

Chapter II

Review of related literature

2.1 Sociolinguistic studies of (r)

(r) is a phonological variable that has been much investigated. Some of the studies of the T(r) and E(r) are summarized in the following sections.

2.1.1 (r) in Thai

Treyakul (1986) investigates variation of (r) and (l) in Bangkok Thai. The purpose of the study is to explain the stylistic variation of (r) and (l) in Bangkok Thai. The informants consist of 28 Bangkok's F.M. radio newscasters of both sexes and with a bachelor's degree or higher. They are selected as informants representing Standard Thai speakers on two criteria: (a) they have passed the required Standard Thai reading tests officially administered by the Broadcasting Directing Board to become radio and television newscasters, (b) their reading is recognized by Bangkok listeners who are mostly educated people. The linguistic variables under study are (r) and (l) in the prevocalic and postconsonantal positions of the word. Each variable has five main variants, i.e. [r],

[r], [ɹ], [l] and [ø]. The first four variants occur in both prevocalic position and in clusters; [ø] occurs only in clusters.

The stylistic variables under study are of four types:

1. The informal style represented by an interview.
2. The formal style represented by reading news on the radio.
3. The more formal style represented by reading a passage.
4. The most formal style represented by reading a list of (r)-(l) minimal pairs.

The results show that in both prevocalic and postconsonantal positions, (r) occurs most frequently as [r] in the most formal style, and as [ɹ] in the formal styles of news reading as well as in the more formal style of passage reading. In the informal style of conversation, (r) occurs most often as [l] and [ø] in the prevocalic position and in clusters, respectively. Except in the case of the most formal minimal pairs, [r] occurs more frequently than [ɹ]. As for (l), it occurs most frequently as [l] in both positions in every style. The research results also show that aspiration and stress of the first consonant in the cluster has some influence on the variation of (r) and

(1). For example, in informal conversation, the frequency of the postconsonantal [ø] after an aspirated consonant is greater than that after an unaspirated consonant. The frequencies of [r] and [r̥] in stressed and unstressed syllables do not differ greatly, except in the more formal style of passage reading, in which the frequency of [r] in an unstressed syllable is higher than that in a stressed syllable.

Beebe (1974) studies variation of (r) (l) and (w) clusters in Bangkok Thai. The most important purpose of the research is to examine the relationship between social factors and the three groups of clusters. The social variables are social class, age, and education. Social class is based on occupational prestige. In this study, there are five social classes ordered from the highest to the lowest: professional, managerial and business professional, semi-professional, semi-skilled workers, and unskilled labourers and servants. As for age, the informants are classified into two age groups, i.e. those aged 36 and over, and those aged 35 and under. Regarding education, Beebe sets up four educational levels, i.e. university level, secondary level, vocational level, and primary level. The informants consist of 151 native speakers of Bangkok Thai. They are all ethnic Thai who were born and raised in Bangkok. They were randomly

selected from three institutions: Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Education, the Erawan Hotel, and an oil company. Natural conversation in Bangkok Thai is the means of collecting data, and the conversation takes place at the informants' workplace.

With reference to (r), the findings reveal that (r) in the cluster has five variants:

1. "full retained variant", or standard Thai (r) variant which is a flapped r
2. a reduced variant, referring to the non-occurrence of the second member of the cluster
3. a voiced lateral
4. an alveolar trill
5. a continuant retroflex

The results show that there is a positive correlation between occupational class and cluster retention. The speakers of a higher social class pronounce more full clusters than those of lower classes. Conversely, there is a reverse relationship between cluster simplification and occupational classes. As for age differentiation, there is a positive correlation between the age of informants and full cluster retention. The speakers of the older age group use more full clusters than those of the younger age group. Also, the higher



age group displays a higher rate of [l] variant than the younger group. Regarding the educational level, there is a positive correlation between full cluster retention and the educational levels, excluding vocational level.

Senawong (1989) studies variation of word-initial (bl)(br)(fl)(fr) and (dr) in English loanwords in Thai, which is part of her thesis designed to investigate phonological, morphological and semantic transference from English to Thai resulting from language contact between Thai and English. Each of the cluster variables has three variants:

1. Full clusters: both consonants are retained. This variant coincide with the "standard" form of Thai initial clusters and is usually the prestigious form. The full clusters represent the variants Thai speakers acquire at school.

