

LANGUE-PAROLE, COMPETENCE-PERFORMANCE AND RELATED DICHOTOMIES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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Since the appearance of the earliest writings in modern synchronic linguistics, up to the present time, linguists have found it necessary to delimit the 'legitimate' area of their investigations, partly in order to emphasize the scientific nature of their pursuit and partly to make the universe of their explorations orderly and, thus, manageable. A number of well known dichotomies, beginning¹ with de Saussure's langue-parole division and culminating recently in Chomsky's pair of terms, 'competence' v. 'performance', have over the years been offered to separate the linguist's interest in language from, amongst others, the interest of the psychologist, physiologist, communication engineer, sociologist and anthropologist.

The past decade has seen a movement towards the development of a new discipline, closely allied to linguistics, whose focal point of interest is communication via language in society. This branch of study is currently gaining identity under the label 'Sociolinguistics'.² In the quest for a comprehensive theory of sociolinguistics, use has been made of concepts and terms created within the context of linguistics. However, the dichotomies which separate the subject matter of linguistics from other disciplines obviously do not serve to delineate sociolinguistics from 'linguistics proper' on the one hand, or from the other language sciences on the other.

This paper represents (a) a discussion of the problems which arise out of the adopting or adapting of linguistic terminology for sociolinguistic concepts, (b) an analysis of concepts which require clear and unambiguous terminology, and (c) exploration of the relevance of these terminological and conceptual problems to the study of multilingualism in a sociolinguistic perspective. It is offered here in the

awareness that, at the present stage of rapid development and lively dialogue, many of the difficulties may be solved and many of the points raised here may be more fully developed by others by the time the present volume goes into print. It seemed, however, appropriate to contribute a discussion, however tentative, of problems of sociolinguistics to a volume dedicated to Dr. Capell, a scholar whose interest in these matters has been so deep and who has, over the past decades, so forcefully urged Australian linguists to view language in its socio-cultural context.

LINGUISTIC TERMS IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

In one of the basic programme papers for sociolinguistics³ (Hymes, 1962:16), the subject matter of the discipline is described as the "fill[ing of] the gap between what is usually described in grammars and what is usually described in ethnographies". This is the domain of "speech as a social phenomenon". Speech is equated, in that paper (ibid:46) as elsewhere (Hymes, 1964:11), with the Saussurian term, *parole*. In more recent writings, Hymes (1967) and other workers in the field (Ervin-Tripp, 1969, Slobin *et al.*, 1967) have extended the Chomskyan term 'competence' to cover the knowledge of rules of speaking in society and have referred to such knowledge as 'communicative competence'.

The transition from the notion of structured *parole* to that of communicative competence seems a logical step which, at first glance, does not involve contradictory principles. However, if one takes into account the original uses of both the *langue-parole* and the competence-performance dichotomies (and the original uses of both are very much alive in present-day linguistic literature), several ambiguities arise. Chomsky (e.g., 1965:4) offered the distinction 'competence-performance' as parallel to the Saussurian terms, making it quite clear that competence corresponds to *langue*, so long as the reader understands that *langue* is to be defined in terms of a transformational-generative theory of language and not in terms of the comparatively undeveloped theoretical framework available in de Saussure's time. The terms may, then, be seen in the following relationship (Table 1):

TABLE 1

de Saussure	langue	parole
Chomsky	competence	performance
Hymes, Ervin-Tripp, Slobin and others	communicative competence	

An oversimplified diagrammatic representation cannot do justice to such highly complex abstractions as the terms tabulated above represent. However, the arrangement does point to some specific and significant questions such as, "Does communicative competence extend to the same area of investigation as a theory of performance in Chomsky's terms? Is parole the same as performance? Where does the sociolinguistic concept of performance fit into the scheme?" In order to find answers to these questions, a closer look needs to be taken at de Saussure's and Chomsky's original uses of the respective pairs of terms which have had such a profound effect on all the language sciences. It will also prove helpful to call to mind briefly some alternative terms which have been used in the linguistic literature as synonymous with langue and parole.

