

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

II.1. The Concepts of Bilingualism and Diglossia

In relation to language use in society, we know the terms bilingualism and diglossia. The term *diglossia* was first used in English by Charles Ferguson in 1959. Ferguson's (cited in Fasold, 1984) attention had been drawn to the general fact that speakers often use more than one language variety in one kind of circumstance and another variety under other circumstances. He also noticed that there was a special case of this "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (cited in Fasold, 1984). Ferguson called the use of two varieties of language in different circumstances by the term "diglossia". Furthermore, Ferguson gives a complete and often-quoted definition of diglossia (cited in Fasold, 1984) as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an early period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

From the definition given by Ferguson above, there are some important points to note here. Notice that that H(igh) and L(ow) are to be taken as varieties of the same language (that is, as not too distantly related; they cannot be separate languages). At the same time,

compared with L, H is “very divergent” (that is, H and L cannot be linguistically too similar; they cannot just be different styles or registers). Notice that the diglossic pair is “in addition to the primary dialects of the language” and H is not used in conversation by “any sector of the community.”

In relation to the concept of diglossia proposed by Ferguson, in 1967 Joshua Fishman published an article in which he revised and expanded the concept of diglossia. Fishman believes that diglossia ought to be carefully distinguished from bilingualism. In this connection, bilingualism is a subject for psychologists and psycholinguists; it refers to an individual’s ability to use more than one language variety. Diglossia is a matter for sociologists and sociolinguists to study; it refers to the distribution of more than one language variety to serve different communicational tasks in a society. Fishman modified Ferguson’s original proposal in two crucial ways (Fasold, 1984 : 40). First, Fishman places less emphasis on the importance of situations with only two language varieties. He allows for the presence of “several separation codes”, although the separation is said to be “*most often* along the lines of H(igh) language, on the one hand, utilized in conjunction with religion, education, and other aspects of high culture, and a L(ow) language on the other” (Fishman 1972b: 74). Second, whereas Ferguson restricts the term “diglossia” to cases in the middle range of linguistic relatedness (more difference than there is between styles, less than there is between separate languages), Fishman would ease that restriction. He takes the view

that 'diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies which officially recognize several "languages", and not only in societies which employ separate dialects, registers, or *functionally differentiated language varieties of whatever kind*' (Fishman, 1972b: 92). Fishman's use of the term 'diglossia' can refer to any degree of linguistic difference from the most subtle stylistic differences within a single language to the use of two totally unrelated languages, including, of course, the range allowed by Ferguson. The crucial test is that the linguistic differences must be *functionally* distinguished within the society. Fishman, in addition, finds the degree of individual bilingualism found in the society to be an important typological criterion. The term *bilingualism* in Table 2.1 should be understood in a somewhat special sense to mean something like 'control of both H and L is found throughout the society'. *Diglossia* refers to the functional distribution of High and Low variations of languages.

Table 2.1 The relationship between bilingualism and diglossia

		Diglossia	
		+	-
Bilingualism	+	1 Both diglossia and bilingualism	2 Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	3 Diglossia without bilingualism	4 Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Source : Fishman (1972b: 75)

In a speech community characterized with both bilingualism and diglossia, almost every one would have to know both H and L, and the two varieties would have to be distributed in a manner typical of diglossia. Fishman cites a country as an example of a nation which

approximates this situation, that is Paraguay in which Guarani is used as the Low language and Spanish as the High.

Bilingualism without diglossia is the designation Fishman gives to communities in which there are large numbers of bilingual individuals, but they do not restrict one language to one set of circumstances and the other to another set. Either language may be used for almost any purpose. Such communities exist during major changes in diglossic relationships and extremely unstable, or transitional (Fishman 1972b: 105). Bilingualism without diglossia is the result when diglossia "leaks". Leaky diglossia refers to cases in which one variety "leaks" into the functions formerly reserved for the other. The outcomes of bilingualism without diglossia will be either a new variety that is a mixture of the old H and L varieties (especially if H and L are structurally dissimilar).

In a speech community characterized with diglossia without bilingualism, two disjunct groups within a single political, religious, and/or economic entity are required. One is the ruling group and speaks only the High language. The other, normally a much larger group, has no power in the society and speaks exclusively the Low language. Diglossic communities without bilingualism are not *speech communities*, since the two groups do not interact, except minimally through interpreters or by the use of a pidgin language.

The final logically possible pattern is neither bilingualism nor diglossia. Because Fishman is willing to admit even style-level linguistic differences into his concept of diglossia, it is extremely

difficult to come up with examples for this quadrant of the figure. For such situation to exist, a very small, isolated, and egalitarian speech community is required. There must be only one linguistic variety in existence and no differentiation of roles requiring even stylistic differences in speech, at least stylistic differences that would result in High and Low styles. Fishman (1972b: 106) suggests that such a community is "self-liquidating".

