CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1 Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on the features of speech convergence used by a Madurese seller towards the Javanese buyers. The analysis of this study is based on the speech convergence features in Communication Accommodation Theory (henceforth CAT) by Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991, p.5-7). This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part describes about CAT itself and its two branches: speech convergence and speech divergence. In the first part, there are also explanations about speech convergence features and the motive implied in each feature. The second part is about interethnic accommodation and the importance of norm in it. The third part describes about Javanese norms. Finally, the last part is the review of previous studies.

2.1.1 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Communication Accommodation Theory (henceforth CAT) has long been recognized as a link between language, context, and identity (Gallois, Ogay, and Giles, 2005 cited in Gudykunst, 2005). This theory began from research in sociopsychology (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.2). Furthermore, from the perspective of sociopsychology, there are many individuals with different group memberships, roles, and social identities (based on their hierarchy level, age, gender,

profession, and many more) (Nkomo and Cox, 1996 cited in Giles, Willemyns, Gallois, and Anderson, 2006). Hence, if an individual who belongs to a certain social group intends to communicate with another individual who comes from different social group, they need to accommodate their speech to ease their communication.

CAT itself is the refinement version of Speech Accommodation Theory (henceforth SAT). The function of SAT at that time was to give deep explanation about people's motivations to accommodate their speech and the social consequences that they might get by doing so (Gallois, Ogay, and Giles, 2005 cited in Gudykunst, 2005). Nonetheless, there were still little attentions given to the paralinguistic and non verbal behaviors (Giles et.al, 2006). SAT was then renamed as CAT after considering that paralinguistic and non-verbal features are also important cues to be analyzed (Giles et.al, 2006). This is based on the notion that the use of each paralinguistic and non-verbal feature has its own motivation. The scope of SAT was then broadened and refined into what we know now as CAT (Giles et.al, 2006).

CAT has been used in many communication researches. The researches in CAT include: communication in mass media (Mizil, Gamon, and Dumais, 2011), courtroom interaction (Giles, et.al, 2006), interethnic accommodation (Callan and Gallois 1987; Loh, Restubog, and Gallois, 2009), and many other fields. CAT, aside from its main foundation which is sociopsychology, also relies heavily on Social Identity Theory (henceforth SIT). Social identity is also a key role in accommodative processes (Callan, Gallois, and Forbes, 1983 cited in Giles et.al, 2006). Tajfel defines social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups,

together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership" (1974 cited in Giles et.al, 2006).

CAT is seen as a mean to reduce communication barriers among participants who have different social identities (Giles et.al, 2006). Considering this, accommodation in speech is also oftentimes used in interethnic communication. Each ethnic group holds its own ethnic identity and norms which in the same way can be barriers when people from different ethnic groups communicate (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.245). Hence, a speaker who belongs to a certain ethnic group is socially required to reduce the barrier between them by accommodating his or her speech.

This particularly prevails if a speaker from a certain ethnic group aims to settle in a new area dominated by people from another ethnic group (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991, p.245). The force to accommodate their speech becomes bigger in order to maintain good communication with the native ethnic group. Moreover, accommodative speech and behavior in the area of the "host community" or the native ethnic group is often valued positively (Gallois and Callan 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.248).

CAT is divided into two branches, speech convergence and speech divergence (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Speech convergence has contradictory characteristics with speech divergence. Speech convergence is valued as accommodation whereas speech divergence as non-accommodation (Giles, Coupland,

and Coupland, 1991, p.8). Both speech convergence and divergence can actually be either upward or downward. In general, upward convergence or divergence means that the speaker moves towards the more prestigious variants while downward convergence or divergence means that the speakers move towards the less prestigious variants (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.11). The deeper explanations about speech convergence and divergence are presented in the following part.

2.1.1.1 Speech Convergence

In general, speech convergence is seen as a strategy to adapt our speech behavior towards our interlocutors. Boylan (2004, p.2) argues that speech convergence is actually the original meaning of accommodation. Boylan (2004, p.2) states that "in their seminal work, Giles (1973) and Giles and St. Clair (1979) defined 'speech accommodation' as the 'convergence' of speaker's delivery features." Hence, it can be concluded that in the beginning speech convergence is the root of SAT. A more specific definition of speech convergence is a strategy whereby individuals adapt to linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features such as utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.7).

