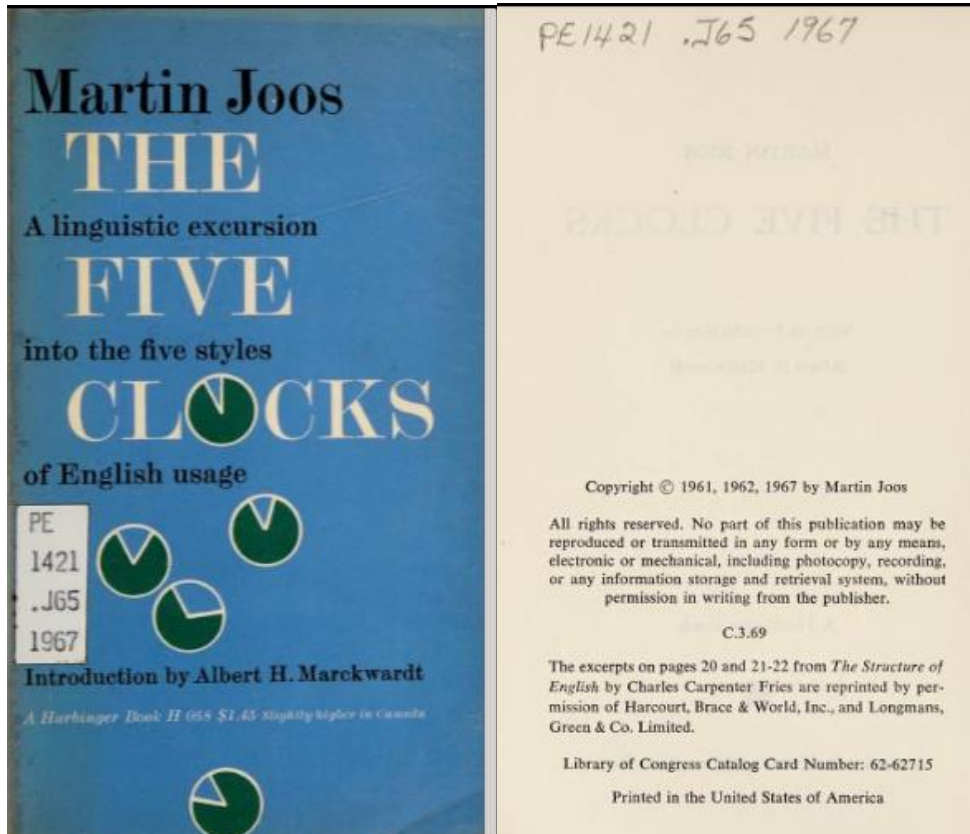


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etc.,' the all-purpose preposition 'on' [18] for 'in, for, by, of, concerning, etc.,' and finally the counting-approximators 'about' [3, 4, 5] and 'or so' [18], both meaning 'approximately' (a formal word). Other consultative code-label skeleton-keys exist, but our sample is enough to show how they work. In line 1, good casual style would have had 'something else' and stiff formal style perhaps 'a situation which has arisen.' A formal jokester may pretend to get a ludicrous picture out of 'I'd like to see you on a typewriter;' the trained social animal simply takes 'on' as a code-label for informal consultation.

Both colloquial styles—consultative and casual—routinely deal in a public sort of information, though differently: casual style takes it for granted and at most alludes to it, consultative style states it as fast as it is needed. Where there happens to be no public information for a while, a casual conversation (among men) lapses into silences and kidding, a consultative one is broken off or adjourned. These adjustments help to show what sort of rôle public information plays in the two colloquial styles: it is essential to them both.

Now in intimate style, this rôle is not merely weakened; rather, it is positively abolished. Intimate speech excludes public information. (Then how can it be language? — Let's see: it's *Miss Fidditch*, isn't it?)

Definition: An intimate utterance pointedly avoids giving the addressee information from outside of the speaker's skin. Example: 'Ready' said in quite a variety of situations, some of them allowing other persons to be present; note that this could be equivalent to either a statement or a question; the manner of saying it will be described in a moment. Another: 'Engh' or 'Cold' said at the family supper-table, but not to tell the speaker's wife that the coffee is cold — as it would tell her after we let *Miss Fidditch* expand the ellipsis for us: wrongly, for this is not an ellipsis. This tells the speaker's wife nothing about the coffee. How could it! She knows exactly how long since it was hot. If she had had to be told, the casual-style 'Coffee's cold' would have been used instead. After all, they both know the code. The point of any such utterance is simply to remind (hardly 'inform') the addressee of some feeling (unspecified, but that does not matter) inside the speaker's skin. (But I do wish they would speak like human beings! — What else?)

The systematic features of intimate style are two, just as in the

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Language Style in Romantic Movies

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Language Style in Romantic Movies | 113

Will: Yeah

Ronnie came to Will's house to attend the wedding of Will's sister. She looked beautiful to make Will fixate on him. Will smiled at Ronnie and Ronnie asked about his appearance that day. This conversation took place in a semi-formal situation and there were two participants who have a conversation namely Ronnie and Will. The conversation above is categorized Consultative style because the sentence "Do I look all right?" shows how Ronnie needs a response from the Will and Will responds it shortly with the word "Yeah" which is suitable with the standard signal of Consultative style. Beside of that this conversation happened in semi-formal situation which is also suitable with the characteristic of Consultative style.

Data 2 (Midnight Sun)

(00:19:09–00:19:14)

Charlie: Can I walk with you?

Katie: Um, yeah.

There were two participants in the conversation, Katie and Charlie. This conversation was taking place at Train station. Katie that left her notebook back to station to pick it up. But there Charlie stood while brought Katie's notebook. Katie was feeling so shy and then Katie told Charlie, she wanted to walk to home. But Charlie who had an interest on Katie wanted to follow Katie so he asked to walked together. The situation was in semiformal situation since it was the first time Charlie met Katie but they tried to talk casually. The conversation above uses Consultative style since the speaker gives suggestion and the addresser response shortly with the standard signals of Consultative style "Um, yeah". So that it can be conclude this conversation is Consultative style.

d. Intimate style

Data 1 (The Last Song)

(00:02:01 – 00:02:03)

Jonah : Dad!

Steve : Hi, Joe-Boy. How are you, man?

This conversation happened when Jonah and his sister and mother arrived at his Father's home. Jonah who just arrived to called his father. Steve responded and they hugged each other. The situation was very relaxed and warm where they were happy to meet each other after separating long enough. As seen in conversation above, Jonah uses Intimate Style, it can be seen in the word "Dad" that come from extraction of Daddy, Jonah uses that because he has really close relationship, that is between son and father, in other hand Steve also uses Intimate Style, it can be seen at the word "Joe-Boy". Steve uses that word to call his son which is "Joe" stands for the name of his son, Jonah and "Boy" is used to say that Jonah still child. This conversation indicates Intimate Style because it uses private language, meanwhile this conversation also happened between dad and son that has close relationship, that suitable with the characteristic of Intimate Style.

Data 2 (Midnight Sun)

(00:23:36–00:23:58)

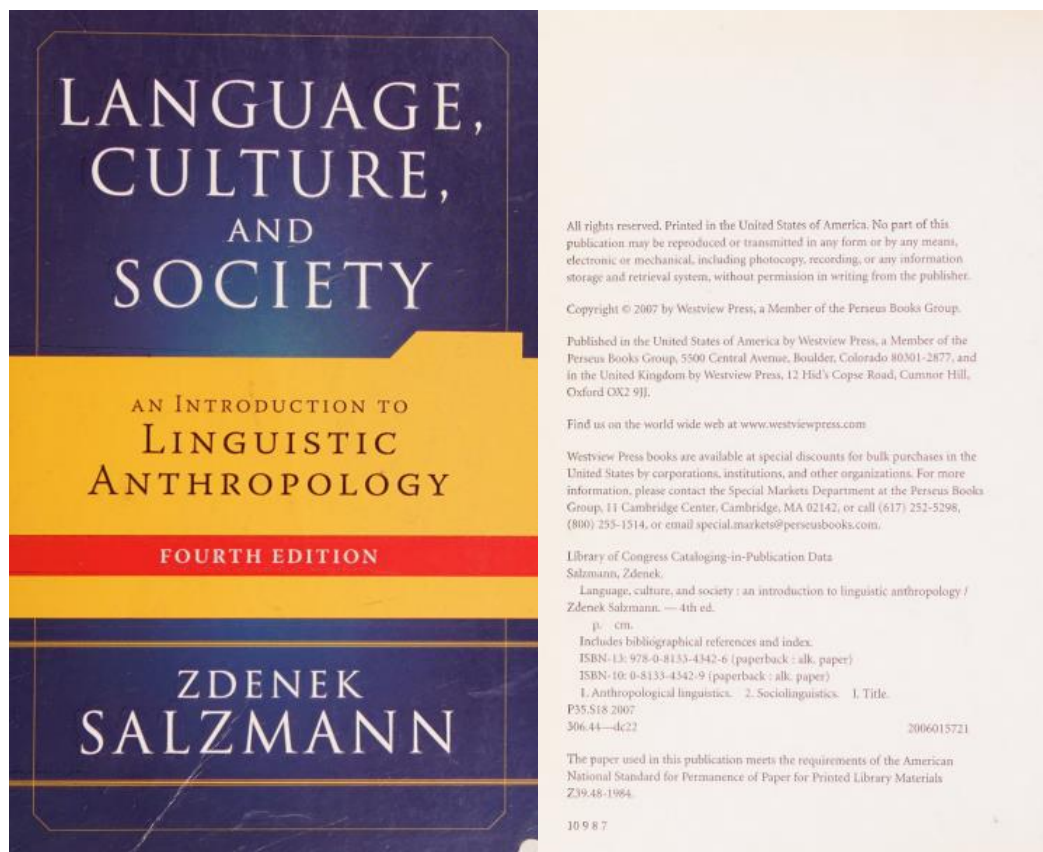
Morgan: Mr.! May I present Katherine Price of Washington.

Jack: Wow. Peanut... you look amazing.

This conversation was taking place at Katie's house in relaxed situation when Morgan was trying to dress Katie, started from choosing clothes and also did make up. Katie that never dressed up before looked different and beautiful. That is why when Jack was looking her daughter, he was very happy and was stunned to see the beauty of his daughter.

The conversation above uses Intimate style, it can be seen from the words "wow peanut... you look

Salzmann, Z. (1998). *Language, Culture and Society*. Colorado: Westview Press.



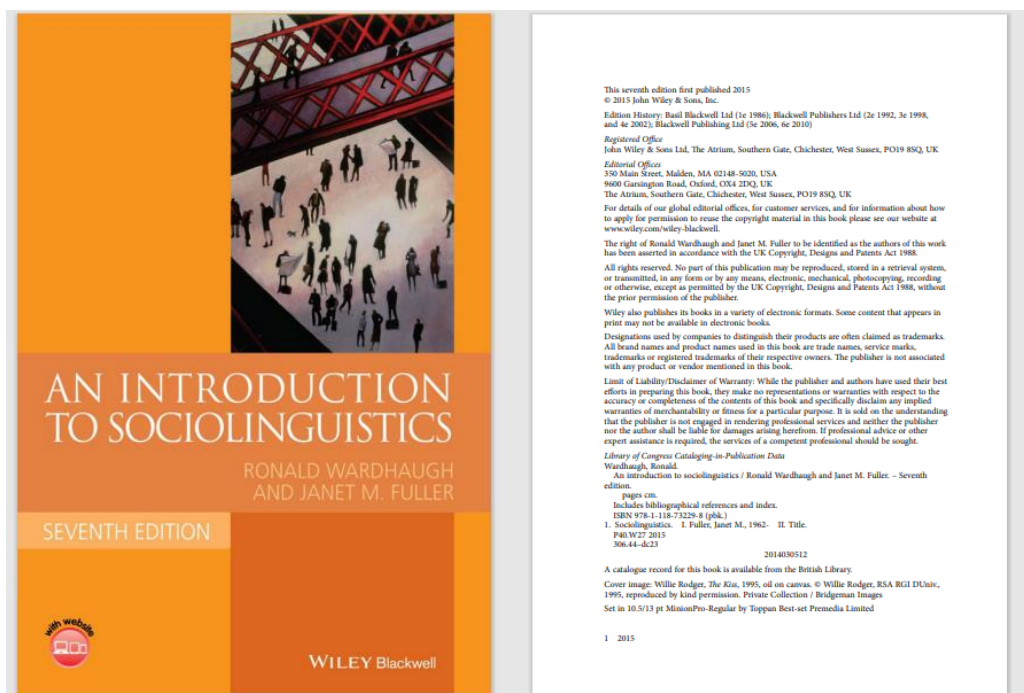
gland as *(devil's) darning needle*, in coastal New Jersey as *spinlle*, in northern California as *ear sewer*, and so on.

The way individuals speak varies not only according to their regional and social dialects but also according to context. The distinctive manner in which people express themselves in a particular situation is referred to as style. Speech styles are thus comparable to styles of dress. One would feel out of place and uncomfortable going on a hiking trip in formal attire or attending a traditional wedding reception in sneakers, jeans, and a sweat-shirt. Similarly, a person who might use the vulgar expression "I'm pissed" when talking with former schoolmates would probably substitute the colloquial phrase "I'm mad" under other circumstances and use such words as "angry" or "aggravated" under more formal conditions.