De Saussure's concepts will be illustrated here by a few selected juxtapositions from the pages of the *Cours de linguistique générale* (see Table 2):

TABLE 2

Langue	Parole
1. "ce qui est social" (30)*	"ce qui est individuel" (30)
2. "ce qui est essentiel" (30)	"ce qui est accessoire et plus ou moins accidentel" (30)
3."une somme d'empreintes déposées dans chaque cerveau" (38)	"Elle est la somme de ce que les gens disent" (38)
4. "norme des faits de langage" (322,25)	"C'est dans la parole que se trouve le germe de tous les changements" (138)
5. "un système de signes où il n'y a d'essentiel que l'union du sens et de l'image acoustique et où les deux parties du signe sont également psychiques..." (32)	"un acte individuel...dans lequel il convient de distinguer: 1. les combinaisons par lesquelles le sujet parlant utilise le code de la langue... 2. le mécanisme psycho-physique qui lui permet d'extérioriser ces combinaisons..." (30-31)

(page references are given in brackets)

* heavy type added

It has often been said that the criteria which separate *langue* from *parole* involve several independent dimensions (see e.g., Jakobson, 1962:284, Bès, 1969, Hockett, 1968:15). A careful comparison of the oppositions on Table 2 will highlight several cross-cutting divisions. Opposition No.1 separates something which is social/institutional from something which is individual. This criterion would distinguish language from idiolect, both being *langues* in terms of entry 5. The second entry discriminates between that which is essential and that which is accessory and accidental. This could be taken as a division between distinctive and concomitant features, both of which are seen today as being components of both *langue* and *parole* as per entry 5 (cf. Jakobson 1962:647). The third entry points to the difference between the collective (linguistic) knowledge of native speakers of a language and what members of a speech community actually say. But, one might argue, what members of a speech community actually say also leaves traces (*empreintes*) in the speakers' memory and much of it also becomes knowledge. No.4 is a dichotomy between a norm on the one hand, and an agent of change on the other. This could mean standard language versus variant forms (e.g., substandard dialect), both of which, once again, would fall under the *langue* side in entry 5. The fifth entry separates a system of linguistic⁴ signs from their spatio-temporally unique manifestation (*acte individuel*).

The terms *langue-parole* have been used in the linguistic literature in all of the senses illustrated above, according to individual writers' particular preoccupations. However, it is the final (5th) contrast which may be regarded as the most significant and which was often highlighted by the use of some additional contrasting terms. Greenberg (1961:473) summed up the situation by stating that the distinction between language and verbal behaviour "is parallel to the contrast *langue:parole* (de Saussure), *syntactics and semantics:pragmatics* (Morris, Carnap) and *code:message* (information theorists)". Each of the additional terms has also brought with it connotations acquired by being created and developed in disciplines with specific foci of interest. Verbal behaviour evokes behaviouristic conceptions of the relation of organism to symbolic system - its investigation has been pursued in accordance with the principles of experimental psychology. The '*syntactics and semantics:pragmatics*' division was developed in the context of the theory of signs, and emphasizes the difference between intra-systemic relations (within the system of signs) and the relations between signs and users.⁵ The pair of terms '*code:message*' stresses the separation of a prearranged set of signals known by both sender and receiver, from particular arrangements (simultaneous or

sequential) of particular signals. The term, 'message', has been used to denote both potential and actually sent configurations of signals.

Chomsky's competence-performance dichotomy introduced a new emphasis. It will be necessary to quote or paraphrase here some of the, by now, classic passages in order to be able to draw our subsequent comparisons with sociolinguistic concepts. Chomsky (1965:3,4) formulates the aim of a linguistic theory as accounting, in a "perfectly explicit" manner, for an "ideal speaker-listener's knowledge of his language", and calls a grammar which meets the requirements of perfect explicitness 'generative'. Sentences to which the generative rules assign an interpretation are 'grammatical' and thus grammaticality belongs to the theory of competence (ibid. 10,11). Grammatical sentences, however, need not be 'acceptable' (natural), and acceptability is seen as part of the study of performance. Chomsky accepts de Saussure's principle of placing 'actual use in concrete situations' (performance, parole as per the division of entry No.5 on Table 2) on the right hand side⁶ of the dichotomy, but changes the concept on the left hand side, stressing that the notion, 'knowledge of language' commits linguistic description to more profound insights than does the notion of mere 'language' which had, in the past, been interpreted as though it were purely an "inventory of items", (ibid. 4). The expanded scope of linguistic theory allows the linguist to go beyond the surface phenomena of an inventory into the depths of linguistic relations known by speakers.