The aim of using speech convergence is to put our interlocutors at ease (Holmes, 2001, p.230). This is useful for gaining the approval of the interlocutors. More importantly, the first thing that the speakers need to do for gaining the approval from the interlocutors is being polite. Apparently, speech convergence itself is categorized as a "polite speech strategy" (Holmes, 2001, p.231). Holmes argues that

Accommodation in speech also has motives, regardless whether it is speech convergence or speech divergence (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.17). Most of the times, unconsciously, a person from a certain social group converges his or her speech for gaining "social integration" from the interlocutors who are the members of other social groups (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.18). This indicates that if the speaker becomes more similar with the interlocutor, it will increase the likeliness of the interlocutor towards the speaker. The more detail motives of doing speech convergence are reflected in the speech convergence features.

The scope of speech convergence features is quite broad including linguistic, paralinguistic, and non-verbal features. The main difference of linguistic and paralinguistic features relies on the information in speech revealed by those two different types of features (Schotz, 2002, p.1). Linguistic features include semantic information and phonetic representation (Marasek, 1997 cited in Schotz, 2002, p.2) meanwhile paralinguistic features include "voice qualities (modal, falsetto, breathy voice, etc.) and voice qualifications (laughing, sobbing, tremor, etc.)" (Roach, Stibbard, Osborne, Arnfield, Setter, 1998 cited in Schotz, 2002, p.2).

According to Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991, p.5-7) there are quite many speech convergence features including linguistic features which are language and dialect; paralinguistic features which are accent, utterance length, speech rate, information density, vocal intensity, pausing frequencies and lengths, response latency, self-disclosure, and jokes; and non verbal behaviors such as gesture, head

nodding and facial affect, and posture. However, usually not all of them appear in a conversation (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Moreover, as the likeliness of the interlocutors increased because of the speech convergence attempt, they may converge back in return (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.11). Many of speech convergence features mentioned before were derived from previous studies in communication; although not all of those studies focused on CAT (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.7). The table below shows the list of previous studies from which those features were taken into account in speech convergence.

Speech Convergence	Selected Sources
Utterance Length	Matarazzo et.al (1968)
Speech rate	Street (1983)
Information density	Aronsson et.al (1987)
Vocal intensity	Natale (1975a)
Pausing frequencies and lengths	Jaffe and Feldstein (1970)
Response latency	Cappella and Planalp (1981)
Self-disclosure	Ehrlich and Graeven (1971)
Jokes	Bales (1950)
Gesture	Mauer and Tindall (1983)
Head nodding and facial affect	Hale and Burgoon (1984)
Posture	Condon and Ogston (1967)

(Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 7)

2.1.1.1.1 Speech Convergence Features and Motives

There are eleven speech convergence features which become the base of this study excluding non verbal behaviors. The information of motive implied in each speech convergence feature is also explained. However, in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991) there are also several motives of speech convergence features which

are not explained. Those features are utterance length, information density, response latency, and self disclosure.

1. Language

As each ethnic group actually has its own ethnic language, language often signals a strong marker of ethnic identity (Schmidt, 2008; Matsuo, 2009). Matsuo also argues that even though language is not the only factor which can distinguish one ethnic group to another but it is still one "among the key factors" that can distinguish them (2009). The language differences among ethnic groups can actually be communication barriers especially if there are several different ethnic groups who live together in an area.

Tong, Hong, Lee, and Chiu (1999) in their study about language differences in Hongkong between Hongkong people and Mainland Chinese argue that language difference between them can increase the group boundary. Convergence in language is an effective way of communication for the different ethnic groups which live an area. More importantly, in this case, the ones who are socially required to converge their language in order to be accepted by the native ethnic groups are "the members of outgroups" (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.245).

Much literature shows that language as one feature of speech convergence indicates that the use of this feature has motives to gain "economic advantages" and "social rewards" (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.20). An example is people

who work in tourism sector in a country. It is them who are required to acquire the language of the foreign tourists who have trip in that country; the foreign tourists do not need to comprehend that country's language (Cohen and Cooper, 1986 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Furthermore, in the trading, it is the salesperson who often feels obligated to converge their language towards the customers in the trading (Cooper and Carpenter, 1969 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Especially in the trading, it is the sellers who are required to shift their language towards the customers. The reason of this language shift is because the customers are considered to have more "economic powers" in the trading (Cooper and Carpenter, 1969 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, p.20).

