


Fundamental Concepts in Sociolinguistics
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Significant Studies in Language Variation

Welcome to class. Today we are going to talk about Significant Studies in Language Variation. We have been talking about, throughout the module, about important developments and the emergence of Sociolinguistics as a discipline, and works by various founding fathers of Social Linguistics. But we all know that the variationist tradition as we refer to, this kind of particular language analysis or linguistic study was started by William Labov, with his Martha's Vineyard Island study, followed by the New York study.

And later on, you know, AAVE—Afro-American Vernacular English studies and he set the principles, parameters, approaches and methods. He started a new mode and new method of analysing language, establishing Linguistic Structures, the relationship between Linguistic Structures and Social Structures.


And it did not stop with him, in fact it was followed all over and multiple significant studies were done in different parts of the world, specifically in England and America. But we are not going to talk about all of these variationist studies. But a few of them give a better understanding with little variation in the method itself, however they were all located within the purview of the Labovian classical development framework. So, today we are going to talk about the variationist tradition and some significant variation studies in linguistics.

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From Dialectology to Sociolinguistics

- study of language in relation to dialects from a regional angle
- begun in late 19th Century
- also called 'Dialect Geography'
- sub-discipline of linguistics
- No focus on social factors in language use and change

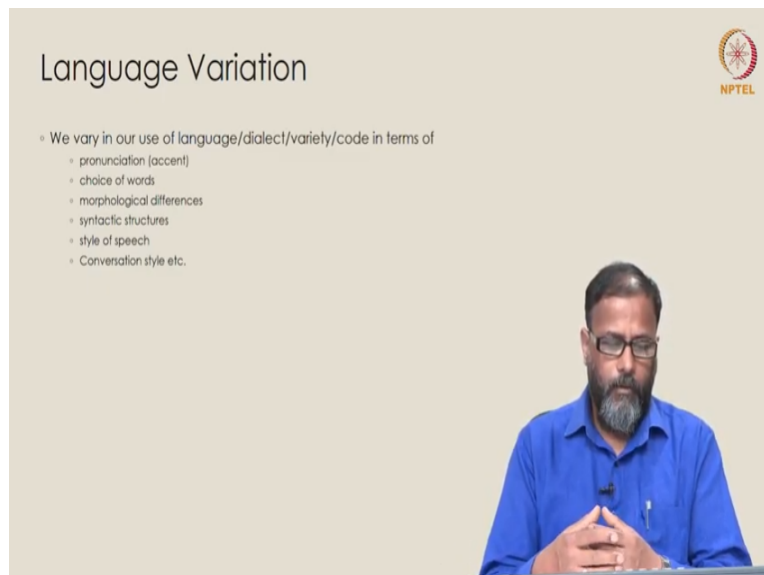


We have been talking about the emergence of sociolinguistics. We had a detailed discussion on how it emerged. It did not emerge out of the blue and we know that. Eighteenth-nineteenth centuries had historical linguistics and the construction of proto-individual language as the major thrust. We also saw a structuralism emerging in the first quarter of the twentieth century that continued up to almost half of the century and then the emergence of new paradigms and new theoretical approaches in linguistics.

But from Philology to Dialectology, to Sociolinguistics, there is a continuing tradition. So, sociolinguistics did not emerge out of the blue, but it was an extension and you know expansion of what we called Dialectology earlier. If you go by the term Dialectology and the technique and methods used in Dialectology, it was the study of language in relation to dialects from regional angles, their studies, such studies you know helped us in making language atlases.

It began in the nineteenth century and was called ‘Dialectal Geography’ or ‘Dialect Geography’, whatever you call it. Although a subdiscipline of linguistics, it did not focus on the social aspect of language, and that was the difference. It focused purely on the structural part of it, the huge part of it, the variation part of it and these directory variations were recorded.

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The image shows a video frame with a slide titled "Language Variation" in the top left. The slide content includes a main bullet point: "We vary in our use of language/dialect/variety/code in terms of", followed by a list of sub-points: "pronunciation (accent)", "choice of words", "morphological differences", "syntactic structures", "style of speech", and "Conversation style etc.". In the top right corner of the slide is the NPTEL logo. In the bottom right corner of the video frame, a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, is speaking with his hands clasped.

