

Recent Trends in Sociolinguistics

Dr. Alok Kumar Singh

Assistant Professor, Hindi Department
Maa Mansha Devi Mahavidyalaya, Chandauli U.P.

Abstract

Language is the medium of expression of man, so the way in which he behaves more in society, it assumes a corresponding shape. A person learns his mother tongue without understanding grammar, but for learning another language, it is necessary to have knowledge of grammar and standard pronunciation, which has to be formally obtained from educational institutions. Language maintenance and upbringing in society can have many causes: social, psychological, cultural, political, or economic. Every linguistic community has its own circumstances, due to which diversity is seen in the linguistic behavior of its speakers. People speaking many languages live in the same society, they use mother tongue in their family, therefore, when the people of the society come in contact with each other, their language also comes in contact. Due to language contact, it is natural for some changes to happen in the language. In this context the study of Uriel Weinreich is very important. How do different languages come into contact with each other? What is the reason for them? And what are the far-reaching consequences of coming into contact? Weinreich's findings are very relevant in this context. According to Prof. Raghuvir Prasad Bhatnagar, the condition of language contact gives rise to bilingualism. In this situation, the person feels the need to use a second language in addition to his native language (first language). He has less (more or less) authority over the second language. Such a person is said to be bilingual. But sometimes such persons are also found who have equal rights on first language and second language and who use both languages with equal ability. These people are called bilinguals. In this way language contact generates bilingualism. At one end of a scale is a speaker who uses only the first language. The middle position is that of bilingual, who acquires more or less ability of a second language and uses it too. On the other hand, there is a bilingual who is a rare person who uses both the languages equally with full authority and with equal ability.

Keyword: *Language maintenance, Language Contact, Language Exchange, Diglossia, Bilingualism, Multilingualism, Code Mixing, Code-Switching, Linguistic Shift, Linguistic maintenance*

Language Contact

The extreme aspect of linguistic communication is the contact language, which is also called *lingua franca*. A common language is often needed in multilingual situations. The best example of this is the linguistic situation of India. In spite of having many developed regional languages, we felt a great need for a contact language. For educational, administrative, commercial, etc. reasons, such a language is required in the nation which can be used in every state. English is taught as a compulsory subject at the secondary or

higher secondary level in most of the states in India. Higher studies and research work is done in English at the university level. Therefore, in inter-state and inter-university seminars and conferences, English is the only language of communication. This limited use of contact language becomes unnecessary where a facilitator for the creation of an interactive, automatic translation machine is available. But communication language is necessary for mutual conversation and exchange of ideas on a personal level. Sometimes a person starts using contact language so

much to accomplish his work that he does not feel the need to use his first language and gradually he stops using it completely. Thus, the first language is abandoned and the second language or contact language takes the place of the first language.

Language Exchange

The word exchange means to take or mix with something external. When human beings come in contact with each other, they exchange things as well as do language exchange. In exchange for goods, they can be returned in the future, but in linguistic exchange, one language (target language) absorbs the words of another language (source language) in this way that then it is difficult to identify or separate them. There are two types of exchange in social life, general exchange and linguistic exchange. There is a huge difference between the two types of exchanges. In normal exchange, when a person takes something from another person, then that other person has a shortage of that item, and it is certain that he has to return that item over a period of time. But linguistic exchange is just the opposite. When the target language exchanges with the source language, there is no decrease in the vocabulary of the source language, and with the change in the target language, its lexical store increases. In language also exchange can be of two types' direct exchange and indirect exchange. In direct exchange, due to the lack of words in the language, linguistic behavior is accomplished by taking words from another language. Sometimes it happens that the input word taken from a language is not of that language but it has also come from some other language. For example, there are many input words of English language in Hindi which have also come from French or German languages in English. This type of exchange is called indirect exchange. Sometimes it is seen that the words which have been taken from the source language, their prevalence gradually decreases in that language and then ends.

But in the target language, those words continue to exist because they remain in practice. Exchanges of different languages can be seen in Indian languages. For example, Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages came along with the arrival of the Mughals in the medieval period. The rule of the Mughals lasted for about six hundred years, due to which the Indian languages were greatly affected.