From the elaborations concerning diglossia given by Ferguson and Fishman above, there are some similarities and also differences we could find between them. Recall that Ferguson wished to distinguish diglossia from the relationship between standard languages and regional dialects, and also from the diglossia-like distribution between distantly related or totally unrelated languages. Fishman has nothing to say about regional dialects, but it is clear that his concept of diglossia does include whole language diglossia. Fishman mentions the possibility that more than two varieties can be reserved for specific functions in a society, although he does not discuss such cases as diglossia. Ferguson's view of diglossia is limited to two language varieties. The greatest agreement between the two scholars is in the area of functional distribution in society; both have the same basic concept of H varieties being used for formal purposes and L varieties being reserved for less formal, more personal uses.

Fishman (1972b: 79) concludes that wherever speech communities exist whose speakers engage in a considerable range of roles (and this is coming to be the case for all but the extremely upper

and lower levels of complex societies), wherever access to several role is encouraged or facilitated by powerful institutions and processes, and finally, wherever the roles are clearly differentiated (in terms of when, where, and with whom they are felt appropriate), both diglossia and bilingualism is said to exist.

II.2. Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Connection with Language Choice

In Fasold's view (1984) Language maintenance and shift are really the long term, collective results of language choice. Language *shift* simply means that a community gives up a language completely in favour of another one. When the language shift has taken place, the members of the community have collectively chosen a new language where an old one used to be used. In language maintenance, the community collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used. Furthermore, Fasold (1984) says that when a speech community begins to choose a new language in domains formerly reserved for the old one, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress. However, if the members of a speech community are monolingual and are not collectively acquiring another language, then they are obviously maintaining their language.

From the explanations given by Fasold above, at least there are two important points to note, that is, that language maintenance occurs in a monolingual community while language shift obviously takes place in a bilingual or multilingual community. The question is,

is there a community that only has a single language? In this matter, Bell (1961) assumes that language has never been monolithic due to the fact that any language must always have its own variants. Thus, it is clear that a monolingual community is hard to find because every language has two or more varieties of itself. However, there is something very important here to keep in mind, namely that in certain circumstances every community still tends to maintain its language. In reality, a language seems to have a tendency to continue to be spoken or chosen under certain circumstances and situations.

In order to test language choice, Joshua Fishman proposed a domain theory. According to Fishman (1972b), there were certain institutional contexts, called *domains*, in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic, and participants. A domain is called family domain if there is a speaker at home talking with other members of the family about daily life topics. Domain analysis is related to diglossia, and some domains are more formal than others. In a community with diglossia, the Low language is the one that will be selected in the family domain, whereas the High language will most often be used in a formal domain, perhaps education (Fasold, 1984 : 183). The number of domains in a certain community cannot be determined in a specified manner. Fishman (1972a) mentioned four domains, namely family, neighbourhood, employment, and religion. One study of language choice that utilized domain analysis is Greenfield's research (in Fasold, 1984 : 183) on the

choice between Spanish and at least three congruent components: persons, places, and topics. In order to test whether a combination of these three factors were actually associated in the minds of the members of the community, Greenfield distributed a questionnaire in which subjects were given two congruent factors and asked to select the third, and also the language that they would use in that combination of circumstances. For example, subjects were told to think of a conversation with a parent on a family matter and asked to select the place from among 'home,' 'beach,' 'church,' 'school,' and 'workplace'. In this particular case, 100 percent of the subjects selected the expected 'home' location. With one exception (selection of 'beach' as the appropriate location for the friendship domain), the expected congruent third component was selected by at least 81 percent of the subjects. This result seems to confirm the validity of the five domains as real in the minds of the subjects.

After they had selected the appropriate third component, the subjects were asked to indicate which language went with that domain on a five-point scale very similar to the semantic-differential scales used in language-attitude research. A 1 on the scale indicated all Spanish, 2 meant more Spanish than English, 3 was used for equal amounts of Spanish and English, 4 for more English than Spanish, and 5 for all English. The results were averaged in exactly the same way as semantic-differential scales are scored. This means that a low average number indicates more Spanish and a higher number favours English. Parasher (cited in Fasold, 1984) in his research used seven

domains: family, friendship, neighbourhood, transactions, educations, government, and employment. In many studies, the domain analysis is associated with diglossic concepts about high (H) and low (L) varieties of language. The two researchers said that the first three domains were classified into L domains and the last three domains were categorized into H domains, while transaction domain could be categorized into either H or L, depending on the kinds of the transactions being held or taking place.

An understanding on language choice in domains related to the H-L concepts is very important in the study of language maintenance because in that way maintenance and “leakage” provoking language shift could be seen. According to language maintenance theory, language choice in domains “is accumulated over many individuals and many choice instances, becomes transformed into process of language maintenance or language shift” (Fishman, 1966). For the most part, L domains refer to the language used by the minority group of the community while H domains are closely attributed to the majority group. As long as the intimate L domains stay using the minority group (L), one could say that the group is still able to maintain its language. When the domains begin to “leak”, and the majority language penetrates it, replacing the minority language function, the language shift occurs, and when all the domains have been permeated or penetrated by the majority language, whereas the minority one is not able to penetrate the domains previously using H language, the minority language would go extinct.