Then, we see that 1960s saw a departure in Dialectology, where people like Labov, people like Joshua Fishman, people like Charles Ferguson, people like Dell Hymes, people like MAK Halliday, people like Basil Bernstein, people like Allen Grimshaw, people like Einar

Haugen, people like Susan Ervin-Tripp, people like Uriel Weinreich. So, these people were interested in looking at language as a social object and language analysis was deeply rooted in socio-cultural perspectives and from there we have a beginning of a new method in linguistics and the emergence of a new discipline.


It starts with the study of William Labov and relation studies. Now we all speak a language but the question is, do we speak the same language in the same way? It differs in terms of individuals. Sometimes we have Idiosyncrasies, we have Idiolects. We all speak, for example, I speak English and many other people speak English, but do we speak in the same way? Apart from that, do I speak in the same way a group of people speak? At a different level do I belong to a class which speaks English in a different way?

So, variations have multiple levels of manifestations, we vary in terms of pronunciation and accent, we vary in terms of choice of words, we vary in terms of morphological choices and morphological differences, we vary in terms of selection of sentences, type of sentences, sentence structures, we vary in terms of a style of speech, we may have different conversation styles.

So, variation is at multiple levels, but in all these variation studies, what we find common is that these variations have corresponding influence on social structures and vice-versa—social structures have corresponding representation in linguistic structures. So, such studies established a connection between Social Structure and Linguistic Structure, and it was done systematically, very methodologically and we can call it a Quantificational Study of Speech because they were quantified.


For example, Labov was discussed in this course, to discuss his findings. So we will quickly focus on, I am not going to go into the detail of each of these studies, but I have selected a few important studies like Cardiff, like Belfast, like you know, Detroit, right, like Martha's Vineyard Island, like New York. So, we will focus on these important studies, however, this list is not exhaustive and you can find a lot of important studies done all over the world including India. So I have, I have only included a few early variation studies but it continues till date.

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Restrictions on Variation

- While the diversity of variation is huge, there are restrictions on variation. Such variations have patterns and are consistent in a particular speech community. Such linguistic variations can be attributed to differences in the social characteristics of the speakers using the language.
- They are related to
 - Age
 - Gender
 - Class
 - Geographical location
 - Socio-cultural Space
 - Identity
 - Solidarity etc.



Now variation is not random, we need to understand, and at the same time not arbitrary in nature. I mean, I cannot decide to speak English in my own way. I have to follow certain restrictions while I speak English. I may have my own style of speaking but these restrictions are there: I cannot pronounce a word the way I want to, I cannot use a noun the way I want to, I cannot change the categories of the word while I speak, so this speech is restricted and the variations have restrictions on them.

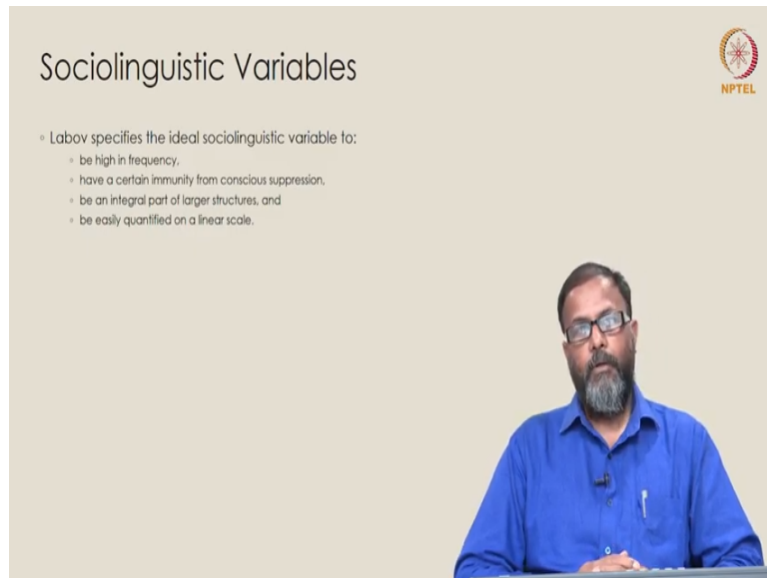
So, we all speak in a particular linguistic outline; we do not go beyond that and within that we have multiple levels of variation. So, while the diversity of addition is huge there are restrictions on variation and such variations have patterns and are consistent in a particular speech community. Such linguistic variations can be attributed to differences in social characteristics of the speakers and the community they belong to while using the language.

