

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF /H/ IN ISTANBUL

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF /H/ IN ISTANBUL, is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references

F. Deniz

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ABSTRACT

The present study has concentrated on the relationship between language variation and social structure of society. It has taken into account language usage of speakers and their social background, namely social class and gender. In order to clarify this relationship, the research has been conducted in Turkish society, in particular, Istanbul, and in the Turkish language.

The sociolinguistic view adopted advocates the view that language change is the result of the combination of the internal linguistic factors and external social factors. Thus, a brief overview of internal linguistic rules of /h/ deletion in the Turkish and the external social factors in the Istanbul society has been determined.

A broad picture of the relationship between the internal rule of language variation and the social structure of the society is provided, as well as a discussion of some controversial issues related to language and its social context.

The data for the present study shows that /h/ is a differentiator of social classes and gender in Istanbul. It is worth noting here that the reason of the discrepancy between the speech pattern of the male and female is answered by adopting the term “habitus” as a biopsychosocial process to sociolinguistics. In conclusion, the present study, like many previous studies, demonstrates that language is deeply attached to the social structure of society.

Key Words: Language Variation, Language and Social Class, Language and Gender, Language and Age,

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF (h) IN ISTANBUL

Section 1: General Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Linguistic variation is one of the key concepts with its relation to social forces in sociolinguistics. According to Fasold's (1990: 224) definition: "A sociolinguistic variable is a set of alternative ways of saying the same thing, although the alternatives will have social significance." For example, the /h/ variable will be treated as a sociolinguistic variant in our study, which represents the presence or absence of /h/ due to consonantal constricting corresponding to the letter *h* in words like *kahraman* 'hero' and *Ethem* 'a proper name' in Turkish. Although an h-full or an h-less *kahraman/ka:raman* have the same meaning in their different forms, they might indicate some social variability in social class, gender, age and ethnicity.

The main hypothesis in this study is that there is a correlation between the linguistic variable /h/ and social class and gender. In other words, /h/ might be a differentiator of social classes and gender in Istanbul.

The interest to investigate /h/ variation arose from my own experience. I had realised that /h/ was optionally being deleted in certain linguistic environments in Turkish. This realization of an alternation between /h/ and /ø/ in Turkish developed my interest in finding more about the nature of relation between linguistic change and social forces.

It is worth also noting that this interest is mainly stimulated by Labov's works. "*The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores*" (1966), which inspired me to believe that the /h/ variant might have some social significance as /r/ has in New York City. Therefore, the main concern of this study is to find out whether there is a relationship between linguistic change and social variables in Turkish society

Until the 1960s, language behavior (by Saussure's suggestion) was regarded as uniform and homogeneous, language variation was considered as an insignificant deviation from the norm (Giglioli 1972: 9). In addition, structural and generative linguistic theories also discouraged the quantitative studies of language relating to social forces (Fasold 1990: 224). These two reasons prevented linguists from discovering the principle of language change and its possible connection to social forces.

After the 1960s, Labov became the one of most influential figures who challenged this view. He inspired many linguists to study language change in relation to its social context with his first classic work 'The Social Stratification of English in New York City' (Labov 1966). It is important to note that although most of progress in sociolinguistics took place after the 1960s, it does not imply that there was no language study in its social context before that time. On the contrary, topics such as dialect, which is a part of sociolinguistics, had been studied before 1960s. For example Gauchat (1905), in the study of the French dialect in town of Charmy, Switzerland, correlated linguistic variability with the age and gender of his informants (Chambers 1995: 16).

Many studies on linguistic variables in the social context have been conducted: *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Labov 1966); *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* (Wolfram 1969); *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* (Trudgill 1974); *Belfast: Change and Variation in an Urban Vernacular* (Milroy & Milroy 1978), to name a few.

By undertaking this study, I intend to offer an insight to interaction between the way language use and social factors interact by clarifying /h/ deletion and its linguistic rule in Turkish.

1.2. Aim and Rationale of the Study

The aim of this study is to shed more light on linguistic change in its social context and to show, if the data supports, how social forces influence linguistic change by examining /h/ deletion in Turkish in Istanbul. In other words, the purpose of this study is to investigate

the nature and extent of the correlation between the way language is related to sociological parameters. It will also examine the direction of change in terms of social classes.

In order to reach the aim of this study, this dissertation will try to give answers to the following questions;

- Is there any connection between /h/: [h] ~ /h/:[ø] alternation and social stratification in Istanbul?
- Is there any connection between /h/: [h] ~ /h/:[ø] alternation and gender in Istanbul?
- If so, how does this linguistic change correlate to social parameters?
- What is the direction of this change, in terms of social classes? Is it from upper classes to lower classes or vice versa?

The rationale for this study derives from the lack of sociolinguistic academic research on the nature of relationship between linguistic changes and social factors in Turkish. Taking this in to account, this study will be a contribution to this field.

1.3. Background of the Study

It is a well known fact that Turkish, with its sister languages such as Kazak, Turkmen, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyz and Uzbek etc., is one of the most spoken languages from China, and the Altai mountains to Eastern Europe. Today in the world more than 200 million people speak Turkish. It is worth noting that Turkish belongs to the Altaic branch of the Uralic and Altaic language family that has widespread use (www.anatolia.com).

It is normal for any language to become diverse and split up over time, because the nature of languages is prone to change. It has been changed and will certainly change. Although the changes in progress may be so subtle that may not be realized, it may become a different language in time through accumulation of the changes (Campbell 1998: 16; Bloomfield 1983: 195; Jespersen 1949: 22).

The history of Turkish is divided into four periods: 1. Old Turkish 2. Old Anatolian Turkish (11th –15th centuries) 3. Ottoman (16th-19th centuries) and 4. Modern Turkish (20th century) (www.stm.unipi.it/programmosocrates/clionet/meeting/students/cliogh-Peker.ppt). The oldest records of Turkish are found in central Asia, found on the Orkhun monuments. They were written in the middle of the 8th century. These are a very important source for Old Turkish (see Ergin 1983; Caferoglu 2001).

After the 9th century Islam became the most influential and effecting power upon Turks. It also brought the influence of Arabic and Persian on Turkish. Many Arabic and Persian linguistic elements appeared in Turkish such as phonemes, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns and semantic association (www.countrystudies.us/Turkey/25).

This brief explanation will help the reader to understand how /h/ appears in Turkish. As a matter of fact, there was no orthographic /h/ found on the Orkhun monuments (Barat 2005). Although Turkish has a few original words which contain /h/, they come from the transformation of /k/ into /h/. This change took place from the Old Turkish period to the Old Anatolian Turkish period. Besides that, the /h/ sound could only be seen in expletive words like *hay* ‘expression of surprise or shock’, *hey*, ‘look here! /hey!’ and in a few onomatopoeic words like *hav hav* ‘woof woof’, *hişirti* ‘noise’ *hopur hopur* ‘sip noisely, slurp’. The other words that contain /h/ come either from Arabic or Persian (Muallimoğlu1999:364). It is important to note that all words containing /h/ used in this study are originally not Turkish but have been used in Turkish for more than one thousand years. These are no longer foreign words in the eyes of native Turkish speakers.

Although there is an argument over whether Karahan Turkish belongs to Old Turkish or not, it is generally accepted that Gokturg, Uighur and Karahan belong to the Old Turkish period. Ercilasun (2004:349) noted that: “leaving aside some differences among Gokturg, Uighur and Karahan, because of having different civilization (religion), they can be seen as languages of the Old Turkish period”.

It is generally accepted that Uighur had three regional dialects, which are called the ‘n’ dialect, the ‘y’ dialect and the ‘Gabain dialect’. There is no /h/ in the *n* and *y* dialects whereas /h/ appears in Gabain due to fact that, /k/ and /g/ sometimes turn into /h/ in some words, such as *adig* > *azih*; *taskara* > *tashara* (Ercilasun 2004:276-7). On the contrary, /h/ appears explicitly in borrowed words in Karahan Turkish such as *haber* and *hava*. (Ercilasun 2004:349).

Upon inspection of the appearance of /h/ in Turkish, it can be asked why /h/ appeared in Karahan but not in Gokturg and Old Uighur. What social factors made Karahan differ from Gokturg and Old Uighur regarding /h/? What affected Karahan that had nothing to do with Gokturg and Old Uighur? The answer is explained through the fact that the Karahans accepted Islam in 10th century whereas the Gokturg and Uighur remained in their original religions. The Turkish language came under intensive influence from Arabic and Persian language and culture (www.turkishculture.com/literature/1-language.html). It is important to note that the Qur’an was translated into Turkish during the Karahan period (see Ercilasun 2004:337).

Islam was first accepted by the king of the Karahans, Saltuk Bugra, thereafter was accepted gradually by the public (Oztuna 1983:135). Islam was spread by well educated people, mainly Sufis, such as Ahmet Yasevi and his students (see Ercilasun 2004:338). Arabic influence came along through religious studies, whereas the Persian influence came along through literature (Köprülü 1915). In this regard, one may presume that /h/ was introduced to Turks through their elites, mainly in terms of education, to the ordinary public. The questions of how and why language changes cannot be answered adequately without referring to the social events that occur in its history. For instance, a clear reference to the Norman Conquest can illuminate the causes behind the discrepancy of Middle English and Old English. In a similar vein, however, the direction of the /h/ from higher to lower classes or vice versa cannot be known for sure, yet it could be presumed under the certain information that /h/ penetrated into Turkish from the high classes down rather than the other way around.

Currently, there is a slight tendency in progress to delete /h/ in Turkish, but in what direction? Since the method of traditional dialectology would prove difficult in answering these types of questions, sociolinguistics can cope with this through applying quantitative methods, which has been developed throughout its short history. This will be explained in more detail in the methodology section.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study will be based on the literature review presented in section 2. The main concern is to examine the relationship between linguistic variation of [h] and social parameters. Since social class, gender and partly age are the part of the external social parameters in this study, special attention will be paid to Labov's works (1966,1972) and Trudgill's studies (1974).

The motivation for this study is based on my observation that as we move from higher class to lower classes, the pronunciation /h/ in the speech of people lessens. This is the basis for my assumption that higher social classes use more standard language than lower classes. Likewise, Labov realized that /r/ is a variable in New Yorkers' speech. In other words, he observed that people used postvocalic /r/ such as in 'car', 'card', 'four' and 'fourth' in their speech while it was absent in other people's speech. Since r'full pronunciation is the standard form in New York, he assumed that higher classes would use more /r/ than lower classes. To investigate his assumption he selected three department stores: Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy's and S. Klein representing the highest, middle and lower classes respectively. At the end, the results confirmed his assumptions that higher classes use the standard form more than lower classes. The /r/ variant clearly differentiated social classes in New York.¹

With regards to gender and variation, many studies have shown that women use more prestigious language than men do (Labov 1966b, 1972, Trudgill 1974, Wolfram 1969 Wolfram and Fasold 1974, Romaine 1978). For example, Fishman (1958) concentrated

¹ (For a more detailed explanation see 2.3).

on the 'ing' variable, which has two variants: 'ing' and 'in.' He reported that the girls from a New England School pronounced the standard form of the verb more, as in *reading*, *visiting* and *singing*, while boys from the same school used the non-standard form /in/ as in *punchin'*, *chewin'*, *swimmin'*. Trudgill, through his study in Norwich, found that women produced a more prestigious 'ing' variant than men (see fore more explanation 2.4).

Many studies that have been conducted on the relationship between language variation and social factors have concentrated on English and English speaking societies (Labov 1966,1972; Trudgill 1972,1974; Milroy& Milroy 1978).

The present study will focus on the same issue but on a different language and a different society, i.e., Turkish and Turkish society. It may be possible that the result of this study may be different from those in previous studies conducted on, say, western societies (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1972, 1974, 1979; Milroy & Milroy 1978). Several studies conducted in non-western societies (Russell 1982, Schmidt 1974, Abd-el-Jawad 1981, Salam 1980) showed different results regarding language gender, from those conducted in western societies²

1.5. Outline of the Study

This work is comprised of five main sections. The first section will introduce the reader to the topic and shed light on the motivation, aims and theoretical framework of the research. The second section will cover the literature review on language, and the relation between linguistics and sociolinguistics, the historical and sociolinguistic approach to sound change, linguistic constraints of the /h/ variant in Turkish, class stratification, language and gender. The third section will explain the methodology that will be used in this research. The fourth section will focus on the presentation, evaluation and discussion of the data. The fifth section, which is the last section, will summarise the work.

² (see literature review 2.4).

Section 2: Literature Review

The land of the word is an external world, as long as it is not disclosed; it is in a foreign land. The ardent desire for the word to come out through a tongue is to become known, be understood and end the longing. Since the word has passion for the freedom, it has been impossible to handicap the tongue. That is why it is shameless. Speaking- by its very nature- makes people extrovert. This Extrovert nature, or being in a position of one to whom speech is directed causes one to be influenced by external factors and external suggestions. The problem is that the moment the word reaches its freedom; the word tries to establish sovereignty on its speaker. In this indefinite place where freedom and slavery are mixed up, the human becomes a stranger to himself and to the words. The ability of speaking that makes people powerful and that differentiates human being from animals simultaneously makes him fragile and weak: as he speaks, his soul becomes irritated! As he speaks, his suffering increases!

Faruk Deniz 2004 'Söz Sukuta Erer Kalbederek'

2.1. Language, Linguistics and Sociolinguistics

Language does not only convey information, but it is also a good arbiter in terms of establishing relationships between individuals (Trudgill 1974:1). Being so complex or having so many aspects makes it almost impossible to define language precisely and comprehensively. It may be explained through its function rather than its real nature or essence. Although this may facilitate to define language, it also causes language to have as many definitions as its functions.

Language has two main aspects: physical and non-physical. It is physical because it depends on articulatory systems in order to be created and auditory systems in order to be received. The physical aspect is basically based on sounds, or phonemes. This aspect operates through sound. On the other hand, the non-physical aspect could be referred to the organic system of language that enables it to carry feelings, apart from information. This deep aspect is responsible for the establishing and maintaining of relationships between human beings by cooperating with the physical aspect. This aspect of language is as alive as humans. It is the non-physical aspect that allows society and language to affect each other.

When language is produced it comes in three complex and subtle levels:

1. It comes with the psychological state of its speakers.
2. It indicates the social background of its speakers.

3. It comes with a certain type of “social concern” that designates the relationship among individuals and between individuals and society.

In fact, the way language is used reflects the character of its speaker. The word he/she uses may indicate the physiological state of a speaker such as being pessimistic, optimistic or having self-confidence or a lack of confidence. Besides, the subconscious can exhibit itself unconsciously through a language. That is why it may be said that sub context of the speech allows outsiders to observe the others’ hidden world.

The language an individual uses not only reflects the psychological state but also indicates his/her social background. In other words, it enables us to see individuals within social groups or classes to which they belong. If one comes from a certain part of the country, “he/she will probably use the language, which spoken by people from that part of country. It is also possible that if he belongs to the middle class, he/she will probably use the kind of language that associate with men of this type” (Trudgill 1974:2).

Social concern could be seen as a language norm that either is encouraged to follow or prohibited to use. It comprises both negative and positive aspects. The negative part can manifest itself as a taboo. Society strictly prohibits using certain words, which could involve sex, religion or swearing. The important role of social concern is framed flexibly in the way in which we talk to ‘others,’ according to their social status or age. For example, it is stigmatised to call an older brother by his name in Turkey. Turkish has a word *abi*, which means “elder brother”. Moreover it helps to decide to use deferential (or formal) pronouns by virtue of his higher social status or lack of acquaintance with him. For example, French ‘*vous*’ (plural “you”) or Turkish ‘*siz*’ (plural “you”) represent both the grammatically plural form and respect form. Although ‘*siz*’ in Turkish, ‘*vous*’ in French, ‘*shoma*’ in Persian are grammatically plurals, they are used as formal singular address forms (for more on address forms, see Fasold 1990: 1-38).

Many studies demonstrated that there are close relations between language usage and social factors (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1974; Wolfram 1969; Milroy & Milroy 1978).

However when it comes to direction of influence from social factors to language or vice versa, one should face two different ideas: the “Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis” and the “sociolinguistic view”.

We can commence with the view that language and especially its use affects society. This view is referred to as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which is generally associated with Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf. The basic claim of the hypothesis is that the way people think is strongly affected by their native language. More precisely it proclaims that the structure of language can strongly effect and even determine the speaker’s world-view.

One of earlier examples was taken from the Inuit language. It is said that the Inuit can think more intelligently about snow because their language contains nineteen different sophisticated and subtle words, which enable the Inuit to describe and distinguish various form of the snow.

Whorf noted that since Hopi contains “no words, grammatical forms, constructions or expressions that refer directly to what we call ‘time’ or to past, or future, or to enduring, or lasting”, Hopi had “no general notion or intuition of ‘time’ as a smooth flowing continuum in which everything in the universe proceeds at an equal rate, out of a future, through a present, in to a past” (quoted by Pinker 1994: 63).

On the contrary, Ekkehart Malotki (1983) points out that Hopi speech contains tenses, metaphors for time, days, number of days, parts of the day, yesterday, tomorrow, days of the week, months, seasons and the year. He also noted that Hopi has words to describe or quantify the units of time such as ‘quick’, ‘ancient’, ‘long time’ and ‘finished’. Besides, Hopi has a calendar, which is based on the principle of the sundial and they also have adequate methods for recording dates and events. Therefore it is unclear how Whorf came up with the idea that Hopi does not have any concept that is related to *time* (Pinker 1994: 63).

Holtgraves (2002: 151) also noted “there are distinct linguistic differences between English and Hopi in the manner in which time is handled. English allows for both real plurals (e.g., 10 dogs) and imaginary plurals (e.g., 10 days). The later, of course, cannot be objectively experienced at the time one uses the term; in a sense it is metaphorical. In contrast, the Hopi language allows for real plurals but not imaginary ones, thus the phrase “He stayed 10 days” would have to be translated into something like “He left after 10th day.”

The purpose of demonstrating these examples is to justify that the differences between two languages in terms of tense systems, verb forms and vocabularies may lead their speakers to have different perception of the world. However, since translation is possible among all natural languages including between English and Hopi, it is not easy to believe that structure of a language can strongly effect and even determine speaker’s world-view. On the other hand it would be prejudiced to reject the notion that language has *no* degree of effect on society. It seems reasonable not to accept the idea that thought is strongly constrained by language but it could be plausible to accept that “habitual thought is a certain extent conditioned by language” (Trudgill 1974:15). It means that “it is the use of language, rather than anything inherit in language itself, that influences social perception” (Holtgraves 2002:155).