Stylistic variations are not only lexical, as in the examples above, but also phonological (for instance, the casual pronunciation of *butter* with the flap [ɾ] rather than the dental [t]), morphological (as in the casually styled "Who are you taking to lunch?" as against the formal "Whom are you taking to lunch?"), and syntactic (as in "Wanna eat now?" as against "Do you want to eat now?"). A stylistic or dialectal variety of speech that does not call forth negative reaction, is used on formal occasions, and carries social prestige is considered **standard**; varieties that do not measure up to these norms are referred to as nonstandard or substandard. Standard British English, referred to as Received Standard (and its pronunciation as Received Pronunciation), is used at English public schools (private secondary boarding schools), heard during radio and television newscasts, and used when circumstances call for a serious, formal attitude (sermons, lectures, and the like). In less formal situations there has been an increasing tendency to use a style that deviates from or falls short of the standard. Informality in dress, behavior, and speech is a sign of the times both in the United States and elsewhere.

How many different styles do speakers of English use? According to Martin Joos (1907–1978), five clearly distinguishable styles were characteristic of his dialect of American English (spoken in the east-central United States); he termed them frozen, formal, consultative, casual, and intimate (Joos 1962). Today, very few speakers of American English ever use the frozen style except perhaps occasionally in formal writing. The assumption that the exact number of speech styles can be determined for a language serving millions of speakers does not seem to be warranted. No

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society: empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs' (Blommaert 2005, 25).

As this overview has made clear, there are many different perspectives, approaches, topics, and methodologies within the broad field of sociolinguistics. In the next section, we will introduce some issues involved in this last area, methodologies, which are relevant for all study of language in society.

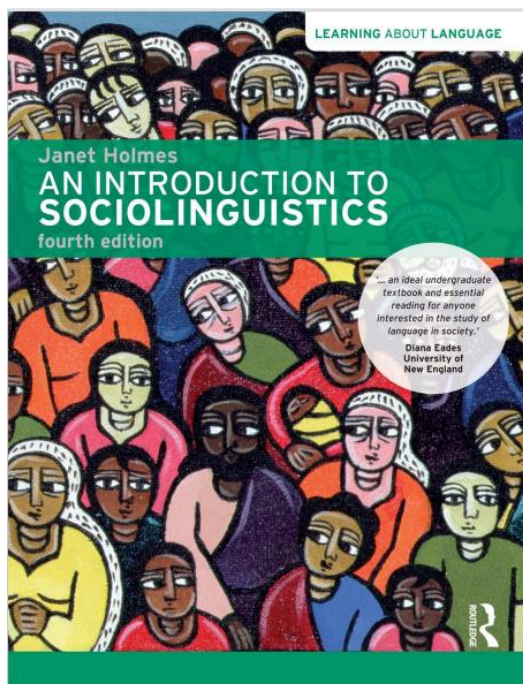
Methodological Concerns

Sociolinguistics should encompass everything from considering 'who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end' (Fishman 1972, 46). It must be oriented toward both data and theory: that is, any conclusions we come to must be solidly based on evidence, but should also make theoretical contributions. Above all, a research project should begin with a research question, but that question must be one that can be answered with sociolinguistic data. We must collect data for a purpose and that purpose should be to find an answer, or answers, to an interesting question. Questions phrased in ways that do not allow for some kind of empirical testing have no more than a speculative interest.

Thus, those who seek to investigate the possible relationships between language and society must have a twofold concern: they must ask good questions, and they must find the right kinds of data that bear on those questions. Here are some types of sociolinguistics studies we will discuss in this book:

- **correlational studies**, i.e., those that attempt to relate two or more variables (e.g., certain linguistic forms and social-class differences, see chapters 6–8);
- **microlinguistic studies**, i.e., those that typically focus on very specific linguistic items or individual differences and uses in order to search for possibly wide-ranging linguistic and/or social implications (e.g., the distribution of *singing* and *singin'*; see chapters 2 and 7);
- **discourse analysis**, i.e., studies of conversational structure and how speakers use language for their social purposes (e.g., how we begin and end conversations and how this is dependent on the relationship between interlocutors; see chapter 11);
- **macrolinguistic studies**, i.e., studies that examine large amounts of language data to draw broad conclusions about group relationships (e.g., choices made in language planning; see chapter 14);
- **critical analyses**, i.e., studies that seek to assess how language is used to create and perpetuate power structures; such studies may focus on discourse or larger patterns of language use and thus overlap with discourse analysis or macrolinguistic studies (e.g., how people talk about multilingualism could be analyzed in discourse, or language planning and policies related to multilingualism; see chapters 11 and 12–14).

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11

Speech functions, politeness
and cross-cultural
communication

In the previous chapter, I discussed ways in which linguistic choices are influenced by social contexts. We adapt our talk to suit our audience and talk differently to children, customers and colleagues. We use language differently in formal and casual contexts. The purpose of talk will also affect its form. In this chapter, I begin by considering the range of functions language may serve, and the variety of ways in which the 'same' message may be expressed.

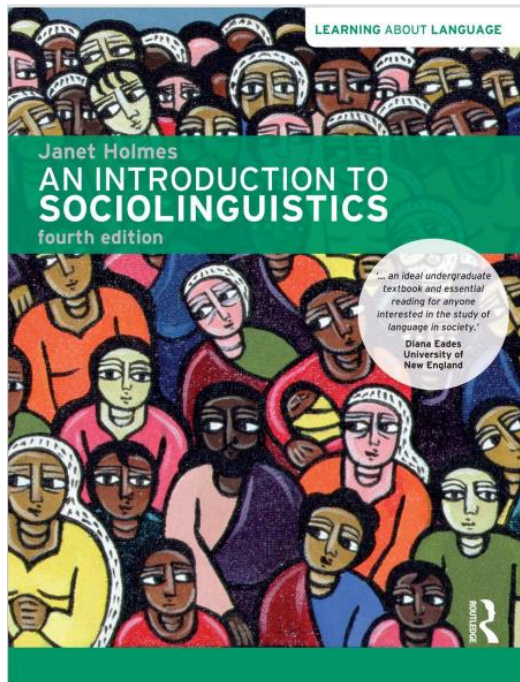
Why do we select one way rather than another to convey our message? Given a choice between *Mr Shaw*, *Robert* and *Bob*, for instance, how do we decide which is appropriate? One relevant factor is politeness. In the second part of this chapter, I illustrate how considerations of politeness influence the choice between different address forms, and I discuss the social dimensions which influence what is considered polite in different situations and communities. Being considered linguistically polite is often a matter of selecting linguistic forms which are perceived as expressing an appropriate degree of social distance or which acknowledge relevant status or power differences.

Norms for polite behaviour differ from one speech community to another. Linguistic politeness is culturally based. Different speech communities emphasise different functions, and express particular functions differently. How, if at all, should one express appreciation for a meal in another culture? Is it possible to refuse an invitation politely? How should one greet people in different speech communities? These are the kinds of questions touched on in the final section of this chapter where some examples of cross-cultural differences in the expression of speech functions are discussed.



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10

Style, context and register

Example 1

Three different requests for information:

1. *From a friend*

Where were you last night? I rang to see if you wanted to come to the movies.

2. *In court from a lawyer*

Could you tell the court where you were on the night of Friday the seventeenth of March?

3. *From a teacher to his pupils in school on the day after Hallowe'en.*

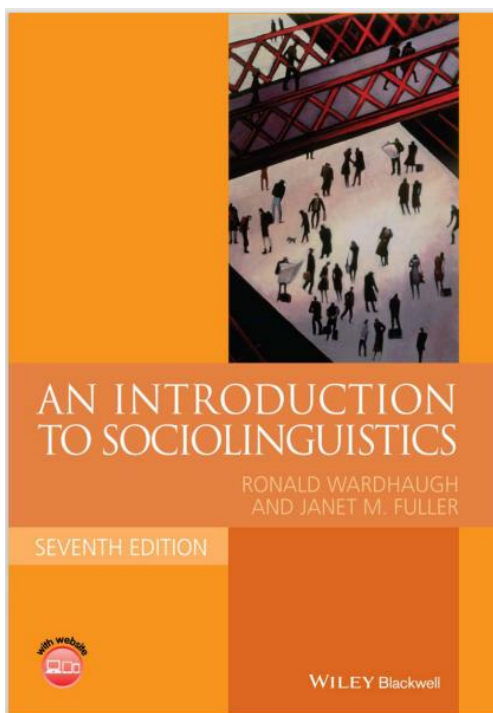
I know some of you went 'trick-or-treating' last night and so I thought we might talk a bit today about how you got on. Did you go out last night Jimmy?

In each of these three utterances the speaker is trying to elicit the 'same' information from the addressee, but the context dramatically influences the form of the query. Each request for information is expressed quite differently.

Language varies according to its uses as well as its users, according to where it is used and to whom, as well as according to who is using it. The addressees and the context affect our choice of code or variety, whether language, dialect or *style*. The difference between the three utterances in example 1 are stylistic differences, and it is style which is the focus of this chapter.

In the second section of this book, we looked at ways in which people's speech indexes their group membership. These features are also sometimes described as stylistic features. People talk of an ethnic style or a female register, for instance, referring to the way people speak by virtue of their ethnicity or gender, regardless of context. In this chapter, however, the focus is on the ways in which speech is both influenced by and constructs the *contexts* in which language is used, rather than characteristics of the speakers. I will first consider the influence of the addressee on the speaker's language, exemplifying from less formal contexts where the degree of solidarity between participants is an important factor contributing to choice of speech style. Then I will examine features of speech style in a range of contexts which vary in formality, looking at the interaction between the formality and status dimensions. Finally, I will consider the way distinctive styles or registers may be shaped by the functional demands of particular situations or occupations.

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1

Introduction

Key Concepts

How to define and delineate the study of sociolinguistics

What it means to 'know' a language

How language varies across speakers and within the speech of one person

The social construction of identities

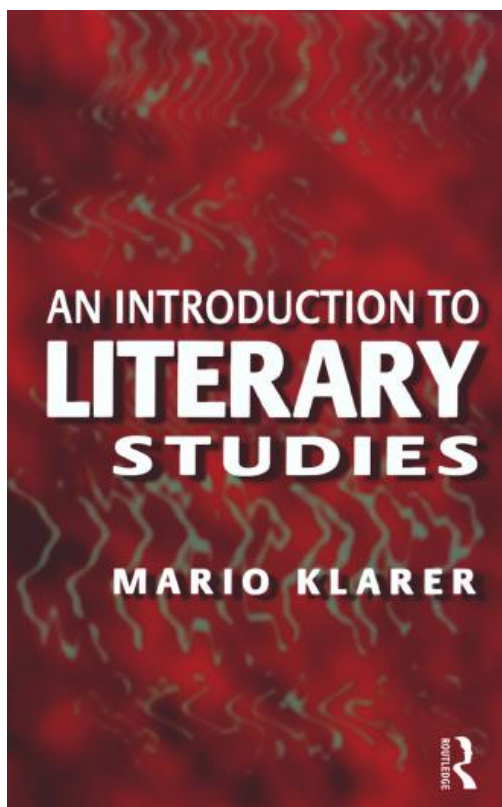
The relationship between language and culture

Research design and methodologies for sociolinguistics research

Sociolinguistics is the study of our everyday lives – how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language. Since you are reading this book, you may already have some idea what the study of sociolinguistics entails; you may already have an interest in, and knowledge about, regional dialects, multilingualism, language policy, or non-sexist language. And we will cover all of these topics, along with many others – what social class and ethnicity might have to do with language use, why we do not always 'say what we mean,' the role of language in education.

But we would like to encourage readers to approach the study of sociolinguistics not as a collection of facts, but as a way of viewing the world around you. In sociolinguistics, we seek to analyze data so that we can make generalizations about

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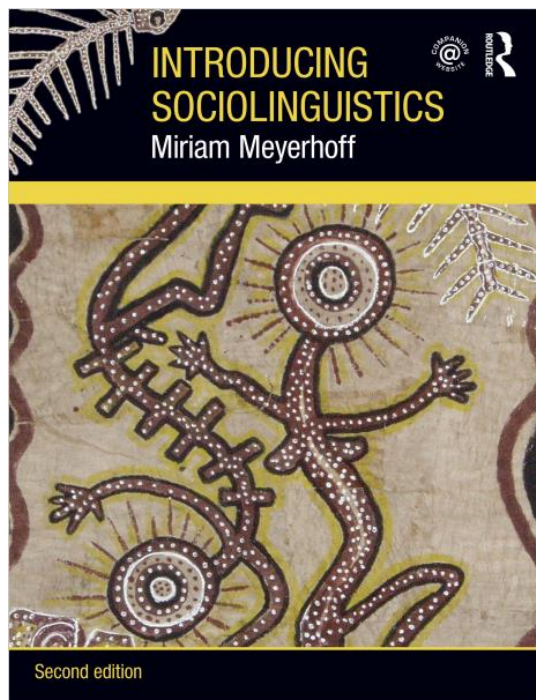
connection with literary theory. There are, for example, approaches similar to text-oriented literary criticism which deal with material aspects of film, such as film stock, montage, editing, and sound. Methodologies which are informed by *reception aesthetics* focus on the effect on the spectator, and approaches such as psychoanalytical theory or feminist film theory regard film within a larger contextual framework. The major developments of literary theory have therefore also been borrowed or adapted by film studies.