2. Reduced clusters: the second segment of the cluster, either [l] or [r], is not pronounced, and thus the cluster becomes one single initial consonant.

3. Substitute clusters: Substitution refers to both the use of [l] for [r], and [r] for [l].

The social variables involved in this study are sex, occupational class, age group and style. Occupational class consists of four classes ordered from the highest to

the lowest: professionals, semi-professionals, students, and clerical and skilled workers. Age group is divided into three groups: those aged 18-25, 26-40 and those over 40 years old. As for style, three style levels are under study:

1. The more casual style, represented by naming in which each informant is required to give a single-word answer which is intended to be an English loanword in Thai and which will be used in the other two tests.

2. The more careful style, represented by reading short phrases and sentences in Thai

3. The most formal style, represented by reading a word list in Thai.

The informants are 100 Thais distributed equally in four occupational classes with approximately equal number of males and females in each class. They were selected from the people in her career, personal and family networks. The findings indicate that the informants prefer to retain the initial clusters in English loanwords in Thai by using the full clusters. In every occupational class, age group and sex group, the rate of the full clusters or the standard variant is the highest, followed by reduced clusters and substitute clusters. The speakers of a higher occupational class use the standard variant more frequently than those of a lower class. Female

speakers make a greater use of the standard variant than male, and older informants prefer the standard variant more than the younger. In the more formal style, the speakers of each occupational class tend to adopt the more standard variant.

2.1.2 (r) in English

Labov (1972:43-69) studies variation of postvocalic (r) in English spoken by Americans in New York. (r) has two variants: (r-1) rhotic and (r-0) non-rhotic, or the presence and absence of /r/, respectively, in postvocalic position in *car. card. four, fourth.* etc. (r-1) is more prestigious than (r-0). The purpose of the study is to investigate the social stratification of postvocalic (r) in English spoken by New Yorkers. The sample consisted of employees working in three department stores in New York: Saks Fifth Avenue, Macy's and S Klein, which represent high status, middle status and lower status, respectively. The researcher walked into each selected department store and asked the informant a normal question where a certain item was, so as to elicit from him/her the answer "Fourth floor". After getting the reply, the researcher pretended not to have heard the answer, leant forward and the informant would repeat "Fourth floor" emphatically. It was the researcher's intention to study and compare (r) in normal and emphatic style. The results show that (r) is in fact socially stratified in New York. The employees at the Saks used more (r-1) than those working at Macy's, who still used more [r] than at S Klein. Such a variation pattern prevailed no matter which group of employees was involved.

e.g. considering all the informants or only looking at black speakers or only white female employees. Furthermore, (r) is a social stratificating variable even within one single department store. At Macy's, the employees of a higher job position used more (r-1) than those of a lower position. The employees working in the upper floor, considered to be more luxurious, pronounced more [r] than those in the lower floor. Attention to speech was found to have influence on the (r) usage as there was a tendency for (r-1) to increase in the emphatic style for each store. Regarding age group, the study found that at Saks speakers of younger age had a greater use of (r-1) than the older. But the trends seemed to be reverse at Macy's where older speakers preferred more (r-1) than the younger. Labov explains that such a phenomenon took place because of hypercorrection on the part of Macy's middle-class employees who felt linguistically insecure to the extent that the older employees there tried to move upward by using the prestigious form of (r).

Romaine (1978) studies variation of postvocalic (r) in Scottish English. The purpose of the research is to challenge the long and widely held notion that Scots speakers form a monolithic r-producing speech community. Romaine examines the relationship between (r) and age, sex,

style, and phonetic environments. The data used for the study were tape-recorded interviews with 24 Edinburgh school children from a primary school. The informants were born in Edinburgh of working class families and were chosen non-randomly on the basis of their fathers' occupations. There were 12 males and 12 females, classified by three age groups: six, eight, and ten-year-olds. Each informant was recorded in a face-to-face single interview with the investigator. Only the ten-year-olds were recorded in an additional more formal style: reading a passage. The (r) variable was observed to have three variants: a tap [ɾ], a voiced frictionless continuant [ɹ], and a zero occurrence [∅]. [ɹ] is considered a prestigious form in Standard Scottish English and a marker of polite Edinburgh speech.

