

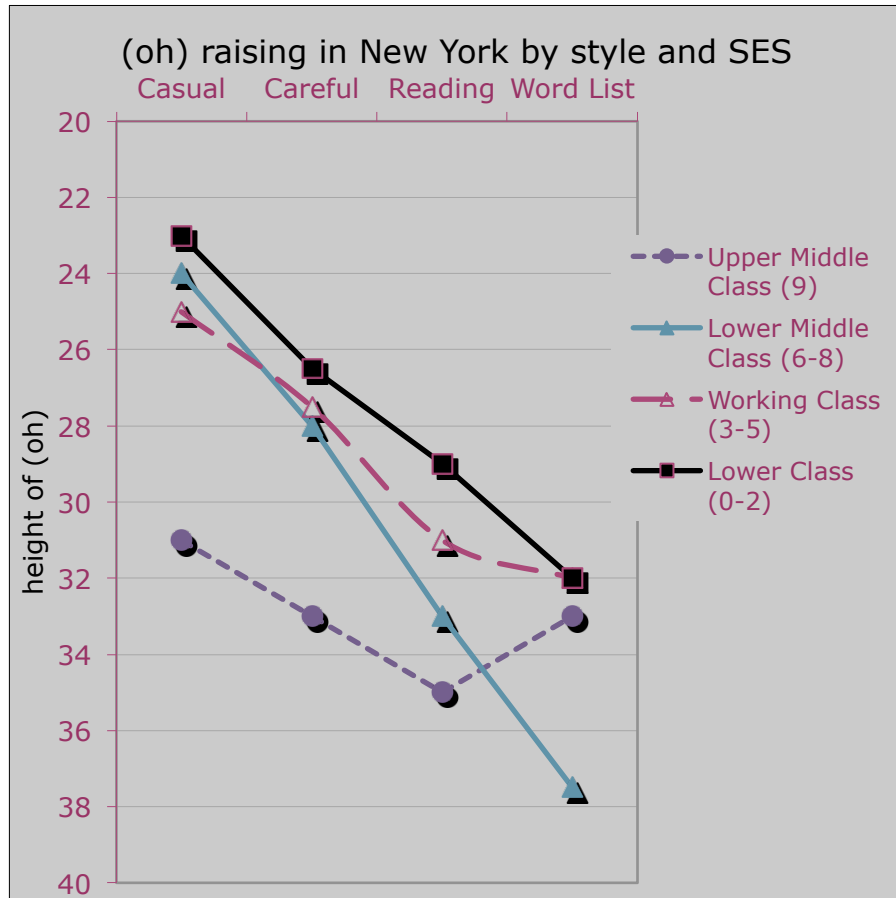
<http://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/Courses/ParisLabex.html>

- Slides
- Readings (to be taken down Oct. 10).

The macro-structure

Foundation of variation study

- Regular stratification by socioeconomic class
- Variable stratification by gender
- Somewhat variable stratification by age
- Stratification sometimes indicating path of social spread of change.



The theoretical inheritance of the First Wave

- Speech community
 - Community grammar
 - Shared norms
 - Consensual hierarchies
- Variation as
 - Indicating social address
 - Response to register demand
 - Change in progress
- The vernacular as
 - Unconscious, natural, unmonitored speech
 - Source of regular change “from below”