2. Accent

Accent is the manner of pronunciation which is able to signal the geographical origin, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, social class, or the first language of the speakers (when the language in which the accent is heard is not their native language) (Green, 1997). Accent is different with dialect because it actually refers to the differences in pronouncing, whereas dialect includes broader aspect of linguistic differences. Moreover, accent is considered as the subset of dialect (Wells, 1982 cited in Nallasamy, 2012). A sociopsychology study by Ari and Keysar (2010) also shows that the natives oftentimes signalize foreign accented speaker as the member of outgroup. In addition, as explained before, sociopsychology is from which research about CAT began. Futhermore, similarity in accent is considered by the natives as

more trustworthy (Ari and Keysar, 2010). Street, Brady, and Putnam (1983 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.19) also state that accent similarity has motive to create social attractiveness.

3. Dialect

Dialect is a language variety which is used in "a geographically limited part of a language area" in which it is roofed by a structurally related standard variety; a dialect typically displays "structural peculiarities" in several language components (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998). Dialect is also one of speech convergence features. The use of high variety or standard form in dialect is likely to be associated with high status and competence but in the same time it also lacks of friendship and trustworthiness (Ryan and Giles, 1982 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.21). The fluency in using native's dialect, similar with language, is also considered to have motives in economic advantage and social rewards. This is regarding to dialect fluency is highly favored by the native ethnic group because it is considered to break down the cultural barriers (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.23).

4. Utterance length

Utterance length is the number of morphemes in a sentence; it is also considered as the predictor of grammar complexity in a sentence (Scarborough, Rescorla, Flusberg, Fowler, and Sudhalter, 1991). Utterance length can actually be an indicator of whether or not the sentence is easy to understand for the non native speakers.

5. Speech rate

Speech rate is the amount of words per minute (Zimmer, 2009). A study by Lee and Boster (1992) indicates that speaking in high speech rate sound more persuasive and credible. Attempting to make our speech rate similar towards the interlocutors also has motivation to show our social attractiveness towards the interlocutors (Street, Brady, and Putnam, 1983 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 19).

6. Information Density

Information density is the average amount of information in a text or utterance (Hawkins, 2009). In linguistic field, information is defined as the set of linguistic forms (phonemes, morphemes, words, etc) whereas density is the amount of these forms and properties in speech (Hawkins, 2009).

7. Vocal intensity

Vocal intensity is generally perceived as the loudness of the voice. The greater the intensity, the louder we perceive the sound to be whereas the lower the intensity, the quieter we perceive the sound to be (Williamson, 2011). The effort to make vocal intensity becomes similar to the interlocutors often has motive to seek for "social approval" (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, p.19). It is argued that the greater the need of the speakers to get social approval from the interlocutors, the more their

voices will sound subjectively to one's own (Natale 1975a cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.19)

8. Pausing frequencies and lengths

Pause is used to facilitate particular operations involved in the production and perception of speech (Reich, 1980). Moreover, pause in speech also improves the accuracy of detection and the recall for lists of digits and letters (Reich, 1980). Natale (1975a cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.19) states that pause can be used to gain social attractiveness.

9. Response latency

Response latency is the time delay before the interlocutor answers a question (Maclachlan, Czepiel, Labarbera, 1979). Showing less response latency in speech has motive to show the greater certainty of the speakers (Maclachlan, Czepiel, Labarbera, 1979). In addition, response latency is often used to check the attitude strength of a person (Stocke, 2004).

10. Self disclosure.

Self disclosure is the act of revealing more about oneself to others (Barry, 2006). This can include many things in life, such as: thoughts, feelings, aspirations, goals, failures, fears, and many more (Barry, 2006). Revealing more information to the interlocutors shows that the speakers actually have greater trust towards them (Barry, 2006).

11. Jokes

Jokes has motives to express our solidarity, opinions, and orientations (Bales 1950c cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991). Using it can give us "positive light" (Ziv, 2010). Jokes can "open up interpersonal relationship" and "be accepted into an existing social group" (Ziv, 2010). If the interlocutors can laugh at the speaker's humor, the chances of being accepted are much greater (Ziv, 2010).

12. Non Verbal Behaviors (Gesture, Head Nodding, Facial Affect, and Posture)

The non-verbal features include body language such as facial expressions, eye contact, posture, body positioning, and gestures (Ethier, 2010). It is different with paralinguistic considering it includes voice quality and voice qualifications. Nevertheless, the focus of this study is scoped to analyze the linguistic and paralinguistic features of speech convergence.