The 'ideal' speaker-hearer differs from an actual (real) speaker-hearer by virtue of his being immune to memory limitations, distractions and other hazards of a similar kind. His performance, 'potential performance', is not to be confused with that of the 'real' speaker-hearer's 'actual performance'. In a recent formulation (Chomsky and Halle, 1968:3), 'actual performance' is distinguished from 'potential performance' by an additional criterion: the actual speaker's "non-linguistic knowledge and beliefs". The reader has to conclude that a knowledge of such matters as role relationships, socially definable speech situations, topics and the like would be classed in this category and thus relegated by Chomsky to the study of actual performance.

It is now possible to relate terminology developed within or incorporated into linguistics to the requirements of a sociolinguistic theory.

Sociolinguistic theory must rest on the premise that its subject matter (whatever it is called) constitutes a system, has structure, is of a social/institutional nature and does not include non-institutional, instantaneous, single-occurrence-dominated aspects of a unique (actual,

spatio-temporally bound) event. As a social system, it comes on the left hand side in the Saussurian division No.1 on Table 2. It has both features of division No.2 (containing distinctive as well as concomitant features), and corresponds to both sides of distinction No.3 (being 'une somme d'empreintes déposées dans chaque cerveaux de ce que les gens disent'). It embraces both standard language and variant forms (distinction No.4). In entry No.5, it comes between the two sides in that it is neither an individual act, nor is it a system definable by the union of meaning and acoustic image.

In relation to the specific emphases expressed by the syntagmatic-pragmatic, code-message, language-verbal behaviour axes, the subject matter of sociolinguistics can be seen as follows: it is a pragmatic system in the sense that *types* of users are components of it. However, it has its own syntagmatic-semantic dimensions (cf. Hymes, 1967:26) and is non-pragmatic in the sense that it does not concern itself with the 'actual' individual who is activating his knowledge of the system at any one given time. It is a code made up of situational as well as of linguistic elements, but its signals are not in one-to-one correspondence with linguistic signals. Nor is it 'message' in the sense of particular arrangements of particular signals. It can be seen as the social/institutional side of verbal behaviour, the focus being not on organism-symbolic system relations, but on an entire communicative network of relations which obtain between types of speakers, hearers, topics, situations and other components of events in which speech occurs.

In relation to the competence-performance dichotomy, the subject matter of sociolinguistics must not be identified with performance. However, if it is competence, it is competence of a different kind from Chomsky's. It enables a member of a speech community "to know, [amongst other things], when to speak and when to remain silent, which code to use, when, where and to whom" (Hymes, 1967:13). Furthermore, the primary concern of the sociolinguist must not be with the individual speaker, but with an entire speech community.⁷

The sociolinguist's criterion is not 'grammaticality' (dependent only on the generative rules of sentence formation), but 'acceptability', although the term 'acceptability' should, perhaps, give way to 'social interpretability' as this latter would eliminate ambiguities which may arise out of possible conflicts between acceptability in a particular situation and acceptability from the point of view of an abstract situation type. (Consider the difference between these two statements: "He should not talk to me like this. He is not my teacher." or

"Teachers don't usually talk like this.") It is this latter aspect of acceptability that concerns us here.