Diglossia

Jagannathan coined the term 'Bhashadvaita' for Diglossia. In a linguistic society, when two or more forms of a language are used in different situations, then such a situation is called Diglossia. While people of linguistic society regularly use one form in education, politics, literary discussion, administration and formal situations, the other form is used in informal and colloquial situations. Recognizing this distinction between formal and informal, one language form is assigned a higher dialect and the other a lower dialect. Often the high dialect is of literary reputation and standard in nature or sometimes the languages called classical come in this category, while the low dialect is the local language. There are many such instances where only the educated section of the linguistic community is fully proficient in both the upper and lower dialects. In certain situations, due to cultural reasons, the higher dialect is considered to be the pure and correct form of the language. Being the language of the religion of Islam, the same situation is of classical Arabic, but those who are proficient in both the forms, the condition of their use is sure and permanent. These forms are never superimposed on each other, the speaker uses them according to the situation in which he finds himself.

Diaglossia is derived from the French word diglossi. It was practiced by Charles Albert Ferguson in dialectology. In some places, two or more sub-forms of a language are pronounced by some persons of the same tribe under different

circumstances. For the first time, Charles Albert Ferguson called this tendency as Diglossia. For example, they have taken the standard language as well as its regional dialect. Many people use the local dialect at home or in family or among friends, but use the standard language with speakers of another dialect. In the vast area of Hindi, this situation is visible at every step. The Brajwasi of Mathura prefers to speak to another Brajwasi in Braj, whereas the Awadhi-Bhojpuri speaker immediately starts speaking in standard Hindi. It is generally believed that in Tamil, Telugu and Bengali languages, the condition of duality is found. The country's top linguists are not unanimous on this point.

Bilingualism

Erwin and Osgood (1954) interpreted bilingualism in a new way that points to a vital and important method of language acquisition. He states that in the bilingual situations of language teaching, in principle, joint or monolithic method should be adopted. He named it coexistence of methods. In this context, he has mentioned two border situations. The first method is a traditional composite system that operates in mixed contexts of languages. According to this, the student learns new words of the intended language in the school by translation through the words of the mother tongue or in the events of the same environment, the members of the same family use two languages with their mutual Code-Switchings. In contrast, the second method is a homologous arrangement. In this, the first language is kept separate from the intended language and it is used in appropriate contexts. The student learns new words from the intended language and components of other linguistic structures through experiences in real life situations.

There are two types of bilingualism or multilingualism, subjective and sociological. Subjective bilingualism is often seen in a single-language community. When a person with a special education

learns another language to enhance his knowledge or because of other personal needs, it is called subjective bilingualism. Like a Russian or American who learns Hindi or any other Indian language for his own personal purpose, it will not be necessary for him to be a part or an appendage of the communication system of his society. Conversely, if members of a community use more than one language in terms of their family behavior, communicative and daily conduct, etc., then a situation of social bilingualism arises. Bilingualism is a major part of the Indian communication system. In the nature in which this system was adapted according to the needs of the society according to the time, in which the bilingual situation also emerged naturally. Therefore, not only is India a multilingual country, but every language-wise state of India is also a multilingual state, such as people educated in Delhi and Chandigarh, etc., alternate use of Hindi, Punjabi and English under similar circumstances for code-change. Almost the same situation is there in all the states of India, which is becoming more complicated in terms of language difference, dialect diversity and linguistic dichotomy. Nevertheless, no obstacle is present in the process of communication, because from a small regional dialect to the contact language of the whole country, there is a transition of structural linguistic components phonemes, morphemes, word insertions, phrases and sentences. This transition reflects the expansion of the process of communication and the ease in interpersonal language behavior.

According to Bloomfield (Language, 1933) a bilingual is defined as a person who has mother tongue proficiency in two languages. According to Hagen, 1872, we should take the definition of bilingualism not in terms of the majority ratio but as the smallest proportion. In considering bilingualism on a practical level, Wainreich (1953, Languages in contact) therefore urged it to be viewed as a nature of two languages being used one

after the other. Bilingualism is that level of public social need that does not require any formal language-learning nor any written literary standard. This is the reason that the roots of bilingualism are deeply rooted in the language system of an uneducated country like India. Many illiterate people living in cities are also found bilingual in the common colloquial. On the dimension of sociality, bilingualism can be divided into two categories. 1. Subjective Bilingualism- In this the user accepts the other language because of his personal needs.

The users of this category are not inclined to learn another language due to any social pressure or their demand for communication system. For example, if someone is inclined towards learning Hindi, mother tongue, Russian, German, French, Greek etc., then this tendency cannot be said to be the result of the demand of communication system of his society.