In spite of their differing forms and media, drama and film are often categorized under the heading *performing arts* because they use actors as their major means of expression. The visualization of the action is not left merely to the imagination of a reader, but rather comes to life in the performance, independent of the audience. In both genres, a performance (in the sense of a visual representation by people) stands at the center of attention. It is misleading, however, to deal with film exclusively in the context of drama, since categorizing it under the performing arts does not do justice to the entire genre, which also includes non-narrative subgenres without performing actors.

The study of film has existed for quite some time now as an independent discipline, especially in the Anglo-American world. Since its invention a hundred years ago, film has also produced diverse cine-matic genres and forms, which no longer permit a classification of film as a mere by-product of drama. Because of its visual power—the visual element plays only a secondary role in fiction—film is hastily classified as a dramatic genre. If film is dealt with from a formal-structuralist point of view, however, its affinity to the novel often overshadows its links to the play. Typical elements of the novel—varied narrative techniques, experimental structuring of the plot, foreshadowing and flashback, the change of setting and time structure—are commonly used in film. The stage offers only limited space for the realization of many of these techniques.

The most obvious difference between film and drama is the fact that a film is recorded and preserved rather than individually staged in the unique and unrepeatable manner of a theater performance. Films, and particularly video tapes, are like novels, which in theory can be repeatedly read, or viewed. In this sense, a play is an archaic work of art, placing the ideal of uniqueness on a pedestal. Every theatrical performance—involving a particular

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language – what it looks like and how it is structured – but also want to answer questions like:

- Who uses those different forms or language varieties?
- Who do they use them with?
- Are they aware of their choice?
- Why do some forms or languages 'win out' over others? (And is it always the same ones?)
- Is there any relationship between the forms in flux in a community of speakers?
- What kind of social information do we ascribe to different forms in a language or different language varieties?
- How much can we change or control the language we use?

This is what we mean when we say that sociolinguists are interested in both 'social' questions and 'linguistic' questions. Inevitably, some sociolinguistics research has more to say about social issues, and some sociolinguistics research has more to say about linguistic matters, but what makes someone's work distinctively sociolinguistic will be the fact that, regardless of its emphasis, it has something to say about both linguistic structure and social structure.

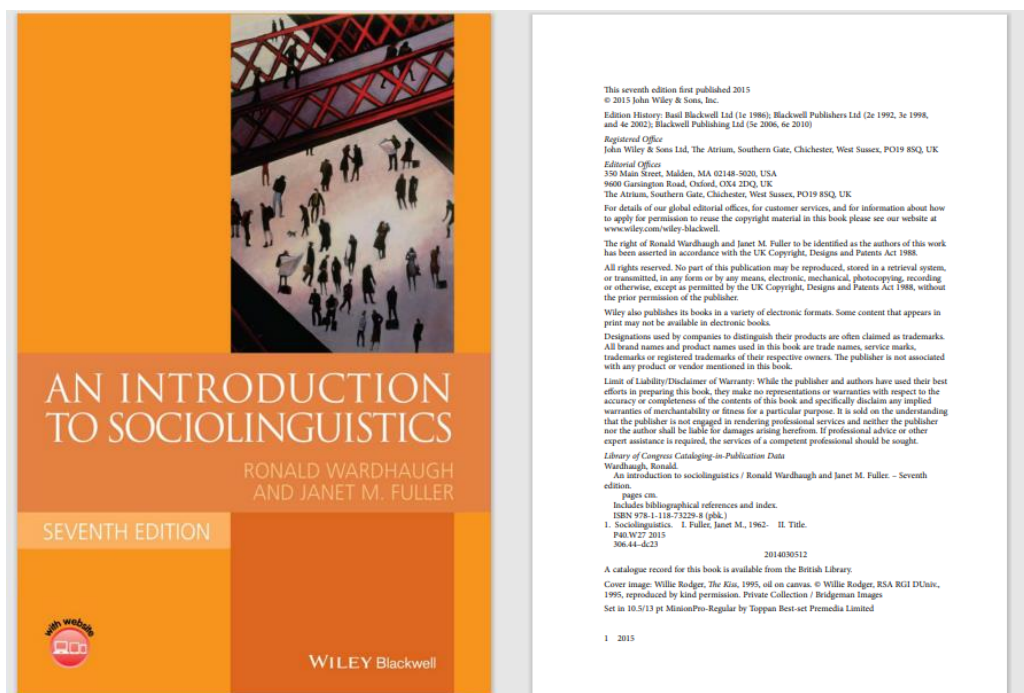
STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

This book introduces some of the different ways in which sociolinguists research language in use. It looks at the ways in which people use language and how these are related to larger issues of social structure. You will find that it is structured rather differently from other introductions to sociolinguistics, and sometimes discusses 'classic' sociolinguistic studies from a novel perspective. However, its structure reflects what I have found works best after nearly twenty years of involvement in teaching sociolinguistics to undergraduate and (post-)graduate classes. It also directly reflects the extremely helpful feedback and advice about structuring a one-semester course in sociolinguistics that I have received from students themselves.

One of its more radical departures from most sociolinguistics texts is that it starts by providing the reader with a very firm grounding in research showing how speakers use language to present themselves to others and to identify or differentiate themselves from others. This includes variation in the form of an individual's choice of language as well as their use of different styles, or repertoires, in a language. In my experience, starting with the individual, and then working through other sociolinguistic topics, has a number of teaching advantages. First, it makes the subject matter directly accessible and relevant to students. As I have noted, people are generally aware of their potential to use language differently in different social contexts, but they lack the means of articulating this sociolinguistic knowledge. The first half of this book provides them with the means to articulate what they already know through personal experience.

Second, I feel that by gradually expanding the focus from the way individuals use language to the way groups of individuals use language enables students to see more clearly what the connections are between sociolinguistics and contact between dialects and languages. Most introductory sociolinguistics texts either finesse this link or add it in as a chapter that is only minimally connected to the larger picture of language in use. The goal of this book is to provide readers with a sense of the seamless connections between

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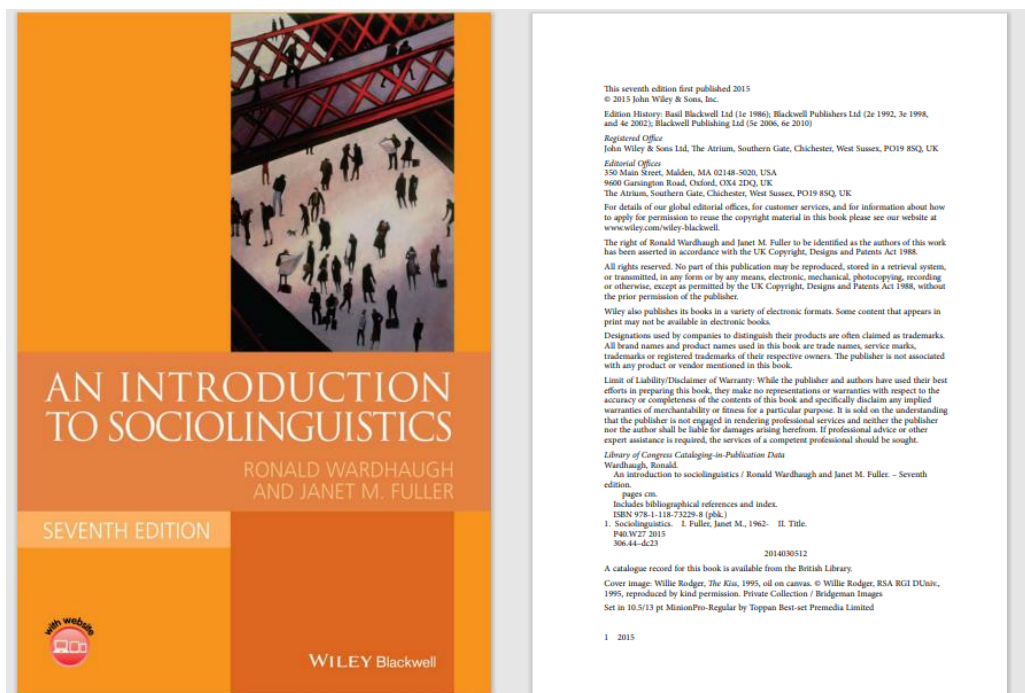


troublesome, because the performance of different speakers, and the same speaker in different contexts, can vary quite a lot. For instance, speakers in some areas of the Midwestern United States might utter sentences such as 'The car needs washed' while others would say 'The cars needs to be washed' or 'The car needs washing.' Further, an individual speaker might use all three of these constructions at different times. (These different structures for expressing the same meaning are called **variants**; this term will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6.) For sociolinguists, this **linguistic variation** is a central topic. The language we use in everyday living is remarkably varied. There is **variation** across speakers, that is, reflections of different ways that people speak in different regions or social groups, but also variation within the speech of a single speaker. No one speaks the same way all the time, and people constantly exploit variation within the languages they speak for a wide variety of purposes. The consequence is a kind of paradox: while many linguists would like to view any language as a homogeneous entity, so that they can make the strongest possible theoretical generalizations, in actual fact that language will exhibit considerable internal variation. One claim we will be making throughout this book is that variation is an inherent characteristic of all languages at all times, and the patterns exhibited in this variation carry social meanings. (See the link to a website which provides an overview of the field, the sociolinguistics page for the PBS series *Do You Speak American*, in the materials associated with chapter 1 in the web guide to this textbook.)

The recognition of variation implies that we must recognize that a language is not just some kind of abstract object of study. It is also something that people use. Although some linguists, following Chomsky's example, are focused on what language (as an abstraction) is, sociolinguists have argued that an *asocial* linguistics is scarcely worthwhile and that meaningful insights into language can be gained only if performance is included as part of the data which must be explained in a comprehensive theory of language. This is the view we will adopt here.

We will see that while there is considerable variation in the speech of any one individual, there are also definite bounds to that variation: no individual is free to do just exactly what he or she pleases so far as language is concerned. You cannot pronounce words any way you please, inflect or not inflect words such as nouns and verbs arbitrarily, or make drastic alterations in word order in sentences as the mood suits you. If you do any or all of these things, the results will be unacceptable, even gibberish. The variation you are permitted has limits, and these limits can be described with considerable accuracy. For instance, we can say, 'It is the fence that the cow jumped over,' which is comprehensible if somewhat stilted, but most speakers would agree that 'the fence jumped the cow over' does not follow English word order rules and is largely incomprehensible. Individuals know the various limits (or norms), and that knowledge is both very precise and at the same time almost entirely unconscious. At the same time, it is also difficult to explain how individual speakers acquire knowledge of these norms of linguistic behavior, because they appear to be much more subtle than the norms that apply to such matters as social behavior, dress, and table manners.

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Exploration 2.4: Formality in Introductions

Imagine you are introducing a romantic partner to (a) another friend, (b) your parents, (c) your grandparents, (d) a casual acquaintance, or (e) your boss. Do you use different words to describe your relationship, or more or less elaborate ways to perform the act of introducing? (e.g., 'This is Pat,' vs. 'I'd like you to meet my friend Pat' or 'This is my boy/girlfriend Pat.')

Compare your own answers with those of other classmates. How might differences in the ideas about the formality of particular relationships (e.g., family members, an employer) account for the different ways people might execute an introduction? Are there different understandings about the level of formality of different linguistic forms used for introductions?

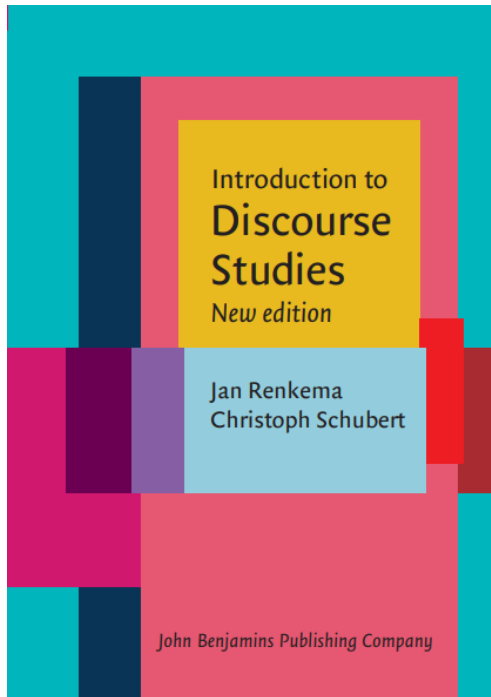
Register

Register is another complicating factor in any study of language varieties. Generally speaking, registers are sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups. Agha (2006, 24) describes a register as 'a linguistic *repertoire* that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices' (italics in original). Biber and Conrad (2003, 175) distinguish work on registers from other analyses of discourse, saying that they focus on the situational parameters defining the communicative situation. Speakers learn different registers through socialization in different cultural groups within their society. What we refer to as 'legalese' or 'personal ads' are identifiable registers for most people. Use of such registers thus either conforms to the norms for a particular, socially situated way of using language, or is a way of invoking the context usually associated with that register. Of course, one person may control a variety of registers: you can be a stockbroker and an archeologist, or a mountain climber and an economist. A register helps you to construct an identity at a specific time or place.