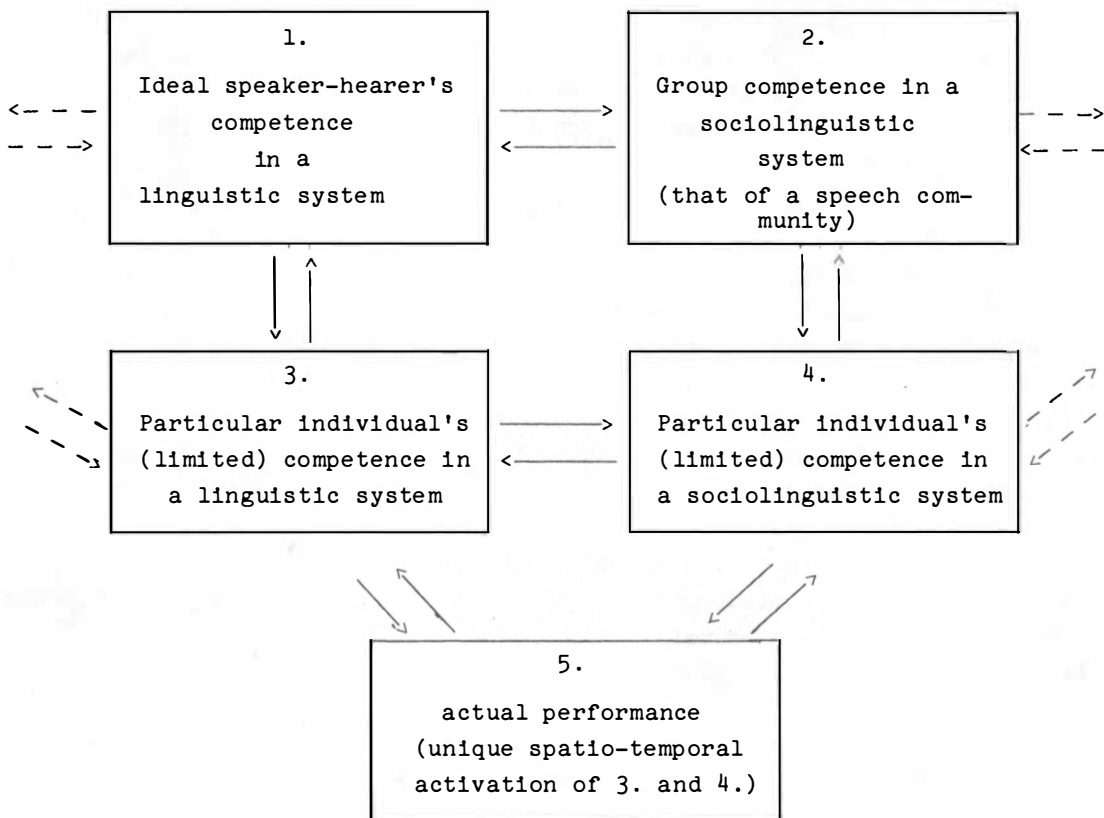
The sociolinguist's 'competence' concept obviously cannot be linked with the 'idealized speaker-hearer' as defined by Chomsky. Should the sociolinguist, then, develop the concept of a different type of idealized speaker-hearer who, although immune to the hazards of particular situations (e.g., noise or other distractions, fatigue, ill health) *is*, however, affected by his knowledge of the social institutions relevant to speaking in his community? Or would it be more rewarding to talk about a kind of group competence in which knowledge of the total range of role behaviour, never available to a single person in a speech community, is pooled, as suggested by Durbin and Micklin (1968)? This is, undoubtedly, one of the questions that deserves early attention in the development of sociolinguistic theory. In the following, the sociolinguistic concept of competence will be regarded as a kind of group competence without, in the present paper, going into the depths of this particular question. However, if we reserve the term 'competence' to cover this concept, what are we going to use when referring to, say, the comparatively limited 'competence' of particular individuals or categories of individuals, e.g., multilinguals who communicate in a second language in a predominantly monolingual speech community in which they are newcomers? Even usage in the literature of 'linguistics proper' does not provide much guidance in this regard. 'Competence' (linguistic) has been used loosely in two distinctly different ways; (1) as being equivalent to the explicit linguistic description of a particular language ('ideal speaker-hearer's competence' in English = G.T. grammar of English) and (2) the personal (more or less limited) competence of individual speakers (e.g., "severely limited grammatical competence of young children", McNeill, 1966:51).

THE NEED FOR UNAMBIGUOUS SOCIOLINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY

The need for unambiguous terms to be applied to clearly delineated concepts is undeniable. Linguists are likely to continue talking of 'performance' where the sociolinguist will prefer competence. There is likely to be a difference in usage even among those who wish to separate institutional uses of language from other aspects of performance. For example, Moravcsik (1967) speaks of 'idealized performance', where Hymes would refer to 'communicative competence'. At the same time, psycholinguists use the expression 'linguistic performance...as a system' (Wales and Marshall, 1966:55) in a completely different sense again (i.e., of encoding and decoding process).