2. Community Bilingualism-In this, the user learns the mother tongue as an important link in the wider communication system of his society. The user of this class is found adopting other language as a result of a social pressure. For example, when Hindi mother tongue tends to learn English language, then he does not do so only because of his personal interest. Rather, social contexts like higher education, technical knowledge, knowledge talks on scientific subjects, etc. demand that the users of Hindi speaking society should have sufficient proficiency in English language as well. Some scholars believe that bilingual children often lag behind in their education as compared to monolingual children.

On this side also scholars have indicated that the progress of children who study through monolingual is much higher than that of bilingual children. But the projects conducted by Jeans (1960), Elizabeth Peele and Lambert (1962) etc. prove that bilingualism is not a hindrance to intellectual development. From their test, it

becomes clear that ten-year-old bilingual children of the French-speaking community have much higher linguistic abilities than the single-speaking children of their community and are far ahead of the other group in general intellectual ability. Language and culture are closely related to each other. Some people mistakenly consider language to be an indicator of the culture of a community, but both language and culture are related to the social community. The social community may be monolingual or bilingual, but it is not necessary that the culture of a monolingual community is also monolingual and that of a bilingual community is dual. Bilingualism occurs when a person does not give up proficiency in the mother tongue even after fully learning a foreign or indigenous language. In such a situation, that person has the same proficiency in two languages as a natural speaker. Keeping two languages natural is also a sign of amazing ability. This situation occurs as a result of the close exchange of two languages or due to the ever-increasing influence of a conquering language.

Multilingualism

Multilingualism is the ability to grasp and express two or more languages. In this view, a large number of multilingual societies living in different parts of the world are found. Today almost all sections of the society are found to be multilingual, who use mother tongue in their home, standard in the workplace and contact language for other expressions. Various linguists have given their views in the context of bilingualism and multilingualism. According to Leonard Bloomfield (Language, 1933-56), bilingualism is the ability of two languages to be a mother tongue. Hagen Blix (1970) has defined bilingualism in two ways, one in a limited sense and the other in a broader sense. In a limited sense, Hagen, like Bloomfield, refers to the ability to have a mother tongue in multiple languages, called bilingualism. But while interpreting

bilingualism in the broadest sense, he has assumed that every person who learns a second language without any special desire for little knowledge is bilingual and this condition is also a condition of bilingualism. Hornby (1977) considered two essential elements of multilingualism, the ability of a multilingual person to establish linguistic relationships in multiple languages and the person should also be ready to establish linguistic relations with each other. David Alan Hornsby implies that the state of multilingualism will exist only when two or more languages have the ability to be used, as well as the speakers of both the languages are ready to use them. If a multilingual person uses different languages in different linguistic contexts according to his needs, then the situation of multilingualism arises. Taylor (1977) has given three main reasons for bilingualism. According to him there can be three reasons for the emergence of bilingualism in the society. First situation is arising when Inter-relationship among the people of the lower classes is due to ethnic reasons and this can lead to the situation of multilingualism or bilingualism. Second situation is arising when the reason for bilingualism in the upper class is education. The upper class learns a second language for various reasons, and becomes bilingual by the learning of this second language. The third situation arises when mutual relations are established between any two different language societies in the sense of cultural exchange, harmony, service, help etc. Therefore, it can be said that the situation of bilingualism or multilingualism arises due to ethnicity, education and mutual contact of different language communities due to various reasons.

According to Sandra Lee McKay, multilingualism is the alternative use of two or more languages. He considers multilingualism to be individual and social multilingualism as a community of individual multilingualism. McKay emphasizes the use of language. According to him, bilingualism is a characteristic of

experimentation. Bilingualism is not an object of language competence but a matter of language behavior. When two communities come into contact with each other, the situation of bilingualism arises as a result. Simon Cornelis Dik has looked at multilingualism from another point of view. He has considered linguistic identity, religion-discrimination, lineage-tradition, family enmity, class antagonism and foreign contact as the main reason behind multilingualism. Along with this, the situation of multilingualism also arises due to the formation of various large industrial cities and such metropolis in which migrants of different language communities live. Migrant societies may or may not demand recognition of their own language, but their own language gradually develops as an alternative, and conflicting language societies establish various institutions for the expansion of their language due to competition. Simon's ideas give a comprehensive view of multilingualism. There is no single reason behind the emergence of multilingualism. The situation of multilingualism arises due to various social, political, economic, occupational, cultural etc. In India, once Sanskrit language was prevalent throughout the country, Urdu and Persian were adopted due to the importance of Urdu and Persian language during the Mughal period due to administrative reasons. After the arrival of the British, English was adopted because of government necessity and for commercial convenience. Braj and Awadhi had got a very important place due to religious reasons, while due to political reasons, Khadi Boli has assumed the form of Hindi language and is now making its place not only in the whole of India but also in the world.