So, they can relate to or they are related to let us say age group; certain age groups like old people have their own style of speaking and you will find it is different from speech of the young generation; gender may play a role: the way men of different age groups speak may differ to certain extents in some aspects to the way women across the age groups speak.

It can refer to class, we have class variations, a particular social class may be using language in a particular style and the hierarchy of class, social stratification can be paralleled with linguistic structures. So, they may be having certain variants which are particular to that particular class, similarly geographical location is a reason in which it is spoken across the classes.

We may have the sociocultural background of the speaker, of course identity issues are there, and in order to demonstrate solidarity, we follow certain variations to register our membership with the group or with the community. So, it all happens and with all these parameters and indices of variations we do believe that these variations have a pattern, these variations are consistent with all these social categories.

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The slide is titled "Sociolinguistic Variables" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It lists four criteria for an ideal sociolinguistic variable:

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

A video inset in the bottom right shows a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

Moving on to variation studies in linguistics, we talked about Sociolinguistic Variables. It is very important for a researcher to identify sociolinguistic variables. We cannot randomly decide upon a certain sound or a certain pattern and believe it to be a representation of variation. You have to carefully and very meticulously select such sociolinguistic variables which may represent a particular social class, a particular social structure and we are then able to establish a correlation between social structure and linguistic structure.

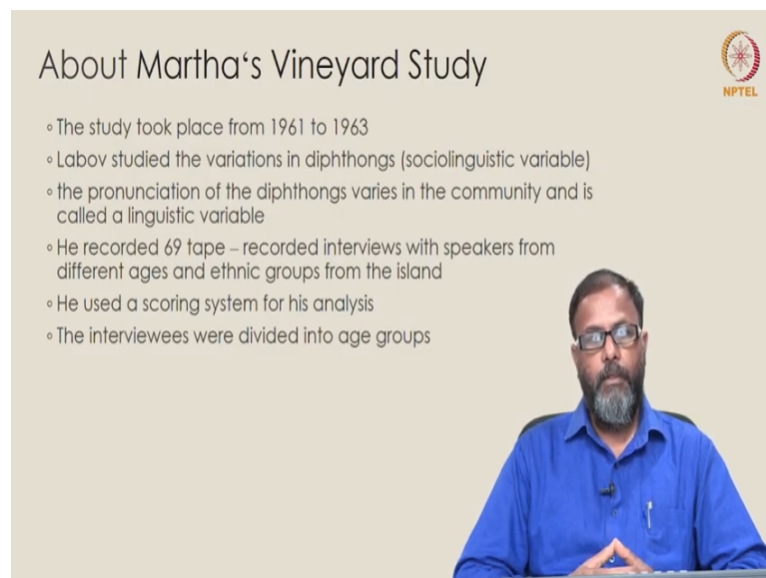
So, it becomes very important for the researcher to choose an appropriate and important, significant sociolinguistic variable. Labov specifies the ideal sociolinguistic variable to be high in frequencies: you have to see that the variable you are choosing must be high in frequency in the speech of the target population. Similarly, it has to have a certain immunity from conscious suppression, so that means you know the user of this variety, has it as a normal, regular, unmarked form so it is not suppressed under certain contextual limitations and constraints.

Similarly, it has to be an integral part of the larger structure. It is not isolated, it is prolific, productive and you know an important part of regular linguistic structures and it has to be

easily quantifiable on a linear scale, so that you can count it: you can, you know, quantify it. So, these are the characteristics of an effective, important Sociolinguistic Variable that Labov defines. So, either as a researcher or as a person in the field, you need to identify the Sociolinguistic Variables and you need to define your mechanism, your methodology; you need to prepare and do a little homework before you go for data collection.

We have done videos on Sociolinguistic Variables, and we have done videos on Observer's Paradox. These two things are very important in quantification and Study of Language, where we are talking about variation in language. And in the variationist tradition, Labov himself defined Observer's Paradox and Sociolinguistic Variables. We have to keep these constraints in our mind when we go for variable studies.