In the following (Table 3), an attempt will be made to illustrate diagrammatically concepts which need to be distinctly identified.

TABLE 3



Note: arrows in continuous lines indicate a two-way traffic between pairs of boxes. Broken-line arrows indicate further linkages, e.g., Box No.3 may be linked with linguistic systems outside those that form Box 2 of a speech community (a person may speak languages that do not form part of the sociolinguistic system of his speech community). There may be several Boxes marked No.1 related to any one Box 2 (several languages or dialects may be components of any one sociolinguistic system). Box 4 may be connected to several Boxes marked No.2 (an individual speaker may have partial competence in several sociolinguistic systems).

We have in the above scheme 4 categories of 'competence' and only one of 'performance'. It reflects my conviction that there is only *one* category which should be regarded as performance, and that is a particular unique, single-time-and-space-bound event.

We may now be somewhat closer to the separation of concepts that I have argued for in this paper. However, further steps need to be taken to facilitate identification. Concepts which require a minimum of 8 words for identification, are unlikely to be kept apart. Some convenient single-word labels suggest themselves immediately for Boxes 1 and 3. In the linguistic literature, once it is stated that deep structure is taken into account, the word 'competence' gives way to LANGUAGE. We talk of a generative grammar of one or another language, and the word 'competence' is hardly ever used in the plural in the type of usage by which we refer to languages. We also have a convenient label for Box 3, and that is IDIOLECT.

Single-word labels for the other boxes do not offer themselves quite so readily. 'Speech' and 'speaking' are unsuitable, since they have been, in the literature, applied variously to Boxes 2, 4 and 5. Even the distinction suggested by the translator⁸ of de Saussure's *Cours* (speaking = parole and speech = langage⁹) has not been observed, as the words 'speech' and 'speaking' have been used as completely interchangeable terms. Parole is unsuitable, as I have shown. 'Speech economy', 'interaction of language and social setting', 'communicative economy', 'sociolinguistic systems' have all been used in the sociolinguistic literature and any of these would exclusively identify Box No.2 but are all too long, if, for example, we want to enumerate particular entities, add adjectives, or generally aim at versatility in different syntactic structures. For this reason, I propose the term SPEECHWAYS as this enables us to say such things as 'Australian English speechways', 'Warburton Ranges speechways', 'Malaysian urban speechways'.

For Box 4 I propose the term IDIOPARL. I realize that this is not an entirely satisfactory choice from the point of view of euphony, but is at least a compound which displays the ingredients clearly.

For Box 5, the initials of Unique Speech Event, U.S.E., will serve as a label. The contents of Table 3 can now be re-presented in the following form (Table 4):

TABLE 4

Language	Speechways
Idiolect	Idioparl
U.S.E.	

It needs to be emphasized that the word 'unique' in U.S.E. is an essential ingredient which prevents confusion between actual events and event-types as abstractions. Once again, 'speech event' has in the past been used in both senses. If 'speech event' is to refer to a unit of sociolinguistic description, then it cannot at the same time be used to refer to U.S.E. Speech event as an abstraction (in the sense used by Hymes, 1967:19, 20) is part of Speechways and of Idioparl, and is manifested in U.S.E. From the point of view of data gathering and description, the progression obviously has to be from U.S.E. through Idioparl to Speechways, just as the linguist proceeds from U.S.E. through Idiolect to Language. As the linguist's primary aim is the adequate (explicit) description of languages, so the sociolinguist's primary aim is the description of speechways. There will, of course, be cases when the progression of particular studies will be different. For example, in the field of multilingualism, what is given and what is investigated involves in some cases a different kind of order from the order followed in description, as we shall see further on.

It may take some time before formulaic representation of speechways can reach the precision attained by linguistic description. Works in press at the time of writing this paper (such as Hymes and Gumperz, *Directions in Sociolinguistics*)¹⁰ will undoubtedly get us closer to this goal. Apart from the refinement of theory and the development of descriptive procedures, sociolinguists will also need to investigate the relationship between linguistic and sociolinguistic rules in dynamic interaction in a U.S.E.¹¹ It would go far beyond the scope of this essay to attempt to characterize the form sociolinguistic rules will take¹² or to discuss the methods of examining the interaction and the relationships¹³ between linguistic and sociolinguistic rules. The brief example that follows is, therefore, not aimed at demonstrating any of these procedures, but is merely presented here as an illustration of the interrelation of Language, Idiolect, Speechways, Idioparl in a single U.S.E.