We can see multilingualism in two ways. 1. Subjective multilingualism-When one learns acquires proficiency in many languages due to one's personal interest and applies them continuously then it will be subjective multilingualism. 2. National multilingualism-The type of linguistic

system that a government decides in relation to its nation, this point is very important in relation to multilingualism. If a nation has a system of one national language and from the center to the smallest unit, only one language is used as the language of education, trade, industry, mass communication and office. Such a situation occurs mostly in monolingual nations and their regional language or language forms are not important. Rather, in a nation that has different language communities, communities of different cultures and religions, the government in that nation approves or arranges different languages at different levels. For example, at the regional level in India, the languages there have been given the place of official education etc. and along with that Hindi English is also being used there. If Hindi and English are necessary at the national level, then correspondence with the states and publicity material etc. is also in the regional language. Along with this, the languages of the tribes have also been promoted. In schools, children are taught with a tri language formula.

Code Mixing

When the speaker uses elements of one language in another language while using the language, then this linguistic condition is called code-mixing. This mixture of words, phrases, clauses is of many units, for example, while speaking Hindi, using English words, phrases, etc. like "मेरा morning lecture आज नहीं हुआ", "मैंने admission ले लिया है but I don't want to go". The language mixture consists of one language as the base, which is often the mother tongue. This mixture can be of language in language, of dialect of language and of language in dialect or of dialect in dialect. There are many reasons for code mixing. Certain linguistic communities consider one language to be more prestigious than another. Due to respect, the speaker tries to use the words of this second language as much as possible. There are also examples that the word input from other language

does not have any equivalent in its own language, e.g., there is no Hindi equivalent of words like railway, ticket, bank etc. That's why they have been adopted as such and are very much in vogue. Many compound words are also mixed such as डबलरोटी, हाफकमीज, टेबुलकुर्सी, हेडमिस्ट्री.

Code-Switching

According to the suitability of the context and behavioural area, when the speaker starts using one language while using another language, then this situation is called code-change. For example, in our country, officers belonging to the same cultural and linguistic community working in offices while talking to each other in English suddenly start talking in Marathi, Gujarati or Bengali. Sometimes this Code-Switching also happens in a regional colloquial language. This situation usually occurs when the conversation moves from formal to informal level. This type of Code-Switching is found in many bilingual communities.

In fact, the code mix is the combination of two or more language or language forms in a multilingual community under the nature of language according to social, educational, cultural, occupational, economic, etc. In between is the name of the convergence, then the Code-Switching is the alternative use of different languages according to the subject contexts and the role of the speaker and listener. The discussion of style change is more useful than the Code-Switching in the view of William Labov (1970) He holds that individual changes the different styles of the same language as per the need in different social contexts. They have defined five levels of style change in this sense- Formal Dialogue, Informal Dialogue, Reading, Word List, and Minimal Pairings. He has described their change as hindered by values because the speaker uses language while fulfilling different values in the social system. Therefore, the study of the variations and code-changes found in

the language cannot be done without understanding the social system. The stylistic form of language is directly related to the social system, under the same system the user chooses the language form according to the context from the different forms of the language.

Linguistic Shift

The point of Linguistic Shift arises in the context of a language community whose sociolinguistic position is in the middle of another large and dominant language community. This situation can also happen at the level of the individual. When a person is socially, culturally isolated from his/her language community, it is possible that he/she may neglect many of the areas of use of his/her mother tongue and his/her next generations may leave their native language. The position of linguistic maintenance is more predominant in India. However, the process of linguistic transition has also started and individuals have started adopting the language of their mother tongue in different linguistic contexts in the other language community. In such a situation, he adopts the language code of mass communication; this situation is clearly visible in the metropolitan cities. Just as language can be a symbol of dominance and power, so can it be a sign of powerlessness. In a multilingual society, if a person can attain status because he is a member of a certain linguistic community, then another person in the same society may remain helpless and powerless because he is a member of another such linguistic community. Which has no importance neither from political point of view nor from socio-cultural point of view? It is clear that language can be adopted as a powerful tool of expression, from this point of view all languages do not exist equally in a society.