Three phonetic environments were examined for possible effects of phonetic conditioning on (r):

1. word-final (r) followed by a pause or in utterance final position
2. word-final (r) followed by a word beginning with a vowel
3. word-final (r) followed by a word beginning with a consonant

The findings show that [ɹ] occurs most frequently and [∅] is the least favoured option. [ɾ] is likely to occur

when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. [ɹ] is likely to occur before a word beginning with a consonant, and r-lessness is most likely to appear before a pause or in utterance final position. With regard to the relationship between sex and (r), the results suggest that within each age group, the males make greater use of [r] and [ø] than the females. The females prefer the use of [ɹ] more often than [r] and [ø]. As for the relationship between age and (r), Romaine finds that the ten-year-olds make the greatest use of [r] of all the three age groups. The six-year-olds make the greatest use of [ø] and the eight-year-olds make the least use of [ø] but equal use of [r] and [ɹ]. The results also show that the girls make greater use of [ɹ] than the boys in both interview and reading passage. In the reading passage, the girls show some decrease in their use of [ɹ] while at the same time show a corresponding increase in r-lessness. The boys become more frequent [ɹ] users in the reading passage but are also more often non-rhotic. It is concluded that both males and females seem to be innovating in different directions. The females are the innovators in a prestige form of local norm, [ɹ], in Scottish English. The males on the other hand are innovating in a direction away from the local educated Scots prestige norm, but in accepting r-lessness, their usage happens to coincide with a much larger national norm, the RP variety.

2.1.3 (r) in English spoken by Thais

Beebe (1980) studies variation of (r) in English spoken by Thais. The objective of the study is to find answers to four research questions, one of which is whether the transfer from the native language of a variant also follow rules of sociolinguistic appropriateness in the native language. The informants of the study are nine native Bangkok Thai speakers of approximately equal number of males and females, all living in America, aged 25-40 years old. Each speaker was tape-recorded in an interview with the researcher and was also required to read a list of 25 isolated English words containing an /r/ or an /l/. Five of the words contained single initial /r/. The results show that there exists a relationship between style and (r) in the English of Thais. In informal conversations, thirty-eight per cent of the single initial English (r) becomes [ɹ], the standard target language variant, but only nine per cent occurs as such in the formal listing task. One explanation for the low accuracy rate on this variable in listing is interference from the native language. An even greater cause is the creation of new variants which do not exist in either Thai or English. Substitution of Thai variants, [l], [r] and [r], for American [ɹ] accounts for thirty-eight per cent of the total occurrences in listing, but only for four per cent

in conversation. Clearly there is a greater transfer from the native language in formal style than in informal context. The findings reveal that the most frequently used Thai variant in the formal listing task is the prestigious trill [r], accounting for twenty-four per cent. A formal Thai variant is transferred in a formal setting of English. Thus, the use of [r] demonstrates both style shifting and transfer of a socially appropriate variant based on native language rules.

2.2 Sociolinguistic studies of other phonological elements

Apart from (r), sociolinguists have studied variation of other phonological elements, some of which will be explored in this section.

2.2.1 Thai

Charmikorn (1988) studies variation of the word-final (s) in English loanwords in Thai. The main purposes of the study are to analyze the (s) variation, and to see whether or not the variation is conditioned by social factors. The social variables that are expected to play an important role in the variation are sex, age and experience abroad. The (s) variable has two main variants: [s] and [t]. The samples in the study are 122 Royal Thai Navy officers with a bachelor degree or higher. The data collection instrument is a reading list of eight sentences in Thai, each containing an English loanword, e.g. เทนนิส "tennis", บัส "bus". The findings reveal that [s] is used twice as much as [t]. The social variable that plays an important role in this variation is the speaker's experience abroad. It is concluded that the Thai voiceless alveolar fricative [s] which normally occurs in the initial

position, is developing another function, i.e. being used as a final consonant in Thai.