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The slide is titled "About Martha's Vineyard Study" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It contains a list of six bullet points describing the study. In the bottom right corner, there is a video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

- The study took place from 1961 to 1963
- Labov studied the variations in diphthongs (sociolinguistic variable)
- the pronunciation of the diphthongs varies in the community and is called a linguistic variable
- He recorded 69 tape – recorded interviews with speakers from different ages and ethnic groups from the island
- He used a scoring system for his analysis
- The interviewees were divided into age groups

We have already talked about Labov's work. However, it is important to quickly go through the trigger, the study that triggered this new approach in Quantification Study of Speech which we call Linguistic Variation, Sociolinguistic Variation, or what is also known as the Variationist Tradition. It all starts with the Martha's Vineyard Island Study by Labov which took place from 1961 to 1963. Now, Labov studied the variation in diphthongs. He identified diphthongs, a combination of two vowels, as a Sociolinguistic Variable in the speech of Martha's Vineyard Island inhabitants.

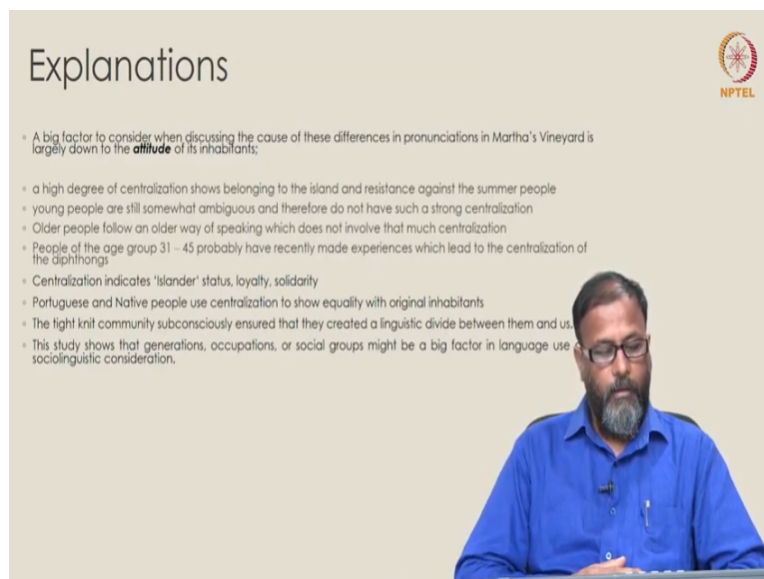
The pronunciation of the diphthong varied in community and it was called a Linguistic Variable. We will come to know why and how. He maintained, you know, a very informal contact with his respondents, he wanted to record natural speech. So, he had to mingle with

the population there. He was not an insider, but he contacted them and came close with them. You need to remember that it is very important to have natural speech when you are recording, when you are collecting data.

And in order to ensure natural speech, this is where he talks about Observer's Paradox—that your presence, or let us say that of the tape recorder and the setting becomes intimidating and hostile to your respondent. And your respondent may be conscious and then the whole exercise fails because you are not able to get the natural data.

So, he used multiple techniques to inspire them and to suppress such external elements like his presence, like the tape recorder and the tape recording-generated consciousness in the minds of the respondents. He used a scoring system for his analysis and the interviews were divided into age groups for different age groups. He recorded 69 tapes for the purpose and he classified them, transcribed them, classified them, analysed them by giving scores and you know he used a statistical method to get the results.

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The slide is titled "Explanations" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It contains a list of bullet points explaining factors related to pronunciation differences in Martha's Vineyard. In the bottom right corner, there is a video inset showing a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

- A big factor to consider when discussing the cause of these differences in pronunciations in Martha's Vineyard is largely down to the **attitude** of its inhabitants;
- a high degree of centralization shows belonging to the island and resistance against the summer people
- young people are still somewhat ambiguous and therefore do not have such a strong centralization
- Older people follow an older way of speaking which does not involve that much centralization
- People of the age group 31 - 45 probably have recently made experiences which lead to the centralization of the diphthongs
- Centralization indicates 'islander' status, loyalty, solidarity
- Portuguese and Native people use centralization to show equality with original inhabitants
- The tight knit community subconsciously ensured that they created a linguistic divide between them and us.
- This study shows that generations, occupations, or social groups might be a big factor in language use sociolinguistic consideration.

Now if you look at the explanation of what the outcome was of this study, a big factor to consider when discussing the causes of these differences in pronunciation in Martha's Vineyard Island may be reduced to the attitude of the inhabitants. Now you have to understand the background. Martha's Vineyard Island was a small populated island which would be visited by multiple summer visitors, many summer visitors would visit this island which was not very much liked by the inhabitants of the island because they considered them

to be an intrusion in their life, their language, their culture and such variations may be seen as a protest against those visitors.