SAMPLE U.S.E.

Location: Urban Western Australian Speech Community. Time: summer 1969. Setting: suburban butcher shop. Participants: A. suburban Australian housewife, customer role; B. young male Australian, butcher, shop assistant role.

- A. (enters, waits a few steps away from counter, looks expectantly).
 B. "And how are you [jəʊt:]¹⁴ today?"
 A. "Fine, thanks."
 B. "That's the shot ... what would you like today?"
 A. "A pound of pork chops please."
 B. (cuts, weighs, wraps) ... "80 cents."
 A. (hands money)
 B. "Beauty." [bjəʊt:dəI]

This U.S.E., like other U.S.E.-s, may be studied from the point of view of recurrent regularities in the linguistic-social action material, just as recurrent regularities in linguistic material are studied for linguistic description. The sociolinguist notes¹⁵ that speaker B's idiolect may be identified as belonging to the Broad Australian variety of the Australian English dialect of English.¹⁶ A's speech belongs to the General Australian variety of the same dialect. Both speakers' utterances conform to General English syntax. B's idiolect contains certain vocabulary and collocational items characteristic of Australian English. The fact that he uses these in the given exchange, is information that pertains to his idiolect. A's idiolect contains the same items, as can be inferred from the fact that she understood B and that the exchange proceeded smoothly. There is, however, a further question relating to these items: Are they used only in role recognition in the process of decoding, or would A herself use them with other interlocutors, in other situations? The answer to this question throws light on A's idiolect.

Beyond noting facts about Language (Dialect), and Idiolect, the sociolinguist leaves their description to the linguist. This does not mean that he is freed from linguistic exploration himself. He has to comb the linguistic substance of the U.S.E. in order to separate sociolinguistically significant linguistic items from sociolinguistically neutral ones. The exact procedural steps are not quite clear at this stage, but perhaps it is safe to point to the fact that the sequence "80 cents" appears to be the most neutral item, apart from providing topical background information. All other sections are probably conditioned by role and other variables. Whether "and how are you today" is different from 'how are you today', "fine, thanks" from 'fine thank you', 'very well, thank you', 'good, thanks', 'good' etc. (all part of A's idiolect) need to be tested. Similarly, "beauty" has to be examined against 'thank you', 'thanks', silence, etc.; "a pound of pork chops, please" against 'Could I have / Can I have / I want / Give me a pound of pork chops (please)' etc.; "That's the shot" against 'that's

good', 'that's the way' silence, etc.; and "what would you like today" against 'yes, Mrs. X.', 'Yes?', questioning posture and facial expression, etc. The abstract shape (structure) of the exchange also has to undergo scrutiny from the point of view of 'social interpretability'.

There is no limit on the size or level of the linguistic item, which may be of sociolinguistic relevance. In the example, the fronted and raised quality of the vowel in the word 'you' [jəu:] occurs, in my observation, in the U.S.E.-s of some adult Australian males (the exact type of speaker cannot be isolated at this stage of our knowledge) when using the word 'you' in certain situations, such as speaking to children. This may indicate that in the sample U.S.E. an 'adult male to child' pattern is used by butcher to housewife.

Inferences from a sizeable corpus of U.S.E.-s such as the above example may, ultimately, be made to arrive at a sociolinguistic description of Australian Speechways. A knowledge of Australian English and of Australian society is, needless to say, a prerequisite to such a study. At the same time, the sociolinguists who eventually produce such a description will also contribute to the knowledge of both Australian English and Australian society.

Finally, let us consider the task of the student of multilingualism from the point of view of the sociolinguistic concepts discussed in this paper.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC TERMINOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF MULTILINGUALISM

Studies in multilingualism from a sociolinguistic point of view may be divided into two main types: (1) where the aim is the description of a multilingual (multidialectal, diglossic) speech community and (2) where the aim is to describe the communication or learning problems of particular groups or categories of multilingual speakers in a given speech community.