When several languages coexist in the same society, there is a division of functions and inequality in their power-richness begins to develop. A section of

scholars has attempted to associate language death with the Linguistic shift. Here Linguistic Shift means the use of another code in place of one code. Linguistic Shift can be complete or partial. In the case of a complete Linguistic Shift, one code is used in place of another in all practical contexts of language behavior, while in the case of a Partial Linguistic Shift; one code replaces another in a limited number of contexts. There are two sides to this tense and conflicting context between the two languages in the field of application. According to Shemerhorn, the sense of integration that is found among people of different cultures of the surrounding society is actually a social function of three independent and three contextual tendencies. These three independent variables are 1- Tendency to reciprocate (ie, frequency of contact with the dominant and subordinate society, displacement, colonization etc.), 2- Quantity of Involvement (i.e. institutional isolation or fragmentation of subordinate class from the larger society), 3- The ability to control Quantity (i.e. the control of the ruling class over the resources available to the subordinate class in a particular society). In Indian tradition, the displaced often do not lose their mother tongue simply because of the importance of caste segregation in domestic life.

In the context of Linguistic Shift, P.B. Pandit says that in Europe or America the second generation gives up its language in favor of the language of the ruling class. Language displacement is the norm there, language maintenance is an exception. Language maintenance is a paradigm in the Indian context and language displacement is an exception. American sociologists begin their curiosity as to why languages are preserved, why do people give up their language? There are also some situations where P.B. Pandit's notion that "Language maintenance is the norm in India and language displacement an exception" becomes completely inconsistent. There are

clearly at least two situations where we find a Linguistic shift of the mother tongue. Of these, there is a similar reference to the dialects of Hindi. Today we see that many regional dialects of Hindi are trying to establish their identity. There is a demand to consider Bhojpuri as a separate language. Simultaneously, this movement is also going on that Bhojpur, Bundelkhand and Haryana should be separated from Hindi states. But for a long time, its speakers have attached their allegiance to the official linguistic tradition of Hindi. Therefore, the language speakers of Hindi dialects (Bhojpuri, Bundeli etc.) have accepted their regional dialects as their native mother tongue and Hindi as co-mother tongue. There is more similarity in the surrounding dialects, but the difference is more in the distant dialects, such as Chhattisgarhi and Bagheli or Bhojpuri and Awadhi, due to which the condition of dialect continuum is maintained, communicativeness is not hindered in linguistic behavior. But dialects that are geographically far apart from each other increase the difference and reduce mutual intelligibility such as in Rajasthani and Maithili or Chhattisgarhi and Mandiyali in Himachali.

Tribal Dominated Classes provide another context of linguistic transition. There are many ethnic groups in India who have either completely given up their language or are in the process of giving up. Many tribes like Bheel, Bhumij, Gond, Ho, Kortha, Lotha, Mandari, Kuruk etc. have left their language. P.B. Pandit says that language maintenance is a paradigm in India. It is based on situations where the language of the governing minorities in the contact situation is the dominant language of the language class governed in some other regions of India. Therefore, their examples are limited to the same situation where the languages of the governing and the governed are the languages of the great tradition. On the contrary, minority castes give up their languages in the language

contact situation because they do not have any great traditions like written languages.

Linguistic maintenance is generally a more stable aspect of ethnic relations and cultural maintenance than language maintenance. On the one hand, most of the displaced become bilingual long before the re-emergence of ethnicity and multiculturalism, and on the other hand, limited but functional ethnicity persists long after the complete dissolution of the mother tongue. In the Indian context, it can be accepted that the children of the displaced language community who grow up amidst the conflicting pressures of the displaced and the adoptive society. On the one hand, they adopt the dominant language of their region in the external context of social behaviour such as job, market, haat etc. and on the other hand use mother tongue to maintain linguistic and cultural unity in the domestic context of behaviour.