Arunreung (1990) investigates the variation of the falling tone in Bangkok Thai. The objective of the study is to find out whether or not the falling tone, as in บ้าน /ba:n2/ "home", of Bangkok Thai speakers varies by age and style, and if it does, what the variation is like. The linguistic variable in this research is Bangkok Thai's falling tone which, based on preliminary observation, has three variants: the mid-fall, high-fall, and mid-rise-mid. The mid-fall variant is the most prestigious while the mid-rise-mid, the least standard but the variant observed to be most preferred in the speech of younger generation. The social variables used are age group and style. Age is divided into three groups: 55-60, 35-40, and 15-20 age group. The style consists of a reading passage, representing the formal style, and an informal conversation. The informants were 30 females randomly selected from lecturers in the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn University for the two older age groups, and from high school students of Suksanaree School. There are 10 informants in each age group. The results show that the falling tone variable consists of five variants: the mid-tone, high-fall, mid-rise-mid, mid-rise-fall, and mid-level-fall. The use

of the falling tone is found to vary significantly according to the age of speakers. The mid-fall is mostly used by the speakers of elder age groups although those aged 35-40 years also use the high-fall variant considerably. The mid-rise-mid variant is mostly used by the younger generation aged 15-20 years. As for stylistic variation, it is found that each age group's rate of the mid-fall increases in formal reading situation and that of the mid-rise-mid increases in informal conversational style. However, both the older generation group use the mid-fall variant at a higher percentage than the young generation and the latter use the mid-rise-mid variant more than the other two groups. It is concluded that the tonal variants of the old generation are obviously different from those of the young generation. On the whole, the mid-fall is still the most frequently used in Bangkok Thai. But in the future the mid-rise-mid variant used by the younger generation may be the most commonly used in Bangkok Thai, judging from the fact that its percentage of use comes only second to the mid-fall.

2.2.2 English

Fischer (1958) studies variation of (-ing) in the participle ending with a view to find out the influences of social factors on the choice of a linguistic variant. The informants consist of 24 children with an equal number of boys and girls, both divided into two equal age groups, 3-6 and 7-10. The place of study is a semi-rural New England village, and the interviews are used as the means of data collection. (-ing) has two variants i.e. the variant of greater prestige, -ing, and less prestige, -in. The findings indicate that a markedly greater number of girls use -ing more frequently while more boys use more -in suggesting that in this community, -ing is regarded as symbolising female speakers and -in as symbolising male. Within each sex, differences in personality are associated with the proportion of frequency of -ing to -in. Fischer compares a "model" boy and a "typical" boy. The former, who does his school work well, is popular among his peers and is reputed to be thoughtful and considerate, whereas the latter is regarded as physically strong, dominating, full of mischief, but disarmingly frank about his transgressions. The result shows that the "model" boy uses almost exclusively the -ing ending, while the "typical" boy uses the -in ending more than half the time. The study also notes a slight tendency for the variant to be associated

with higher socio-economic status. Stylistic variation is observed too. In the increasingly less formal situation, the "model" boy's frequency of variants changes from an almost exclusive use of -ing in the most formal interview to a predominance of -in in the informal interview.

Trudgill (1972) studies variation of (ng) of the participle ending -ing in Norwich, England, with an aim to analyze the variation according to three social variables: social class, sex and style. (ng) has two variants, [ŋ] and [n], the former being more prestigious. There are sixty randomly selected informants in this study, and they are classified into five social groups on the basis of their occupation, income, education, father's occupation, housing, and locality: middle middle class, lower middle class, upper working class, middle working class, and lower working class. Four styles are used to investigate how informants behave linguistically in particular real-life social situations ranging from formal to informal: wordlist, reading passage, formal speech and casual speech. The findings indicate that there is a clear relationship between usage of (ng) and social class membership, sex, and style. Informants of a higher class use more [ŋ] than those of lower class. Even within each style, the same pattern prevails, and as far as style is concerned, informants of each social class make a greater

use of [ŋ] as they approach more formal situations. Within each social class, female speakers prefer more [ŋ] than male, and females of higher class use more [ŋ] than females of lower class.

Macaulay (1978) studies variation of (i) in fully stressed syllables in English in Glasgow, Scotland, with an aim to show that linguistic variation exists in a socially stratified speech community. (i) has five variants, in order of prestige: 1. [i] 2. [ɛ̂] or [ɪ̥] 3. [ɛ>] or [ɪ̥] 4. [ə̂] and 5. [ʌ̂]. Three social variables are selected for the investigation: sex, social class and age. Social class is classified into four social-class groups according to the occupation of the principal wage-earner in the family: Class I - professional and managerial; Class II - white-collar, intermediate non-manual; Class III - skilled manual; and Class IV - semi-skilled and unskilled manual. Class III and Class IV were subsequently grouped together into a single class, labelled "Class III/IV", due to the fact that the differences in the use of (i) between these two classes were much smaller than those between the three major social-class groups. The informants consist of 16 adults, 16 fifteen-year-olds, and 16 ten-year-olds, with an equal number of males and females in each age group. They were selected to give equal representation in the four social-