This hypothesis, so far, neither has been confirmed nor fully refuted. The tests regarding this hypothesis came to conclusion with mixed results. It was either partly confirmed (Brown & Lenneberg 1954) or unconfirmed (Clark & Clark 1977). Besides, it is worth noting that Whorf’s arguments are not coherent, consistent or convincing because, as Pinker (1994:60-1) points out; he did not carefully study and investigate native American languages and their cultures. His whole arguments about Native American psychology entirely rely on their grammar which makes his claims circular. For example, he asserts that Apaches speak differently so they think differently. His explanation is far away from giving a convincing answer to the question: ‘How do we know they think differently? Just listen to the way they speak’ (Pinker 1994:61).

Regarding the claim that Eskimos think differently due to the fact that they have more words for snow than others does not necessarily reflect the truth, because even if Eskimos had a hundred words for snow it would not prove that they think differently and more intelligently about snow than others. Although others do not have as many words as Eskimos have for different types of snow, it does not mean others cannot differentiate them in their thoughts. The reason why Eskimos have various words for snow arose from their snowy environment. In other words it arose from their need to describe different kinds of snow. A professional gardener will, of course, have many different words for different kinds of leaves, as compared to a layman. A painter most probably knows more words to describe colours. If humans do not have enough words for the things going on around them they will certainly invent or borrow them. In a similar vein, if there is no need for a certain word, it will get lost by itself. As it is always said ‘necessity is the mother of invention,’ so our necessity and environmental experiences shape our language rather than the other way around.

In brief, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis claims that those who have different language structure could perceive the same event differently. It is obvious that this controversial idea involves only one-way relation, i.e., from language to society. On the contrary, there is a less controversial view that deals with the effect of society on language.

According to Trudgill (1974: 15-16), the effect of society on language comes from mainly two environments:

1. Physical environment.
2. Social environment.

The physical environment in which society lives reflects itself in language especially in lexical items; for example, Arabic has 160 words for the “camel” whereas English has only one (www.oaklandzoo.org/atoz/azcamel.html). Living in the desert leaves Arabs in need of camels, because, only the camel can resist against having no water longer than any other animal in the desert. Even changes in physical environment could result in a change in language. For example, when Turks were living in central Asia, they had only one general word for fish ‘*balik*’ because there is no sea or ocean there, but as they

moved westward they encountered the sea and ocean. This let many new words appear in Turkish for different types of fish, especially from Greek.

Social environment also has effect on language, especially on the lexicon. A society's kinship terms often reflect a society's kinship systems. It may be presumed that the important kin relationship is always labeled in single terms in a language. If one kinship is not differentiated, it could be accepted that it is not so important to differentiate. For example, English has the same word for 'maternal' and 'paternal' aunt whereas Turkish has two different words for English *aunt*. In the Turkish lexicon maternal aunt is *teyze* and paternal aunt *hala*. This linguistic phenomenon certainly reflects that maternal and paternal aunts have different enough social roles in Turkey that they needed to be differentiated in lexicon. On the other hand, it indicates that the distinction between maternal and paternal aunt is not as important in English society as it is not reflected in the English lexicon.

Another cross language example could be given from English and Njamal, Australian aboriginal language. Njamal has only one word for father and uncle *mama* (Trudgill 1974:16). This striking fact implies that an uncle is as important as the father in Njamal society.

Social change, especially decisive, firm political revolution, has a strong effect on language change. This has happened in the case of Turkey. Under Ataturk's leadership the most extensive language reform took place in 1920s. They tried to eliminate all the foreign words. They put either provincial expressions and folk vocabularies or coined new words instead of foreign words (<http://countrystudies.us/TURKEY/25.htm>)

This language reform was not purely a language reform; it was deeply ideologically motivated. Its aim was not only to simplify the language but also to reduce religious influence on society by eliminating all the Arabic words which establish relationship between religious ideology and society. This example clearly shows that the words have something else beyond being just a manner of communication. In short, this political

change produced a wide and swift linguistic change in Turkey. It closed the Ottoman Turkish period and initiated the modern Turkish period in a very short time.

The relation between society and language is reciprocal. There is some way in which language affects society, as does society language. The above-mentioned examples demonstrate that language is not an isolated solid phenomenon; it is actually sensitive to its social and physical environments. Moreover, the examples showed that language also has a complex and interesting aspect, which has something to do with process of thought.

We have seen that there is a clear relationship between language and society. Therefore studies about language without referring to its social context will certainly prevent us from understanding a language comprehensively with its various dimensions.

The term sociolinguistics stems from two different sciences: sociology and linguistics. Until the beginning of the 20th century they have grown as unconnected fields. The sociology of language has been accepted as ‘social fact’ in sociology. This concept was derived from the work of social theorist Emil Durkheim. It is ‘social fact’ because “it pre-exists us: we learn language through our socialisation experience. We use language as a part of our daily life but we do not invent it; it post-exists us: the language we speak will continue to be spoken in much the same way after we are gone; it has more power over us than we have over it: we can have little, if any, control over how language changes, while we are living speakers of it” ([http://langue parole/Structural Linguistics.htm](http://langueparole/StructuralLinguistics.htm)). Sociological interests in language were merely by virtue of intimate relation to human natural circumstances. As Giglioli (1972:8) states “just because they viewed language as a necessary prerequisite of every human group, the sociologist thought that it was of no consequence in differentiating social behavior and therefore they neglected its study”. On the other hand, linguistics had no attempt to study language in its social context. Although Saussure, the founder father of modern linguistics, noted that “speech has both an individual and social side, and we cannot conceive of one without another”(1916: 8), his seminal distinction between *langue* (grammatical systems), and *parole* (speech), caused to neglect the study of social uses of language. In fact, he insists on studying

langue without parole. Let us look at his explanation regarding why langue, grammatical systems, must be the object of linguistics rather than parole 'speech' (1916:9):

“But what is a language [langue]? It is not to be confused with human speech [parole], of which it is only definite part though certainly an essential one. It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty. Taken as whole, speech is many sided and heterogeneous; straddling several areas simultaneously-physical, physiological, and physiological – it belongs to both to the individuals and society; we cannot put it into any category of human facts, for we cannot discover its unity. Language [langue], on the contrary, is a self-contained whole and a principle of classification. As soon as we give language first place among the facts of the speech, we introduce a natural order into mass that lends itself to no other classification.”

Saussure defines parole as 'many sided and heterogeneous' and this feature (a) "opens the door to several sciences: psychology, anthropology, normative grammar, philology, etc., which are distinct from linguistics"; (b) "prevents us from discovering its unity". On the contrary, he defines langue as 'self contained' which (a) fixed our attention on one side and (b) enables us "introduce a natural order into mass that lends itself to no other classification" (1916: 9).

Two main points or recommendations could be drawn from Saussure's explanation: "1. langue is homogeneous, whereas parole is heterogeneous; 2. language can be studied in the absence of a community of speakers" (Chambers 1995: 25)

A similar distinction was made by Humboldt (1836: 129): "Language comprehends in fact two contrasting properties: namely, it is divided up into an infinity as the sole language in one and the same nation; and at the same time these many variants are united into one language having a definite character." His terms are an "ergon" and an "energei". "The former "divided up into an infinity as the sole language in one and the same nation," that is, speech (or parole), and the latter language in the abstract sense (or langue), with "these many variants... united into one language having a definite character" (Chambers 2002: 7).

Chomsky also makes a distinction which is parallel to Saussure's: competence "speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language" and performance "the actual usage of language in concrete situation" (1965: 4). As Saussure, Chomsky sees competence (*langue*) more essential than performance (*parole*). Regarding the *competence* we could quote that "linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneously speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitation, distraction, shift of attentions and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of language in actual performance" (Chomsky 1965: 4).

Regarding *performance* "A record of natural speech will show numerous false starts, deviations from rules, changes of plan in mid-course, and so on. The problem for the linguist, as well as for the child learning the language, is to determine from the data of performance the underlying system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker- hearer and he puts use in actual performance" (1965:4).

It could be drawn from above that linguistics should be based on homogeneous competence rather than heterogeneous performance and linguistics should have no relation with its social context. One of the reasons to cast the *parole/ergon/performance* out is to accept variation as a deviation form from rules.

Labov challenged this tradition by showing that speech (*parole*) could be a subject of linguistics by studying the nature of language variation in its social context. He (1966) demonstrated convincingly that linguistic variation correlates with social factors. Therefore Chambers (2001: 7) is correct in stating that "Humboldt, Saussure and Chomsky were obviously right in pointing out that speech, *parole*, is heterogeneous, but they have been proven wrong in dismissing heterogeneity as a possible object of study."

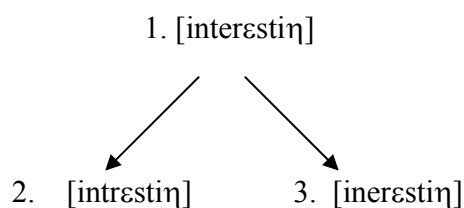
“everything rolls on, nothing stays still”
Heraclitus

“time changes all things: there is no reason
why language should escape this universal
law”
(Ferdinand de Saussure in Aitchison 1991: 16)

2.2 Sound Change

Although we do not know exactly when and how language change takes place, we are well aware that language has always been changing throughout time. Through a diachronic study of a language at different times, we realize either small or large changes within its elements. This reality can be demonstrated by observing any of the languages of the world. For example, the comparison of Middle English and Modern English reveals that *wif* [wi:f] changed into *wife* [wayf] and *hus* [hu:s] changed into *house* [haws] (Lehman 1973: 145). In Persian *av* > *ab* (water), *perman* > *ferman* ‘commend’ (Sahinoglu, M.1997: 25-6). In Turkish *benüm* became *benim* ‘mine’, *gelip* became *gelip* ‘coming’, and *bilür* changed into *bilir* ‘knows’ (Arlotto, A.1972:85).

Sound change can also be seen in daily conversation. For instance, certain words might be pronounced in different ways as in ‘interesting’, which has three types of pronunciations as it is illustrated below.



It could be easily seen that the word has undergone sound change. In [intrɛstɪŋ] the vowel that occurs between [t] and [r] in the second syllable has been dropped. In [inerɛstɪŋ] the consonant cluster [nt] has been changed to [n] (Arlotto 1972:65).

From Middle English to Modern English vowels in English changed considerably. These vowel changes are commonly known as “Great English Vowel Shift” Examples of these changes from are given in Lehman (1973:151-2) and Aitchison (1991:159).

Middle English	Early Modern English	Modern English	
/i:/ /ri:d/	/əɪ/ /rəɪd/	/aɪ/ /raɪd/	(ride)
/ɛ:/ /mɛ:t/	/e:/ /me:t/	/i:/ /mi:t/	(meat)
/u:/ /hu:s/	/u:/ /hu:s/	/au/ /haus/	(hause)
/o:/ /bo:t/	/u:/ /bu:t/	/u:/ /bu:t/	/boot/
/a:/ /na:me/	/ɛ:/ /nɛ:m/	/eɪ/ /neɪm/	/name/

The Great Vowel Shift of Middle English is a famous example of vowel change. These vowel changes produced great differences between Middle English and Modern English. As shown above, what happened was that the pronunciation of all the long vowels of English changed into diphthongs. For example, the vowel in a word such as ‘ride’ had been pronounced [i:]; eventually it became the [aɪ] in modern English.

2.2.1 Historical Sound Change

After a brief look at examples of sound change in English, we will look at various explanations for phonological change that have been proposed in historical linguistics.

2.2.1.1 Regularity Hypothesis

This hypothesis was claimed by the Neogrammarians in 1870s. They were a group of scholars known as ‘young grammarians’ (*Junggrammatiker*). The Neogrammarians were working mostly on Indo-European languages. The leading figures of this idea were mainly Poul, Brugmann, and Ostoff (Hock 1986).

It should be firstly stressed that linguistic change was equated with decay by Pre-Neogrammarian historical linguistics. The Neogrammarians however began to see that

language changes were not decaying. They accepted that language change is a natural process. As a matter of fact, languages lost elements of their morphological systems. For example, English and French lost their inflectional endings, but this does not mean that they lost their ability of expression. Instead of losing elements, they alternate with alternative elements as in the use of auxiliary verbs. In short, the Neogrammarians did not consider language change as slovenly habits or destroying rules; on the contrary they attempted to define, describe and explain them (MacMahon 1994: 18-19).

With the Regularity Hypothesis, they claimed “unlike all other linguistic change, sound change is regular and operates without exceptions” (Hock 1986: 34). They meant that if a sound change occurs in one word, under the same conditions this phenomenon will occur in all words of the same type. For example in Old English, there is a word spelt ‘hus’ [hu:s]. In Contemporary English the same word appears as *house* [haws] (Lehman 1973: 151-2).

Upon inspection of the older and newer forms of this word, it can be assumed that what is involved in their relationship is a shift of Old English [u:] to New English [aw]. In most cases where [u:] appeared in Old English, we find [aw] in New English. This shows that [u:] regularly became [aw] in the history of English.

The Neogrammarians claimed that sound changes were purely phonetically conditioned and that could not refer to non phonetic factors, such as morphology, syntax, and semantics (MacMahon 1994: 20).

They also argue that sound change takes place regularly only at a particular time in a particular speech community. They do not claim cross language regularities.

As can be understood from above, the Neogrammarians’ rules of regularity are quite restricted. It excludes irregular-sporadic changes because the Neogrammarians apply the term ‘sound change’ only for regular changes. Secondly, it is restricted to a particular time and particular speech community.

Although the Neogrammarians are criticized because of their claims related to the ‘definition of sound change’ and to the assumption that sound change takes place regularly only at a particular speech community, their regularity hypothesis has been proved to be enormously fruitful (Hock 1991: 36).

2.2.1.2 Structuralist Hypothesis

The Structuralist Hypothesis was established by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. The Structuralist Hypothesis is thought to be based on his book ‘Course in General linguistics’. Therefore the work of Saussure is generally considered to be a starting point of the Structuralist Hypothesis.

The structuralist hypothesis is an approach that became one of the most widely used methods of analysing language. It was challenged by Neogrammarians. As Bynon (1977: 76) stressed “the application of structuralist principles to the analysis of language was the first major development in linguistics. For the Structuralist a language is to be seen as an integrated whole, un *système où tout se tient*, that is to say a system in which each unit is defined by its place in the overall network of oppositions.” This approach, which considers that each language has its own independent structure, brought new perception towards historical linguistics. They focused on structure and claimed “the units of language are likewise contrastive and relative relational, and can only be understood by considering their place within the language system” (MacMahon 1994: 26).

Structuralists brought some variation based on the way they were looking at how a particular linguistic system functions at a given time (synchronic system) and compared pre-established systems for two or more stages of a language (diachronic system) (MacMahon 1994: 25). In terms of sound change analysis, they introduced the notion of paradigmatic relation of elements at a single structural point in which the phonological segments substitute each other in the same structural slot. This analysis results in phonemes (sounds which contrast) that are acquired synchronically first and display sound change in a diachronic study.

For Structuralists, each language has its own phonemic system, and their analysis of phonemic change is based on **split**, a phenomenon in which a phoneme becomes more than one, and **merger**, a situation in which two or more phonemes become one (MacMahon 1994: 27) the former case can be illustrated by the merger of / ā/ and /ō/ into / ā/:

Proto-Indo European	Proto German	Old English	Sanskrit	Latin	New English
bhrāter	brōtar	brōpor	bhrātar	frāter	brāðə

(Campbell 1998: 20-2)

The example of split can be seen in Great English Vowel Shift in which /u:/ became /au/ in ‘mouse’ and /ai/ in ‘mice’ (Campbell 1998:24). For consonants, one can give an example of /n/ which gave /n/ and /ŋ/ as in /sin/ ‘sin’ and /siŋ/ ‘sing’ Campbell 1998: 24).

2.2.1.3 Generativist Hypothesis

As we have seen in the previous section, for the structuralists, sound change is ‘phoneme change’. For the Generativists, sound change is ‘rule changes’. In short, they claimed that “it is not sound or phonemes that change but grammar” (King 1969:112).

For example, Indo-European *b, d, g* became *p, t, k* in Germanic. What happened was that some phonemic series turned into new phonemic series. The Generativists believed that when *d>t* or *b>p* phenomenon occurred, the rule *d>t / b>p* would be added to the speakers’ grammar.

Secondly, the Generativists did not support the idea that the sound change is necessary gradual. They simply assumed that rules like *d>t* were added to the speakers’ grammar (King 1969: 108). Even though they denied gradualness of phonological change, they did not reject the possibility that the phonological change spreads gradually throughout a speech community (King 1969:117). It could be emphasized that Generativists did not accept ‘sound change’ as a proper concept for the phenomenon that occurs in languages. Instead of saying ‘sound change’ they used ‘grammar change’ as a concept to explain this phenomenon. (King 1969:109)

Thirdly, Generativists believed that “phonological change could only occur in the form of order or innovatory of rules or in the underlying representation” (MacMahon 1994: 36). According to this hypothesis, phonological change can be seen via different types of rules, namely: 1. Rule Addition 2. Rule Loss 3. Rule Reordering 4. Rule Inversion 5. Reconstruction (MacMahon 1994:40-1).

We tried to briefly look at three hypotheses on sound change. We clearly saw that they struggled to bring valid explanations on the same phenomena within the languages. However, we realized that they followed different ways to explain the same phenomenon. While the Neogrammarians claimed that language change was phonetically gradual, the Generativists believed that ‘language change’ was not gradual. Since the Structuralists established their theories around ‘phoneme change’, the Generativists produced their hypotheses based on ‘rule change’.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic Sound Change

After this discussion of historical change, we can now look at how sociolinguistics deals with sound change.

It must be noted that none of these historical hypotheses attempt to evaluate ‘change’ with relation to social uses of language. They have preferred not to involve social aspects of language. More importantly, they have not even accepted speech (parole, performance) as a real linguistic subject because of being heterogeneous. Besides, they have seen everyday speech variation insignificant to the point of linguistic view (see 2.1). They generally take data from widely separated times in history and compare them either within a language in question itself or comparing genetically related languages in order to find out the changes took place over the time (Romaine 1989: 199 in Leiv Egil Breivic et al 1989; Chambers 1995: 186).

Despite these discouragements, Fishman (1958) demonstrated that variation between ‘ing’ and ‘-in’ (as in “watching”) was influenced by social factors (social classes and gender) in the speech of a group of children. But it was Labov who contributed a lot to concepts and methods that have been used in the field of sociolinguistics (Fasold 1990: 223). His first most influential work ‘Stratification of English in New York City’ (1966) showed how linguistic variation could be significant. By his work, he refuted also the idea that “the process of linguistic change has never been directly observed” (Bloomfield 1933:347); and Hockett’s (1958) claim that phonemic change is altogether too fast to be observed (see for detailed argument Labov 1994:44-5). In addition that Bloomfield (1933) strongly defended the regularity of the sound change against irregular sound change in daily speech. He claimed that irregular sound change in daily speech is only dialect borrowing and nothing else.