The need for unambiguous sociolinguistic terminology in the study of multilingualism will be demonstrated by reference to a research project of the second type. The context is the sojourn in Australia of Asian students for the period of their tertiary education.¹⁷

The Asian student, typically, is a multilingual speaker of one or several Asian languages or dialects (one of which he learnt as a mother tongue) and English. His aim is to complete a tertiary course chosen in preparation for a professional career in his home country. He brings with him an idiolect in English which was shaped by many influences inherent in his socio-cultural background. He may come from a multilingual community, the speechways of which contains an English

component or from a multilingual or monolingual community in which English is used for communication with outsiders only. He also brings with him an idio parl shaped in an Asian speech community. If his home country is predominantly monolingual in an Asian language (e.g., Thailand), or multilingual, with speechways which do not contain an English component (e.g., Indonesia), then his idio parl contains no rules for social interaction in English. If the speechways of his home community include an English component (e.g., Malaysia, India, Hong Kong), then his idio parl has more or less highly developed rules for social interaction in English specific to an Asian multilingual speech community.

On arrival in Australia, the Asian student is confronted with a dialect of English which is distinctly different from English dialects to which he had been exposed in his home country (unless, of course, he happened to have been in close contact with Australians living abroad) as well as from the varieties of English transmitted over international or Asian mass communication media (viz. American and British films, local television and radio programmes etc.). He is also confronted with Australian English speechways, distinctly different from the speechways of every other English-speaking community in the world.

In the process of approaching his goal of obtaining a degree or diploma, the Asian student faces communication problems in both his encoding and decoding processes. Communication problems occur in relation to two linguistic systems and one sociolinguistic system. The two linguistic systems are: (1) International Scholarly English, as represented in textbooks and as expected in written examination papers, assignments, dissertations and theses, and (2) Australian English, as manifested in the phonological properties of lectures given by Australians and in the phonological and lexical-collocational properties of all U.S.E.-s in which Australians participate. The sociolinguistic system is Australian speechways as manifested in all social situations where speech (or writing on personal matters) is required.

When reading or writing for strictly study purposes, a knowledge of International Scholarly English is the only prerequisite to successful communication. When orally delivering a written paper or when taking lecture notes, Australian English phonology comes into the picture in rather complex ways. The Asian student has to be able to decode Australian English sounds of the Broad, General or Cultivated variety (Mitchell and Delbridge, 1965). His own speech has to be sufficiently close to General or Cultivated Australian English so as not to present decoding problems to Australians. In all other situations where

spontaneous free speech is required, the Asian student has to work out a *modus vivendi* with the Australian dialect of English and with Australian English speechways. This requires a complete decoding knowledge, but does not necessarily mean that the Asian student has to adopt Australian patterns for all purposes.

The Asian student may prefer to retain some features of the speechways of his home community (e.g., show respect to teaching staff in the explicit, verbally highly formalized ways customary in Asian societies rather than in the more subtle and less easily defined courtesy patterns in Australian social interaction). However, he has to be aware of instances in which his U.S.E. deviates from Australian speechways and he has to know the event types in which such deviation does not lead to results contrary to his aim. Australian teachers often comment on the difficulties arising in situations where an Asian student offers only a polite 'yes' in reply to a query of whether he had understood an explanation, an instruction or a concept clearly. In this type of situation a reply which expresses only affirmation of status difference and agreement with superior opinion is insufficient from the point of view of the Australian interlocutor. Australian speechways require in this position an operative formula which incorporates the potential for further communication, while perhaps incidentally expressing status difference in subtle nuances of intonation and other features.

Aspects of Australian speechways specific to a student subculture have to be learnt early so that the newcomer's U.S.E.-s can be subjected by his interlocutors to the test of social interpretability. A U.S.E. coded in International Scholarly English in a situation where casual conversational style is required, may lead to temporary breakdown of communication.¹⁸

While in encoding processes the Asian student may activate his knowledge of Australian and Asian speechways successfully according to the specific requirements of speech events, he must completely avoid recourse to the speechways of his home community in decoding Australian U.S.E.-s. Only then can there be a fair chance that he can tell (as far as it is possible to tell through the clear reception of socio-linguistic signals) whether an Australian interlocutor was being friendly, evasive, withdrawing, indifferent, hostile, official; whether he 'meant' a promise, an invitation, a refusal, a reproach or an apology, just to give a few examples out of a large range of speech event types.