2.1.1.2 Speech Divergence

Speech divergence is a linguistic strategy whereby a member of a speech community accentuates the linguistic differences with the interlocutors (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.8). Even though speech divergence often emphasizes differences among different ethnic groups, the results of speech divergence are not always negative. In certain cases, the act of diverging speech can actually strengthen the ethnic identity which in the same way can protect that ethnic group (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.27).

Speech divergence is often regarded as signaling a social group's pride. Tajfel (1974) explains this as follow: if members of one social group interact with members from another social group, they often compare their attributes, abilities, possessions, and many more. This feeling of distinctiveness actually makes their social identity becomes stronger hence increasing their self worth. Furthermore, divergence in speech is also a tool for an ethnic group to maintain their group from the other undesirable group and indicate their status differences if the other group is considered as less powerful (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.27).

2.2 Interethnic Accommodation

The use of speech convergence in interethnic accommodation has to pay attention towards the norms of the native ethnic group (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, p.248). Interethnic accommodation is a communication strategy used by a particular ethnic group when they come to a new area. It is a way of people from an ethnic group accommodating their communicative styles in the cultural grounds of their interlocutors who have different culture with them (Boylan, 2009). Apparently, the members of outgroups have to truly pay attention towards the *norms* of the native ethnic group who resides in that area. Norm is the core of interethnic accommodation (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 245). Biddle and Thomas (1966 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.249) define norms as expectations, that is, on socially shared ideas about appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Thus, the main

concerns of norm in interethnic accommodation are actually about the appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in a certain area.

More importantly, the use of norm actually also depends on the formality of the situation (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 249). It is argued that place actually has role in determining whether the code choice is in low or high variety. For example, people tend to use high variety while speaking in churches or courtrooms. Furthermore, in a formal situation, the force to use high form of the language is higher when talking to a stranger from another ethnic group (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 250).

The norms which prevail in an area are the norms of the native ethnic group (Gallois and Callan 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.245). Hence it is very important for the members of outgroups to comprehend the norm of the natives. If the members of outgroups want to live happily in a new culture, they have to be able to "gain cultural skills and knowledge about the communication-based norms that facilitate daily interactions with people in all aspects of the host culture" (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p. 246). Regarding to the idea of communication-based norms, it is obvious that the members of outgroups also have to consider the native's norm in doing speech convergence to communicate with the natives.

The norm violation is prone to misunderstanding which affect to give bad impacts for social acceptance of the members of outgroups by the native ethnic group. Covergence by the immigrants itself has actually been considered as the typical behavior done by newcomers. Moreover, the attempt of the members of outgroups to converge their speech is already rewarded as the "norm-following behavior" by the natives (Gallois and Callan, 1991 cited in Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991, p.248). This norm following behavior indicates that they have effort to do the appropriate behaviors prevail in that area.

2.3 The Javanese Norm

Specifically, this study aims to analyze the use of speech convergence features by a Madurese seller towards the Javanese buyers at Pacar Keling Traditional Market in Surabaya. The Javanese's statuses as the native and biggest ethnic group in Surabaya makes their norms which prevail in this city. In Javanese norms, there is unggah-ungguh basa (Suseno, 1984) or in English, the etiquette of speech.

Javanese language itself varies based on the regional in which that variation is used; those variations are called Javanese dialects (Wulan, 2009). *Banyumasan* is the dialect used in Banyumas, Central Java and in Surabaya this Javanese dialect is called as *Suroboyoan* (Wulan, 2009). *Suroboyoan* is commonly considered as rough compared to the other Javanese dialects (Djupri, 2008). Its lexicon is derived from Standard Javanese but there are also many words of this dialect which are distinct

from the Standard Javanese (Wulan, 2009). Even so, unggah-ungguh basa, the norm of speech in Javanese, is actually used in all Javanese dialects (Wulan, 2009).

The existence of unggah-ungguh basa in Javanese speech itself is the norm which rules social interaction in society (Suseno, 1984). Unggah-ungguh basa classifies Javanese into three levels: ngoko, krama madya, and krama inggil (Suseno, 1984). Each level has its own set of vocabularies. For example is the word mangan which means 'makan' in Indonesian and 'eating' in English is mangan in ngoko, nedha in krama madya, and dhahar in krama inggil.