Sociolinguistics concentrates on variants that occur in daily speech. As mentioned before these variants have the same meaning but different forms. Therefore, they are linguistically insignificant. On the contrary, they are socially significant, because alternation between variants is determined by social factors such as gender, social class and gender (Downes 1984: 14 & Chambers 2001:1). Consider this:

John is repairing the car

John is repairin the ca:

There are two variants in these utterances: (1) the present continuous tense suffix is represented by ‘ing’ in the first sentences and by ‘in’ in the second utterance and (2) the object of utterance car appears in the second utterance in the form of ‘ca:’. In spite of differences in the forms, two sentences carry exactly the same meaning.

On the other hand, these sentences convey different social meanings by virtue of having different forms. If r’full and g’full pronunciation are standard forms in a society, the first utterance will probably be used by higher social classes, educated people and in formal places whereas, the second utterance will probably be used by working class, less

educated people and in a less formal environment. If 'r'less' and 'g'full' are standard forms higher social class will be recognized by their r' and g' less pronunciation. For example the Labov's study of New York City (1966) demonstrated that 'r'less' pronunciation is prestigious form in New York. Therefore, higher social class people pronounce more 'r' in postvocalic position than lower class people. Unlike New York City, Labov's study on Martha's Vineyard (1963) showed that native people of the island r-pronouncers. It also has significant social aspect because, r-pronunciation differentiate native Yankees from non-natives.

Sociolinguistic variation stands somewhere between social fact and linguistic system. In other words, pressure does not come only from external social factors but also from internal linguistic systems. For instance, in Martha's Vineyard there was a change of /a/ into /ai/ which triggered the change of /a/ into /au/. This change occurred before voiceless obstruents, like [t] and [s] as in 'out' and 'rice' respectively. This is purely an effect of linguistic environments on the change. As for social aspect of change, natives of Martha's Vineyard wanted to distinguish themselves from foreigners (tourists) by changing /a/ into /ai/ and /au/ (Fasold 1990:227).

The limit of my language indicate the limits of my world
Wittgenstein (1966)

2.3 Linguistic Constraints of /h/ Variants

Variation is not only conditioned by social factors, it is usually conditioned by the internal linguistic factors. Linguistic factors represent certain environments in which variants occur, for instance, the set of items that precede or follow the variant. It is important to note that without taking linguistic factors in consideration, the frequency of variants will certainly indicate different results. As Downes (1984: 79) states “the sets of environments inside the language combine with social factors to yield the scores we observe.”

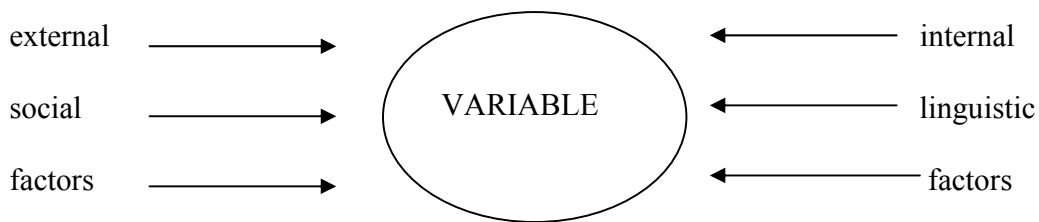


Figure 2.1. Effect of external social factors and internal linguistic factors on variant (Taken from Downes 1984:79).

One cannot doubt that there is optional /h/ deletion in Turkish, but in certain linguistic environments (Lewis 1967, Sezer 1986, Mielke 2002). That is why it is a suitable and reasonable ground to test the relationship of external social factors and internal linguistic factors of the /h/ deletion.

We can now illustrate internal linguistic /h/ variant rules (partly based on Mielke 2002: 56-57). Note that, numbers next to the lines refer to examples below.

- i. Whenever /h/ occurs at the beginning of the words, it always remains (1a),

but when /h/ occurs word finally, it might optionally be deleted (1b)

- ii. /h/ is optionally deleted before and after sonorant consonants (2a, 2b)
 - iii. when /h/ is deleted from the preconsonantal or final position, the preceding vowel becomes longer as in (2a)
 - iv. /h/ is optionally deleted after voiceless stops (3a)
 - v. /h/ is optionally deleted before and after voiceless fricatives (4)
 - vi. /h/ is deleted intervocalically (5)
-
1. /h/ is not deleted word initially but deleted word-finally
 - a. hak *ak ‘justice’
hap *ap ‘pill’
hava *ava ‘air’
 - b. timsah ~ timsa: ‘crocodile’
Allah ~ Alla: ‘god’

 2. /h/ is deleted before and after sonorants
 - a. kahraman ~ ka:raman ‘hero’
fihrist ~ fi:rist ‘index’
tehlike ~ te:like ‘danger’
ahmed ~ a:med ‘proper name’
köhne ~ kö:ne ‘dilapidated’
 - b. cumhuriyet ~ cum:uriyet ‘republic’
ilhami ~ il:ami ‘inspiration’

 3. /h/ is only deleted after voiceless stops
 - a. şüphe ~ şüpe ‘suspicion’
ethem ~ et:em ‘proper name’

 4. /h/ is deleted before and after voiceless fricatives
mahşer ~ mahşer ‘last judgment’
mahsus ~ ma:sus ‘special to’

tahsil	~	ta:sil	‘education’
ishal	~	is:al	‘diarrhea’
safha	~	saf:a	‘step’

5. /h/ is deleted intercovally

pahalı	~	pa:alı	‘expensive’
tohum	~	to:um	‘seed’
sahan	~	sa:an	‘cooper food dish’
muhafaza	~	mu:afaza	‘protection’

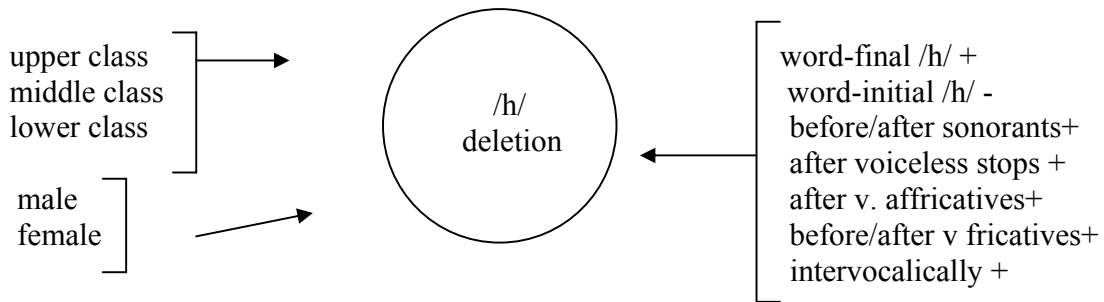
It is worth noting that although Mielke (2002:57) claims that /h/ is only deleted before sonorants, it has been highlighted /h/ could optionally be deleted before and after sonorants as well (see rule 2a and 2b). Moreover, although Mielke said in the rule that /h/ is deleted at the end of the word, it should be noted that it is not deleted as commonly as other environments.

In this thesis I will concentrate on h’full or h’less variants. Therefore, /h/ is separated into two groups. In all the cases where /h/ could optionally be omitted it will be treated as one group and where /h/ cannot be deleted will be treated as another group. Doing so helps the interviewer to gather reliable data and reduce other factors which can interfere with the study. Moreover, it helps in the preparation of questionnaires and reading passages in line with that assumption.

The rules that govern /h/ deletion will be considered the same. Whatever the reason, reduction or simplification turns words like ‘merhaba’, ‘kahraman’, and ‘pahalı’ into ‘meraba’, ‘karaman’ and ‘paalı’ respectively:

merhaba → meraba
pahalı → paalı

As mentioned before, sociolinguistic variation is an aspect that is sensitive to both social forces and linguistic forces. Ongoing speech events, therefore, point out some social characters of the speakers. It could be visualized, based on Downes's figure mentioned previously:



It could be realized that social factors were limited to social stratification and gender. Ethnicity and age would have been worthwhile additions but the timeframe and scope of this study does not allow for more than two social variables. The rules located on the right side of the circle indicate the inherent linguistic environment and those on the left side of the circle are the social forces. I shall put forward the assumption that h-deletion may appear more in the speech of the lower class than the middle and upper classes. Besides this, it is also presumed that females may use more h'full form than males.

“Language speaks solely with itself alone”
Martin Heidegger (1959) ‘On the way to language’

“So I renounced and sadly see:
Where word breaks off no thing may be”
Stefan George ‘The Word’

2.4 Language and Social Stratification

It is obvious that all humans are not equal like the teeth of a comb in terms of wealth and opportunity. They clearly differ from each other according to the degree of socio-economic opportunities to which they have access. This means that, opportunities, which are not only economic but could also be educational, designate the type of attitudes, values and recreation of human beings and cause the movement or maintenance of social stratification in a society. The term social stratification ‘refers to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a society’ (Trudgill 1974: 23). If one has wealth he will stay in affluent area, will generally have friends from there and will go to expensive places that only the people of his level can access. The more relationships they have the more similar they will become. On the other hand, the discrepancy between this group and another which does not have that much opportunity will grow. The more inequality or the greater the discrepancy between these groups, the more dissimilar they are in many aspects of social life.

Does social differentiation have an effect on language? Before giving an answer to this question, it is important to note that all individuals differ in the way they speak. Some of their variants refer to individual choice, which is idiosyncratic, but others refer to the social group to which they belong. Even socially motivated biological differences such as age cause speakers to use different varieties of a language (see language review). Other than this, language enables us to estimate speakers’ social status through examining their *langue* or performance. Trudgill (1974: 22) noted that if one is an English speaker he will

be able to differentiate social status of a person who says “I done it yesterday/he ain’t got it” from a person who says “I did it yesterday/he has not got it”. Since the latter form is a standard form, an English speaker will strongly guess that the latter speaker belongs to a higher social class than the former one. Now the answer to the question is very clear. It is very easy to realize that the way a professor speaks is not the same as the way a plasterer or mason speaks. The grammatical, phonological and lexical differences or choices in their speech are actually symbolizing their social class. Therefore the social aspect of language can both indicate the speakers’ class and also represent their social identity (Guy 1988: 37).

Differentiation of class essentially based on status, which refers to whether people are respected or ignored, and power, refers to access to material sources or resources. Therefore, class stratification is the difference of status and power among groups within societies (Guy 1988: 37).

When it comes to class, history reminds us of Karl Marx and his ideology. He primarily concentrated on economic issues and believed social change has a very strong connection with economic problems between classes. In the Marxist view, historical development is always motivated by conflict between classes. Therefore it is believed that the history of the human being is inevitably the history of struggle between classes (Marx 1978:473-4). According to Marxists, social classes, as Guy (1988: 39) notes, ‘are groups of people who share common economic interests; that is, they are defined by their common role in the economic system’.

There are two classes: the *bourgeoisie* (ruling class) and *proletariat* (working class). The membership of class is designed and determined by a ‘relationship to means of production.’ One of these expectations is that the proletariat will overthrow the bourgeoisie because of a huge unequal economical gap between these two classes. Then capitalism would be transformed into socialism and eventually communism (Marx 1978: 473-491).

Since Marxists see every social change as a result of separation and conflict between classes, language variation between classes is also seen as result of tension of classes. This simple fact caused Guy (1988:41) to note, “From a Marxist viewpoint the existence of class dialect is a consequence of the division and conflicts between classes.”

Leaving aside over-emphasis of the tension between classes in Marxism, this kind of social differentiation has an effect on language. The social barriers are seen to be equal to geographical distance. Geographical barriers (mountains, rivers etc.) and political or internal country borders have a considerable effect on the existence of regional dialects. The more distance and physical barriers between two dialects, the more dissimilar they are, e.g., regional varieties, such as the speech of London and the varieties of Buchan, northeast of Scotland (Trudgill 1974: 22). Examples for the variations between two sides of borders can be taken from the Sesotho language. The border of South Africa and Lesotho divides Sesotho speaking people, so that different variants are used either side of the border, e.g.:

Sesotho (South Africa)	Sesotho (Lesotho)	English
<i>lebitso</i>	<i>lereo</i>	‘noun’
<i>leetsisa</i>	<i>sere</i>	‘ideophone’
<i>lelahlelwa</i>	<i>lekhotsa</i>	‘interjective’
<i>sehlongwanthao</i>	<i>mohatlana</i>	‘suffix’
<i>ho kenya</i>	<i>ho nokela</i>	‘to put in’
		(Sekere 2004: 31-40)

In a similar vein we should note that the more social barriers between classes the more dissimilar they are. The social barrier, from the Marxist point of view, is economical. Sometimes this view is more plausible to explain huge language differences between classes. For example, a study of Norwich (Trudgill 1974) clearly demonstrated the huge gap between the middle and working classes regarding the [a:] variable. Since the back unrounded vowel [ɑ:] in words such as *after*, *path* and *cart* is a prestige form in the southern English accent, middle classes used [ɑ:] variant most of time. On the other hand, working classes used the [ä:] variant more, which is the non-standard form.

It is clear that in the Marxist theory, class division is determined by power of material or product rather than status. In addition, it divides society, even all humanity, sharply into classes. Yet our life experience and observation shows that society is not sharply broken up and shows also that status is as significant as economic power for grouping people in the society. It is worth noting that this statement is more apparent in non-industrialized societies than industrialized societies.

Despite Marxism's power-based sharp class division, there is an alternative way to classify society based on unity and status. Guy (in Newmeyer 1988: 41) states "this view sees classes as a relatively continuous scale on which individuals are ranked according to assorted personal characteristics such as level of education, income, occupation, etc., which collectively implies a certain degree of social esteem". Classes are not strictly defined as opposed to Marx's definition. It simply grades people in a hierarchy according to their similar social and economic characteristics so that it is possible to move from one class to another (see Weber 1978: 43-56).

Furthermore, every society could have different characteristics of social stratification. A traditional society, such as India, is stratified according to different parameters, that is, castes. Hindu thought divides society into four groups and comprises four essential aims that must be followed. What Hinduism believes is that every class in the caste determined according to people's skills or abilities. Caste stratification consists of the following classes:

- (i) Priests and teachers (Brahmin)
- (ii) Soldiers and politicians (Kshatriya)
- (iii) Merchants (Vaisya)
- (iv) Employees and servants (Sudra).

Members of the first three castes are believed to be born twice and they have four essential periods in their life.

- (i) Brahnacarin (period of being a student)
- (ii) Grhastha (the period of family life)
- (iii) Vanaprastha (the period of asceticism in the forest)
- (iv) Sannyasin (the time of traveling for sermonizing/the period of being a beggar). (Radhakrishnan & Moore 1964 in Divan: Ilmi Arastirmalar no.16 (2004/1), p.13)

It is clear that this stratification and its parameters are neither similar to Marx's stratification nor that of western-industrialized societies. While economic (materialistic) values define classes in Marxism, hereditary and spiritual parameters primarily determine the caste classes in India. If the caste system is compared to the industrialized European class system, it will be seen that castes are "relatively stable, clearly named groups, rigidly separated from each other, with hereditary membership and little possibility of movement from one caste to another" (Trudgill 1974).

From the sociolinguistic point of view, all these social divisions are the reasons for the language variation, and they can cause even more variants than that of geographical distinctions. It is worth noting that the structure of classes to some certain degree affects the study of language variation. For instance, as Trudgill (1974: 24) states the study of caste dialect will be easier, because of being more stable, than social class dialects.

Below is an example of the regional and caste differences in Kanarese, a Dravidian language of south India:

	Brahmin		non-Brahmin	
	Dharwar	Bangalore	Dharwar	Bangalore
'it is'	əɖə	ide	ayti	ayti
'inside'	-olage	-alli	-āga	-āga
'infinitive affix'	-likke	-ōk	-āk	-āk
'participle suffix'	-ō	-ō	-ā	-ā
'sit'	kūt	kūt	kunt	kunt
'reflexive'	kō	kō	kont-	kont-

(Table and data from Trudgill 1974: 24)

The table shows a number of variants used by the Brahmin, the higher caste, and a lower caste in two regionally different towns: Dharwar and Bangalore. The data clearly demonstrates that social barriers have a grater impact on the Kanarese language than regional barriers. If we look at the non-Brahmin form it shows that there are no differences between the two towns, which are more or less two hundred and fifty miles away from each other. On other hand Brahmin and lower class people who dwell in the same town differ from each other. The first three examples also exhibit that although the Brahmin have the same social level in two towns, they have different forms. It could be said that these variants rose from geographical distinctions.

Despite the caste and Marxist social stratification, the method that unites and minimizes conflict between classes has been valid in the field of sociology and latter on in the field of sociolinguistics. Thus, firstly it simplifies a grading every individual according to their socio-economic status in the society; secondly it allows for the use of methods for quantitative measurement of social classes (Guy 1988: 42).

The person who introduced this method in linguistics was Labov in his classical study of the 'social stratification of English in New York City' (1966). He chose informants randomly on the basis of a sociological survey called the 'Mobilization for Youth Program' (1966:157). This survey helped him group people according to their socio-economic status rather than power and interest and led him to select informants randomly. In this way he interviewed 340 people. Since he believed the informants' speech was a good representative of the area (New York City), they would exhibit all varieties of English in the area. Later on, he developed new methods whereby he collected the speech of people without recording them or making them aware of it. In addition, he quantified linguistic data to measure the relationship that exists between language and social factors (Chamber 1995; Guy 1988; Trudgill 1974).

His methods turn out to be very significant in the study of social class variants because previous methods such as traditional dialectology are unable to select the speech of individual speakers and generalize from them to the others who belong to the same social

classes. Labov also showed that language variants do not randomly or unpredictably occur. For instance, in New York speech, someone pronounces *car* with an /r/, others without an /r/. Someone pronounce *guard* as *god*. He demonstrated that social factors prompt or determine this differentiation. If speakers belong to the same class or are of the same sex or age, they would use approximately the same variant. Therefore the methods he employed in the study of sociolinguistics enable us to correlate internal linguistic variation with external social factors. The degree of relationship between language and classes became more obvious after Labov's *Methods* (Trudgill 1974: 28).

Sociolinguistics generally separates society, based on a continuous linear scale, into three classes: upper class, middle class and lower class. The upper class comprises of people who received great-inherited wealth and privileges. The upper class is not as common as the other two classes. It occupies the top of the social stratification pyramid. In more just societies it becomes smaller. There is a clear differentiation between middle and lower classes. They are sometimes called 'manual workers' as working class and 'non-manual workers' as middle class. It is fact that middle class people generally are more educated than lower class people. At work, therefore, middle class people are employed above the working class to supervise them, making the categorization of the two more simplified. It becomes more complicated and disputable when the groups are further divided into upper, middle and lower sub-groups (Chambers 1995: 37-8).