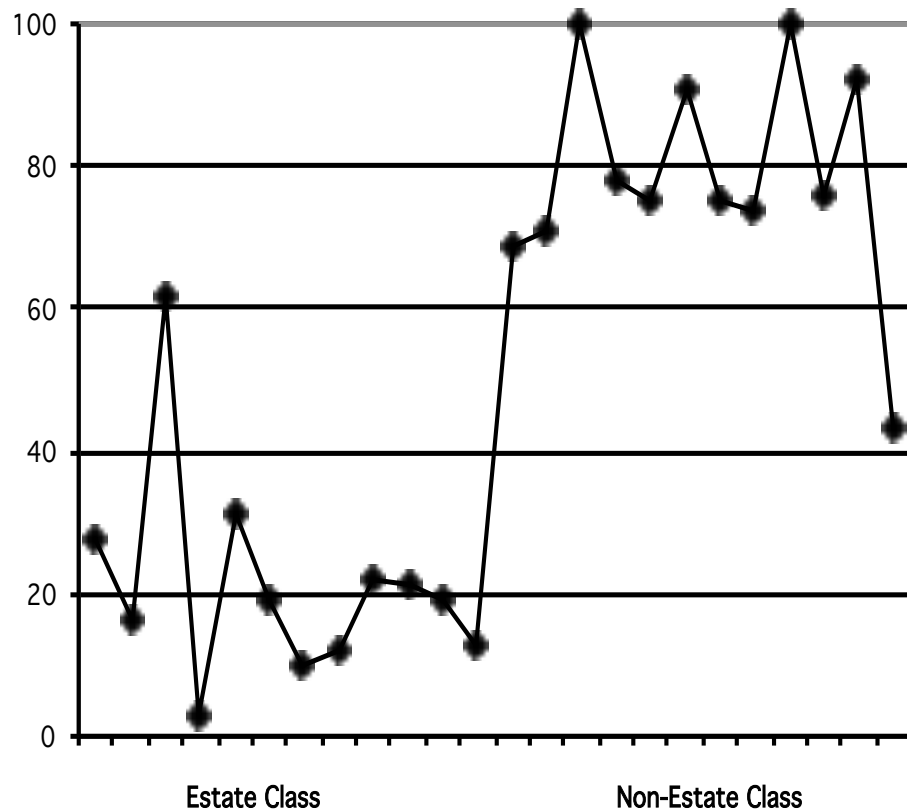
What's behind the patterns of the first wave?

- The macro-social categories of class, gender, ethnicity, and age are abstractions over an infinite range of activities and conditions that constitute the lives in and for which people use variation.
- In their day-to-day lives, people do not experience class as a stratification of economic and status indicators, gender as a simple binary, or age as a biological or calendric continuum – even if they can learn to think of them in these ways.
- Correlations of formal linguistic variation with these categories can point to, but cannot explain, the discursive use of variation.

- Given that we have to use categories to quantify variation, what kinds of categories are likely to be meaningful?
 - Class as structure of access to resources and opportunities
 - Class as culture
- Class is one of several hierarchies (gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality...)
 - How do these hierarchies differ?
 - How do these hierarchies interact?
- All of these categories have a history, and are changing.
- Remember always that science is driven by the ideologies of the research community.
- Making meaning in science and the perils of extending metaphors.
 - “next highest”, “interior groups”

The issue of consensuality

% Standard English
(acrolectal) variants in
singular pronoun
subcategories among
residents of Cane Walk,
Guyana.



Rickford, J. (1986). Concord and contrast in the characterization of the speech community. In *Sheffield working papers in language and linguistics*. 3. 87-119.

Rickford, J. (1986). The need for new approaches to class analysis in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication*, 6, 215–221.