class groups. The investigator conducted tape-recorded interviews with all the informants, using a slightly different questionnaire for each age group. For each informant, 40 tokens of (i) from the first half of the tape and 40 tokens from the second half of the tape were extracted and analyzed. The results show that there is a relationship between social-class group, sex and age. The informants of a higher social-class group use the standard variants more than those of a lower social-class group and the trend also prevails in each sex or age group. Within each social-class group, the females use more standard variants than the males. Within the same social-class group, the older informants, either as a whole or of each sex group, use more standard variants than the younger ones. The investigator also finds that the distance between the social class groups increases with age. Another interesting sex difference is that Class I fifteen-year-old girls are much closer to Class I women in their use of (i) than Class I fifteen-year-old boys are to Class I men. The investigator says that this may be caused by the fact that the girls are aware of the social significance of the variable or it indicates that for the boys working-class speech holds favourable connotations.

Reid (1978) investigates the variation of (t) and (ng) in the speech of eleven-year-old schoolchildren in Edinburgh, Scotland. The purpose of the study is to demonstrate that children's development of sociolinguistic variation takes place at the pre-adolescent stage. The social variables used are type of school, father's occupation, style and phonetic environment. The researcher set up three types of school: "School 1", serving one of the bottom eight catchment areas; "School 2", serving one of the top eight catchment areas; and "School 3", a fee-paying day school, which was included so that the researcher would cover the children of those social groups who did not use the publicly supported schools. Father's occupation is classified into four groups:

- (1) professionals, managers and employers
- (2) intermediate and junior non-manual workers
- (3) foremen, skilled manual workers and "own account workers other professionals"
- (4) personal service workers, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

The informants were tape-recorded in four different contexts, ranging from the most formal style to the least:

- (1) reading aloud a passage
- (2) a one-to-one interview with the investigator

(3) talking with two classmates with minimal participation by the investigator and

(4) playground interaction, where the boy wore a radio-microphone and transmitter while playing with friends and was recorded via a receiver inside the school. The phonetic contexts under investigation are

(1) word-medial

(2) word-final before an initial vowel in the following word

(3) word-final before a pause

(4) word-final before an initial consonant in the following word.

Only two styles were studied in phonetic context, however, i.e. interview with the researcher, and talking with classmates.

The phonological variables are (t) and (ng). (t) represents the variation between alveolar, [t] and [t'], and glottal stops, [ʔ] and [ʔt], medially and finally in the word. Similarly, (ng) represents the variation between velar nasals [ŋ] and alveolar nasals [n] in *-ing* suffixes. [t] and [t'], and [ŋ] are the standard variant for (t) and (ng), respectively. Sixteen informants were involved in the study: six each from "School 1" and "School 2", and four from "School 3".



The results reveal that the informants pronounce (t) as glottal stops most in word-final position before an initial consonant in the following word, with word-final before a pause coming second, and word-medial the least favoured position. The findings also indicate that (ng) becomes [ŋ] most frequently in reading passage style, followed by interviews, talking with classmates and playground interaction, but the order for (t) pronounced as the standard variant [t] is different from that of (ng) in that playground interaction comes third and talking with classmates fourth. The cause for this reversal of order was derived from an informant's suggestion given to his friends that, wearing the radio-microphone, they should act as a TV commentator. and some informants acted accordingly, leading to the more frequent use of [ŋ] in informal playground interaction than in talking to classmates. Grouping the informants according to social class or by school affiliation, the researcher finds a relationship between less standard variants and low social status, and more standard variants and high social status. The pattern of variation still remains the same when the informants are grouped by social class or by school type in different styles.