Genre

A related term is genre, which overlaps in meaning with register but is usually associated with particular linguistic features; thus register focuses more on the social situation, and genre more on the text type (Ferguson 1994; Lee 2001). However, like a register, a genre can also function 'as a routinized vehicle for encoding and expressing a particular order of knowledge and experience' (Bauman 2000, 80). For instance, even if we do not understand all of the words, we all recognize the form

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function is persuasion, for example, in an argumentative text (see Chapter 12). In schematic form this becomes:

Table 1. The Organon model as a starting point

Organon model	Functions	Types
symbol	information	informative discourse
symptom	expression	narrative discourse
signal	persuasion	argumentative discourse

However, this threefold division is much too simple to serve as a basic scheme for covering all the varieties of discourse. Moreover, the functions seldom occur in their pure forms. A writer can tell a story in order to persuade people about a certain issue. This three-part division says something about aspects of language that can play a role simultaneously. A more critical objection, however, is that many more functions are possible. For instance, language can be used to conceal information, to give instructions or to instill a feeling of camaraderie.

One of the most influential scholars in linguistics and literary studies, Roman Jakobson, who was educated at Russian universities, distinguished in a famous “closing statement” at a conference on “Style in Language” (1960) six functions that can also occur in combination. He based his distinctions on an extended version of the communication model discussed in Section 3.4. Below are the functions presented within his communication model.

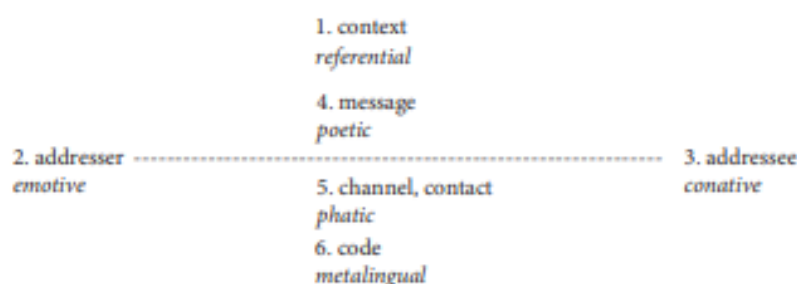
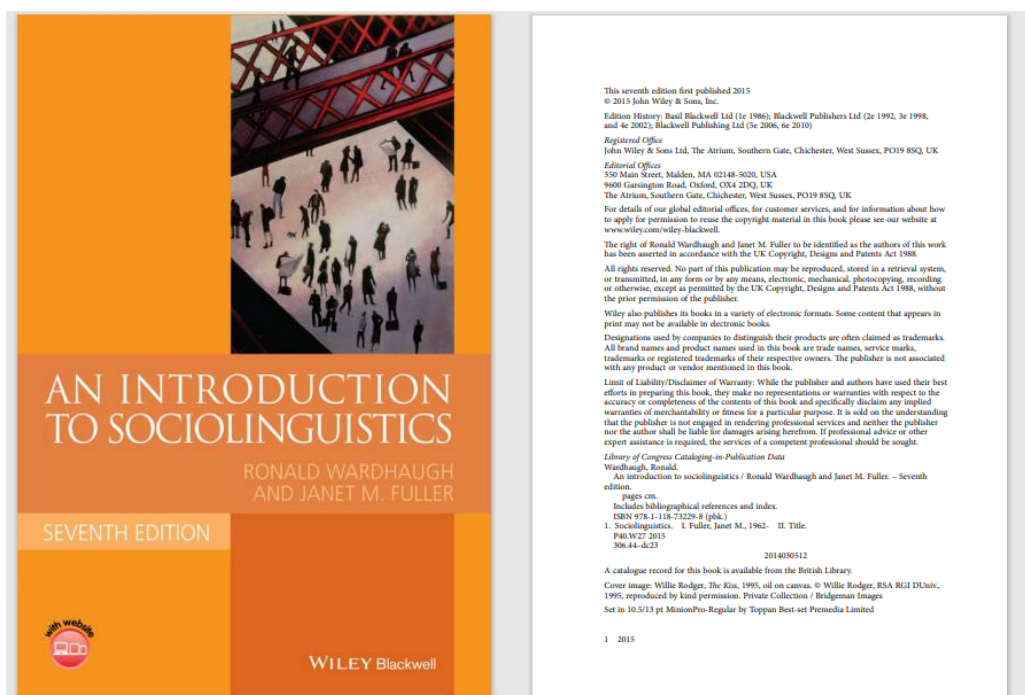


Figure 1. Functions according to Jakobson

A message is sent from the addresser to the addressee. This message refers to something in the world, the so-called context, and is transported using a code, e.g., symbolic signs (words), via a channel, between the participants in the communication. The channel consists of a physical and a psychological connection, hence the two words *channel* and *contact*. The most important function is the one at the top, i.e., the reference to something in the world, the referential function. Its pendant in the Organon model is the symbol aspect. Two other functions are

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This brief overview of research on AAVE and Latino Englishes has raised two broad issues that we will continue to deal with throughout this text. First, language varieties are often associated with particular social groups and as such are used to construct the social identities of speakers (see chapter 11). Second, these associations are often essentialized and used to discriminate (see chapter 13). In the following section, we will look at varieties of another sort, those defined by the context of use rather than by the user alone.

Styles, Registers, and Genres

The study of dialects is further complicated by the fact that speakers can adopt different **styles** and **registers** of speaking, and both spoken and written language can be seen as belonging to different **genres** of language. So while differences in dialect have to do with speakers and their regional or social identities, styles, registers, and genres have to do with different contexts of use. Although the terms style, register, and genre have been used in different ways by different scholars, and there may be overlap between these three terms, we can delineate broad categories which differentiate them (Lee 2001). The term style is most often used to discuss differences in formality; register generally denotes specific ways of speaking associated with particular professions or social groups; and genre is understood as a set of co-occurring language features associated with particular frames (Bauman 2000).

Style

When choosing a style, you can speak very formally or very informally, your choice being governed by circumstances. Ceremonial occasions almost invariably require very formal speech, public lectures somewhat less formal, casual conversation quite informal, and conversations between intimates on matters of little importance may be extremely informal and casual. (See Joos 1962, for an entertaining discussion.) We may try to relate the level of formality chosen to a variety of factors: the kind of occasion; the various social, age, and other differences that exist between the participants; the particular task that is involved, for example, writing or speaking; the emotional involvement of one or more of the participants; and so on. We appreciate that such distinctions exist when we recognize the stylistic appropriateness of *What do you intend to do, your majesty?* and the inappropriateness of *Waddya intend doin', Rex?* While it may be difficult to characterize discrete levels of formality, it is nevertheless possible to show that native speakers of all languages control a range of stylistic varieties. It is also quite possible to predict with considerable confidence the stylistic features that a native speaker will tend to employ on certain occasions. We will return to related issues in chapters 4, 7, and 11.

Romaine, S. (2000). *Language in Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

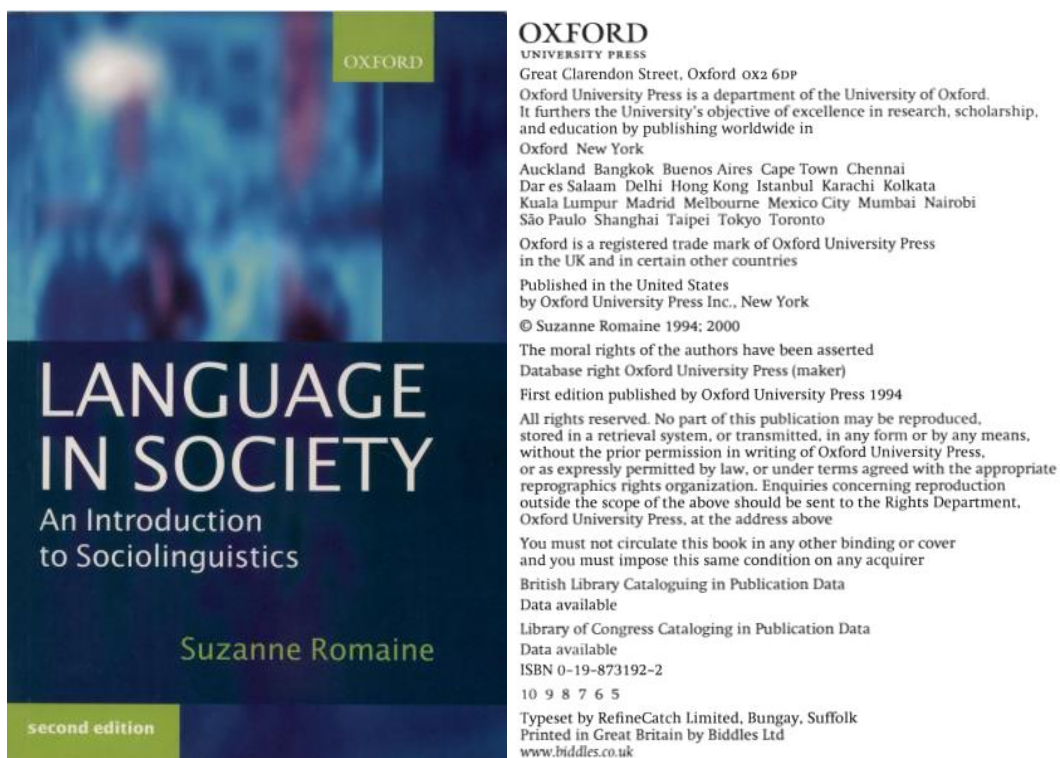


Table 3.6 Percentage of forms without final *g*

Social class	Style	
	Casual	Formal
Middle middle class	28	3
Lower middle class	42	15
Upper working class	87	74
Middle working class	95	88
Lower working class	100	98

variable (*ɪŋ*) in Norwich, whose social class distribution we have already looked at. The behavior of each social class group varies according to whether its style is casual or formal. Style can range from formal to informal depending on social context, relationship of the participants, social class, sex, age, physical environment, and topic. Although each class had different average scores in each style, all groups style shift in the same direction in their more formal speech style, that is, in the direction of the standard language. This similar behavior can also be taken as an indication of membership in a speech community. All groups recognize the overt greater prestige of standard speech and shift towards it in more formal styles.

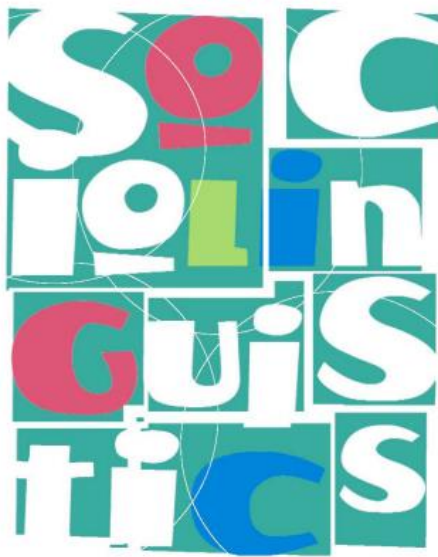
Language and style

Some deviations in this pattern have been observed, however, as in Fig. 3.3, which shows the stylistic distribution of postvocalic /r/ in New York City. The highest and lowest groups have the shallowest slopes, but the second highest group in the social hierarchy, the lower middle class, shows the most radical style shifting, exceeding even the highest-status group in their use of postvocalic /r/ in the most formal style. This has been called the 'crossover pattern' and is taken to be a manifestation of 'hypercorrection'. The behavior of the lower middle class is governed by their recognition of an exterior standard of correctness and their insecurity about their own speech. They see the use of postvocalic /r/ as a prestige marker of the highest social group. In their attempt to adopt the norm of this group, they manifest their aspirations of upward social mobility, but they overshoot the mark. The clearest cases of hypercorrection occur when a feature is undergoing change in response to social pressure

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end a word, and follow each other. The name of a former president of Ghana was *Nkrumah*, pronounced with an initial sound like the sound ending the English word *sink*. While this is an English sound, no word in English begins with the *nk* sound. Speakers of English who have occasion to pronounce this name often mispronounce it (by Ghanaian standards) by inserting a short vowel sound, like *Nekrumah* or *Enkrumah*, making the word correspond to the English system. Children develop the sound patterns of their language very rapidly. A one-year-old learning English knows that *nk* cannot begin a word, just as a Ghanaian child of the same age knows that it can in his language.

We will learn more about sounds and sound systems in chapters 5 and 6.



Knowledge of Words

Sounds and sound patterns of our language constitute only one part of our linguistic knowledge. Beyond that we know that certain sequences of sounds signify certain concepts or meanings. Speakers of English understand what *boy* means, and that it means something different from *toy* or *girl* or *pterodactyl*. We also know that *toy* and *boy* are words, but *moy* is not. When you know a language, you know words in that language; that is, you know which sequences of sounds relate to specific meanings and which do not.