The research worker who studies the communication problems of multilingual speakers in a predominantly monolingual speech community such as those sketched in the foregoing, has to relate recorded 'natural'

U.S.E.-s and elicited U.S.E.-s to at least two speechways. Ideally, then, his work presupposes the existence of adequate descriptive materials for several languages, dialects and speechways. In practice, the student of multilingual communication can usually only hope to find more or less adequate descriptions of languages and dialects but, at best, only sporadic materials on speechways. In a country such as Australia, where a regular migrant intake and an increase in the numbers of short and long term visitors involve more and more persons in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication, a descriptive statement of speechways would fill a very practical as well as an academic need. A specific area in which information of this type would find immediate application is that of communication problems of speakers of Australian Aboriginal languages and speechways (including those which have an English component) in relation to Australian English and Australian English speechways. Dr. Capell's life work on Aboriginal languages provides much of the indispensable background information on which the study of this field must be built.

N O T E S

1. It is irrelevant to the present discussion whether the concepts *langue* and *parole* were, in fact, original inventions of de Saussure's or whether he was influenced by other writers, e.g., von Gabelentz (see Coseriu, 1967).
2. For a recent survey of the movement, see Hymes, 1968.
3. Hymes did not use the term 'sociolinguistics' to denote the field to which he then referred as the 'Ethnography of Speaking'. However, in his recent writings, 'sociolinguistics' and the 'Ethnography of Speaking' have become synonymous.
4. The term 'linguistic' is not present in the quotation, but is summarized from "union du sens et de l'image acoustique".
5. That this is a three-way and not a two-way division, does not basically concern us here.
6. Second in logical priority (Chomsky, 1962:52).
7. For a definition see Hymes (1967:18).
8. See translation titled *Course in General Linguistics* by Wade Baskin N.Y. The Philosophical Library, 1959. Reprinted by McGraw Hill, 1966.
9. The third (and largely forgotten) term of the equation *langue* and *parole* equals *langage*. The reason for the neglect may be that it is even less clearly understood than the other two.
10. N.Y., Holt Rinehart: in press.

11. It seems evident that the two sets may, on occasion, be in conflict. Take the case of some television interviews where the interviewed politician wishes to convey the impression that he is spontaneously puzzling out the issues on hand, that he is seriously considering all angles previously unexplored. He may achieve his aim by leaving sentences unfinished rather than uttering grammatically well-formed sentences which would give the impression of 'set' or 'scripted' opinions. Brown and Gilman (1960) quote Cronin's observation that subordination in American speech is expressed in unfinished sentences, among other things. Among Australian schoolboys, a phonologically 'careless' performance (not necessarily matched by grammatical carelessness) seems to have distinct social functions such as group identification, affirmation of manliness, and so on. In all the examples quoted, sociolinguistic rules interfere with linguistic rules in certain well-defined ways.

12. A glimpse is provided in Hymes, 1962.

13. The exact nature of descriptive materials corresponding to Boxes 1 and 2 is likely to vary according to divergent notions on how far linguistic description should go. For example, the upper limits of a semantic theory as defined by Katz and Fodor (1963) and the limits outlined by a contextual theory of meaning (Ellis, 1966) do not mark off identical territory. However, no matter how far a linguistic theory goes in distinguishing language varieties such as style or register (Halliday *et al.*, 1964), it still deals with linguistic entities and its focus is on linguistic phenomena even if these are considered *in relation to* extralinguistic phenomena. Sociolinguistic theory is concerned with *complexes* of linguistic and non-linguistic features of social events.

14. + very fronted, almost [ɪ].

15. After full phonetic transcription, of course, which is indicated here only sporadically for demonstration.

16. Broad Australian has been identified, so far, only from the point of view of phonology (Mitchell and Delbridge 1965) and it is not known at this stage whether it can be characterized by any other features.

17. For details of this study, see Kaldor, 1970.

18. As illustrated by U.S.E. between an Indian and an Australian student strolling together across the lawn outside the library. Indian student (with traces of Hindi accent, but with correct stresses and in clear articulation): "I consider that this matter needs to be thoroughly investigated". Australian student: "Whassat?"

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