The following table (from Chambers 1995: 37-8) illustrates general occupational groups that correlate middle and lower classes with their sublevels. It is worth noting that Chambers placed upper class as upper middle class in the table. In other words he did not take the upper class into consideration during differentiation of classes. The reason for him doing so is that upper class "is so inconsequential- non-existent outside of Europe and Asia and dwindling rapidly there" (Chambers 1995: 37). Since he did not bring adequate evidence in order to explain why and how the upper class is disappearing from the structure of societies, it would be inappropriate to accept it, because capitalism in advanced industrialized counties will always create extreme classes.

Below are the subgroups of MC (middle class) and WC (working class), which are determined on the basis of occupation:

MIDDLE CLASS (MC)	Upper (UMC) owners, directors, people with inherited wealth Middle (MMC) professionals, executive managers Lower (LMC) semi-professional, lower managers
WORKING CLASS (WC)	Upper (UWC) clerks, skilled manual workers Middle (MWC) semi-skilled manual workers Lower (LWC) unskilled laborers, seasonal workers

It is believed that occupation which incorporates income and education is the most effective indicator for ranking individuals into appropriate classes. Chambers (1995: 43) says ‘occupation is the touchstone of social class membership’. Otis Dudley Duncan states: “ if we characterize an occupation according to the prevailing levels of education and income of its incumbents, we are not only estimating its ‘social status’ and its ‘economic status’, we are also describing one of its major ‘causes’ and one of its major ‘effects’. It would not be surprising if an occupation’s ‘prestige’ turned out to be closely related to one or both of these factors” (quoted by Chambers 1995: 43).

However, it must be noted that occupation sometimes does not show a clear picture of the relationship that exists between language and class. As Guy (1988: 44) pointed out some people in certain occupations are inclined to have a more prestigious form than other people whose level of status and income is the same as theirs, such as teachers, journalists and receptionists. He supported this idea by reminding of Labov’s department stores survey (1966). In this study Labov demonstrated that although all the employees in three stores were doing the same job and had more less the same income, employees of the most prestigious store used more a prestige form than the employees of stores that had lesser prestige. Besides, Labov reported that employees who remained behind the scenes like stock boys used less prestigious forms than the employees who dealt directly with customers and the public.

The realization that the type of economic activity pressures some speakers to use more prestige or standard form than expected, leads to a new concept, which is known as the

‘linguistic market’. Therefore occupation alone cannot be a reliable indicator to classify members of society. For example, a worker who works in a factory with colleagues on the same socio-economic level does not face pressure to change his vernacular form of speech to a more standardized or prestigious form. On the other hand laborers who depend on serving private houses or at least have to communicate with the people for whom they work, do face pressure to use more standard forms. In addition, there are “professionals of language” such as writers, teachers and “technicians of language” such as secretaries and announcers whose occupations require them to use more legitimized standard language than any others (Sankoff et al 1989).

It is important also note that taking occupation as an indicator of both income and education could be misleading. Sometimes having the same occupation does not entail the same income and education (Chambers 1995: 43). For instance, some writers come to their profession after having a high degree of education and engaging with cultural issues for a long time but others come to the same occupation level by striving as reporters. With regard to income it could be said that the manager who works for a very big company will make more income than a manager who works for a small company. Probably the managers would have the same education.

Since the main purpose of social stratification in sociolinguistics is to obtain the correct picture of the relationship between language and class, it has been done both by setting indicators such as income, occupation, residence, education in order to cluster a society objectively into groups and correlate the language variants within these classes. In other words, external social factors and internal linguistic variants are measured by assigning social parameters and linguistic rules respectively, then these two factors are correlated quantitatively. Trudgill (1974: 33) states: “They merge into each other to form a continuum”. In early sociolinguistic studies, sociolinguists relied mainly on sociologists’ work. Labov, for example, used the sociologist Michael’s survey which is called ‘Mobilization for Youth’ in his classic work ‘Social Stratification Of English in New York City (1966) (Guy 1988). Then, through experience, sociolinguists have gradually improved their own methods such as the occupational-based class method, mentioned

above, and network methods that were first used in Harlem by Labov (1968) and particularly improved on by Milroy (1980) in his Belfast study. With respect to measuring internal linguistic variants the sociolinguist “relied either on previous studies or on his intuition, as a native speaker” (Trudgill 1974: 31).

Labov in the New York Department Stores (1966b) concentrated on the postvocalic /r/ variant. His hypothesis was that usage of postvocalic /r/ such as in ‘car’, ‘card’ and ‘four’ and ‘fourth’, would be the differentiator of New York City’s classes. Since the presence of /r/ is the standard form, the New York higher classes will use more /r/ than lower classes do. He selected three department stores: Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy’s and S. Klein which symbolize high, middle and lower classes, respectively. The order of ranking was decided according to location, price policies and physical plant. One of the interesting points in this study is that informants were not the customers of these three stores but the employees. He predicted that employees would adapt to or accommodate the customers. In other words the environment in which the salesperson works induces him or her to change his or her speech consciously or subconsciously. The first step was to ascertain which items were on the ‘fourth floor.’ The interviewer then asked employees “Excuse me, where are the women’s shoes?” The salesperson’s answer would be ‘fourth floor’ either with presence or absence of the postvocalic /r/. Then, the interviewer immediately replied ‘Excuse me?’ in order to obtain the answer under a more careful style. The next step was to move along the aisle and make note of the data. He interviewed 264 informants. The results clearly differentiated the classes. The highest-ranking Saks employees use more /r/ than Macy’s employees and Macy’s employees use more /r/ than lowest-ranking S. Klein’s employees. The percentage of /r/ usage according to classes are:

Store	Use of postvocalic /r/
Saks’s employees	62%
Macy’s employees	51%
S. Klein’s employees	20%

It can be seen that the largest gap between highest and lowest social class is again reflected in the usage of the /r/. The study showed how a linguistically insignificant variant could be socially significant.

Wolfram (1969) in Detroit, USA, and Trudgill (1972) in Norwich, U.K, investigate third-person present tense singular form of the verbs ending in “s”. It is, for example, used in such sentences: *He eats a lot* or *She comes here everyday*. Wolfram and Trudgill most probably realized that the /s/ is absent in some peoples’ speech and then decided to investigate whether there was any correlation between the presence of the /s/ and social classes. They predicted that since /s/ is the standard form of the English, higher classes use more /s/ than lower classes. Trudgill divided his informants into five classes while Wolfram divided them into four classes. The result of these two different surveys confirmed both their predictions and Labov’s works (Trudgill 1974).

Norwich		Detroit	
MMC	0 %	UMC	1%
LMC	2	LMC	10
UWC	70	UWC	57
MWC	87	LWC	71
LWC	97		

Table (from Trudgill 1974: 32) shows absence of /s/ in Norwich and Detroit

In the study of Glasgow, Macaulay worked (1977: 27) on five phonological variables:

1. (i) the vowel in *hit, kill, risk*, etc.
2. (u) the vowel in *school, book, full, fool*, etc.
3. (a) the vowel in *hat, sad, back*, etc.
4. (au) the diphthong in *now, down, house*, etc.
5. (gs) the glottal stop as an alternative to /t/ in *butter, get*, etc.

He classified his informants into four groups on the basis of occupation (1977: 18)

- Class I professional and managerial
- Class IIa white-color, intermediate non-manual

Class IIb skilled manual
 Class III semi-skilled and unskilled

As Chambers (1995: 46) notes these classes are more or less equal to classes given above: I=MMC, IIa, IIb=UWC and III=MWC, LWC. He separated the members of groups, which determined, according to their occupation and then rank, the individual subjects by their linguistic indices. The results of the survey showed that linguistic variation systematically correlated with social stratification. All mean indices increase from the highest class to the lowest class.

Following table shows the indices for five variables (i, u, a, au, gs) by social class in Glasgow.

	I	IIa	IIb	III
1. (i)	202	247	284	257
2. (u)	178	234	295	312
3. (a)	158	190	242	253
4. (au)	212	268	335	348
5. (gs)	48.4	72.9	84.3	91.7

Data from Macaulay (1977)

Trudgill (1972) in the study of Norwich found that [a:] has three different vowel qualities in words such as *part*, *pass*, *shaft* and *card*:

- i. the long back vowel [ɑ:] of RP
- ii. intermediate or low central vowel
- iii. front vowel [ä:]

The study showed that the usage of [a:] variable correlates without overlapping with social classes: WC speakers mainly used the front vowel and sometimes used the central vowel whereas MC speakers were using the back vowel.

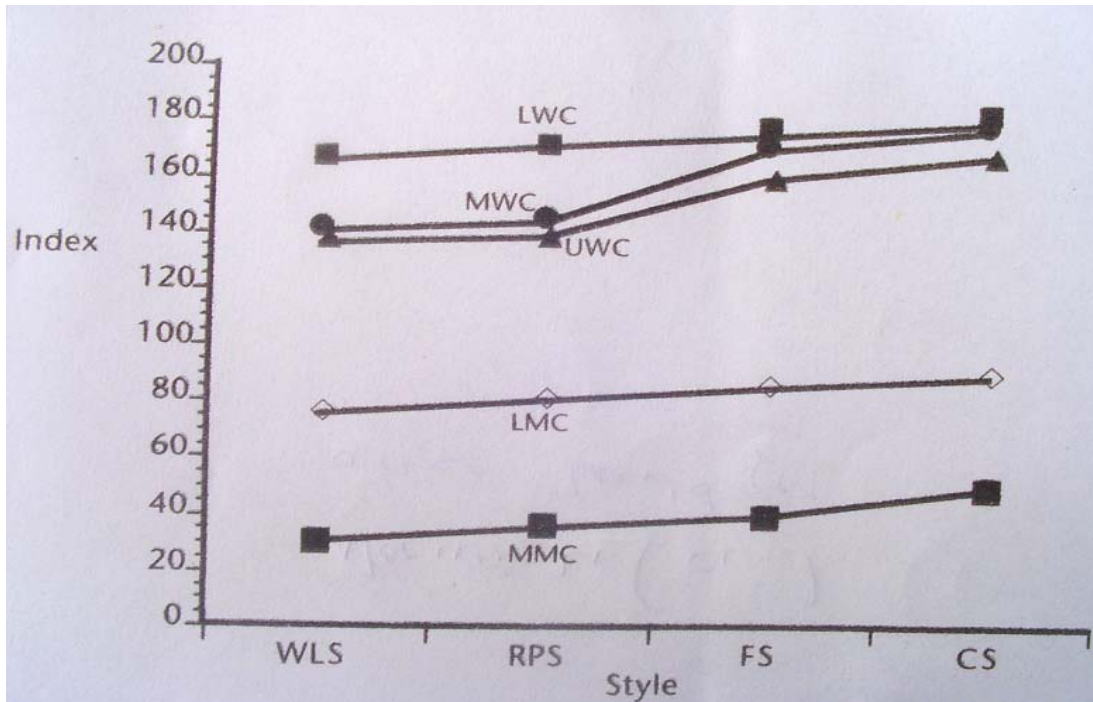


Figure 2.2: Frequency of Norwich [a:] as a class indicator (after Trudgill 1974:98, from Chambers 1995: 51 figure 2.1)

As the figure illustrates, classes are sharply divided according to usage of the [a:]. There is a clear gap between working classes and middle classes without even an overlap between subgroups of them. The biggest gap occurs between lower working class (LWC) and middle-middle class (MMC). Another important point we should note is that: mean index scores clearly differentiate classes even in the most careful style.

Before completing this section it should be briefly pointed out the direction of linguistic change in the social cases. Linguistic change either could be from above or below. It is worth noting that the terms “ ‘above’ and ‘below’ refer simultaneously to levels of social awareness and positions in the socioeconomic hierarchy” (Labov 1994: 78). If changes are initiated and spread by the highest or dominant groups with full awareness of people in the speech community, they are called ‘changes from above’. These kinds of changes come when the dominant class borrows linguistic features from other speech communities. It first appears in the careful speech of a dominant class rather than appearing in the speech of the dominant class and the vernacular of lower classes

immediately thereafter. Since new borrowed linguistic features may not always fit into the phonological and morphological structure of the borrowing vernacular, they are remodeled according to borrowing vernacular systems. This is usually accomplished by deletion, addition, merging or recombination of certain sounds to fit the structure of the borrowing vernacular. In other words, new borrowed forms trigger changes in the borrowing vernacular. For instance the 'introduction of constricted [r] into an r'less dialect involves shifts in the realization of all vowel nuclei before /r/, sometimes with accompanying mergers'(Labov 1994: 78). On the other hand, 'change from below' refers to two dimensions of linguistic change: first of all it refers to the change that appears in the vernacular speech; secondly it refers to linguistic change that is operated by internal linguistic factors. The changes from below are hard to realize at their initiation even in their many levels of developments therefore they are below the level of social awareness. They can be realized only when they are almost completed by the speech communities. Change from below is initiated by central social classes rather than the highest or lowest classes (Labov 1994:78).

In this study, social class is chosen as one of the external social factors to investigate the relationship between linguistic variation and social factors. Location is chosen as the criterion in order to group the members of the speech community into three classes: the upper, middle and lower classes. As mentioned in section 3.1, one of the main discrepancies between these three places is income. In addition, it should also be noted that these three places vary according to their members' occupation and education.

‘How I can tell, what I think till I see what I say’
E.M. Forster

2.5. Language and Gender

Gender, like social stratification, age and ethnicity, is one of the external social variables in the study of variationist studies. From beginning of its short sociolinguistic history, informants have been categorized as male and female in order to clarify the role of gender in the process of language change.

The work which has been done on language and gender can be evaluated in three categories: 1) work that shows how language reflects and maintains an unjust position in society for women; 2) studies that reveal how women and men use language differently (in fact lexical, morphological and phonological differences) in a particular society; and 3) the studies involved in sociolinguistic variation that treat gender as an independent external variable in connection with linguistic variables (Fasold 1990: 89).

Gender based studies in the first category were generally directed under the shadow of feminist concern. They focused on gender related words, proverbs and sayings to explicate how language portrayed women in a society. It is fair to note that such studies are responsible for the growth of the interest in the study of gender at an early stage (Sally McConnell-Ginet 1988: 75). For example, analysis of female-related words, proverbs and old sayings in the Chinese languages show how Chinese women were degraded in the past. The traditional social ideology of the Chinese provides a negative picture of women. According to the ancient Chinese beliefs, the whole universe was composed of two interacting elements: ‘Yin’ and ‘Yang’. They cover everything. While Yin (women) stands for evil, darkness, weakness and bad attitudes, Yang (men) is characterized as good, brightness, strength and activity. The balance between Yin and Yen results in the rhythms of the sun and the moon, or summer and winter. In this belief

system every evil thing is related to Yin (women), whereas Yang stands for every good thing. As a result of this belief almost all terms related to female (Yin) have negative meanings. For instance, *yin-an* (dark, gloomy), *yin-chen* (cloudy, sombre), *yin-du* (insidious, sinister), *yin-hun* (evil spirit), *yin-jian* (nether world), *yin-mo* (plot, conspiracy), *yin-si* (shameful secret), *yin-xian* (treacherous) and so forth (Yang 2001: 3).

It is a well known fact that English differentiates gender in pronouns such as *he/she* or *his/her*. It has been discussed that the traditionalist perception allows them to be used in favor of men. For instance, the pronoun ‘he’ is semantically male but it has been used for general reference, when the referent is not clear or not mentioned, as in this sentence: ‘Each student went school and took his report’. All students are treated as if all of them were male. It may be an understatement that “if men alone constituted humanity and women are considered in this whole being only part of men” (Chaika 1982: 272). Words like *mankind*, *businessmen*, *history* and *chairman* reveal how there are asymmetrical relationships reflected in English.

Linguistic research showed that the speech of men and women differs in many societies. For instance, in Gros Ventre, an American Indian language, palatalized dental stops in men’s speech appear as a palatalized velar stop in women’s speech:

Men	Women	
/djatsa/	/kjatsa/	‘bread’

In addition to that Yukaghir, a north east Asian language has /tj/ and /dj/ in male speech which turns into /ts/ and /dz/ in the speech of women (Trudgill 1974: 62-3).

Mary Hass (1944/1964, in Fasold 1990: 90) reported that Koasati, a native American language, varies in male and female speech. In other words, although they have the same language, men and women use particular verb forms in different phonological shapes.

female form	male form	gloss
o:tíl	otís	I am building a fire
ó:st	ó:sc	you are building a fire
ó:t	ó:c	he is building a fire
lakavvîl	lakkawwís	I am lifting it
lakáwc	lakáwc	you are lifting it
lakáw	lakáws	he is lifting it
ka:hál	ka:hás	I am saying
í:sk	í:sks	you are saying
ka:	ká:s	he is saying

Source: data from Haas 1994/1964, in Fasold 1990: 90

At the time research was carried out, this distinction was disappearing because only older women preserved the distinct form while younger women and girls began using the male form. This types of differences between male and female speech has been reported in many other native American languages, such as Sioux, Yana and Inuit (Trudgill 1974: 67).

In the cases given above, the gender of the speaker determines the form of speech. In addition to that there is another type of language where both the gender of the speakers and the hearers determine the forms of speech. Women might use several morphological forms only when they address woman; these morphological forms are not used either by women or men to address another man. Men might use different a form the meaning of which remains exactly the same as women's speech regardless of the hearers' gender. It worth noting that this is not as common as the former types. An example of this type is reported by Francis Ekka (1972) from Kūṛux, a small-group Dravidian language spoken in India (Fasold 1990: 89-90):

man speaking, any addressee; or women speaking, man addressee	woman speaking woman addressee	gloss
bardan	bar?en	I come
bardam	bar?em	We (my associates and I, but not you) come
barckan	barc?an	I came
barckam	barc?an	We (my associates and I, but not you) came
xaddar	xadday	children

Source: data from Haas 1994/1964 in Fasold 1990: 91

Man or woman Speaker, man addressee,	woman speaker woman addressee	man speaker woman addressee	gloss
barday	bardin	bardi	you come
barckay	barckin	barcki	you come

Source: data from Haas 1994/1964 in Fasold 1990: 91

Sociolinguistic studies that include samples of male and female speech generally result in similar conclusion: in the same social circumstances women use a more prestigious and less stigmatized variant than men do. Wolfram (1969), Labov (1966, 1972), Wolfram and Fasold (1974), Romaine (1978) and many others made similar statements after analyzing collected data from males' and females' speech (Chambers 1995: 102).