And a sense of others, 'us versus others' you know. So it refers to the linguistic attitude, and the inhabitants of the island were very particular about sounding different from the rest of the visitors on the island. And this attitude continued in the middle-aged group who looked at themselves as the custodian of the language and culture of the island.


So, that is very important, so a high degree of centralisation in the diphthongs that was chosen by Labov as a Linguistic Variable shows belongingness to the island and resistance against the summer people. Young people were still somewhat ambiguous and therefore did not have such a strong centralisation but they were moving towards centralisation. Like, they were young and they were mostly unaware of such undercurrents and resistance.

People of the age group of 30 to 45 probably have these, recently made experiences which led to the centralisation of the diphthongs and a conscious deliberate effort can be seen in this age group that wanted to sound different. Centralisation indicates islander status, loyalty and solidarity. As I said, you know, so it was a signal of demonstrating loyalty to the island and it worked as an undercurrent and protest against the visitors of summer.


So, these variables are so loaded, we need to understand. So it was not a simple variable. The tight-knit community subconsciously ensured that they created a linguistic divide between them and us. So, in order to sound different, look different and sound different, this was a deliberate attempt to use this variable in their speech continuously and consciously. And this study shows that generations, occupations, social groups might be a big factor in language used as a sociolinguistic consideration.

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Labov's Study of the Varieties of English in New York City



- **Hypothesis:** The linguistic variable /r/ differentiates English in New York City
 - STATUS: correlation with social class
 - STYLE: if formality increases, r-usage increases as well
 - POSITION OF OCCURENCE: more likely at the end of words than before consonants
 - AGE: rather a feature of younger speakers
- **Deductions:**
 - Speakers who are ranked in a scale of social stratification will be ranked in the same order by their different use of a linguistic variable
 - Socio-economic difference cannot be ignored in linguistic studies



It was a landmark study by Labov, and it marked the beginning of a new approach in the quantification study of speech and the understanding of language variation. Another vital work which influenced many in the field is Labov's study of the varieties of English in New York City and for that he chose three departmental stores. And the selection of these three departmental stores in the New York study was based on the kind of customers they would attract and the demographic differences of the customers.

One was high class: a very expensive store, the other may be a store meant for targeting the local and working-class population. So, the selection was made very meticulously, depending on the social class of the visitors of the store. And then he devised his own style of collecting data. The hypothesis was that the linguistic variable /r/ sound differentiates English in New York city in terms of class status.

So, correlation with social class in terms of the style, correlation is with formality and informality. If the formality increases, the use of /r/ also increases. You know, he used to go and ask questions like, "Where can I find the ladies shoes?", and the answer would be "fourth floor". So you have in 'fourth' an /r/ sound, there in the middle of the word, and in 'floor' /r/ sound is at the end of the word, in word-final position.

And he would pay attention to this sound. He would record it and continue this exercise with multiple pictures in this source. And so the position of occurrence, like I told you, middle of the word or end of the word, and also the age group—which was hypothesised as rather a feature of the younger generation. What deductions can we make out of it? If speakers who are ranked in a scale of social stratification will be ranked in the same order by their different

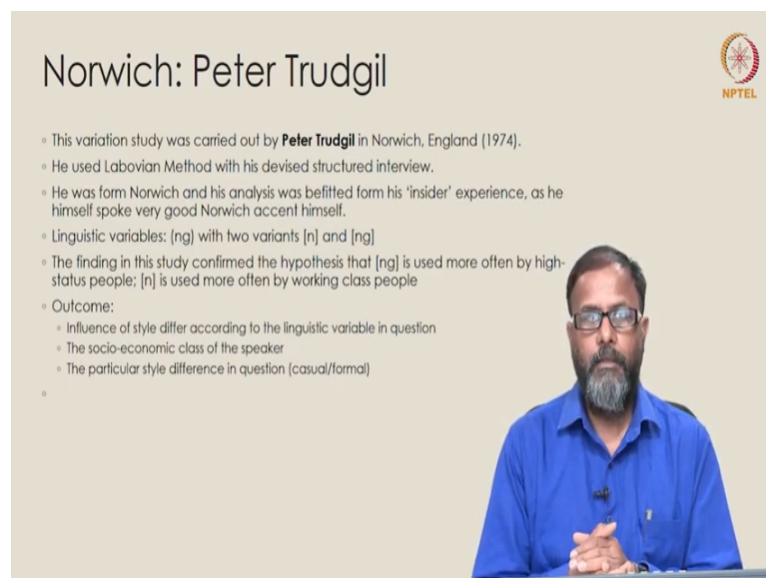
use of this linguistic variable, then it means that socioeconomic differences cannot be ignored in linguistic studies.