Mother Tongue Maintenance

In contrast to Linguistic Shift, language maintenance is concerned with a deep loyalty to one's native language, situations where a linguistic society, in spite of all mental and social pressures, is determined to prevent the use of another language in place of its own. When man lives in a bilingual or multilingual society and has to use languages other than his mother tongue for his daily activities, as a result he is able to reduce the use of his mother tongue. He uses only his mother tongue in his family, but in other places he has to resort to another language. It has often been seen that over a period of time, even from generation to generation in the family, children do not use their mother tongue and start using the contact language. Due to which gradually the use of their mother tongue is reduced and the existence of mother tongue is in danger. For the maintenance of mother tongue, it is necessary that the language should be used continuously. It has been seen that the

families who are living away from their society for about 20-30 years find this problem that the elders of that family use their mother tongue in the family, but the children become dependent on the other language. Thus, the maintenance of mother tongue is not successful for long. Therefore, every language-speaking society tries to maintain their mother tongue, tries to use the mother tongue only with their speaking people and in the family. In some countries, there is an increased tendency for mother tongue maintenance among minority-speaking communities. Not only this, they try to maintain their ethnic existence through their mother tongue. People of Indian origin have settled in many countries, there are a good number of Punjabis in England, Canada. There are their Gurudwaras, their Bhangra, Chole Bhature, Makkah di Roti and Sarson da Saag are popular. The Bhojpuri speaking people of Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are settled in Mauritius, Suriname, Trinidad, Guyana, etc. countries. They have preserved their Bhojpuri language and culture, have preserved the Ramcharit Manas and also play an important role in the administration there. Due to these, the international horizon of Hindi language has expanded.

It becomes more or less difficult to preserve the identity of one's mother tongue while living among other linguistic communities. When several languages coexist, there is a division of functions among them. One language is used for some tasks, and another language is used for some other types of work. Not all languages included in the linguistic repertoire of that society or city have equal functional importance. It is natural for literature creation, administration and mass communication, to become dominated by the medium of instruction.

In the mother tongue of a person living in a bilingual or multilingual society, the code-mixing starts automatically. He has to use languages other than his mother

tongue for his daily activities, as a result he is able to reduce the use of his mother tongue. The use of mother tongue is limited to the home family and its linguistic community. Over a period of time, from generation to generation, even in the household, children start using the contact language instead of using their mother tongue, due to which gradually the use of their mother tongue is reduced and the existence of mother tongue is endangered. For the maintenance of mother tongue, it is necessary that the language should be used continuously. It has been observed that in families who have been living away from their native language community for about 20-30 years, their mother tongue is not found safe. Thus, the maintenance of mother tongue becomes progressively more difficult. By the way, every language-speaking society tries to maintain their mother tongue, tries to use only mother tongue from its mother tongue people in the family. It is also natural.

References

1. Hudson R.A. 1980, Sociolinguistics, Cambridge University Press.
2. Grierson, G.A. 1967, Linguistics Survey of India, (Reprint) Vol. 9Pt 3 Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi.
3. Hugo Bactens Beards More, 1986, Bilingualism: Basic principles, Multilingual Matters Ltd.
4. Mackey William, 1963, Bilingualism in early childhood, Raising Multilingual Children: Foreign language Acquisition and children. Multilingual Matters Ltd.
5. Charles A Ferguson Huebner 1996, Multilingualism Sociolinguistics perspectives papers on Language in Society (1959-1994), Thom Oxford University Press.
6. Colin Baker 200, Foundations of Bilingual Education and Biligualism, Multilingual Matters Ltd.
7. Gerda Mansour, 1993, Multilingualism and National Building, Multilingual Matters Ltd.
8. Fishman, Joshua A. 1991, reversing language shift Multilingual Matters Ltd.
9. Fishman, JA 1965, Language Maintenance and Language shift: The American Immigrant case.
10. Gumperz, J 1982, Language and Social Identity, Cambridge University Press.
11. Pandit, P.B. 1972, India as a Sociolinguistic Area Poona: University of Pune.

12. Sue wright 1996, Monolingualism and Bilingualism, Multilingual Matters Ltd.
13. Weinreich, Uriel 1953, Language in contact, The Hagne Mouton.
14. Downs, William 1998, Language and Socity, Cambridge University Press.
15. Abbi, Anbitab 1994, Semantic Universals in Indian Languages, Indian of Advanse study, Shimla.
16. William Labov 1966, the social Stratification of English in New York City.
17. Peter Trudgill 1974, the social Differentiation of English in Norwich Cambridge University Press.
18. Grierson, George A, 1903, Linguistics survey of India Vol. 5, pt. 2 Government of India.