Regarding the linguistic differentiation of men and women Labov (1990: 210-13) set three principles:

- I. in stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of the nonstandard form than women
- Ia in change from above, women favour coming to prestige forms more than men
- II. in change from below, women are most often the innovators

Number I could be accepted as firm general rule that represents almost all variationist linguist view regarding the language use of males and females. For example, Romaine (1984: 113) stated that “women consistently produce forms which are nearer to the prestige norm more frequently than men”. Trudgill (1983: 161) noted that “women, allowing for other variables such as age, education and social class, produce on average linguistic forms which more closely approach those of standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men”. Fasold (1990: 92) made a similar statement: “male speakers are often found to use socially disfavored variants of sociolinguistic variables while women tend to avoid these in favor of socially more favored variants.”

The earliest study to report that the female is more inclined to use the standard and prestige form than the male was conducted by Fishman (1958). He found that the girls from a New England School pronounced more the standard realization of the verb ending in /ing/ as in reading, visiting and singing etc. while boys from the same school more frequently used the non-standard form /in/ as in *punchin'*, *chewin'*, *swimmin'* etc. Subsequent studies in sociolinguistics corroborated this study: a study of white speakers (Fasold 1968), a study of black speakers (Anshen 1969; Wolfram 1969) in the United States and the study of white speakers in Norwich (Trudgill 1974) and in England in general (Smith 1979: 111).

The pronunciation of the English participial suffix /ing/ has two variants: [ɪŋ] which is the velar nasal consonant and [in] which is alveolar. Standard English uses [ɪŋ] whose pronunciation invariably comes alongside with the high front lax vowel [ɪ]. The latter variant could appear in three vowel variants: [in], [ɪn] or [ən]. The range of possible vowels is greater partly because /n/ exerts no phonotactic constraints on its preceding vowel as /ŋ/ does. Most probably speech communities have either [ɪn] or [ən]. For example Norwich has [ən] (Trudgill 1974) whereas Australia has [ɪn]. (Chambers 1995: 110). In the study of Norwich (Trudgill 1972) men used mostly the non-standard variant [ən] in each of five classes, while on the contrary women used mostly the standard or prestige form in each social class.

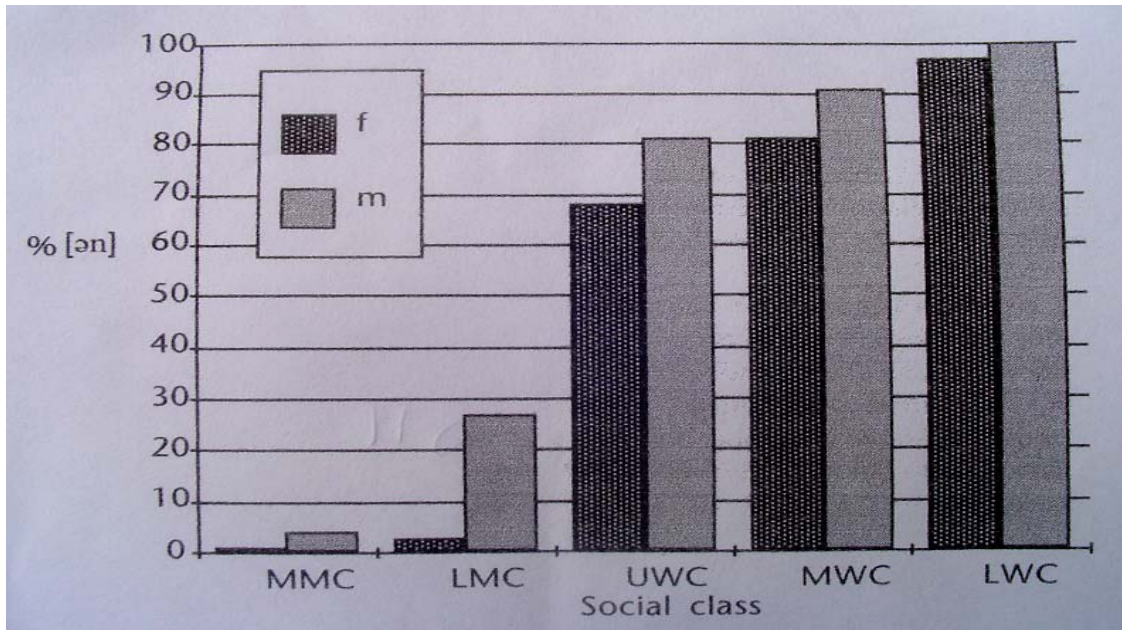


Figure 2.3: frequency of (ng) for men and women in five social classes in Norwich in formal speech (from Chambers 1995: figure 3.1, 110)

In the case of presence or absence of post vocalic /r/ as in *car* or *bare* in the speech of males and females, it was demonstrated that women from New York use more r'full pronunciation than men. Since r'full pronunciation is the standard form in New York speech, it again supported the idea that the non-standard form is disfavored by women. (Labov 1966, Wolfram 1969)

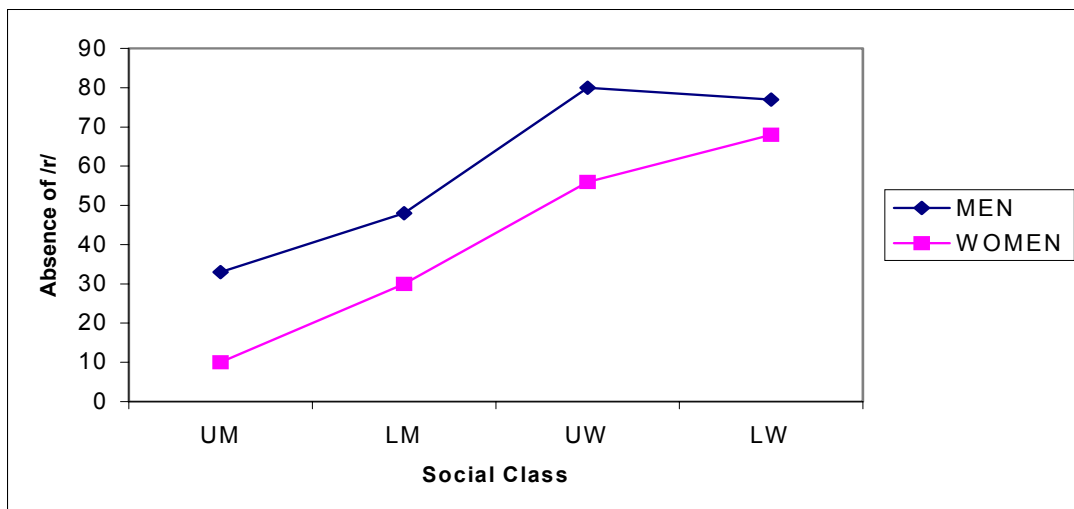


Figure 2.4: absence of (r) for men and women in Detroit (from Wolfram 1969:117)

In the same study (Wolfram 1969), higher class speech contains fewer samples of non-standard multiple negation, copula deletion (e.g., *I don't want none* and *he busy right now*).

The percentage of multiple negation used in Detroit could be displayed based on Trudgill's (1974: 69) figure:

	UMC	LMC	UWC	LWC
Male	6.3	32.4	40.0	90.1
Female	0.0	1.4	35.6	58.9

Trudgill (1972), Chambers and Trudgill (1980) found that in both Norway and England women report themselves as speaking a more standard form than they actually speak. On the other hand men report themselves as speaking more non-standard or vernacular varieties.

Although many studies show the female speaker tries to avoid using the non-standard linguistic variant, it has been pointed out that these types of results regarding gender pattern are to be expected in western societies. Some other studies, which were conducted in non-Western societies displayed different results. For example, Russell (1982) in the study of Swahili, in Mombassa, Kenya, came up with the fact that women use more vernacular or non-standard form than men do. (Fasold 1990:93)

In addition to that, in the Middle East, several studies, such as in Cairo, Egypt (Schmidt 1974), Amman, Jordan (Abd-el-Jawad 1981) and international groups from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon (Salam 1980) showed women do not use the more prestige forms than men (Chambers 1995: 140).

Before going for further explanation regarding these Middle East studies, it is important to note that since Ferguson (1959) the Arab world has been known as diglossic, whereby two distinctly different varieties of a language are used for different communicative functions (Horesh 2003: 1). The language has two varieties: *Colloquial Arabic*, which is

seen as a vernacular form or variety of major Arabic; and *Classic Arabic*, the language of the Quran, used for religious purposes, state affairs, literature and in formal discourse - lectures throughout the Arabic world (see Ferguson 1959; Al-Hatip 1988,1995 and Chambers 1995).

The study of /q/ variable in three different places: Cairo, Egypt (Schmidt 1974), Amman, Jordan (Abd-el-Jawad 1981) and international groups from Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon (Salam 1980) came to different conclusion regarding gender and language from those studies conducted in Western societies. /q/ is one of the most studied variables in Arabic. It has three variants: the uvular stop [q], which is the standard or classical variant, the glottal stop [ʔ], which is used in the urban speech community, and velar stop [g], which is a low-level variant. In these three surveys men used more the prestige form [q] than women. This goes against the results found in Western societies (Chambers 1995: 140).

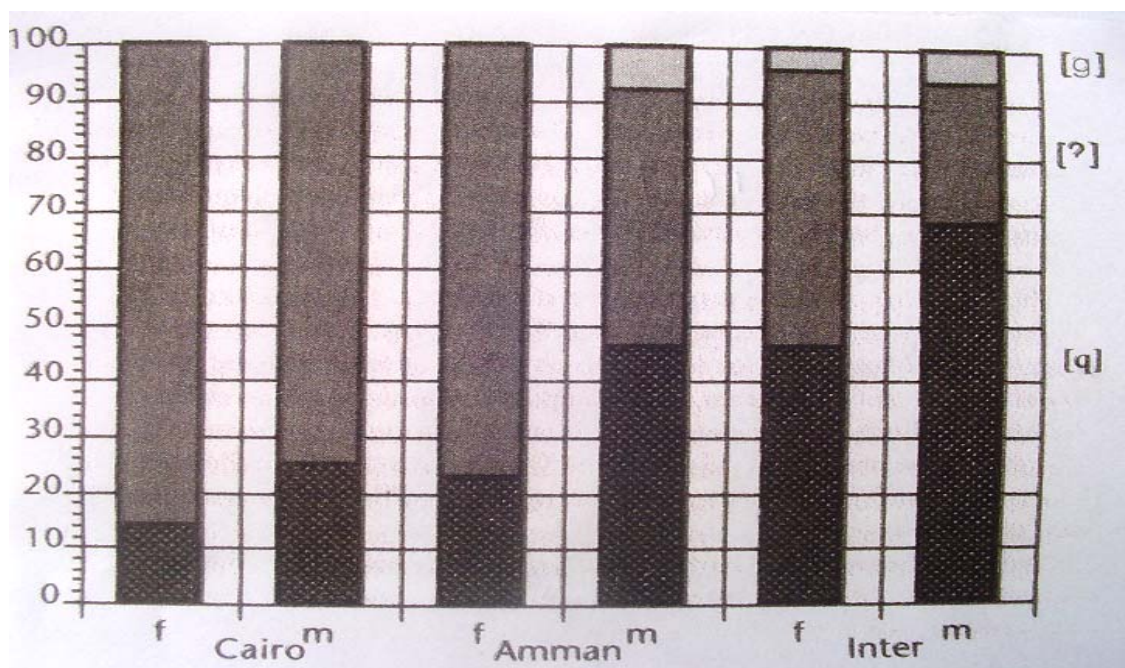


Figure 2.4: the distribution of (q) variants for men and women in three Arabic communities

This reversed result in Arabic speaking societies is explained by emphasizing the failure of not seeing a discrepancy between notions of standard and prestige. It is said that the prestige and standard are the same in Western societies, while in Arabic societies these two terms are not the same, due to the diglossic situation.

In Western societies, if a variant is standard, it is favorable - that is why it is the prestige variant as well. On the other hand, in Arabic societies the notions of standard and prestige must be separated, because they are not equal terms (Ibrahim 1986). It is clear that the prestige variant is used in literature, religious ceremonies, mosques, classrooms and lecture halls but it never to be used in normal conversations between individuals or groups such as families nor is it spoken on the way to religious ceremonies, mosque or classrooms. Nor is it acquired. If one did not attend the best schools, he/she will never attain the prestige form because it is inseparable from education (Ibrahim 1986: 118). This induces the claim that Arabic literature cannot represent the standard variant in social stratification (Chambers1995: 142).

As Ibrahim (1986: 115) notes ‘the questions of Arabic sociolinguistics are usually stated and discussed in terms identical with those of typically non-diglossic European languages’. Since Arabic sociolinguistics failed to see the discrepancy between diglossic Arabic language and non-diglossic European languages, their results seems to refute the common view that woman use more prestige varieties than men.

Taking the reality of diglossia into account, Chambers (1995: 114) states that ‘in both worlds, women use more standard forms than men of the same social groups’.

But still the question of why women use the more prestigious forms than men needs to be answered. Several explanations have been proposed to answer this question. It is said that by using standard form women try to achieve to prestige status due to the fact that they socially have been denied in many aspects of life (Key 1975). This statement is supported by Fasold (1990: 96): “By sounding less local, female speakers might be subtly and subliminally protesting traditional community norms which place them in a

subordinate position to men”. Milroy (1982) explains the discrepancy between male and female speech in terms of social network patterns. Under the light of data from Belfast, she claimed that since men have stronger social networks than women within a local society, men use the local dialect more than women. The most accepted and essential explanations comes from Trudgill (1983: 167-8):

“Women are more closely involved with child rearing and the transmission of culture, and are therefore more aware of the importance, for their children, of the acquisition of (prestige) norms. The social position of women in our society has traditionally been less secure than that of men. It may be, therefore, that it has been more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal. Men in our society have traditionally have been rated socially by their occupation, their earning power, and perhaps by their abilities- in other words- by what they do. Until recently, however, this has been much more difficult for women, and indeed women continue to suffer discrimination against them in many occupations. It may be, therefore, that they have had to be rated instead, to a greater extent than men, on how they appear. Since they have not been rated, to the same extent that men have, by their occupation or by their occupational success, other signals of status, including speech, have been correspondingly more important”.

In this statement Trudgill mainly touches upon three points: the first of which is the important role of women in transmitting culture from one generation to another through raising children. Being aware of the significance of teaching the most correct form to their children induces them to use more standard form. The second point is that the less secure position of women in society causes women to acquire their status vicariously. Thirdly, while men are judged by their occupational position, that is the source of their strength and power in society, women are always judged by their appearance. Therefore it is plausible to accept that the way women talk is the part of their appearance.

‘An Infant sleeps and grows unconsciously into awareness’
Mevlana Jelaluddin Rumi (1207-73) ‘The Soul of Rumi

Oh come with old Khayyam
and leave the wise
To talk; one thing is certain
that life flies
One thing is certain, and
the rest is lies;
The flower that once has
blown for ever dies.
Omer Khayyam (?-1121) ‘Rubaiyyat’

2.6. Language and Age

Another social variable is an age in sociolinguistics. There are certain linguistic features that vary at different ages such as vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar. With regard to vocabulary differentiation at different ages, examples could be given from Rayson, P., Leech, G., and Hodges, M. (1997). In their study, they quantitatively analyzed the demographically sampled spoken English component of the British National Corpus. They call it "Conversational Corpus". They used a corpus analysis tool that was developed at Lancaster. The vocabulary of speakers is compared to each other and differences are highlighted. The Conversational Corpus consists of 4,5 million words. In order to facilitate the work, they simply divided the age groups into two classes: speakers under 35, and speakers over 35. They call these two groups, for convenience, "younger speakers" and "older speakers". The results clearly showed that the words are differentiated between the two classes.

The younger group used many swear words like *fucking, shit and fuck*, whereas elder group uses less swear words. It could be said as people's age develops they swear less. Since growth in age gives more maturity and more responsibility, elder people restrict themselves from using this kind of vocabulary. In addition, elder groups used more words that reflect their maturity such as, *perhaps, but, well and yes* while the younger group used more words that reflect the attitude of youth such as, *mum, mummy, dad, daddy, just, what*, etc.

With respect to grammar, children, for example, in Detroit and the Appalachian region in the United States use more double negation than adolescents and adolescents use more double negation than adults. The frequency of double negation decreases as age increases (Holmes 1992: 182).

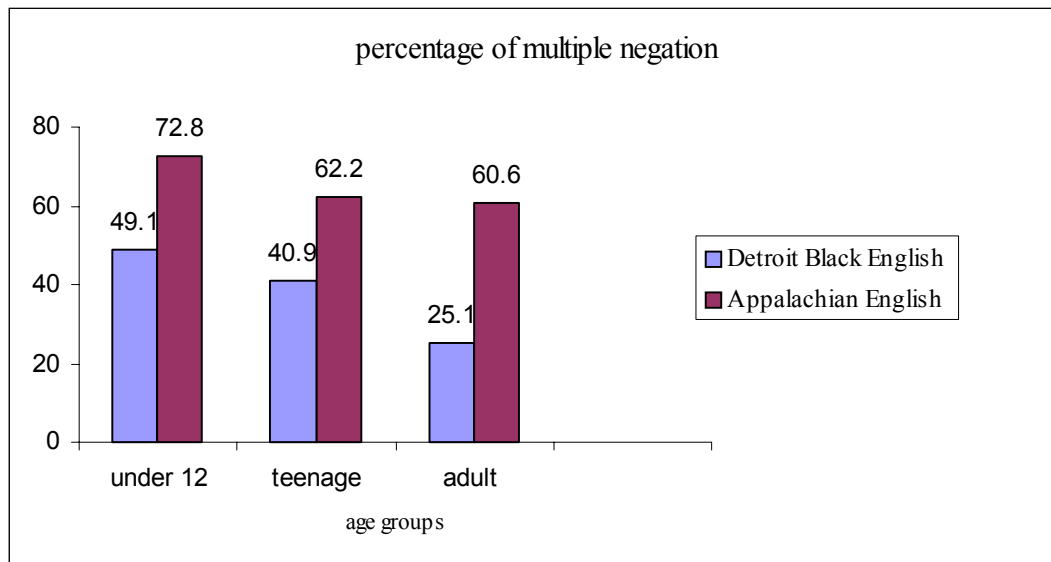


Figure 2.5: double negation in different age groups in two different communities (from Holmes 1992:185 figure 7.4)

As shown in figure 2.5, children in this study use more vernacular or non-standard forms than adults. It is extremely difficult to generalize this result as a common rule because; some other studies like Labov's Martha's Vineyard (1972), reported that older people use the standard less than younger people. Leaving aside which groups use more standard or vernacular it is worth noting that as age increases, people abandon the vernacular form to use more standard form because of the formal education that they pass through (Holmes 1992: 185; Romaine 1989: 199 in Breivic et al: 1989). It is worth noting also that children are with regard to speech, more affected by their peers than by their parents and teachers (Chambers 1995).