So, this study clearly established the fact that social order corresponds to linguistic ordering of this variable and that the social structure corresponds to linguistic structure. So, these two studies. And also, another study Labov carried out was on Afro-American Vernacular English among young speakers, Black speakers. These studies established a new methodology, a new approach to looking at speech in terms of Quantification.

So, how can speech be quantified, how can we identify a Sociolinguistic Variable, how can we collect data, what should be the approach in analysing data; how to analyse data with assigning scores, calculating them and having deductions. So, a very elaborate methodology and approach was laid out by Labov to be followed by many scholars in the field in future.

And this is exactly what happened based on the model that Labov produced. Many other studies were replicated in different parts of the world: Detroit for example, Belfast for example, Cardiff for example are to be given special mentions. And we will quickly look at these studies in a very brief way.

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The slide is titled "Norwich: Peter Trudgil" and features the NPTEL logo in the top right corner. It contains a list of bullet points describing a sociolinguistic study. In the bottom right corner, there is a video inset showing Peter Trudgil, a man with a beard and glasses, wearing a blue shirt, speaking.

- This variation study was carried out by **Peter Trudgil** in Norwich, England (1974).
- He used Labovian Method with his devised structured interview.
- He was from Norwich and his analysis was befitting from his 'insider' experience, as he himself spoke very good Norwich accent himself.
- Linguistic variables: (ng) with two variants [n] and [ŋg]
- The finding in this study confirmed the hypothesis that [ŋg] is used more often by high-status people; [n] is used more often by working class people
- Outcome:
 - Influence of style differ according to the linguistic variable in question
 - The socio-economic class of the speaker
 - The particular style difference in question (casual/formal)
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So, Norwich is a very important study done by Peter Trudgil in Norwich, England in 1974. He used the classical Labovian method with his devised structured interviews. He was himself from Norwich, a native of Norwich. So, it was easy for him unlike Labov, it was easy for him to be an insider, connect with his respondents and get the inside information.

He did not have to struggle to get the social structure of knowledge because he was from that place and he knew the social structure. And some predictable results he was familiar with. So being an insider of Norwich helped him a lot in analysing his data and coming up with deductions. He was from Norwich and I told you he spoke with a Norwich accent himself, so it was very easy for him to connect with the respondent.

So, he chose to, he chose one linguistic variable [n] sound, a velum nasal sound, and he tried to see the manifestation of it, the representation of it, in the speech of different social class with /n/ as a velum one or /n/ as dent one. So, /n/ with two variants [n] and [ng]—like singing [ng] and singing [n] at the end position. The findings of the study confirmed the hypothesis that [ng] is used more often by higher status people, who are educated and aware of this and also very conscious of producing this, while [n] is used more often by the working-class people who tend to be very casual and different from the high-status people.

So, the outcome or influence of a style differs according to the linguistic variable in question. The socio-economic class of the speaker determines the use of this variable and the particular style difference in question like casual and formal also determines occurrence of this variable in the speech of different people. So, it was almost like replicating the classical Labovian method which he did in Martha's Vineyard Island and New York City, that was replicated in Norwich by Peter Trudgil done in 1974 and this remains one of the significant studies in language and variation.

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Belfast: James and Lesley Milroy

- This variation study was conducted by **James Milroy** and **Lesley Milroy** (1980).
- The majority of the fieldwork was conducted by and Lesley Milroy. She was accepted as a friend as friend by the target group. She would contact another respondent as 'friend of a friend' and thus the chain continued.
- Because of this they maintained a very casual tone and speech pattern.
- They concentrated on the speech of the working class people (high incidence of unemployment and other social problems) in Belfast.
- Outcome: Social Network of Speech and social correlates of variation in speech.





Moving on to the next study done by James Milroy and Lesley Milroy in Belfast. So, this variation study was conducted by James Milroy and Lesley Milroy in the 1980s. Majority of the field work was done by Lesley Milroy and she was accepted as a friend by the target group. So, they maintained the same of their Observer's Paradox. They wanted to make sure that they were able to record their normal natural speech. So Lesley Milroy would visit and she would get another contact from the same friend and then she would contact another respondent as 'friend of a friend' and this is how they constructed the chain of respondents. She would specifically go to different respondents.