The use of unggah-ungguh basa itself depends on the age and social status of the interlocutors. In unggah-ungguh basa, ngoko is the least prestigious level which is mostly used as everyday colloquialism whereas krama inggil is the most prestigious used only in particular occasions. Ngoko is used towards interlocutors with similar age and social status, krama madya is often used towards interlocutors who are not much older and/or have different social status, and krama inggil is used for people who are much older and/or have high social status (Suseno, 1984).

Moreover, in Javanese norm, how we address the interlocutor is defined with our age differences (Suseno, 1984). If we are much younger with the interlocutor, we should call his or her as Pak (i.e. Sir in English and Bapak in Indonesian) for the male interlocutor and Buk (i.e. Mam in English and Ibu in Indonesian) for the female interlocutor. If we are not much younger with the interlocutor, we should call his or her as Mas (i.e. Older Brother in English and Kakak in Indonesian) for the male

interlocutor and *Mbak* (i.e. *Older Sister* in English and *Kakak* in Indonesian) for the female interlocutor. If our age is similar, then we should just call the interlocutors as his or her name. In addition, it also depends on the social status of the interlocutors. If they have social status considered higher than us, we should address them as *Mas* or *Mbak* or even *Pak* or *Bu*. In addition, the social status of the interlocutors actually depends on the assumption of the speakers (Suseno, 1984). Moreover, how we address the interlocutors can also rely on politeness reason (Suseno, 1984). It can be interpreted that social distance between speakers and interlocutors, such as age and social status are also considered in Javanese norms.

2.4 Review of Previous Studies.

There were several previous studies about speech convergence in interethnic accommodation which are connected to this study. The two studies discussed in this part are related to this study. Moreover, these two studies actually provide gaps for the writer to fill. This study aims to give deeper explanation for the use of all speech convergence features used by a Madurese seller, a member of outgroups, towards the Javanese buyers, the natives in Surabaya.

An undergraduate thesis titled Speech Convergence Used by a Radio Announcer in "English by Radio" Talk Show Aired by El-Victor FM Radio Surabaya by Saputra (2011) attempts to analyze the use of speech convergence strategy by a radio announcer of English talk show. In this study, Saputra (2011) identifies and analyzes all speech convergence features used by the radio announcer. Based on the analysis of Saputra (2011), the most frequently used speech convergence feature is

"translating messages". The high frequency of using this feature by the radio announcer has motives to "help the listeners feel comfort to make them understand and also to have a better understanding about what he was saying" (Saputra, 2011).

This is different from other studies in the similar field because the writer actually pays attention to the use of all speech convergence features; he does not focus on only one feature. However, the theory of speech convergence features used in this study is by Holmes (1997). Moreover, his focus of research is a radio announcer in which ethnic group difference did not become a problem. The study by Saputra (2011) actually provides gaps for the writer to fill. The writer thus uses a different theory with Saputra (2011). In this study, the writer uses the theory of speech convergence features by Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991). Moreover, in this study, ethnic group difference is an important issue which becomes the focus of this study.

The other study is titled *The Case Study of Speech Convergence Done by the Students of Petra Christian University who Come from East Kalimantan.* This is an undergraduate thesis by Khristanti (1999). This study explains about speech convergence used by college students from Samarinda with their friends whose origin is Surabaya at Petra Christian University. Samarinda is an area in Kalimantan, Indonesia. That study gives description about phonological and morphological change in the speech of the students from Samarinda to be similar with their friends from Surabaya. This study shows that phonologically the students of Petra Christian University from Samarinda tend to change the vowels, such as: /-i-/ becomes /-e-/ and

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/-a-/ becomes /-a-/ and consonants, such as: /-k/becomes /-?/ and /-h/ becomes /-?/.

Nonetheless, the theory used by the writer is an Indonesian theory about phonological segmentation by Sudaryanto (1979). Considering that the title of this study is about speech convergence, the theory by Sudaryanto (1979) actually only fits to classify the data. The writer still needs to use the grand theory about CAT in order to further analyze the data.

In Indonesia, there are still few studies about speech convergence in interethnic accommodation. Moreover, most studies only focus on certain features of speech convergence. This study tries to fill that gap by giving analysis of all speech convergence features in interethnic accommodation, especially in this case, between the Madurese seller and Javanese buyers at a traditional market in Surabaya.

CHAPTER III METHOD OF THE STUDY