With respect to phonological change at various ages, the work of Guachat (1905) is one of the better examples. In the Swiss village Charmey, Guachat found a certain

phonological difference between middle generation (30-60), old generation (60-90) and young generation (under 30).

Generation 1: 90-60 years	→	ʌ
Generation 2: 60-30 years	→	ʌ and j
Generation 3: under 30years	→	j

Table shows the phonological variable that related to age in Charmey (data from Gauchat 1905: 205 in Romaine 1989: 200-1)

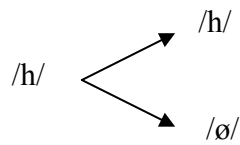
After 24 years Herman (1929) went to the same village to see what had happened to the phonological variables that Gauchat had reported. He clearly observed that the phonological variable /ʌ/ related to the old generation had been largely replaced with /j/. As Romaine (1989: 200 in Breivic et al.) notes, result did show firstly that ‘sound change could be observed’, and secondly that age plays a very important role in the process of language change, because alternation between /ʌ/ and /j/ took place only through changing generations.

It is important to note that although *age* is not one of the direct social factors in this study, it is explained in the literature review due to being partly relevant to this study. Since the age of the informants, in this study, is restricted to between 15 and 20, which can be grouped as a younger age group, there is no other age group, i.e., middle age group or elder age group, to compare them to linguistically. As Gauchat (1905) and Herman (1929) showed if the speech of young people in a particular social group is different from that of older people in the same community, then it could be presumed that a certain linguistic change is taking place. It is worth noting that differences between speech of young people and old people are not always susceptible to language change. Mostly young people, for example, adopt slang words, but they abandoned them as age increases.

Since the present study is dealing with only one age group, it will be impossible to predict the ongoing change on the basis of age as a social factor. On the other hand, it

would be possible to see, to what extent younger people use standard form or non-standard form.

It is worth noting here again that the linguistic variable /h/ in this study has two variants: /h/ and /ø/. While h'full pronunciation is a standard form, h'less pronunciation is a non-standard form in Turkish.



As it is mentioned above, this study does not include two different age groups that belong to the same speech community (Istanbul) being compared each with other, though it will enable the researcher to see whether the young population use more standard form or more non-standard form.

Section 3: Methodology

3.1. General Introduction to Methodology

Methodology is the manner in which an investigation, representation and interpretation of the data is conducted. Therefore it is a crucial point in scientific studies to decide what type of methodology is to be used in order to get reliable results. Besides, if it is dealing with language in its social context, as Labov (1972:43) stated, anyone is certainly going to face the classical problem, which, in his definition, is “the means used to gather the data interfere with the data to be gathered.”

There are three main classes of technique that have been used to research language in its social context. The first technique is anonymous observation. The second is interviewing and the third is participant observation of (a) natural groups and (b) social networks. (Downes 1984: 87)

The interview is the way a researcher tries to obtain reliable data based on one person’s speech through recording them. Although it takes place between interviewer and subjects, it is mainly controlled and orientated by the interviewer because it is the interviewer who has to check certain variables in his/her speech. The potential weakness of the tape-recorded interview is that the responses could be different from that of the subject’s daily speech due to the presence of an outside observer, known as ‘observer’s paradox’ (Labov 1972: 43).

One of the ways of overcoming this problem is to observe people’s speech without making them aware of it. This method is known as the ‘anonymous technique.’ One of the best examples of it could be seen in Labov’s work in the New York department stores (1966b)³.

Another technique to collect data is known as ‘natural groups’. Within this method, the researcher collects vernacular speech patterns of individuals within their primary or

³ For a detailed explanation regarding New York department stores, see 2.3.

natural groups. A large quantity of spontaneous speech is collected in a natural environment. Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis (1968) initiated this method in the study of the vernacular of black adolescent peer groups, gangs actually, in Harlem: the Thunderbirds, the Jets and the Cobras. They were contacted daily in their clubhouse and their speech was recorded. It is worth noting that this recording was not the same with recording in the interview method because these groups were recorded in their natural circumstances, such as while playing card games, eating, drinking and singing. Labov (1972a xviii-xix) noted that ‘the effect of observation and recording was, of course, present, but natural interaction of the group overrode all other effect.’ As a result, Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis (1968) found that the gang members are linguistically more similar to each other than the others of the same age (Downes 1984:94).

Regarding social networks, it could be said that it is based on the density of relationship that an individual has within the primary groups. This method was used and developed by Milroys in the study of Belfast (Milroy & Milroy 1978). It presupposes that if the member of a society has intensive association with the local community, linguistically this member is very similar to the local community. As Milroy (1980: 175) puts it “the closer an individual’s network ties are with his local community, the closer his language approximates to localized vernacular norms.”⁴

If there is no interactive effect of an observer, a tape-recorded interview is the easiest and the best way to obtain comprehensive data, because the data from the anonymous technique is not recorded. It entirely relies on interviewer skill to record responses. Having certain assumptions while obtaining data could lead to unconscious bias in perceiving what exactly the responses are. Another disadvantage is “it would lead to some doubtful cases being recorded” (Labov 1972:66).

Abbreviatory notes that are taken in the anonymous technique may make it possible to preserve a pattern of the utterances practically but it will, to some degree, be ambiguous.

⁴ Since the network method will not be used in this study it is unnecessary to give a more detailed explanation. For further information regarding networks, see Milroy, L (1982: 141-52); Chambers (1995: 66-81).

On the other hand tape-recorded interviews enable the researcher to conduct detailed studies on speech. Tape-recorded data could be transcribed and checked as many times as the researcher wishes.⁵

I would like to add also that culture might play an important role in choosing any of these methods. As a matter of fact culture designates the relation among men and women, younger and older generations, family, and community within the society. For example, if a family were traditionalist it would be very difficult to get permission to record them in their house as an outsider. In short, a researcher must keep in mind that local customs are possible determinants in the technique of collecting data. As Freilich (1970:25) states: “for example, a strict sampling may not be possible if local customs prohibit [the anthropologist] from interviewing particular people or groups; if the subject matter central to the project’s goals is too sensitive to be researched, due to internal problems of the system being studied; or if important informants do not cooperate with the researcher because of his nationality, race, sex, or, religious affiliation”.

The basic point that can be drawn from above is researchers should examine the society before conducting their research in order to determine an appropriate technique.

Considering that there are different methods in this kind of work (see Hudson 1980:148), the tape-recorded interview was employed, as Fishman (1958), Labov (1966a; 1968) and Trudgill (1974) Milroy & Milroy (1978) did. Since this research was conducted in three schools, it was more appropriate and easy to utilize the interviewing method. It is worth noting also that Fishman (1958) and Trudgill (1974) gathered data from students via interviews. The work we present in this study is based on spoken language and a reading passage data and quantitative analyses rather than a theoretical one.

⁵ For further discussion, see Briggs 1986:99

3.1. Selection of the Informants

A good method of selection of informants is extremely important. The selection of my informants is based mainly on my assumptions about Turkish society. For example, people from different social classes in Turkey differ in their use of the /h/ variant, we must carefully draw a distinction between social classes and choose people from these classes for interviews. In addition to this, if there is a discrepancy regarding gender, the researcher has to gather data from both males and females who represent certain social classes. Choosing informants carefully helps the researcher to get reliable data and prevents other factors that may interfere with the results. It is important to make sure that all speech is obtained under the same circumstances. Therefore it will be assured that all informants who represent three different social classes in this study are high school students. In other words, the data is only going to be collected from three schools. It will also be assured that these three schools are located in three areas that represent the upper, middle and lower classes based on incomes and rent prices.

As mentioned in section 3, the research is limited to only one linguistic variable (h) and two social variants: social class and gender. It would have been interesting to look at, apart from social class and gender, other social variables such as age and ethnicity but would be too time consuming and would be too large a scope for this thesis.

The informants will be restricted to ages between 15-20. This will enable us to collect data from almost all school environments and, more importantly, this will facilitate the entire study regarding the gathering of the data. It must also be noted that this enables the abandonment of the age factors.

At the age 19-20, one should have finished high school, and possibly would have just entered into university in Turkey.

30 people will be selected from the areas of Istanbul: Bebek, Yenibosna, and Gültepe for the upper class, middle class and lower class, respectively. Three schools will be chosen

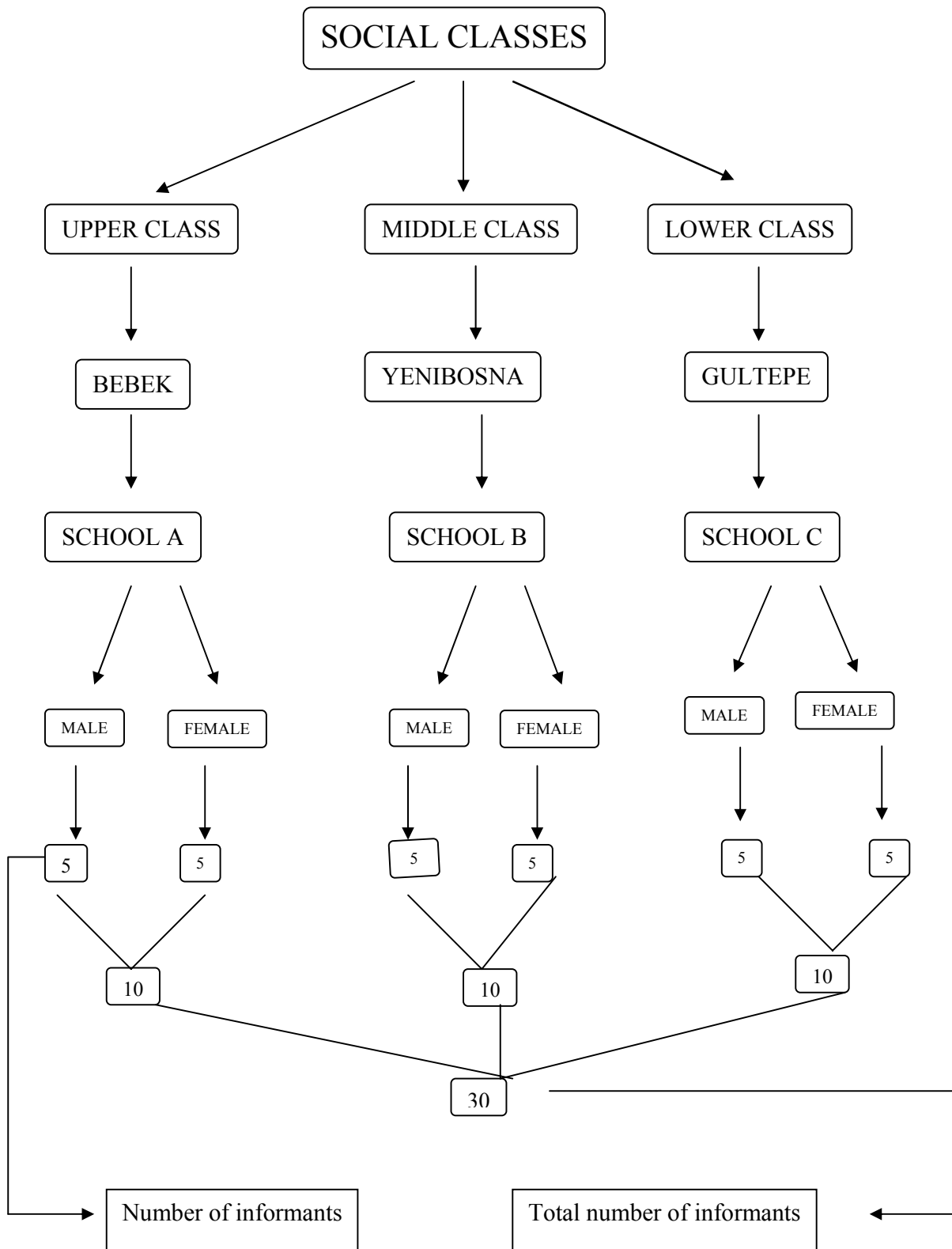
from these three places so that each school will cover a different social background. Since our study deals with gender as well, there will be a 50/50 distribution of males and females. All interviewees will be chosen from those who voluntarily want to be interviewed. There will be 5 male and 5 female informants from the upper, middle and lower classes, yielding a total of 30 informants.

Social classes could be evaluated by quantifiable characteristics, such as income, education, occupation, and place of residence or lifestyle. As a matter of fact, there is no common agreement on which phenomena are more sufficient to divide society objectively into classes such as, upper class, middle class and lower class. It is a well known fact that the importance of quantifiable characters differ from one society to another: income may be a more sufficient factor in one society as opposed to another. Education cannot be an equally effective determining factor for all societies. As Macaulay (1977: 57) notes, “It is hardly surprising that sociolinguistic surveys have used different methods for determining social classes”.

Although it appears that reliance will be just on location (place of residence) as a class indicator, it is important to note that it also incorporates income, occupation and even to some degree, the level of education of its incumbents. As matter of fact one of the main discrepancies between these three places is income. Average rent, for example, in Bebek is \$1500US, in Yenibosna it is \$600US and in Gültepe it is \$200US. This simply means that people from Gültepe cannot afford to stay in Bebek and Yenibosna.

With respect to the role of occupation, it could be said that since ‘occupation’ to a certain degree determines income; the resident of each place will have a similar occupation in the society. Income and occupation, of course, somehow reflect the level of education (Otis Dudley Duncan in Chambers 1995: 43).

As a conclusion, the plan that is mentioned in the methodology section could be outlined/tailed as follows:



3.2. Collecting Data

The data for this study was collected through tape-recorded interviews. Interview was divided mainly into two styles: causal and formal. These two different styles may be taken to represent, or more explicitly, to evoke a possible style of language use of the speakers under different circumstances. These two styles were applied to my research in two sections. The first section, which is more formal, is based on a prepared reading passage. The second section, which is causal, is based on answering questions about the ‘intentionally prepared reading passage.’

The entire set of words containing the variable for this study are selected according to phonological rules, which is described in section 2.3. the questions and passage of interview will be asked as follows:

First section: In this section the interviewees were requested to read out an intentionally prepared reading passage and they were asked to answer several questions about the passage. The /h/ variant is sprinkled throughout the passage and in the answers of these questions in order to see whether subjects use or omit it. It is important to note that this reading passage may distract the subject from his/her pronunciation because they are concentrated on the text.

“Mehmet(1) küçüklüğünde, herhalde(2) okuduğu masalların etkisiyle olsa gerek, hep bir şehzade(3) olmak istemişti. bunun imkansız olduğunu büyüdükçe anlamış mühendis(4) olmaya karar vermişti. Kaderi arzusuyla birleşince de üniversite tahsilini(5) tamamlayarak mühendis(4) olmuştu.

Ahşap (6) bir evde oturur bahçesinde(7) zaman geçirmeyi severdi. En sevdiği iki şey vardı. Biri özenle muhafaza(8) ettiği tohumları(9) bahçesine ekmek; ikincisi ise iyi bir ahçı olan arkadaşı Ethem’in(10) cumhuriyet(11) caddesindeki lokantasına gitmekti. Lokanta ‘Meşhur(12) Ethem’in Yeri’ olarak bilinirdi. Çok pahalı(13) olmasına rağmen sahanda(14) güveci yerd.

Bir gün Meşhur(12) Ethem in yerinde yediği yemekten ishal(15) olunca buraya şüphe(16) ile bakmaya başladı. Zaten arkadaşları şahsının şüpheli bir tip olduğundan bahsederlerdi. En sevmediği hayvan timsah(17). Çünkü onu tehlikeli(18) bulurdu. Kitap okumayı çok severdi. En çok sevdiği kitabın adı şüphe(17)”

This reading passage is translated below:

“Mehmet, supposedly from the tales he read, always wished to be a prince in his childhood. He, later on, as he grew up and understood it was not possible, decided to become an engineer. As his destiny met his later wish, he completed his university education and became an engineer.

He lived in a wooden house and enjoyed spending time in the garden. He had two favorite activities. One was sowing seeds, which he took care of, in his garden and the other was going to his friend *Ethem's*, a very good chef, in a restaurant in *Cumhuriyet Avenue*. The restaurant was known as '*Ethem's Famous Place*'. Although it was very expensive, he liked eating *sahanda guvec* (a famous Turkish food made in pot.)

He then started getting suspicious about '*Ethem's Famous Place*' when he had suffered from diarrhea caused by the food he had eaten. In fact his friends would always complain about his being unnecessarily suspicious.

It was a crocodile that he disliked the most, because he found it dangerous. He liked reading too much and his favorite book was titled '*Doubt*'.”

The words containing the variable in the passage are numbered along with their English translation:

1. *Mehmet* ‘ a proper name for males’
2. *herhalde* ‘ in all probability’
3. *şehzade* ‘prince’
4. *mühendis* ‘engineer’
5. *tahsil* ‘ education’
6. *ahşap* ‘wooden’
7. *bahçe* ‘garden’

8. *muhafaza* ‘ protection’ ‘preserve’
9. *tohum* ‘seed’
10. *Ethem* ‘ a proper name for boys’
11. *cumhuriyet* ‘ republic’
12. ‘*meşhur* ‘famous’
13. *pahalı* ‘expensive’
14. *sahanda guvec* ‘a famous Turkish food made in pot’
15. *ishal* ‘diarrhea’
16. *şüph*e ‘ suspicion’
17. *timsah* ‘crocodile’
18. *tehlikeli* ‘dengerious’

These 18 words are selected according to the optimal rules for /h/ deletion in Turkish (see section 2.3). The same numbers are given to the variants that are repeated more than once in the reading passage.

Second section: The interviewees were asked to answer the questions about the reading passage. It worth noting that the words containing /h/ variant in the reading passage, were repeated again in the answers to the questions. The differences are only the style: data from a prepared reading passage was gathered for the formal styles whereas data from the answers was collected as the causal styles. Trying to answer these questions could possibly distract the informant’s attentions from his/her pronunciation. Therefore all the informants were asked to answer the following questions orally after reading the passage.

Below are the questions that were asked after the subject has read the passage:

1. *Hikayenin kahramanı kim?* Who is the main character in the story?
2. *Mehmet küçükken ne olmak istiyordu?* What did Mehmet want to be when he was a child?
3. *Mehmet nasıl bir evde yaşıyordu?* What kind of house did he live in?
4. *Mehmet ilkbaharda ekmek için ne saklardı?* What did he sow in the garden?
5. *Çiçekleri nereye ekerdi?* Where did he sow seeds in spring?