Arbitrary Relation of Form and Meaning

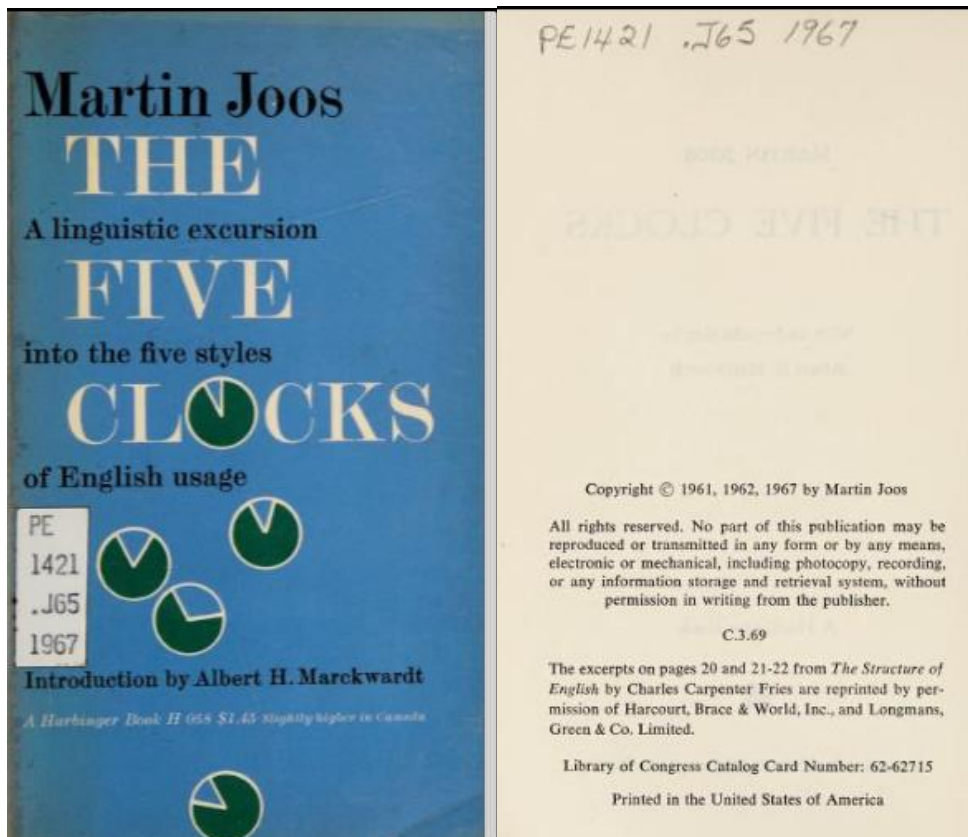
The minute I set eyes on an animal I know what it is. I don't have to reflect a moment; the right name comes out instantly. I seem to know just by the shape of the creature and the way it acts what animal it is. When the dodo came along he [Adam] thought it was a wildcat. But I saved him. I just spoke up in a quite natural way and said, "Well, I do declare if there isn't the dodo!"

MARK TWAIN, *Eve's Diary*, 1906

If you do not know a language, the words (and sentences) of that language will be mainly incomprehensible, because the relationship between speech sounds and the meanings they represent is, for the most part, an **arbitrary** one. When you are acquiring a language you have to learn that the sounds represented by the letters *house* signify the concept ; if you know French, this same meaning is represented by *maison*; if you know Russian, by *дом*; if you know Spanish, by *casa*. Similarly,  is represented by *hand* in English, *main* in French, *nsa* in Twi, and *рука* in Russian. The same sequence of sounds can represent different meanings in different languages. The word *bolna* means 'speak' in Hindu-Urdu and 'aching' in Russian; *bis* means 'devil' in Ukrainian and 'twice' in Latin; a *pet* is a domestic animal in English and a fart in Catalan; and the sequence of sounds *taka* means 'hawk' in Japanese, 'fist' in Quechua, 'a small bird' in Zulu, and 'money' in Bengali.

These examples show that the words of a particular language have the meanings they do only by convention. Despite what Eve would have us believe in Mark Twain's satire *Eve's Diary*, a pterodactyl could have been called *ron*, *blick*, or *kerplunkity*.

Joos, M. (1967). *The Five Clocks*. Bloomington: International Journal of American Linguistics .



etc.,' the all-purpose preposition 'on' [18] for 'in, for, by, of, concerning, etc.,' and finally the counting-approximators 'about' [3, 4, 5] and 'or so' [18], both meaning 'approximately' (a formal word). Other consultative code-label skeleton-keys exist, but our sample is enough to show how they work. In line 1, good casual style would have had 'something else' and stiff formal style perhaps 'a situation which has arisen.' A formal jokester may pretend to get a ludicrous picture out of 'I'd like to see you on a typewriter;' the trained social animal simply takes 'on' as a code-label for informal consultation.

Both colloquial styles—consultative and casual—routinely deal in a public sort of information, though differently: casual style takes it for granted and at most alludes to it, consultative style states it as fast as it is needed. Where there happens to be no public information for a while, a casual conversation (among men) lapses into silences and kidding, a consultative one is broken off or adjourned. These adjustments help to show what sort of rôle public information plays in the two colloquial styles: it is essential to them both.

Now in intimate style, this rôle is not merely weakened; rather, it is positively abolished. Intimate speech excludes public information. (Then how can it be language? — Let's see: it's *Miss Fidditch*, isn't it?)

Definition: An intimate utterance pointedly avoids giving the addressee information from outside of the speaker's skin. Example: 'Ready' said in quite a variety of situations, some of them allowing other persons to be present; note that this could be equivalent to either a statement or a question; the manner of saying it will be described in a moment. Another: 'Engh' or 'Cold' said at the family supper-table, but not to tell the speaker's wife that the coffee is cold—as it would tell her after we let *Miss Fidditch* expand the ellipsis for us: wrongly, for this is not an ellipsis. This tells the speaker's wife nothing about the coffee. How could it! She knows exactly how long since it was hot. If she had had to be told, the casual-style 'Coffee's cold' would have been used instead. After all, they both know the code. The point of any such utterance is simply to remind (hardly 'inform') the addressee of some feeling (unspecified, but that does not matter) inside the speaker's skin. (But I do wish they would speak like human beings! — What else?)

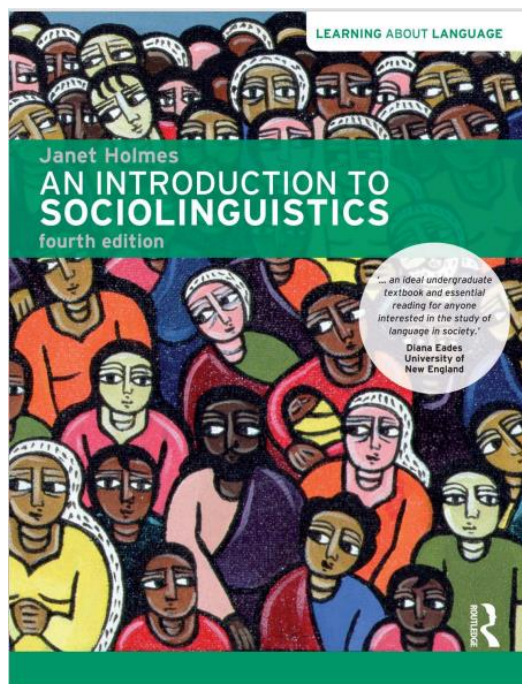
The systematic features of intimate style are two, just as in the

the other styles: (1) Extraction; (2) Jargon. Both are stable, once the intimate group (normally a pair) has been formed. Extraction has just been illustrated: the speaker extracts a minimum pattern from some conceivable casual sentence. Extraction is not ellipsis. An elliptical sentence still has wording, grammar, and intonation. Intimate extraction employs only part of this triplet. Our printed 'Engh' represents an empty word, one that has no dictionary meaning but serves as a code-label for intimate style. (The parallel word in casual style, spelled 'unh,' has a different vocal quality.) There is, however, a message-meaning; this is conveyed by the intonation, the melody, with which 'Engh' is spoken. The speaker has extracted this intonation from a possible casual sentence, and that is all he uses of the grammatical triplet 'wording, grammar, intonation.' Again, our other example 'Cold' represents the word-identity alone, here spoken in a meaningless monotone; and the same is true of 'Ready.' In these instances, the triplet has been reduced to its first member, as 'Engh' reduced it to its last one, leaving the addressee to fill out the message—or, preferably, to comprehend it as it stands. (I couldn't. — Would you be so kind?)

Once more, this is not rudeness; this pays the addressee the highest compliment possible among mature people. Maturity implies some guardedness in public relations; here there is none, and the speaker is saying so. There is an exact discrimination between the inside and the outside of the speaker's skin; he makes this obvious, and pays the addressee the compliment of implying that she knows him inside and out. (Engh! — It is ... *Miss Fidditch*, isn't it?)

Intimate style tolerates nothing of the system of any other style: no slang, no background information, and so on. Any item of an intimate code that the folklore calls 'slang' is not slang but jargon—it is not ephemeral, but part of the permanent code of this group—it has to be, for intimacy does not tolerate the slang imputation that the addressee needs to be told that she is an insider. The imputations of all other styles are similarly corrosive. Accordingly, intimate codes, or jargons, are severely limited in their use of public vocabulary. Each intimate group must invent its own code. Somehow connected with all this is the cozy fact that language itself can never be a topic in intimate style. Any reaction to grammar, for instance, promptly disrupts intimacy. [S'mother time, M...E...]

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The functions of speech

Example 1

- Boss: Good morning Sue. Lovely day.
 Secretary: Yes it's beautiful. Makes you wonder what we're doing here doesn't it.
 Boss: Mm, that's right. Look I wonder if you could possibly sort this lot out by ten. I need them for a meeting.
 Secretary: Yes sure. No problem.
 Boss: Thanks that's great.

This dialogue is typical of many everyday interactions in that it serves both an affective (or social) function and a referential (or informative) function. The initial greetings and comments on the weather serve a predominantly social function; they establish rapport between the two participants. The exchange then moves on to become more information-oriented or referential in function, though the social function of constructing an appropriate level of rapport and respect is still relevant. In [chapter 1](#), I described just these two broad functions of speech – the affective and the referential. It is possible, however, to distinguish a great variety of different functions which language serves.

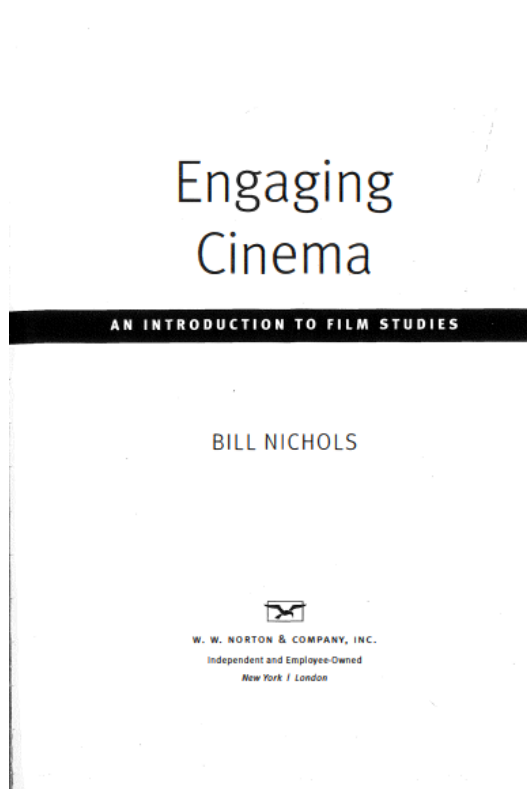
There are a number of ways of categorising the functions of speech. The following list has proved a useful one in sociolinguistic research.

1. **Expressive** utterances express the speaker's feelings, e.g. *I'm feeling great today.*
2. **Directive** utterances attempt to get someone to do something, e.g. *Clear the table.*
3. **Referential** utterances provide information, e.g. *At the third stroke it will be three o'clock precisely.*
4. **Metalinguistic** utterances comment on language itself, e.g. *'Hegemony' is not a common word.*
5. **Poetic** utterances focus on aesthetic features of language, e.g. a poem, an ear-catching motto, a rhyme, *Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers.*
6. **Phatic** utterances express solidarity and empathy with others, e.g. *Hi, how are you, lovely day isn't it!*

Though I have provided a very brief indication of what the function labels mean, and an example of each in the form of a single utterance, it is important to remember that any utterance may in fact express more than one function, and any function may be expressed by a stretch of discourse which doesn't exactly coincide with an utterance.

The first three functions are recognised by many linguists, though the precise labels they are given may differ. They seem to be very fundamental functions of language, perhaps because they derive from the basic components of any interaction – the speaker (*expressive*), the addressee (*directive*) and the message (*referential*). The *phatic* function is, however, equally important from a sociolinguistic perspective. Phatic communication conveys an affective or social message rather than a referential one. One of the insights provided by sociolinguists has been precisely that language is not used to convey only referential information, but also expresses information about social relationships.

Nichols, B. (2010). *An Introduction to Film Studies*. New York: Norton Company.