The question that may arise could be what factors that make language maintenance happen and/or ones that make language shift. Fishman (1966) argues that language loyalty is one crucial factor in language maintenance, at least in the condition of the United States consisting of many minority groups, and that the loyalty is rooted in the origin of people. Loyal attitude, as any other general attitudes, could be something that cannot be observed, but its characteristics could be concluded from the behaviours that are noticeable (Cooper, 1974). Garvin and Mathiot (in Fishman, 1968) narrowed the limitation of language loyalty. In their perspectives, standard language varieties have four functions in which each of them brings about certain attitudes. They are 'contrastive self-identification' (Fishman cited in Fasold, 1984), 'unifying and separatist functions' (Garvin and Mathiot cited in Fasold, 1984) that evoke language loyalty; prestige function that results in pride; and frame of reference that brings about an awareness attitude towards the rules of the language itself.

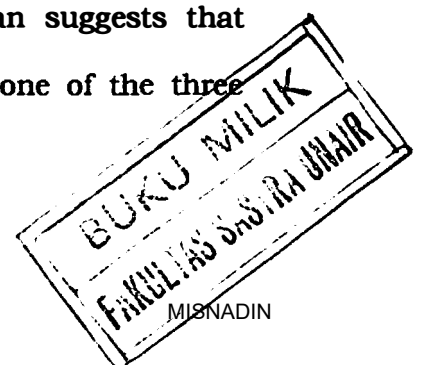
According to Fishman (1966) the majority number of speakers does not play so important a role in language maintenance. Even groups in a smaller relative number could maintain their language if they maintain geographical concentrations so that there exist physical, economic, and cultural separations with the surrounding communities (Fishman and Hoffman in Fishman, 1966). The importance of the concentration areas is also acknowledged by Fishman (1968). However, in the city areas the presence of such a concentration does not guarantee the preservation of language if it is not upheld by the

situation and the characteristics of the village areas. Social mobility, socio-cultural change, and mass culture could be easily applied in the city areas, and they complicate the preservation of uniqueness of speakers, including their language. To be frank, the problem of language maintenance is more the problem of urban areas than rural ones (Fishman, 1966). This phenomenon could be readily understood since urban areas form a network with the industrialization, economy, urbanization, and some other factors, that frequently provoke the domination of a certain language that at one time has a higher economic value as well, and such a condition may make people think in a pragmatic manner: it is better to master one language (the dominant one) other than control two languages, even more the language which is not dominant. In other phrases, as concluded by Dorian (1980), language loyalty could be continued provided that social and economic conditions also support it; however, if a certain language proves to have a higher economic value than any other does, language shift could happen.

Most discussions of language shift concern the shift of small, a lower status linguistic group who shift to the language of a larger, higher-status group. None the less, there are a few fascinating cases in which the more powerful group has assimilated linguistically to the people they control politically. Perhaps the most commonly cited example of this is the ultimate shift to English by the Norman conquerors of England in the eleventh century (Kahane and Kahane cited in Fasold, 1984).

Other theory that can be used to analyze language choice in relation to language maintenance and shift is psychological theory called 'overlapping situations' by Simon Herman. Herman (cited in Fasold, 1984 : 187-188) talks about three kinds of situation: one concerned with the speaker's personal needs and the other two connected with social groupings. In a given situation, a speaker may feel herself pulled in different directions by her personal desire to speak the language she knows best and the language expected of her by the social group. The group may be the immediate one, that is, the people who are actually there at the time. More subtle is the 'background group', which Herman describes as 'groups in the wider social milieu that are not directly involved in the immediate situation but yet may influence the behaviour—"hidden committees", so to speak (cited in Fasold, 1984). In sum, the three psychological situations that influence language choice are personal needs, background situation, and immediate situation.

Since these situations overlap, and since each might incline an individual towards the choice of a different language, Herman is led to a consideration of the circumstances that cause one of the three situations to gain *salience* at the expense of the other two. The situation with salience is the most prominent one at a particular time and the one that speaker will respond to. Based in large measure on empirical data on language choice in Israel, Herman suggests that certain circumstances will increase the salience of one of the three



situations. The circumstances and the situations that they promote are listed in the following table.

Table 2.2 Circumstances causing an increase in salience for one of three psychological situations

Situation	Circumstances
Personal needs	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Setting is private rather than public. 2. The situation provokes insecurity, high tension, or frustration. 3. The situation touches the central rather than the peripheral layers of the personality.
Background situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The activity takes place in a public rather than a private setting. 2. The behaviour in the situation may be interpreted as providing cues to group identifications. 3. The person involved in the activity wishes to identify with a particular group or be dissociated from it.
Immediate situation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The person is not concerned about group identifications. 2. The behaviour is task oriented. 3. Well-established patterns of behaviour characterize a relationship.

Source: Fasold (1984)

The theories discussed and outlined above are predicted and expected to be able to analyze the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift of Madurese people in Surabaya and help in making interpretations of the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift occurring in the Madurese community residing in the heroic city of Surabaya.

CHAPTER III

DATA PRESENTATION