Douglas-Cowie (1978) studies the variation of five phonological variables, (ng)(ɪ)(aɪ)(au) and (ɔ:, ɒ, ʌ-a) in English spoken in the village of Articlave, four miles from the town of Coleraine in County Londonderry, Northern Ireland. The purposes of the study are to explore (1) the social factors which promote bidialectalism in Articlave, (2) the social situations which determine a bidialectal's choice of linguistic code and (3) the varying abilities of different social group to switch or maintain the switch from non-standard to more standard speech varieties. The social factors under investigation are interlocutor, topic of conversation, factor of time and social ambition. Each phonological variable has variants. (ng) has two variants: [ŋ] and [n]. (ɪ) has three variants, ranging from an almost RP realization to one which is much lower and further back: [ɪ][ə] and [ʌ]. The third variable (aɪ) concerns the degree of centralization present in the first element of the diphthong /aɪ/; it has three variants, ranging from an open tongue position close to that of some RP speakers for /aɪ/ to a very centralized first element: [aɪ][aɪ] and [əɪ]. The fourth variable (au) comprises the pronunciation of the first element in the diphthong /au/; it has four variants, ranging from an open tongue position through varying degrees of centralization to a zero first element: [au], [ʌu], [au] and [u]. The fifth variable (ɔ:, ɒ, ʌ-a) concerns the total or partial replacement by

some informants of /ɔ:/ or /ɒ/ by /a/, especially in words where /ɔ:/ or /ɒ/ are preceded by /w/ or followed by /l/. The variable also involves the replacement of /ʌ/ by /a/ in the words "one" and "none". It has three variants:

1. [ɔ:, ɒ, ʌ]
2. [ɔ:->a, ɒ->a, ʌ->]
3. [a].

The informants are ten adults representing a cross-section of the Articlave community and they know each other well. They are asked by the investigator, who is also a native of Articlave and lives there, to participate in three data collection instances, called "Experiment One", "Experiment Two" and "Experiment S". In Experiment One, they come to the investigator's home in self-elected groups of two and are secretly tape-recorded chatting for a period of two hours. In Experiment Two, they are asked to come singly to the investigator's home and are secretly tape-recorded for two hours in one-to-one interaction with an outsider, a well-educated Englishman with an RP accent. Informant's linguistic behaviour in the presence of an English outsider in the second experiment could be compared with their speech in more informal situations in the first experiment. In the third experiment, attempts are made to measure informants' social ambitions by asking each of them to rate how keen the other informants are "to get on in the world" on the scale of four alternatives from "Very keen" to "Not keen".

The results show that the presence of an outsider very often initiates a switch to more standard variants. The analysis of informants' linguistic behaviour in Experiment Two shows that all informants tend to use a less standard variant in the second half of the conversation with the English outsider. The investigator also finds that certain topics of conversation, in particular the discussion of occupation and education, can reinforce informants' tendencies to use a more standard variant in Experiment Two. The findings also confirm the relationship between informants' linguistic behaviour and social ambitions, since the informants with high social ambition are likely to use the more standard variants than those with low social ambition who tend to use the less standard variants. Their linguistic behaviour is found to be more linked to their social aspiration than to their educational or occupational attainment.

2.2.3 English spoken by native speakers of Egyptian Arabic

Schmidt (1977) studies variation of (ə) in Egyptian Arabic and (e) in English spoken by native speakers of Egyptian Arabic. The purposes of this work are (1) to demonstrate that a careful contrastive analysis can predict some facts about interlanguage phonology in a rather precise manner and (2) to argue that at least for certain types of foreign language learning problems a more sophisticated type of contrastive analysis than that generally used or assumed must be developed. /e/ is a phoneme in Egyptian Arabic and it is also a phoneme in English. (ə) in Egyptian Arabic as well as in the English of native speakers of Arabic Egyptians has two variants: [e] and [s], the first one being the prestigious. The subjects consist of 34 native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, all male and all students of English at the time the study was carried out. Each subject is asked to read two sets of readings, one in Arabic and the other in English, each set comprising minimal pairs, a wordlist and a reading passage. In this study, reading minimal pairs is the most formal style and reading passage the least formal. The results show that in both Arabic and in English, the subjects vary their pronunciations of e-words stylistically in the two languages. The subjects use [e] most in the most formal

style of reading minimal pairs and least in the least formal style of reading passage. The subjects increase the frequency of [ə]-pronunciations in both languages when moving from the least formal style, the reading passage, to the two more formal styles of word lists and minimal pairs. The results also indicate that performance scores for English ə-words correlate highly with scores on the Arabic (ə) at each style level measured. That is, within a given style level, the frequency with which a given subject substitutes [s] for [ə] in English ə-words reflect his/her alternations in Arabic.