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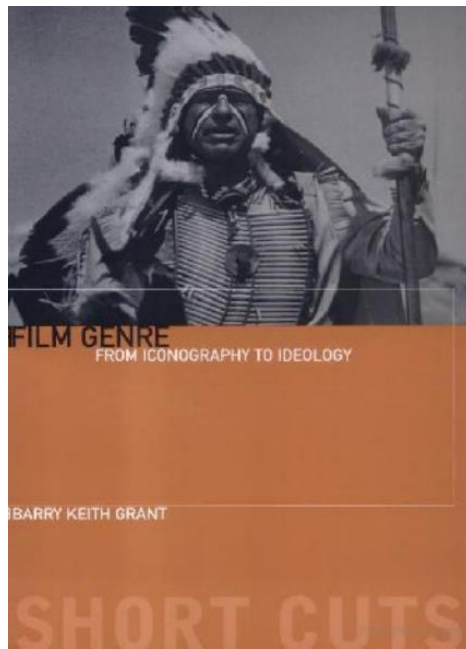
Table 7.1 The Specific Appeal of Representative Genres

Genre	We enter a world...	Emotions activated	Conflicts addressed
Science fiction	altered by time, technology, or aliens	Awe, wonder, fascination, fear, dread	Human values vs. technology, civilization vs. aliens
Western	where law and community must be created by rugged, individual men; the land is both precious and dangerous	Respect or admiration for tough men and expansive landscape, awe at natural beauty	Civilization vs. wilderness, frontier rules vs. rule of law (e.g., vigilantism vs. due process); community vs. individual
Gangster	revolving around men whose ambition spills beyond the law, for which they often pay the price	Respect or admiration for self-willed individuals, identification with greed, egotism, ruthless tactics	The rule of law vs. survival of the fittest, due process vs. taking law into one's own hands, loyalty vs. betrayal
Mystery	full of intrigue, false clues, and a mystery to be solved	Anticipation, second-guessing, problem-solving skills, suspicion, suspense	Identification and isolation of perpetrators who threaten the social order
Thriller	where individuals must strive to achieve goals against severe, life-threatening odds and, often, a time limit	Tension, anxiety, anticipation, suspense, thrills, shock, relief	Threats and challenges to the individual vs. individual skill and determination; threats to the social order vs. heroes who can overcome them

Genre	We enter a world...	Emotions activated	Conflicts addressed
Horror	in which dangerous figures or spirits, sociopaths, or evil threaten individuals who have little external help	Fear, suspense, horror, shock, surprise, disgust, repulsion, relief	Anxiety and doubt about self-worth; irrational or intangible threats vs. our ability to overcome them
Musical	that revolves around song and dance, exuberance, spontaneity, togetherness and love	Joy, happiness, delight, pleasure, escape, affection, light-heartedness, release	Everyday, numbing routine, kill-joys and sour-pusses vs. zest, joy, carefree spirit, and community
Film noir	where trust and honesty prove rare, seduction and betrayal abound; no one can be trusted; darkness engulfs people	Suspicion, worry, anxiety, distrust, fascination, admiration, attraction, wariness, caution	Distrust and instability vs. trust and a stable social order; a secure masculinity vs. threats to male identity
Melodrama	where the emotional intensities of family dynamics receive close attention	Worry, concern, distress, empathy, moral judgment, sadness, sorrow, distrust, hope	Family as a haven vs. family as hell; benevolent vs. malevolent figures

Genre	We enter a world...	Emotions activated	Conflicts addressed
Comedy	in which situations and events lead to comic, humorous results	Light-heartedness, amusement, laughter, frivolity, delight, release of aggressivity	Decorum vs. indignity; predictability vs. unpredictability
Adult	in which situations and events lead to prolonged sexual interaction	Sexual arousal	Sexual propriety vs. sexual license

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starts (later we see in a close-up that his shirt cuffs are frayed). Civilisation in *Ride the High Country* boasts technological progress, but Peckinpah ironically depicts it as morally retrograde. He shows the carnival from a high angle, as if judging from above, looking down in disapproval from a higher moral ground – the high country of the title.

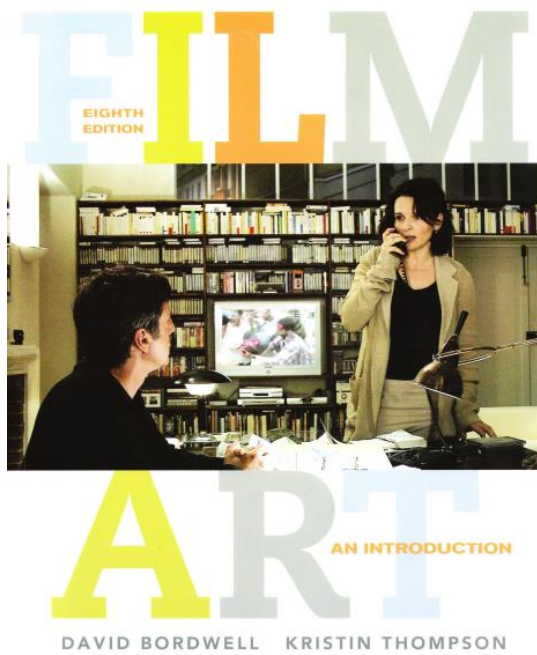
setting

The physical space and time – where and when a film's story takes place – is more a defining quality of some genres than others. Musicals, for instance, can take place anywhere, from the actual streets and docks of New York City in *West Side Story* and *On the Town* (1949) to the supernatural village in *Brigadoon* (1954). Romantic comedies and dramas, like some science fiction, may span different eras, as in *Somewhere in Time* (1980) and *Kate and Leopold* (2001). In the gangster film the city weighs down on the protagonist – ‘not the real city’, as Warshow observes, ‘but that dangerous and sad city of the imagination which is so much more important, which is the modern world’ (1971a: 131). Warshow claims that gangsters dwell exclusively in the city, yet while most gangster films do take place in urban settings, important gangster movies like *The Petrified Forest* (1936), *High Sierra* (1941) and *Key Largo* (1948) do not.

When science fiction movies located in the future use contemporary architecture for settings rather than construct sets in the studio or with computer imaging, they suggest a more disturbing continuity between the present and the future, as in *THX 1138* (1971) which uses the San Francisco subway system, and the actual mall setting of *Logan's Run* (1976). Similarly, horror movies often use isolated and rural settings, and old dark houses with mysterious basements for psychological effect; but films such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and *Dark Water* (2005) work by violating convention and setting stories in contemporary and familiar locales rather than in exoticised foreign spaces like Transylvania or Haiti.

By contrast, the western by definition is temporally restricted to the period of the Wild West (approximately 1865–1890) and geographically to the American frontier (broadly, between the Mississippi River and the west coast). Movies that change this setting to the present, such as *Loneley are the Brave* (1962) and *Hud* (1963), or ‘easterns’ like *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939) and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1936, 1992), are considered exceptions to the norm, westerns for some viewers but not for others.

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Film Art: An Introduction

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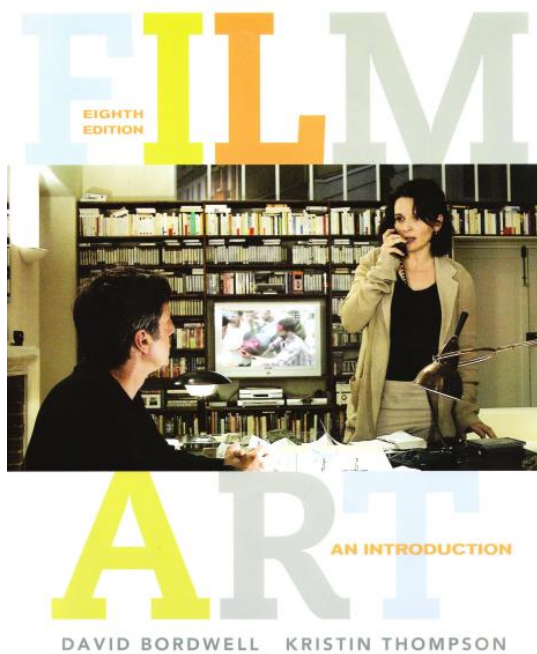
and the inability to imagine the Other. Classic narrative cinema, like myth, makes culture into nature: the movies are told in ways that eliminate the markers of their narration, as if they were a window onto the world and its truths rather than a constructed frame that is a representation. Genre movies also speak in proverbs through conventions: the romantic couple come together to marry and live happily ever after, crime does not pay, there are things in the universe that man was not meant to know. In genre movies, as Barthes says of cultural myth generally, the Other becomes monstrous, as in horror films, or exoticised, as in adventure films. In westerns, Indians are either demonised as savage heathens or romanticised as noble savages, but rarely treated as rounded characters with their own culture.

From this perspective, genre movies tend to be read as ritualised endorsements of dominant ideology. So the western is not really about a specific period in American history, but mantra of Manifest Destiny and the 'winning' of the west. The genre thus offers a series of mythic endorsements of American individualism, colonialism and racism. The civilisation that is advancing into the 'wilderness' (itself a mythic term suggesting that no culture existed there until Anglo-American society) is always bourgeois white American society. Similarly, the monstrous Other in horror films tends to be anything that threatens the status quo, while the musical and romantic comedy celebrate heteronormative values through their valorisation of the romantic couple.

The complex relation of genre movies to ideology is a matter of debate. On the one hand, genre films are mass-produced fantasies of a culture industry that manipulate us into a false consciousness. From this perspective, their reliance on convention and simplistic plots distract us from awareness of the actual social problems in the real world (see Judith Hess Wright 2003). Yet it is also true that the existence of highly conventional forms allows for the subtle play of irony, parody and appropriation. As Jean-Loup Bourget puts it, the genre film's 'conventionality is the very paradoxical reason for its creativity' (2003: 51).

Popular culture does tend to adhere to dominant ideology, although this is not always the case. Many horror films, melodramas and film noirs, among others, have been shown to question if not subvert accepted values. In a celebrated analysis in the French film journal *Cahiers du cinéma*, published after the tumultuous political events in France in May 1968, Jean

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A Closer Look

A CONTEMPORARY GENRE: The Crime Thriller

The thriller, like the comedy, is a very broad category, virtually an umbrella genre. There are supernatural thrillers (*The Sixth Sense*), political thrillers (*Murich*), and spy thrillers (*The Bourne Identity*), but many revolve around crime—planned, committed, or thwarted.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, many filmmaking countries have turned to making crime thrillers. Using special effects and set in contemporary urban locations, they are comparatively cheap to produce. They offer showy roles to actors, and they allow writers and directors to display their ingenuity in playing with the audience's expectations. Although the genre has many edges, we can chart some core cases by considering the narrative conventions and the effects that filmmakers try to arouse.

A crime is at the center of the thriller plot, and usually three sorts of characters are involved. There are the lawbreakers, the forces of law, and the innocent victims or bystanders. Typically, the narration concentrates on one of these characters or groups.

In *Double Jeopardy*, a husband fakes his own murder in order to run off with his mistress. His wife is found guilty, but in prison, she discovers that her husband is alive under a new identity. Released on parole, she flees to find her son, but she is pursued by her hard-bitten parole officer. Suspense arises from the double chase and the cat-and-mouse game played by the desperate husband and his embittered "widow" who can now murder him with impunity. The plot action and narration are organized around the wife: her pursuit propels the action forward, and the narration favors her, restricting us largely to what she believes and eventually learns.

Double Jeopardy concentrates on an innocent person who is the target of the crime, and this is one common pattern in the genre. At some point, the victim will usually realize that he or she cannot react passively and must fight the criminal, as in *Duel*, *The Fugitive*, *The Net*, *Breakdown*, and *Panic Room*

(92). In *Ransom*, the father of a kidnapped boy spurns police advice and refuses to pay the ransom, offering it as a bounty on the criminals.

Alternatively, the plot may center on an innocent bystander dropped unexpectedly into a struggle between the criminal and the police. Most of Alfred Hitchcock's films are built around an ordinary person who stumbles into a dangerous situation (*The 39 Steps*, *North by Northwest*, *Rear Window*). In *Die Hard*, an off-duty detective is accidentally trapped in a hostage crisis, so he must fight both police and thieves to rescue the other innocents. *Collateral* centers on a taxi driver forced to chauffeur a paid killer from target to target. Thematically, this innocent-centered plot pattern often emphasizes characters discovering resources within themselves—courage, cleverness, even a capacity for violence.

Instead of spotlighting the innocents, the plot may concentrate on the forces of justice. The action then typically becomes an investigation, in which police or private detectives seek to capture the criminal or prevent a crime. A classic example is *The Big Heat*, in which a rogue cop seeks to avenge the death of his family by capturing the mobsters responsible. *Nick of Time*, *The Bodyguard*, and *In the Line of Fire* present protagonists seeking to forestall a threatened murder. The contemporary serial-killer plot may emphasize police pursuit, offering only glimpses of the criminal. *Se7en* follows two policemen in their efforts to untangle a string of murders emblematic of the seven deadly sins. When a plot highlights the investigators, themes of the fallibility of justice tend to come to the fore. In *L.A. Confidential* three ill-matched detectives join forces to reveal how official corruption has led to the murders of prostitutes.