6. *Arkadaşının adı nedir ve ne iş yapar?* What is his friend's name? What does he do?
7. *En sevdiği yemek neydi?* What was his favourite food?
8. *Mehmet'in gittiği lokantanın adı neydi?* What was the name of the restaurant Mehmet used to go to?
9. *Yemek fiyatları ucuz mu? Pahalı mı?* Is the food expensive or cheap?
10. *Lokanta nerededir?* Where is the restaurant?
11. *Mehmet hangi hastalığa yakalandı?* What ailment did he have?
12. *Arkadaşları Mehmet'in nasıl bir tip olduğunu söylerler?* What kind of person was he according to his friends?
13. *Mehmet'in en sevmediği hayvan? Niçin?* Which animal did he dislike the most?
14. *Mehmet'in en sevdiği kitabın ismi nedir?* What was the title of his favourite book?
15. *Mehmet ne iş yapar?* What does Mehmet do for living?
16. *Mehmet timsahı nicin sevmezdi?* Why did Mehmet dislike crocodile?
17. *Emin değilsen eğer hangi kelimeyi kullanırsın 'harhalde mi kesinlikle mi? if you are not sure which word you should use 'herhalde' probably or 'kesinlikle' certainly.*
18. *'Eğitim' kelimesinin eş anlamlısı nedir? Tahsil mi mesgale mi?* What is the synonym for the word *egitim* 'education'? Is it 'tahsil' or is it 'meşgale'?

The answers of these eighteen questions are given below:

1. **Mehmet** 2. **mühendis** 3. **Ahşap** 4. **Tohum** 5. **Bahçeye** 6. **Ethem** ahçılık yapar 7 **sah**anda güveç 8. **Ethem**in yeri 9. **Pahalı** 10. **Cumhuriyet** caddesinde 11. **Ishal** 12. **şüpheli** 13 **Timsah** 14. **şüph**e 15. **Mühendis** 16. **Tehikeli** 17. **Herhalde** 18. **Tahsil**

The reading passage is designed in order to get sufficient data about the way the informant uses /h/. The researcher, thus, can clarify if there is phonological change and its possible connection to informants' social status and gender. If, in fact, /h/ is used in more formal speech there should be less /h/ dropping in reading section of the interview than in the other sections.

The questions are designed to be as simple as possible in order to get short answers which contain /h/ variants that fit into frame of optional /h/ deletion rules in Turkish.

The data from these three steps allowed the researcher to evaluate the relationship between language change, social forces and speaker style.

3.3. Analysis

In order to discern a relationship between language and social phenomena as clearly as possible, a method to measure linguistic variables and social phenomena must be considered. Sociological methods could be used to measure social phenomena. It generally designates basic regulations to match individuals to social factors. Furthermore, it allocates individuals into groups on the basis of similar social characters, such as income, education, etc. On the other hand, the sociolinguistic method, which was developed by Labov, can help to measure the linguistic variables. The study dealing with these two fields is also easily countable through “showing similarities and differences between the speakers’ use of linguistic variables” (Hudson 1980: 160).

After the interview, the tape-recorded material were transcribed and allotted according to class, gender and style. Based on two different styles (casual and reading) the number of times a speaker did or did not use /h/ in his /her speech will be counted.

This study involves one linguistic variable of thirty people under two styles. It, therefore, could produce (1x30x2) 60 separate figures (1 stands for linguistic variation /h/; 30 is the number of the informants; 2 is the two types of style: formal and casual). Without separating them into groups, we would have 60 different results under two styles for each and every individual. In order to facilitate the study, the number of figures can be reduced by dividing 30 people into three groups (the upper, middle and lower classes), so that, 60 figures can be reduced.

Naturally, each score for the variable represented a whole group of speakers instead of representing each individual. The individuals were divided in upper class, middle class and lower class. In addition, each social class was separated into female and male groups, yielding a total of six groups.

It is clear that this work is quantitative rather than qualitative. It assumes that linguistic variation has a regular distribution among social class and gender. Therefore, it attempts to correlate the frequency of the linguistic variable to social phenomena.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

Since our study involves human subjects, certain ethical considerations must be made. First of all, I got permission from the Ministry of National Education, Municipal Administration of Istanbul, which is the only authorized department that allows any interview in schools. National Education Department of Istanbul sent a letter to each relevant school. The school's administration first evaluated the letter then allowed and helped me to conduct my research. It must be noted that I also allowed each school administration to know what my research is about.

Deputy Principals of these schools asked the available students randomly whether they want to be part of the study. If they accepted it voluntarily, in order to make clear, I gave letter to the informants to ask for their consent to participate in my research. I allow them that I am working on a language study. I also asked permission to record them by giving them another consent form before commencing the interview. Then I guaranteed them their anonymity and gave them the freedom to withdraw from the research at any time they wanted.

It must be noted that informants were not treated as objects. I have explained informants that your interest, help and contribution would illuminate an issue in language field. Therefore you were not only providing data for the study but also you were co-researcher of this study. You had direct effect on the investigation in order to be defined and clarified. After completing interview we talk about /h/ deletion in Turkish. They made very interesting comments regarding to relevant issue. Before completing this section I would like to note Rice's (2005) statement "the ultimate goal is to get informants to think language as the investigator does"

Section 4: Interpretation of the Data

In this section, as mentioned in the methodology section, the tape-recorded material is transcribed and allotted according to social class and gender, based on two different styles (casual and reading). The researcher has counted how many times informants delete /h/ in their speech. Thereafter, since each individual belongs to certain social and gender groups, individuals' scores are utilized to produce group scores. Scores are presented in percentages according to /h/ deletion.

4.1. Social Class and Variation

Since the 1960s many studies have confirmed that there is a correlation between external social factors and internal linguistic variation. Data, which has been collected from three different schools located in three different areas of Istanbul, has also confirmed that there is a clear correlation between social classes and the usage of the /h/ variant.

It has been predicted that since h'full pronunciation is standard form, higher classes (Bebek) would use more h'full form than lower classes (Gültepe). The middle class (Yenibosna) would be ranked in between. As shown in figures 4.1 and 4.2, in both formal and casual styles, speakers from lower class groups used the h'less form more than higher-class groups. For instance, in reading or formal style while female and male speakers from Bebek (high class) omitted /h/ only 15 and 22 times respectively, (in words such as *Mehmet* 'proper name for boys' *herhalde* 'in all probability' *cumhuriyet* 'republic' and *ishal* 'diarrhea'), female and male speakers from the lower class (Gültepe) omitted /h/ 35 and 43 times respectively. The lower class omitted /h/ over twice as much as the upper class. From this picture it should be noted that the huge gap between upper and lower class reflects itself not only in the economic status but also in the way they use language.

There is also a clear distinction between styles; in each social class group, average scores demonstrated that /h/ is pronounced more in formal (reading) style than casual style. This also confirmed our expectation.

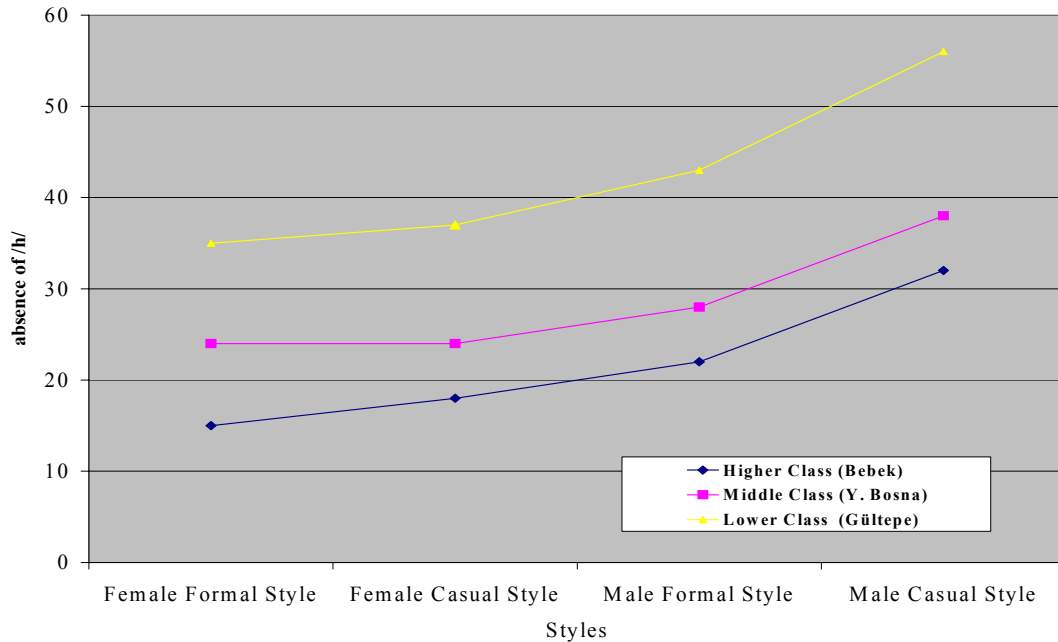


Figure 4.1. Average scores for the /h/ variant according to social class, gender and style.

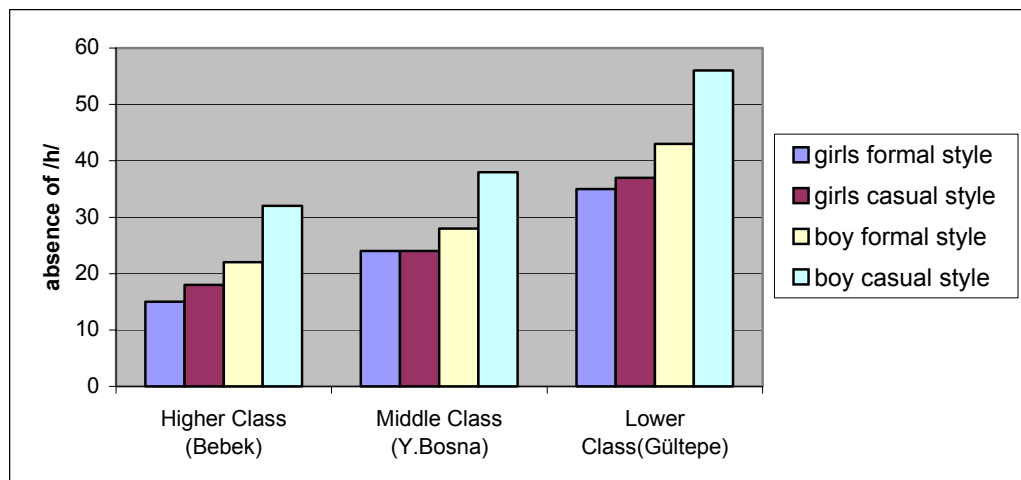


Figure 4. 2. Distribution of /h/ according to social class, gender and style

The investigation revealed that all social classes including upper class, although its speakers mostly pronounced the standard form, used both standard and non-standard forms. Taking this fact into account, I would like to argue against Saussure's fundamental distinction between *langue* and *parole* and Chomsky's *competence*, which is the ideal

speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language in a completely homogeneous speech community, and *performance*, which is actual usage of language. As it has been discussed in detail in section 2.1, Saussure and Chomsky accepted *language/competence* as more important than *parole/performance*. They did not accept *parole/performance* as a possible subject of linguistic study due to its heterogeneity. The interesting point is that not only this study, but also many other studies have demonstrated that higher social classes, which sustain and maintain standard language, also utilizes non-standard forms. The question then is the possible existence of a 'completely homogeneous speech community'. Under the light of present study, it seems more plausible to accept that, as Bourdieu (1991) argues, the distinctions of *langue/competence* and *parole/performance* are just an idealization.

It is also important to note that some data explicitly goes against the Neogrammarian Regularity Hypothesis (see section 2.2.11). It claims that '*sound change is regular and operates without exception*', that is to say that if /h/ is deleted under the same internal linguistic conditions, this change will take place in all words that have same conditions. Despite the Regularity Hypothesis, the data of the present study revealed that there is an irregularity in sound change. For example in the case of rule 5: /h/ is deleted intervocalically (see section 2.3); it has been noted that intervocalic /h/ was deleted in the speech of some speakers of all classes in words like *pahalı* 'expensive' and *muhafaza* 'protection' but not from *sahan* 'shallow cooking pan'. It simply violates the rule that sound change operates without exceptions.

It may also be noted that Mielke (2002), in his study 'Turkish /h/ Deletion', claimed that /h/ is only deleted before sonorants, however the data demonstrated that /h/ is also deleted after sonorants, as in the word *cumhuriyet* 'republic'.

4.2. Gender and Variation

Another assumption that we assumed was females would use the more prestigious form than males. The results of the investigation support this hypothesis. The data has demonstrated that /h/ appeared more frequently in the speech of females and less in the speech of males in all three classes (see: Table 4.3, 4.4, 4.5). Each table also shows that females use the standard form more than males in both formal and casual styles. Boys deleted /h/ most frequently in casual style. Hence, the biggest gap occurred between girls' formal (reading) style and boys' casual style. Only girls from middle class (Y. Bosna) have same frequency of deleting /h/ in both styles.

Regarding style, we know that it has been part of Labov's variationist studies (1966, 1972). The Labovian view is based on a linear continuum, which shifts from formal style to casual style or vice versa. The frequency of use depends on how much attention speakers pay to their speech. In short, it is believed that the vernacular form increases in informality and decreases in formality (Labov 1972). On the other hand, this approach was criticised by some sociolinguists like Romaine (1980) and L. Milroy (1980). They found that in formal style, which is reading, the speaker does not use fewer non-standard forms than in casual style. The present study supports the Labovian view with the exception of females from Y. Bosna, which supports the latter view.

It has been noted that Turkey has a different social structure from that of western societies and the results, especially regarding gender, may not match those expected in a western society (see 1.3). As explained above it has indicated the same result with the survey that has been conducted in the western societies. This may indicate that Turkish social structure has become more similar to that of western societies, especially in the last 75 years. It is worth noting that if data were collected from other age groups, it may have resulted in a different picture. Therefore, in order to generalise the notion that women in Turkish society use the more standard form than men would need further investigation; data would need to be collected not only from younger groups but also from older age groups. If we do so, I predict it will certainly yield an interesting result regarding interplay of age, gender and social classes with the linguistic variation.

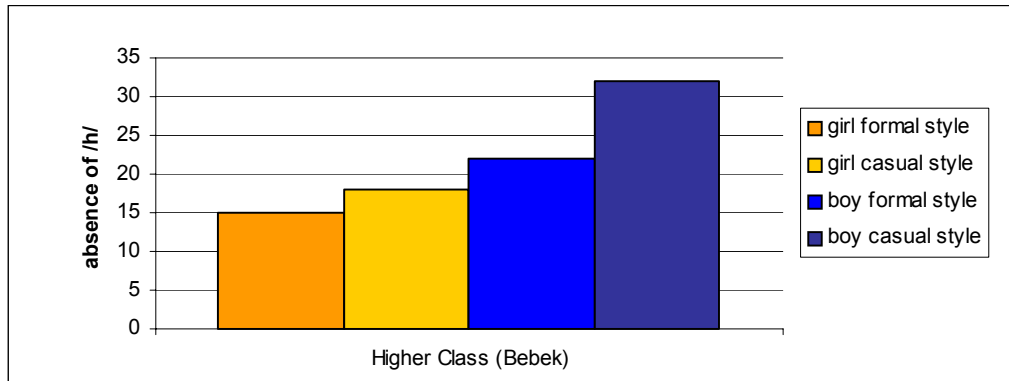


Figure 4.3. Frequency of /h/ deletion according to gender and style in the upper class

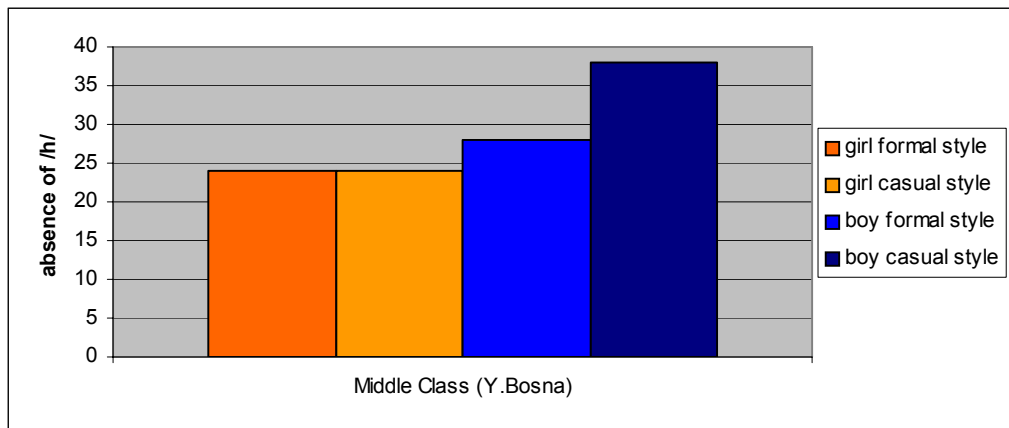


Figure 4.4. Frequency of /h/ deletion according to gender and style in the middle class

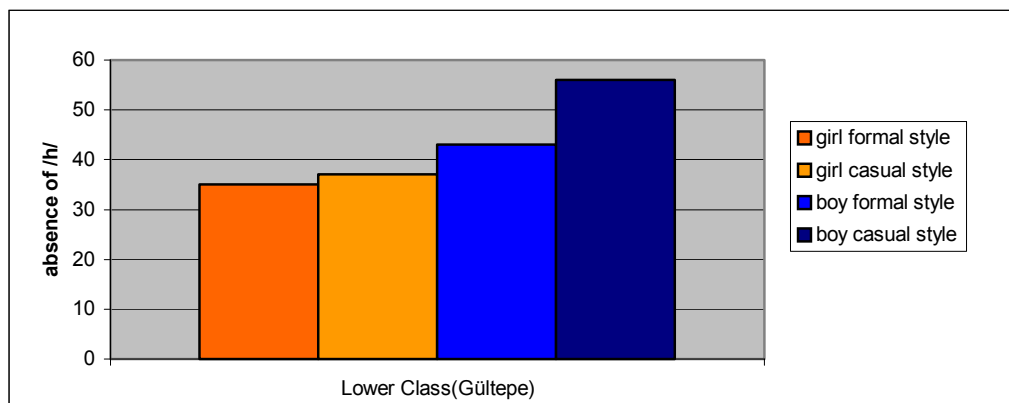


Figure 4. 5. Frequency of /h/ deletion according to gender and style in the lower class

When it comes to the question of why females have used the more standard form than males, the present study does not reject previous suggestions, which are socially motivated, but it suggest another view that based on bio-psycho-social systems. In other words, it does not reject the previous suggestion, but comprises it

The tendency of females to use more prestigious forms than males can not be adequately addressed with sole reference to a less secure or denied position of females in their society. In other words, the discrepancy between male and female speech can not be explained with just a social process. As a matter of fact, the behaviour of using prestigious forms is the result of the process of the tendency of combination of the female's biology and psychology and social patterns of their society.