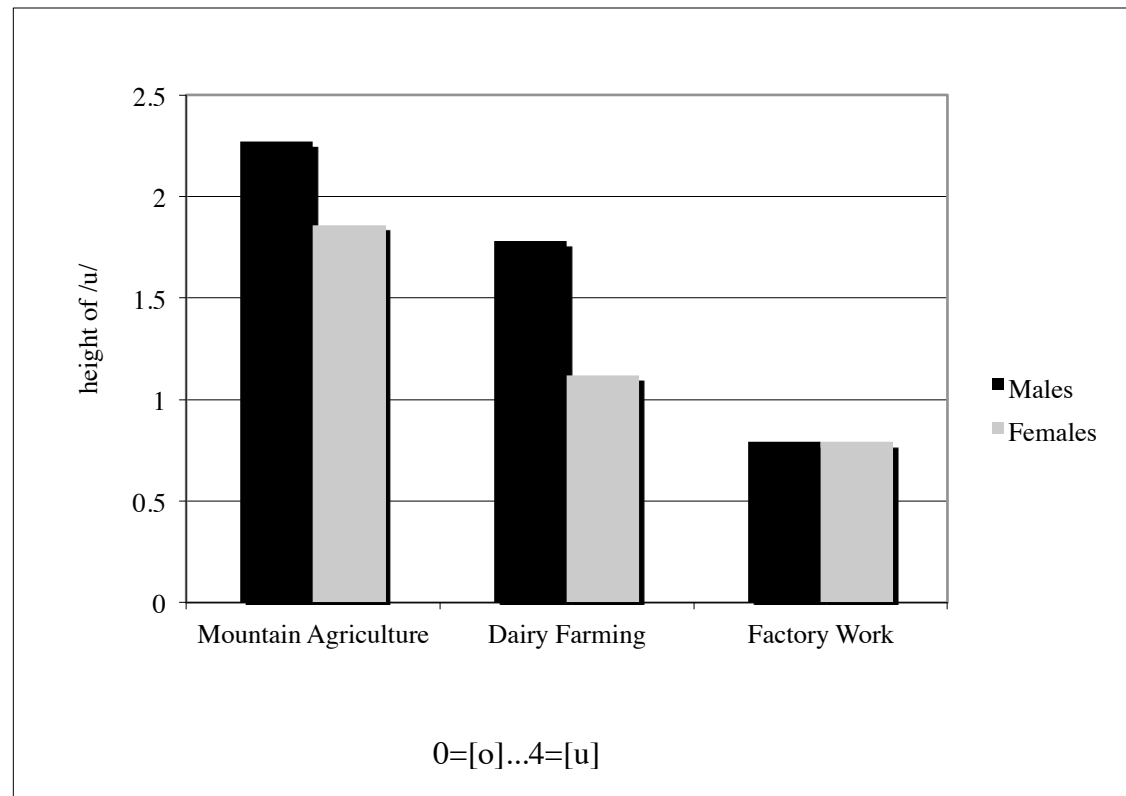
Jonathan Holmquist. 1985. Social correlates of a linguistic variable: a study in a Spanish village. *Language in Society* 14:191-203.

el trabajo del campo no lo saben

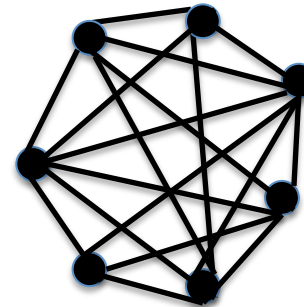
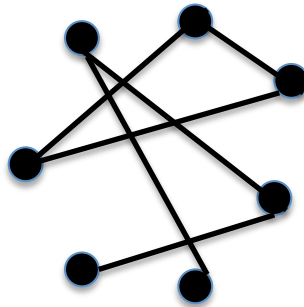
el trabaju del campu no lo saben

‘field work they don’ t know it’

$$[u] = 0 \quad \dots \dots \dots [o] = 4$$



The issue of agency



the vernacular is a positive force “...utilized as a symbol by speakers to carry powerful social meanings and so resistant to external pressures.”

Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

variable	sex	sig.
(a)	M	<.05
	F	<.01
(ǎ)	M	<.05
	F	<.01

hat, man, grass [a]=0, [ɔ]=4

mother, brother, ǎ > ø 1 or 0

Correlations with network scores: 1 point each for

1. Membership in high density, territorially based cluster.
2. Substantial kinship ties in neighborhood.
3. Working at the same place as at least 2 others from same area
4. Same place of work as at least 2 others of the same sex from the area.
5. Voluntary association with work mates in leisure hours.

Milroy, L., & Margrain, S. (1980). Vernacular language loyalty and social network. *Language in Society*, 9, 43–70.

Class and the local: standard and vernacular

- Working and LMC lead in change from below; UMC from above.
- WC occupations/lives are locally based.
 - The local vernacular constitutes a claim to local authenticity.
 - gives greater access to local resources.
- UMC occupations/lives are diffusely based.
 - The standard constitutes a claim to cosmopolitan authenticity; transcendence of local interests.
 - Gives greater access to institutional resources.

The Linguistic Market

- The linguistic variety determines the value of a person's utterances on the social market.
- Unification of the linguistic market: The degree to which the competence of the dominant group or class is recognized as legitimate, ie. as the standard of the value of linguistic products.
- Class brings differential chances of access to the legitimated variety and to the legitimated sites of expression.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1972. *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Paris: Droz.