And by doing field work she became very close to the families she was targeting for her studies and in some families she got very informal access. So, it was not a problem for her to contact her respondents and get natural speech. Belfast had two kinds or two types of areas and one area had high levels of unemployment among men and such unemployment and lack of resources would also create a lot of social malice and social problems in the problematic area.

The other area was relatively better and she conducted her survey in both these areas: you know in the one area, some of the men would travel far away to get the job and all this figured in her deductions—analysis and deductions. So these Milroys concentrated on the speech of working class people only in Belfast, and Lesley Milroy had a very easy access to the target group because of her social networking. Using that network, you know, visiting the respondent as a friend of a friend, that allowed them to have a normal natural speech.


What was the outcome? The outcome was a social network of speech and social coherence of variation in the speech. So, they established a social correlation between social network of speech and social coordinates of variation in the speech of the working class of Belfast. So, the Belfast study is a significant milestone study. You can get more about these studies if you refer to the actual report and analysis of Milroys, 1980.

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Cardiff: Nikolas Coupland



- This variation study was carried out by **Nikolas Coupland** (1980, 1984, 1988) in Cardiff, the capital of Wales.
- Hypothesis: **Do we speak differently to different people?** [Accommodation Theory, Giles 1994; we tend to accommodate the speech to the speech of people we talk to]
- He found an assistant in a travel agency in the middle of Cardiff who would interact with those customers/visitors who would come for business purpose and Coupland would get their consents after informing them of recording and get demographic details.
- The tapes covered a broad spectrum of respondents, where Sue was the common respondent in all recorded tapes.
- Outcome: Verification of Accommodation Theory,
 - Linguistic Accommodation
 - Matching Social Status
 - Social Accommodation in Speech



Moving on to another very important and interesting study that was done by Nicolas Coupland in Cardiff, the capital of Wales in England. What was the hypothesis? The hypothesis was do we speak differently to different people? So, do we customize our speech according to the communication partner? Do we accommodate? So, this was also developed as ‘accommodation theory’.

So, he found an assistant and then he designed his experiment, he designed his research in such a way that he wanted to have a speaker who happens to talk to different people with different sociocultural backgrounds, socioeconomic backgrounds, where one speaker remains constant and the others speakers change to see how he or she interacts and communicates by making linguistic accommodations, social status accommodations, according to the class of the people.

For that, he designed the experiment and he found Sue, a lady who worked in a travel agency located in the heart of Cardiff, and she was an assistant working there. And because her job required her to respond to many people from different social classes and a lot of people would visit her every day, she remained common in all such conversations but other partners kept on changing because people from different backgrounds and social classes would visit and talk to her.

Coupland placed a microphone in front of the lady Sue, which was not visible to the people who would visit her, but he got the consent of Sue. She understood the research design and the purpose of the study, and she happily agreed to have the microphone placed there in front of her. And he would sit in a corner observing the visitors who would come but there was an

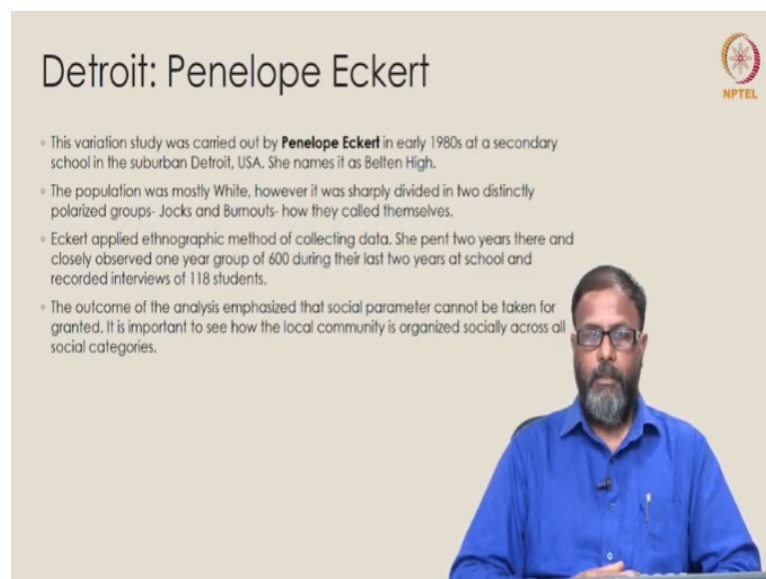
ethical issue because he wanted the visitors to know that their speech is being recorded but he would do it after the recording was done.