It is important to note that, the explanation of the phenomenon of femininity and masculinity should be based on the combination of three integrated natural systems.

1. Biological nature of the female and male.
2. Social and cultural patterns of a society.
3. Psychological states that are mainly motivated by both the innate compulsions of genetic code in accordance with the biological make-up and the external effects of social and cultural patterns.

Having this theoretical framework in mind, it could be said that different speech patterns between males and females are indeed reflections of these three above-mentioned integrated systems. The easy part of this explanation is to indicate the relationship between these three systems. On the other hand, the difficulty is to know the degree of relationship that exists between them and to determine accurately the direction of the effect in these three factors. It is worth noting that depending on the feature of the behavior of male and female, one of these factors may be more dominant over others.

A parallel concept to this definition is Pierre Bourdieu's 'habitus'. Habitus challenges both to the claims of the freedom of individuals in their actions and also to the intellectuals who claim that individuals are only puppets of a certain social structure. Habitus means also the intervention of individuals by using their creative capacities to certain cultural and social processes by which their attitudes have been determined as well. For example, though the habitus of prestige form usage of females has been acquired through social processes, it also means that the intervention of females to this

usage with their bio-psychological conditions. From one side, the tendency towards a prestige form a means of reducing the social inequality between male and female; from another side, it is also a way of transforming this pressure with their bio-psychological conditions. Therefore, the habitus of the prestige form usage of female is the manner of both the empowerment of less secure of their social statuses and also the balancing of this social pressure psychologically. Therefore, “the concept of habitus provides a promising conceptual linkage between cultural, social, psychological and biological dimensions of reality” (Pickel:2005:437). Bourdieu (1971) defines this concept as : "...a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and make possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarity shaped problems..."

In this perspective we humans are not only cultural beings but also biological individuals. It neither exaggerates nor rejects the effects of the socio-cultural system, but merges the socio-cultural system with the ‘bio-psychocological’ system. Therefore, in the process of ‘habitus’ “individuals are conceived as ‘biopsychosocial’ systems” (Pickel 2005: 437).

While the process of ‘habitus’ seems to be dealing primarily with the individual behavior/practices such as perceiving, speaking and social touching etc., ‘habitus’ has to do with the social systems of individual practices. More precisely, it is both individual and social systems that stand for unlimited integrated systems that cause human behavior/practices.

With regard to psychological systems relevant to the ‘habitus’ process⁶, ‘self’ could be taken as a simple example. ‘Self’ exists as one of the determining systems of action in each individual. Being male or female, indeed, affects ‘self’ to act in a certain manner, and also affects the interaction of the ‘self’ with the external social world. It is worth noting that the ‘self’ always consciously tries to balance its social position, where s/he considers himself/herself weak in social space.

⁶ Fore more detailed explanation regarding the sub-division of ‘self’ see: Pickel (2005).

The point related to our argument is that a female's 'self system' is more attentive and conscious to balance her social position in this social space. This is psychological process of 'habitus'. This attempt always goes along with the nature of her 'self'.

Accordingly, there emerge a point pertaining to the bio-system of the 'habitus' process. The reality of the unbalanced distribution of power between male and female in social space arises from the biological make up of males and females, as much as it arises from social patterns of society. This is so because, the physical power of males can not be ignored as a potential source that creates less secure social space for females. In other words, the unbalanced distribution of power which is caused by physical differences between male and female create different types of habitus. Therefore the bio-system of the 'habitus' process is a subtle factor which causes females to use more prestigious forms in the practice of speaking.

In short, the bio-psycho-social tendency of female to use prestige form language can be explained through the following:

- 1- The prestige form usage is a lasting symbolic system representing the social power.
- 2- The desire to use the prestige form by females is a result of complicated interaction between social and psychological processes.
- 3- The tendency towards the prestige form by female to empower her social status provides a psychological satisfaction as an appreciation habitus. Moreover, this psychological habitus affects the content of the perception on prestige form usage of females.

Females perceive the power inequalities in social space as an essential problem and try to produce some solutions. The tendency towards a prestige form by females is one of the balancing attempts of the inequalities in social space with the usage of symbolic power of standard language. However, males do not require tending to this usage so much as females because of their unbalanced powers in the social spaces.

4.3. Age and Variation

As mentioned in section 2.6, age is not one of the direct external social factors in the present study. Due to the fact the age of informants is restricted to 15-20 years of age, there are no other groups, say 30-60 and 60-90, to compare to linguistically. Although this data belongs to a younger age group, it gave us the opportunity to see that younger group in Istanbul mostly uses the standard form more than the non-standard. In all social groups, i.e. social class and gender combined, speakers use the more prestigious form (see figure 6.7). It makes clear that h'full pronunciation is still dominant in Istanbul Turkish.

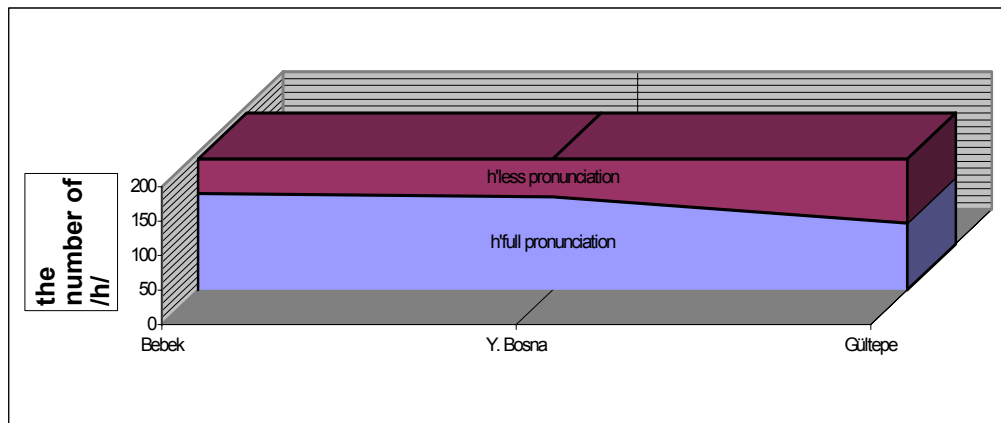


Figure 4.6. Total usage of /h/ in casual style in three social classes

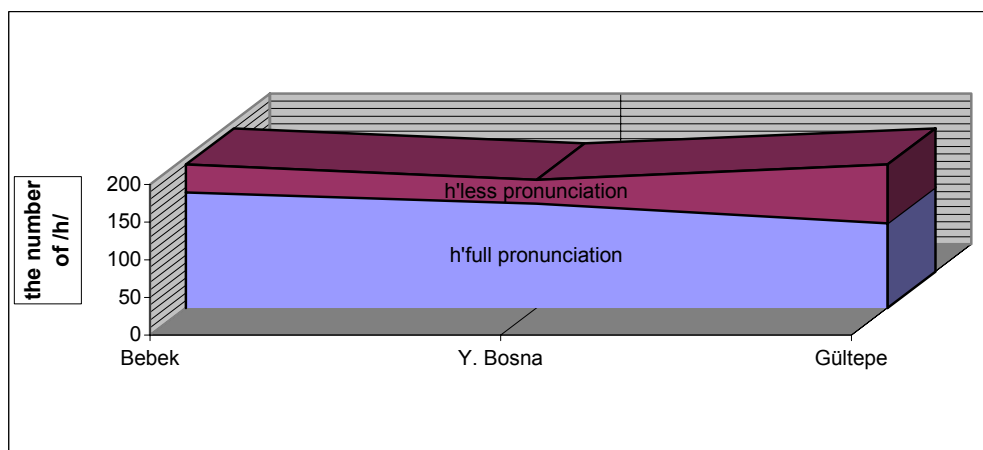


Figure 4.7. Total usage of /h/ in formal style in three social classes

Regarding to the direction of change it should be noted that lower classes are leading the /h/ sound change in Istanbul. Demand of omitting consonant /h/ is stronger in lower

classes than higher classes. As it can be seen from above graphs, the higher the class the speaker is in, the less the occurrence of /h/ omission.

Section 5: Conclusion

The present study has focused on the relationship between the way speakers use language and their social background such as social class and gender. It has been demonstrated that there is a clear relationship between internal linguistic variation and external social factors. It supported the mainstream view in sociolinguistics that language variation can not be separated from its social context. In other words, the data has shown that internal linguistic variation and external social factors come together and result in language change. More clearly we have seen that the upper class differs in the usage of language than middle class and lower class. The present study has also shown that females avoid the vernacular form in favour of the standard form while males tend to use more vernacular form. Although Trudgill's (1983: 167-8) statements are still valid to explain this fact, I have preferred to refer this phenomenon to nature of the combination of three integrated systems: *bio-psycho-social* concept as a *habitus* process, rather than just referring social pressure that women face in their society. In short, whole picture of the present study shows that language reflects its society in detail.

We have noted that our data goes against the Neogrammarian Regularity Hypothesis. That is the way we have noted that sound change could be operate with exceptions. In addition, we have doubt about the notion of a completely homogeneous speech community. It is believed that Saussure and Chomsky's distinctions need further investigation and reconsideration. Is it just idealisation or mere fact?

Before concluding, I would like comment on the a few point regarding the way speakers use language and their society on the basis of my own investigation.

Speakers always produce his utterances in a certain "linguistic market". If we use the term linguistic market in a narrow sense that the conditions that influence a speaker to accommodate a certain variant or accent which he or she is not normally supposed to utter, which is the prestigious forms, it would still be true but it may be misleading in terms of the broad sense of linguistic market. Labov, in his study of 'Social Stratification of /r/ in New York', classified speakers by where they worked, i.e., in three different

department stores, which represented the upper, middle and lower classes, yet he did not collect his data from the costumers. He assumed that all the employees have more or less same social class and predicted that employees would accommodate their customers' speech. Invisible but tangible social pressure orients a speaker's subconscious to accommodate a prestigious form. Therefore it is natural for the employee, if he works in the department store that caters for the upper class to use a more standard form. That is the linguistic market, which is the product of the social pressure arising from the environment. It may seem that linguistic market is real fact but, indeed, it is an illusion. It is like a firework that appears for an instant then immediately disappears. When an employee from a lower class turns to his family or friends he would not continue to accommodate using upper class forms. He will turn to his real identity by using the vernacular form in his environment. Therefore the real 'linguistic market' must refer to social and historical background of the each speech community. Every speech community has its own linguistic market whose social and historical parameters are quite distinct.

In addition the place or environment in which the speaker interacts is the backstage of the utterances. Therefore it has a certain effect on the way speaker uses language. In the present study, the linguistic market or "backstage" of speech behavior is in schools. Since schools are one of the important institutions that spread and maintain standard language, it has great influence on students to accommodate standard language forms during the interview. In addition, students knew that they were being recorded, which may have swayed them into choosing the more socially acceptable form that has been taught to them throughout their school careers. These realities show clearly that our data is collected in more formal setting rather than relaxed situation or on playgrounds.

As we mentioned above there is a social pressure on a speaker when they speak. Since this pressure is in the favour of upper class forms, lower classes feel this external power more than upper classes. Speakers from the upper class use standard language in a natural way, in other words, they do not feel pressure to change it. Their forms are largely inherent. They speak as they speak in everywhere in other social domains. On the other

hand, speakers of vernacular form most of time feel social pressure to change the vernacular form. Taking this fact into account, it is easy to say that speakers from Gültepe (lower class) are more attentive and conscious during the tape-recorded interview. In this kind of situation, speakers from the lower class spend more energy to prevent a more natural form (vernacular form) to interfere with a temporary habit (standard language). On the other hand, speakers of the upper classes are more relaxed and free from that kind of concern.

Every individual depends on his own community; hence he is mainly a product of his community. Therefore people from same community share certain characteristic patterns. Despite that, every individual, apart from his surrounding community, has his own individual history. It is worth noting here that individual's history cannot completely immunise itself from the destiny of his own community. Hence, the socio-individual differences create differences in every social aspect or phenomenon that refers to humanities. Since language is the one of the most important social aspects of humanity, the former creates different speech communities whereas the latter creates 'idiolects'. In addition, the interplay of socio-historical background of the community and individual history or personal background prevent a completely homogenous speech community. The existence of individual factors obstructs the same usage of language, even in the same speech community. Thus, we have seen that some speakers of upper class, middle class and lower class, though they are not too many, use different pattern of speech than his speech community.

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APPENDIX A: READING PASSAGE

“Mehmet(1) küçüklüğünde, herhalde(2) okuduğu masalların etkisiyle olsa gerek, hep bir şehzade(3) olmak istemişti. bunun imkansız olduğunu büyüdükçe anlamış mühendis(4) olmaya karar vermişti. Kaderi arzusuyla birleşince de üniversite tahsilini(5) tamamlayarak mühendis(4) olmuştu.

Ahşap (6) bir evde oturur bahçesinde(7) zaman geçirmeyi severdi. En sevdiği iki şey vardı. Biri özenle muhafaza(8) ettiği tohumları(9) bahçesine ekmek; ikincisi ise iyi bir ahçı olan arkadaşı Ethem’in(10) cumhuriyet(11) caddesindeki lokantasına gitmekti. Lokanta ‘Meşhur(12) Ethem’in Yeri’ olarak bilinirdi. Çok pahalı(13) olmasına rağmen sahanda(14) güveci yerd.

Bir gün Meşhur(12) Ethem in yerinde yediği yemekten ishal(15) olunca buraya şüphe(16) ile bakmaya başladı. Zaten arkadaşları şahsının şüpheli bir tip olduğundan bahsederlerdi. En sevmediği hayvan timsah(17). Çünkü onu tehlikeli(18) bulurdu. Kitap okumayı çok severdi. En çok sevdiği kitabın adı şüphe(17)”

This reading passage is translated below:

Mehmet, supposedly from the tales he read, always wished to be a prince in his childhood. He, later on, as he grew up and understood it was not possible, decided to become an engineer. As his destiny met his later wish, he completed his university education and became an engineer.

He lived in a wooden house and enjoyed spending time in the garden. He had two favorites. One was sowing seeds, which he took care of, in his garden and the other was going to his friend *Ethem's*, a very good chef, in a restaurant in *Cumhuriyet* Avenue. The restaurant was known as “*Ethem's Famous Place*”. Although it was very expensive, he liked eating *sahanda guvec* (a famous Turkish food made in pot.)

He then started getting suspicious about “*Ethem's Famous Place*” when he had suffered from diarrhea caused by the food he had eaten. In fact his friends would always complain about his being unnecessarily suspicious.

It was a crocodile that he disliked the most, because he found it dangerous and sneaky. He liked reading too much and his favorite book was titled “Doubt”.

The words containing the variable in the passage are numbered along with their English translation:

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS IN SECOND SECTION

Below are the questions that will be asked after the subject has read the passage:

1. *Hikayenin kahramanı kim?* Who is the main character in the story?
2. *Mehmet küçükken ne olmak istiyordu?* What did Mehmet want to be when he was a child?
3. *Mehmet nasıl bir evde yaşıyordu?* What kind of house did he live in?
4. *Mehmet ilkbaharda ekmek için ne saklardı?* What did he sow in the garden?
5. *Çiçekleri nereye ekerdi?* Where did he sow seeds in spring?
6. *Arkadaşının adı nedir ve ne iş yapar?* What is his friend's name? What does he do?
7. *En sevdiği yemek neydi?* What was his favourite food?
8. *Mehmet'in gittiği lokantanın adı neydi?* What was the name of the restaurant Mehmet used to go to?
9. *Yemek fiyatları ucuz mu? Pahalı mı?* Is the food expensive or cheap?
10. *Lokanta nerededir?* Where is the restaurant?
11. *Mehmet hangi hastalığa yakalandı?* What ailment did he have?
12. *Arkadaşları Mehmet'in nasıl bir tip olduğunu söylerler?* What kind of person was he according to his friends?
13. *Mehmet'in en sevmediği hayvan? Niçin?* Which animal did he dislike the most?
14. *Mehmet'in en sevdiği kitabın ismi nedir?* What was the title of his favourite book?
15. *Mehmet ne iş yapar?* What does Mehmet do for living?
16. *Mehmet timsahı nicin sevmezdi?* Why did Mehmet dislike crocodile?
17. *Emin degilsen eger hangi kelimeyi kullanirsin 'harhalde mi kesinlikle mi?' if you are not sure which word you should use 'herhalde' probably or 'kesinlikle' certainly.*
18. *'Egitim' kelimesinin esanlamlisi nedir ? Tahsil mi mesgale mi?* What is the synonym for the word *egitim* 'education'? Is it 'tahsil' or is it 'meşgale'?

The answers of these eighteen questions are given below:

1. Mehmet 2. mühendis 3. Ahşap 4. Tohum 5. Bahçeye 6. Ethem ahçılık yapar 7. sahanda güveç 8. Ethem'in yeri 9. Pahalı 10. Cumhuriyet caddesinde 11. Ishal 12. şüpheci 13. Timsah 14. şüpheli 15. Mühendis 16. Tehikeli 17. Herhalde 18. Tahsil

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWEES

I understand the aims of the study and the procedures involved. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and I can withdraw anytime I want to.

I understand that my name will not appear on the interview schedule and it will not be used in the final report.

Any information I reveal to the researcher will be treated with confidentiality.

I agree to take part in the study by answering questions during the interview.

I agree to allow the interview to be tape-recorded by the researcher.

Signature:.....

Date.....

I, Fayik Deniz, have explained the procedures and the aims of the study. I have assured the participant that participation is voluntary and that he/she can withdraw anytime he/she wants to.

I have also guaranteed the participant that all information revealed to me will be treated with much confidentiality and that his/her name will not appear on the interview schedule and it will not be used in the final report.

The recorded interviews will only be available to the supervisor and external examiner if requested.

Once the exam process is completed the interview tapes will be destroyed.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM OF TAPE RECORDING FOR INTERVIEWEES

I know that the interview will be recorded and I agree to allow to the researcher to record the interview

Signature:.....

Date.....

I, Fayik Deniz, have explained to participant who voluntarily stepped forward to take part in the study that “the interview will be recorded.”

I have also guaranteed the participant that all information revealed to me through tape recording will be treated with much confidentiality.

The recorded interviews will only be available to the supervisor and external examiner if requested.

Once the exam process is completed the interview tapes will be destroyed.

Signature:.....

Date:.....