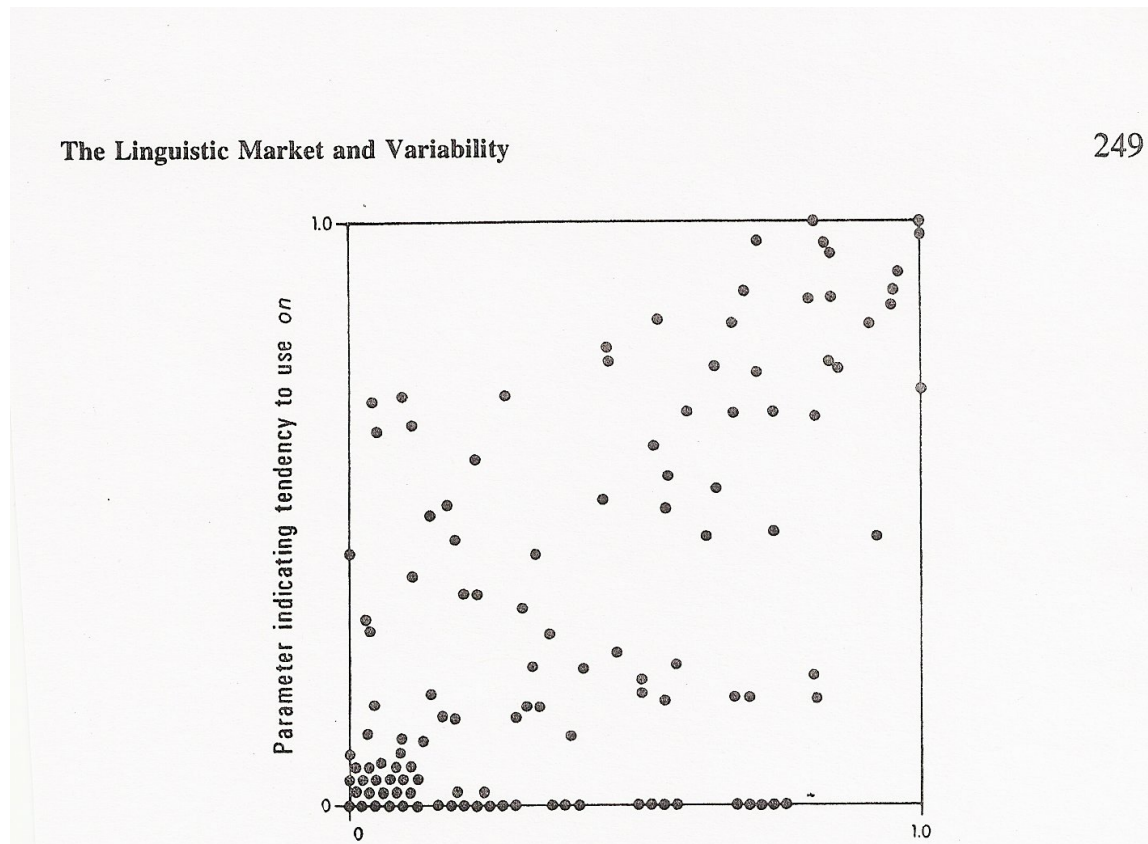
Bourdieu, P., & Boltanski, L. (1975). Le fétichisme de la langue. *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, (4), 2–32.

Language in a system of value: Forms of Capital

- **Economic:** command of cash, material assets
- **Social:** “...durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition”
- **Cultural:** legitimated knowledge, attitudes (education, skill, manners...)
- **Symbolic:** reputation (honor, prestige, recognition)

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. Forms of capital. *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, ed. by J.G. Richardson, 241-58. New York: Greenwood Press.

Use of *on* in Montreal (vs *tu*, *ils...*)



Sankoff, D., & Laberge, S. (1978). The linguistic market and the statistical explanation of variability. In D. Sankoff (Ed.), *Linguistic Variation: Models and Methods* (pp. 239–250). New York: Academic Press.