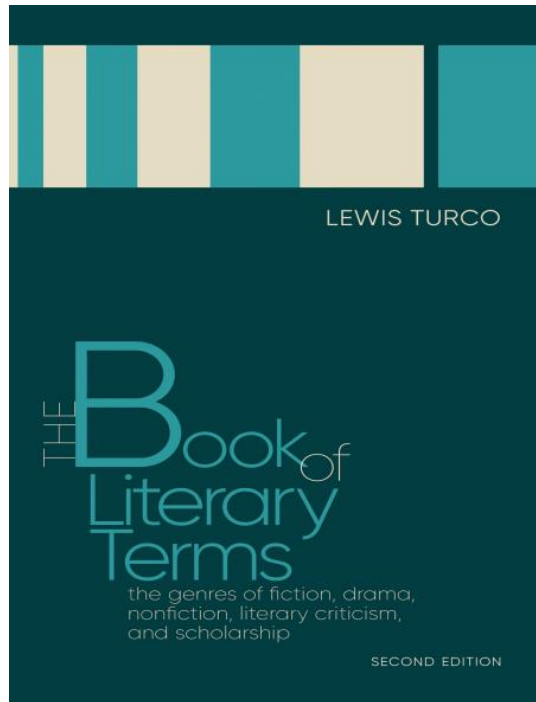
Or the crime thriller can put the criminal center stage, as in *The Talented Mr. Ripley*. The plot may center on the adventures of a paid killer; Jean-Pierre Melville's *Le Samouraï* is a classic example. There's also the heist or caper film,

The approach to genre sketched out here of course raises some questions of its own. Just where, for example, do we locate the exact border between the semantic and the syntactic? And how are these two categories related? Each of these questions constitutes an essential area of inquiry, one that is far too complex to permit full treatment here. Nevertheless, a few remarks may be in order. A reasonable observer might well ask why my approach attributes such importance to the seemingly banal distinction between a text's materials and the structures into which they are arranged. Why this distinction rather than, for example, the more cinematic division between diegetic elements and the technical means deployed in representing them? The answer to these questions lies in a general theory of textual signification that I have expounded elsewhere.¹³ Briefly, that theory distinguishes between the primary, linguistic meaning of a text's component parts and the secondary or textual meaning that those parts acquire through a structuring process internal to the text or to the genre. Within a single text, therefore, the same phenomenon may have more than one meaning depending on whether we consider it at the linguistic or textual level. In the Western, for example, the horse is an animal that serves as a method of locomotion. This primary level of meaning, corresponding to the normal extent of the concept 'horse' within the language, is matched by a series of other meanings derived from the structures into which the Western sets the horse. Opposition of the horse to the automobile or locomotive ('iron horse') reinforces the organic, non-mechanical sense of the term 'horse' already implicit in the language, thus transferring that concept from the paradigm 'method of locomotion' to the paradigm 'soon-to-be-outmoded pre-industrial carry-over'.

In the same way, horror films borrow from a nineteenth-century literary tradition their dependence on the presence of a monster. In doing so, they clearly perpetuate the linguistic meaning of the monster as 'threatening inhuman beings', but at the same time, by developing new syntactic ties, they generate an important new set of textual meanings. For the nineteenth century, the appearance of the monster is invariably tied to a romantic overreaching, the attempt of some human scientist to tamper with the divine order. In such texts as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Balzac's *La Recherche de l'absolu*, or Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, a studied syntax equates man and monster, attributing to both the monstrosity of being outside nature as defined by established religion and science. With the horror film, a different syntax rapidly equates monstrosity not with the overactive nineteenth-century mind, but with an equally overactive twentieth-century body. Again and again, the monster is identified with his human counterpart's unsatisfied sexual appetite, thus establishing with the same primary 'linguistic' materials (the monster, fear, the chase, death) entirely new textual meanings, phallic rather than scientific in nature.

The distinction between the semantic and the syntactic, in the way I have defined it here, thus corresponds to a distinction between the primary, linguistic elements of which all texts are made and the secondary textual meanings that are sometimes constructed by virtue of the syntactic bonds established between primary elements. This distinction is stressed in the approach to genre presented here not because it is convenient nor because it corresponds to a modish theory of the relation between language and narrative, but because the seman-

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and maintains continuity. A *straight cut* is the immediate transition from one scene or shot to another, with nothing intervening, corresponding to a *blackout* in the theater, which is more rapid than the “lights down and out” direction. In the *dissolve* one scene fades into the succeeding scene, whereas in the *fade* (*fade-in* or *-out*) the *screen* (the television screen or the “big screen”) wanes to black before the next scene waxes to full. With the rapid expansion of special effects, all sorts of fades, dissolves, blackouts, and more innovative transitions are possible, including old effects like the *wipe*, in which one scene takes over the screen from the left or right as the old scene is wiped off it, and the *iris*, which appears as a central insert on the screen and expands until it has forced the last scene out of the edges of the picture. A virtual cornucopia of transitions without names could be seen in the 1994–1995 season of the television sitcom *Home Improvement*. When a film or *videotape* has been developed or processed, edited, and *put in the can* (all its reels into containers), it is ready for *duplication* and *distribution* to theaters.

film noir. American cinema of 1940–1960 featuring actors playing gangsters and other *demimonde* types, desolation of spirit and place, cynicism, dim illumination including true night shots on location, deliberately framing shots contrasting light and shadow : see *Expressionism*

film projection speed. The rapidity at which a reel of film is played. See *camera techniques*.

film speed. The relative ability of film to require amounts of light. Fast film requires little light to take an image, but slow speed requires more. Generally, fast film is for indoor shots, and slower film is for outdoor photography.

filmscript. The *scenario* or *text* for a *screenplay*.

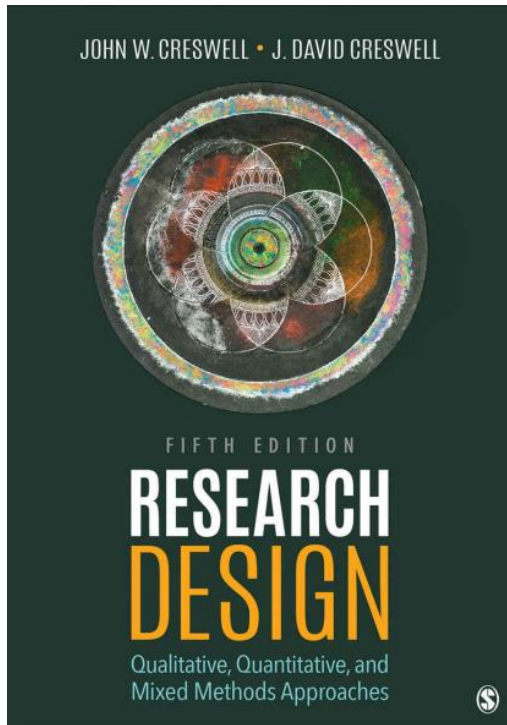
flick. A slang term for a film or movie.

flies. The *flies* is an area located above the stage of a theater where various equipment is located including *overhead lights*, equipment for the raising and lowering of *backdrops*, *sets* and specialized gear such as is required to introduce the *deus ex machina* onto the stage, as for instance when Peter Pan flies onstage. In brief, the overhead stage space of a *theater*.

floodlight. Intense *lighting*, such as is used in cinema and television photography.

foil. A foil is a *straight man*, often called the *second banana*, who stands opposite the comedian in a stage act and is the brunt of, or helps set up the

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The Three Approaches to Research

In this book, three research approaches are advanced: (a) qualitative, (b) quantitative, and (c) mixed methods. Unquestionably, the three approaches are not as discrete as they first appear. Qualitative and quantitative approaches should not be viewed as rigid, distinct categories, polar opposites, or dichotomies. Instead, they represent different ends on a continuum (Creswell, 2015; Newman & Benz, 1998). A study *tends* to be more qualitative than quantitative or vice versa. Mixed methods research resides in the middle of this continuum because it incorporates elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Often the distinction between qualitative research and quantitative research is framed in terms of using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative), or better yet, using closed-ended questions and responses (quantitative hypotheses) or open-ended questions and responses (qualitative interview questions). A more complete way to view the gradations of differences between them is in the basic philosophical assumptions researchers bring to the study, the types of research strategies used in the research (e.g., quantitative experiments or qualitative case studies), and the specific methods employed in conducting those strategies (e.g., collecting data quantitatively on instruments versus collecting qualitative data through observing a setting). Moreover, there is a historical evolution to both approaches—with the quantitative approaches dominating the forms of research in the social sciences from the late 19th century up until the mid-20th century. During the latter half of the 20th century, interest in qualitative research increased and along with it, the development of mixed methods research. With this background, it should prove helpful to view definitions of these three key terms as used in this book:

- **Qualitative research** is an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of reporting the complexity of a situation.
- **Quantitative research** is an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures. The final written report has a set structure consisting of introduction, literature and theory, methods, results, and discussion. Like qualitative researchers, those who engage in this form of inquiry have assumptions about testing theories deductively, building in protections against bias, controlling for alternative or counterfactual explanations, and being able to generalize and replicate the findings.
- **Mixed method research** is an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the integration of qualitative and quantitative data yields additional insight beyond the information provided

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Paralleling the growing interest in qualitative research in sociology has been an increased acceptance of these methods in other disciplines and applied fields. Such diverse disciplines as geography (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2010; Hay, 2010), political science (McNabb, 2004), and psychology (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003; Fischer, 2005; *Qualitative Research in Psychology*) have seen the publication of edited books, texts, and journals on qualitative research methods over the past decade and a half. The American Psychological Association started publishing the journal *Qualitative Psychology* in 2014. Qualitative methods have been used for program evaluation and policy research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; M. Q. Patton 1987, 2008, 2010, 2014; Rist 1994). Journals and texts on qualitative research can be found in such diverse applied areas of inquiry as health care and nursing (Latimer, 2003; Munhall, 2012; Streubert & Carpenter, 2010; *Qualitative Health Research*), mental health, counseling, and psychotherapy (Harper & Thompson, 2011; McLeod, 2011), education (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*; Lichtman, 2010; *Qualitative Research in Education*), music education (Conway, 2014), public health (Ulin, Robinson, & Tolley, 2005), business (Meyers, 2013), theology (Swinton & Mowat, 2006), disability studies (Ferguson et al., 1992), human development (Daly, 2007; Jessor, Colby, & Shweder, 1996), social work (Sherman & Reid, 1994; *Qualitative Social Work*), and special education (Stainback & Stainback, 1988).

One does not have to be a sociologist or to think sociologically to practice qualitative research. Although we identify with a sociological tradition, qualitative approaches can be used in a broad range of disciplines and fields.

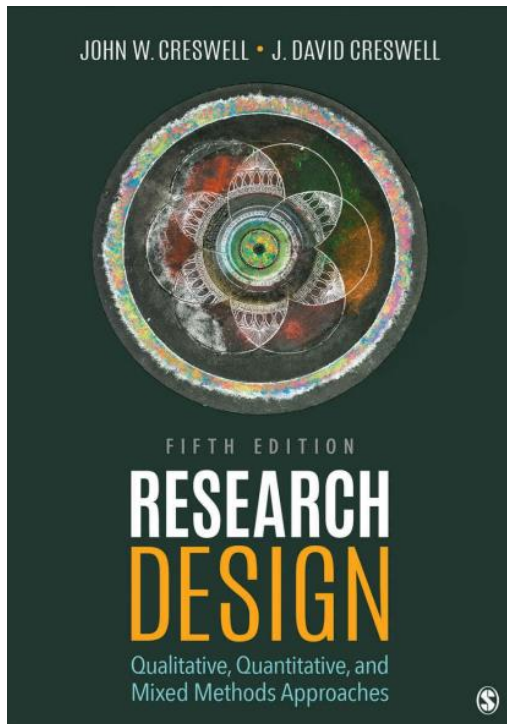
Just as significant as the increasing interest in qualitative research methods has been the proliferation of theoretical perspectives rooted in the phenomenological tradition underlying this form of inquiry. We consider the relationship between theory and methodology more fully later in this chapter.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The phrase *qualitative methodology* refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data—people’s own written or spoken words and observable behavior. As Ray Rist (1977) pointed out, qualitative methodology, like quantitative methodology, is more than a set of data-gathering techniques. It is a way of approaching the empirical world. In this section we present our notion of qualitative research.

1. *Qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives.* Central to the phenomenological perspective and hence qualitative research is understanding people from their own frames of reference and

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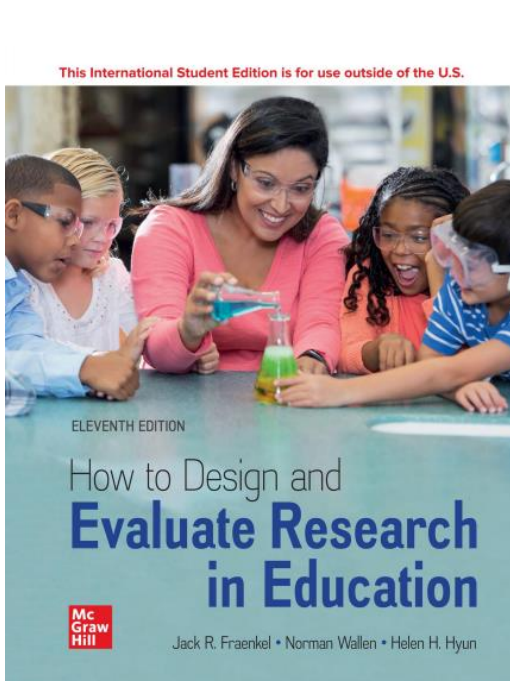
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research site. Qualitative observers may also engage in roles varying from a nonparticipant to a complete participant. Typically these observations are open-ended in that the researchers ask general questions of the participants allowing the participants to freely provide their views.