So, once the conversation is over and the visitor or the customer goes out, he would approach the customer, appraise the customer about the design and tell them that if they wanted, the part of the recording which had their speech can be erased. But thankfully, most of them agreed to continue without erasing any part and he would also talk to the customer in order to get the socio-economic background of the customer and all other demographic details.

So, this is how he recorded, meticulously, for days and he got a sizable body of recorded tape to transcribe and analyse. So, this experiment continued and in all the tapes the voice of Sue will remain constant, Sue was the constant character in all of those speech events and it was interesting to see that Sue would accommodate and try to match the status of the customer, accommodate to the style of the customer, of the style of speaking corresponding to the status of the customer and she would accommodate and make changes in her communication patterns and speech.


So, if you look at the outcome of this study, it verifies accommodation theory in communication, it verifies linguistic accommodation, matching status with your communication partner and all kinds of social accommodations in speech that Sue made so that, you know, it establishes the Accommodation Theory in communication.


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Detroit: Penelope Eckert

- This variation study was carried out by **Penelope Eckert** in early 1980s at a secondary school in the suburban Detroit, USA. She names it as Belten High.
- The population was mostly White, however it was sharply divided in two distinctly polarized groups- Jocks and Burnouts- how they called themselves.
- Eckert applied ethnographic method of collecting data. She spent two years there and closely observed one year group of 600 during their last two years at school and recorded interviews of 118 students.
- The outcome of the analysis emphasized that social parameter cannot be taken for granted. It is important to see how the local community is organized socially across all social categories.





Then in this class, last but not the least, we will talk about the Detroit Study. This is also a very interesting experiment, if you look at the design it is very interesting. It was done by

Penelope Eckert in the early 1980's at a secondary school in suburban Detroit, USA and she would call it the Belten High. The population of the school was almost White population, the students were all from the White racial group. But it was sharply divided in two groups, and these were highly polarised groups.

Majority of them belonged to either group but some of them also treated themselves as moderators and they identified with each group according to their convenience. However, these two groups were very polarised, one group would call itself Jocks and the other would call itself Burnouts. So, she observed 600 such students and recorded 118 interviews.

Just for your reference, Jocks were loyal to this school, they would derive their identity with their school, they would remain in school from prime premises, they would study well, they would do well, participate in sports and extracurricular activities—more or less, they were all 'good' students of the school. They would identify themselves with this school, they would follow the rules of this school and they were loyal to the school and its system.

The other group was just the opposite, the Burnouts. So that group had tendencies to defy the rules, they would run away from the school, they would get out of the school as early as possible, they would not stay in the school, they did not identify with the school, they would take drugs, and they would do all such sorts of other unwarranted things. And there was a high competition between these two groups. Now this is the background of the design of experiments she carried out there.

The outcome of the analysis emphasised that social parameters cannot be taken for granted. Social parameters like age, sex, social class, here was a different situation altogether. It was a local community of this school that displayed a remarkable variation in the social variation, linguistic variation and this work by Penelope Eckert established that it is important to see how the local community is organised socially across all social categories that we talk about.

You can continue looking at different variation studies done till date all over the world but I wanted to sensitise you and mention the Detroit study for example, the Norwich study for example, the Belfast study for example, the Martha's Vineyard Island study for example, or the New York study by Labov. So, these are some specimens and they are very significant studies in language variation. But the foundations of language variation studies were laid with the work by Labov in Martha's Vineyard Island and New York survey.

And this tradition or this style of doing linguistics is called Variationist Tradition. You can watch more to understand Labov's idea and above framework of variation in our videos that we have done on Labov and this marks a new beginning in sociolinguistics. So, the 1960s is seen as a fertile time for a new sub-discipline to emerge and these are the few studies that I mentioned in this talk that are specimens.

They are not exhaustive in nature you can look at them separately and you can also look at all around you, you might notice certain variation and changes in a speech around you and then try to see who are the people, their background and try to see do they follow the same parameter and pattern of the rest of the class, rest of the group, the rest of the region and how your speech is different from theirs. So, it is all for you to see and observe, all around you. This is it for now, thank you very much.