2.2.4 Canadian French

Sankoff and Cedergren (1971, cited in Chambers and Trudgill 1980:73) investigate variation of (l) in French spoken in Montreal, Canada. This deals with the presence or absence of the consonant /l/ in the pronunciation of the pronouns *il* "he, it", *elle* "she, it", *ils* "they", *la* "her, it", *les* "them", and the definite articles *la* "feminine singular" and *les* "plural". (l) has two variants: [l] and [ø]. The [l] variant, as in *il* [il] "he, it", is socially more prestigious and is regarded as more "correct" than the zero variant. The findings indicate that middle class speakers use more [l] than working class speakers, and women are more likely to use [l] than men.

2.3 Interlanguage

Richards, Platt and Weber (1985:145-146) define interlanguage as "the type of language produced by second- and foreign-language learners who are in the process of learning a language." The language produced by the learner is called differently by different people. Nemesi (1969) refers to it as an approximative system, defined as "the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language." An approximative system is independent of the source language (mother tongue) and target language. An argument for its independence is the evidence that there are frequent and systematic occurrences in non-native speech of elements not directly attributable to either source language or target language; for example, Hungarian learners of English often pronounce English /ə/ as [fə] or [sə] which do not exist in English or Hungarian. The assumption for approximative systems is threefold: firstly, the learner speech is the patterned product of a linguistic system, which is distinct from the mother tongue and the target language. Secondly, approximative systems form an evolving series at successive stages of learning, the earliest occurring when a learner first attempts to use the target language, the most advanced at the closest stage to the target language. Thirdly, approximative

systems of learners at the same stage of proficiency roughly coincide, with major variations ascribable to differences in learning experience.

Selinker (1972) uses the word "interlanguage" to refer to the non-native language produced by the language learner and defines it as "a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a target language norm". In language learning, according to Selinker, there are psycholinguistic processes underlying interlanguage behaviour. Five central processes are suggested:

- (1) *language transfer*, referring to borrowing patterns from the mother tongue, e.g. the French learner of English use the French uvular /r/ in their English interlanguage.
- (2) *Transfer of training*. This process involves deviant elements stemming from textbooks and teachers. An example is Serbo-Croatian speakers using "he" in English interlanguage on almost every occasion wherever "he" or "she" would be called for. There is no language transfer effect since there is a distinction between he/she in their native language. The root cause of the problem arises from the lesson drills which always present "he" and never "she".
- (3) *Strategies of second language learning*. This process refers to a tendency on the part of learners to reduce the target language to a simpler

system. For example, if the learner has adopted the strategy that all verbs are either transitive or intransitive, he may produce interlanguage forms such as "I am feeling thirsty" by adopting the strategy that the realization of the category aspect in its progressive form on the surface is always with -ing marking. (4) *Strategy of second language communication.* This is a tendency on the part of second language learners to use the words and grammar which are already known. An example is the Serbo-Croatian speakers above who even though they are consciously aware of the distinction and of their recurrent error, regularly produce "he" for both "he" and "she", stating that they feel they do not need to make this distinction in order to communicate.

(5) *Overgeneralization of target language linguistic material.* This is an extension of patterns from the target language, e.g. "What did he intended to say?" where the past tense morpheme -ed is extended to an environment in which, to the learner, it could apply, but in fact does not. In addition to the five central processes, Selinker introduces the concept of fossilization, a mechanism which is assumed to exist in the psychological structure. Fossilizable linguistic phenomena are linguistic items, rules, and subsystems which speakers of a particular native language will tend to keep in their interlanguage relative to a particular target language, no matter what

the age of the learner or amount of explanation and instruction he receives in the target language. Fossilizable structures tend to remain as potential performance, re-emerging in the productive performance of an interlanguage even when seemingly eradicated. Fossilizable items, rules and subsystems which occur in interlanguage performance can be a result of any of the five central processes.

From the above review of related literature, it can be seen that the (r) in Thai and (r) in English have not been fully dealt with. They have been studied in separate research and individual research concentrate on different aspects of variation with one studying social variation of r-clusters in Thai, another one looking at stylistic variation of the T(r) in prevocalic position and in clusters, and the other one investigating variation of single initial (r) in English spoken by Thais. More importantly, no survey has touched upon the social variation of the E(r) in the speech of Thai speakers. This present study attempts to integrate variations of the two phonological variables, to relate them to social factors and also to find out how much influence the two (r) variables have on each other. The cross-linguistic influence of variation of the T(r) on the

E(r) and vice versa will provide further evidence to support the theory of interlanguage.