look so deedy! Farmer Troutham is not so much
better than myself, come to that.......His father was my
father’s journeyman, anyhow, and I must have been a
fool to let ‘ee go to work for ‘n, I shouldn’t ha’ done
but to kep ‘ee out of mischt. (Ibid. p.18)
According to Thomas Hardy’s English, the word, *deedy* is derived from *deed* and means serious and intent. The researcher’s sense of the word *mischty* comes from *mischief*, as in the phrase ‘keep you out of mischief.’ So it is contextual. But, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Hardy refrained from copying the dialect straightaway. A better example may be Henchard and Donald Farfrae—but Farfrae does not speak British English; he speaks Scottish. Note the following:

‘My ain countree!’

‘When you take away from among us the fools and the rogues, the lammigers, and the wanton hussies, and the slatterns, and such like, there’s cust few left to ornament a song with in Casterbridge, or the country round.’ (Hardy, *MC*, UBSPD, p.67)

In above speech, *ain* is ‘own’ whereas *lammiger* is derived from *laminger* (crippled or disabled) and *hussie* is an immoral girl. A slattern is an untidy woman [from *slattering*, which means slovenly or filthy]. *Cust* is aberration of ‘cursed’ as a superlative emphatic: ‘cursed’ few or very, very few. The words in italics are found in the *New Oxford Dictionary of English*.

Herein, it should be made very clear that Scottish and English are derived from different source languages. Scottish and Welsh are Celtic and English is derived from Anglish and the language of the Britons. Both groups were ancient tribes dwelling in the British Isles before Caesar. A particular variation within the language is
called dialect. The Return of the Native is perhaps the one novel with the most numerous examples of the dialect: The following is speech from two rustics in the novel, Fairway and Christian Cantle respectively:

“And I was born wi’ a caul, and perhaps can be no more ruined than drowned?” Christian added, beginning to give way. (Hardy, RN, UBSPD, p.225) “Haw-haw-haw!” said Fairway, “I’m damned if this isn’t the quarest start that ever I knowed!” (Ibid.)

Haw-haw-haw is the sound of laughter, like ‘ha ha!’ Quarest is actually a distortion of ‘queerest, strangest’ and knowed is actually ‘knew.’ [Caul is both a headpiece and the amniotic membrane round a phetus.]

Sociolinguistics is all about variation, and seeks socially relevant explanations for regular patterns of variation in language use. (Ibid, p.5) Dialect is used both for local varieties of English, e.g., Yorkshire dialect, and for various types of informal, lower-class, or rural speech.

This study of sociolinguistic variation examines the relation between social identity and ways of speaking. Studying variations in language not only reveals a great deal about speakers’ strategies with respect to variables such as social class, gender, ethnicity and age, it also affords us the opportunity to observe linguistic change in
progress. Broadly defined in this way, sociolinguistics is a vast interdisciplinary field. It subsumes many different traditions of study which have their own titles as well as their own established methods and priorities.\textsuperscript{48}

A sociolinguistic framework is a system involving the attitudes of a speech community toward their language, the identity of social groups, standard and non-standard forms of language, patterns and needs of national language use, the social basis of multilingualism, etc.\textsuperscript{49}

The science of socio-linguistics has re-examined language into a social matrix that includes the total of all linguistic variations which exist in given communities. Variation or variability in language has been defined by sociolinguistics, which also specifies the grammatical options a speaker may actually select, given a number of conditions.

Contrary to the traditional focus on standard languages and written forms, this chapter highlights speech variations, dialects and the relationship between language and society in a wide sociolinguistic framework. The contributions present empirical research on a range of topics from many countries including Malta, Germany, the Channel Islands, the United Kingdom and the United States.\textsuperscript{50}
2.4 Conclusion

The chapter has highlighted the relation between sociolinguistics and literature. The sociology of language and language variations, the nature of dialect, accent and related concepts have been made clear in the chapter. The novel usually attempts to present a ‘slice of life’ as lived through the characters in the novel. Based on reality while presenting a concept of life conceived by the writer, the novel uses dialogue between the characters and, occasionally, as Bakhtin pointed out, between the characters and the narrator. In this respect, the realism of the novel is expressed through use of language and dialect, where the use of dialect may be accurately presented. As dialogue is an essential aspect of language, the sociological and linguistic aspects of language and dialect are presented through it. In this chapter, the researcher has shown how skilled writers of English language have presented the speech of their character’s dialects. The chapter has also provided a theoretical approach to sociolinguistics.
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