- **In qualitative interviews**, the researcher conducts face-to-face interviews with participants, telephone interviews, or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group. These interviews involve unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants.
- During the process of research, the investigator may collect **qualitative documents**. These may be public documents (e.g., newspapers, minutes of meetings, official reports) or private documents (e.g., personal journals and diaries, letters, e-mails).
- A final category of qualitative data consists of **qualitative audiovisual and digital materials (including social media materials)**. This data may take the form of photographs, art objects, videotapes, website main pages, e-mails, text messages, social media text, or any forms of sound. **Include creative data collection procedures that fall under the category of visual ethnography (Pink, 2001) and which might include living stories, metaphorical visual narratives, and digital archives (Clandinin, 2007).**
- In a discussion about data collection forms, be specific about the types and include arguments concerning the strengths and weaknesses of each type, as discussed in [Table 9.2](#). Typically, in good qualitative research the researchers draw on multiple sources of qualitative data to make interpretations about a research problem.

Include data collection types that go beyond typical observations and interviews. These unusual forms create reader interest in a proposal and can capture useful information that observations and interviews may miss. For example, examine the compendium of types of data in [Table 9.3](#) that can be used, to stretch the imagination about possibilities, such as gathering sounds or tastes, or using cherished items to elicit comments during an interview. Such stretching will be viewed positively by graduate committee members and by editors of journals.

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Darah Hallowitz, a middle school English teacher, is becoming more and more concerned about the ways that women are presented in the literature anthologies she has been assigned to use in her courses. She worries that her students are getting a limited view of the roles that women can play in today's world. After school one day, she asks Roberta, another English teacher, what she thinks. "Well," says Roberta, "funny you should ask me that. Because I have been kind of worried about the same thing. Why don't we check this out?"

How could they "check this out"? What is called for here is content analysis. Darrah and Roberta need to take a careful look at the ways women are portrayed in the various anthologies they are using. They might find that such studies have been done, or they might do one themselves. That is what this chapter is about.

As we mentioned in Chapter 19, the third method that qualitative researchers use to collect and analyze data is what is customarily referred to as *content analysis*, of which the analysis of documents is a major part.

What Is Content Analysis?

Much of human activity is not directly observable or measurable, nor is it always possible to get information from people who might know of such activity from first-hand experience. **Content analysis is a technique that enables researchers to study human behavior in an indirect way, through an analysis of their communications.* It is just what its name implies: the analysis of the usually, but not necessarily, written contents of a communication. Textbooks, essays, newspapers, novels, magazine articles, social media pages, songs, political speeches, advertisements, pictures—in fact, the contents of virtually any type of communication—can be analyzed. A**

*Many things produced by human beings (e.g., pottery, weapons, songs) were not originally intended as communications but subsequently have been viewed as such. For example, the pottery of the Mayans tells us much about their culture.

person's or group's conscious and unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideas often are revealed in their communications.

In today's world, there is a tremendously large number of communications of one sort or another (newspaper editorials, social media feeds, musical compositions, magazine articles, advertisements, films, electronic media, etc.). Analysis of such communications can tell us a great deal about how human beings live. To analyze these messages, a researcher needs to organize a large amount of material. How can this be done? By developing appropriate categories, ratings, or scores that the researcher can use for subsequent comparison in order to illuminate what he or she is investigating. This is what content analysis is all about.

By using this technique, a researcher can study (indirectly) anything from trends in child-rearing practices (by comparing them over time or by comparing differences in such practices among various groups of people), to types of heroes people prefer, to the extent of violence on television. Through an analysis of literature, popular magazines, songs, comic strips, cartoons, and movies, the different ways in which sex, crime, religion, education, ethnicity, affection and love, or violence and hatred have been presented at different times can be revealed.

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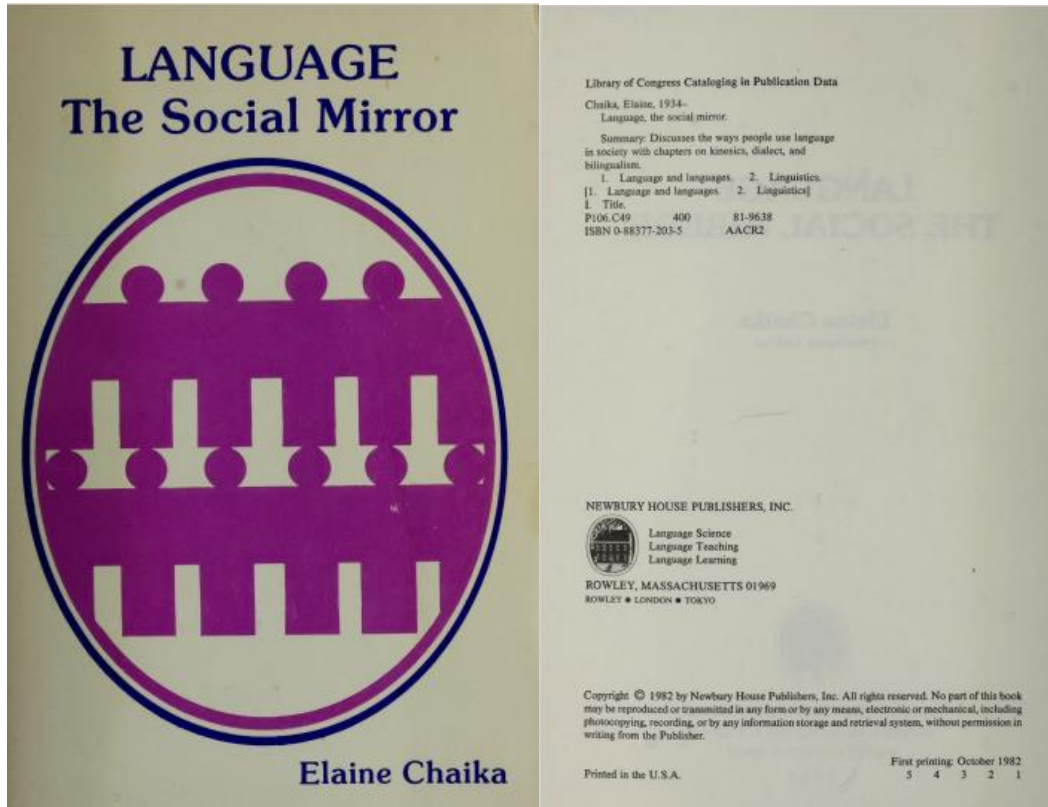
Taylor's study of World War II conscientious objectors, or COs, started when a colleague showed him a monograph titled *Out of Sight, Out of Mind* edited by Wright (1947). The monograph contained graphic accounts of institutional abuse and neglect and was published by a group named the National Mental Health Foundation. Although Taylor had studied the history of state institutions for people with psychiatric and intellectual disabilities in America and written about public exposés of these institutions, he was only vaguely familiar with exposés of state mental hospitals and training schools in the 1940s. He had never heard of the National Mental Health Foundation, even though *Out of Sight, Out of Mind* listed a series of prominent national sponsors and supporters, including Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of deceased President FDR; Walter Reuther, labor leader; and Henry Luce, founder of *Time* magazine. The monograph only mentioned in passing that the accounts had been written by COs. Taylor was intrigued that he and colleagues knowledgeable about the history of institutions were unfamiliar with or only vaguely aware of this history.

Historical researchers distinguish between primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are documents or artifacts created during the time under study and can include reports, letters, photos, newsletters, diaries, and similar materials. Secondary sources are secondhand accounts by people attempting to analyze and interpret an activity or event. Some sociologists and others write historical accounts based solely on secondary sources, but primary sources are generally considered essential for sound historical research.

Taylor first searched for secondary sources on World War II COs. He found several books that described the Civilian Public Service, which was established to oversee nonmilitary service conducted by COs who were conscientiously opposed to participation in the military based on religious training and beliefs. Although these books had little to say about COs assigned to state institutions, they helped Taylor understand the religious backgrounds of the COs and the organizations that worked hard to convince the government to permit religious objectors to perform alternative service. Just as important, these secondary sources cited primary sources and listed repositories of archival materials on the World War II COs. Archival researchers can use the same snowball technique employed by participant observers and interviewers: study documents to identify other potentially fruitful sources. One document leads to others, which lead to others, which lead to others. Through this process, Taylor identified two other books that focused on specific aspects of the work of COs at state institutions.

Three major historical peace churches—the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Mennonite Church, and the Church of the Brethren—were the driving forces behind the establishment of the Civilian Public Service and sponsored and paid the living expenses of over 12,000 COs representing over

Chaika, E. (1982). *Language the Social Mirror*. Massachusetts: NEWBURY HOUSE PUBLISHERS, INC.



3.14 *Linguistic features of style: sounds*

The features of style so far delineated are nonlinguistic. They do not involve the system of sounds, words, and grammar that make up language proper. Some other aspects of style do, however. These are **phonetic variants**, different ways of pronouncing the same sounds; **lexical variants**, different words for the same thing; and **syntactic variants**, different grammatical constructions for the same meaning. These variants are stylistic when choice of one or the other does not change the content of the message but does signal a different social or emotional message or belongs to a different register.

For instance, it is normal and usual in American English to convert a word final /v/ into *ch* [tʃ] if the next word starts with /y/. A word final /d/ turns into *j* [j] under the same condition. Thus, *won't you* becomes "woncha" and *did you* becomes "dija." The technical term for this process is **palatalization**. That this is in the realm of style, not language proper, is shown in two ways. First, one variant is normal and usual, and a departure from it signals that the circumstances of the utterance are not ordinary. Second, the words are perceived as remaining the same, whichever pronunciation is adopted. In contrast, *tin* and *chin*, and *dale* and *jail*, are perceived as being different words because of the difference between /t/ and /tʃ/, and /d/ and /dʃ/, respectively. The meanings and possible contexts of usage are changed because of the presence of one or the other sounds. There is no such difference between "won't you" and "woncha", "did you" and "dija," despite the fact that the same sounds are alternating in each pair. We perceive the change from /t/ to [tʃ] and /d/ to [dʃ] as linguistic in *tin* vs. *chin*, *dale* vs. *jail*, but as stylistic in "woncha" vs. "won't you," "dija" vs. "did you." "Would you please eat your lunch?" with no palatalization, each /v/ and /d/ clearly articulated separately from the /y/s, signifies that the speaker outranks the person spoken to or is angry or wishes to keep distance between them or all three. A nurse might rebuff a difficult patient that way, for instance. "Wouldja eatcha lunch?" carries the same linguistic message but connotes normal peer relations. In the encounters described in examples 9–13, a prime signal of superformality was, in each, the lack of palatalization, "could you" rather than "couldja" in 10, for instance, and "won't you" rather than "woncha" in 12.

3.15 *Linguistic features of style: words*

Words, more technically termed *lexical items*, may also show stylistic variation. In 9–13 we saw several lexical variants: "destination," "very instructive," "associated topics," even phrases like "Would it be possible. . .?" and "And why is that?" The choice of one word or phrase rather than another gives a stylistic message although the linguistic meaning remains the same. In all of these instances, the message given by style indicates that the speaker outranks the hearer and wishes formality, hence distance.

44 LANGUAGE *The Social Mirror*

Lexical variants can also give quite the opposite stylistic message. For example, choosing "Let's split" over "Let's go" shows one's identity with youth and establishes an informal, casual mood. Referring to a man as a "dude" shows one's hipness. Saying "dichotomy" instead of "split," "division," or even "two sides to the question" shows that one is educated. The person who speaks of "shooting the breeze" instead of "chatting" is referring to a very casual conversation and is more likely to be a male than one who "chats."

3.16 *Linguistic features of style: syntax*

Syntactic variants involve the choice of one rather than another grammatical construction for the purpose of giving a different social message. Saying "Have I not?" instead of "Haven't I?" is one example. Although the use of double negatives and *ain't*, as in "I ain't got nobody," is often a difference between educated and uneducated dialects, in actual fact many educated speakers, especially younger ones, will on occasion use such forms stylistically. At casual parties, rock concerts, and sports events, educated middle-class speakers can be heard to say such things, as, "Ain't no way that's goin' to happen" and "He never brings no beer." Use of such forms heightens camaraderie and the general informality of the occasion.

There seem to be relatively few syntactic markers for style in American English. Perhaps this is because usage of certain "correct" grammar forms is so important for one to be pegged as a member of the educated middle class. Not to use these forms, even in jest, leads to the risk of one's being misidentified as ignorant. Consequently, Americans may be somewhat more prone to rely upon phonological and lexical variants than on syntactic ones to effect stylistic messages.

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AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE STYLE OF TEENAGERS FOUND IN FACEBOOK STATUS

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