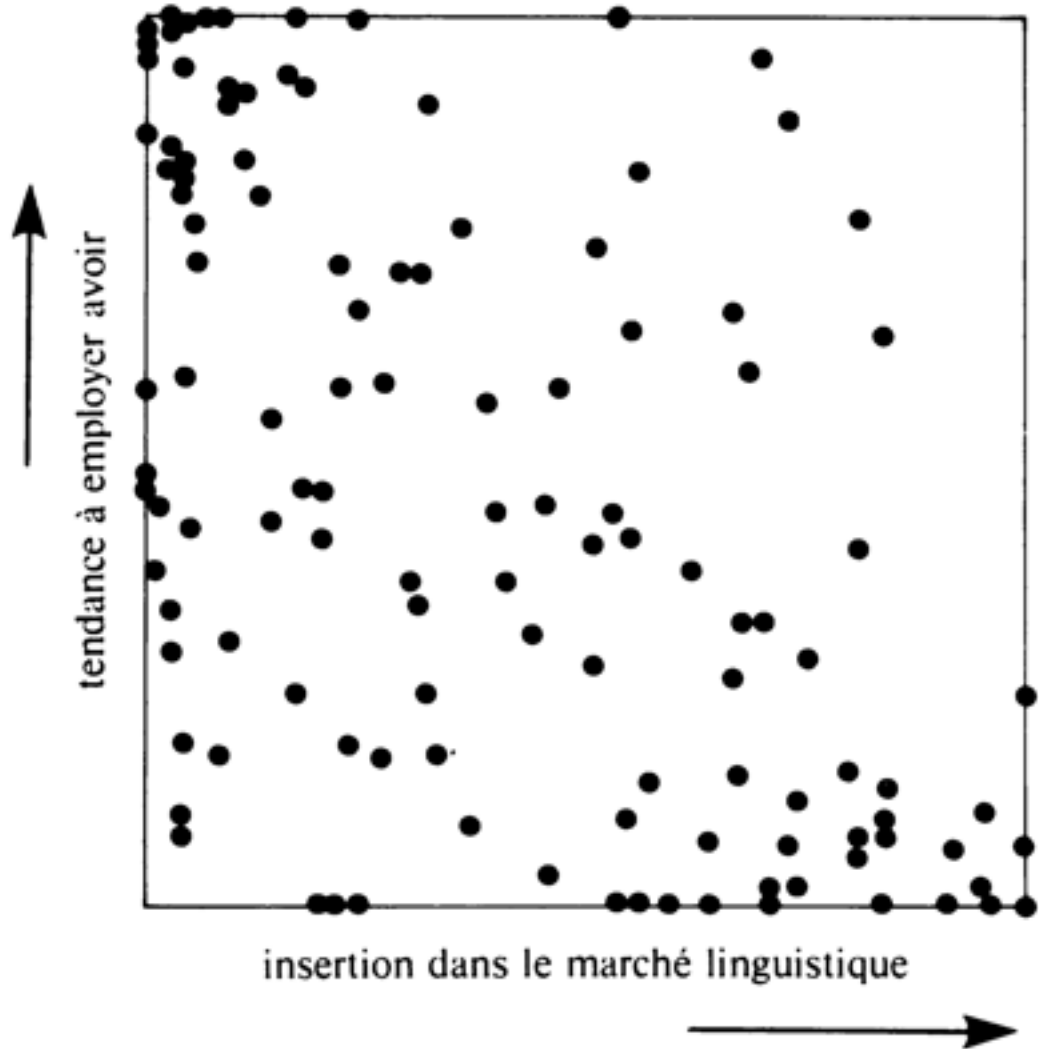
avoir and *être* in Montreal

22 des 49 individus qui utilisent les 2 variablement manifestent la variation dans les conjugaisons d'un même verbe.

- Ex: Dans un sens **quand elle a parti**, ça m'a fait plus de peine que **quand mon père est parti**.

Sankoff, G. and Thibault, P.1977. L'alternance entre les auxiliaires "avoir" et "être" en français parlé à Montréal. *Langue française*. 34. 81-108.

Arriver (467)
Aller (404)
Venir (353)
Rester (339)
Changer (330)
Partir (240)
Passer (128)
Déménager (113)
Rentrer (109)
Revenir (104)
Demeurer (77)
Tomber (74)
Retourner (39)
Monter (33)
Entrer (19)
Descendre (18)



Questions of method

Survey

- More participants
- Greater replicability
- Single interaction
- Predetermined questions & categories
- Single interaction type

Ethnography

- Fewer participants
- Less replicability
- Continued interaction
- Emergent questions and categories
- Multiple interaction types

Class stratification of variables from Wolfram (1969)

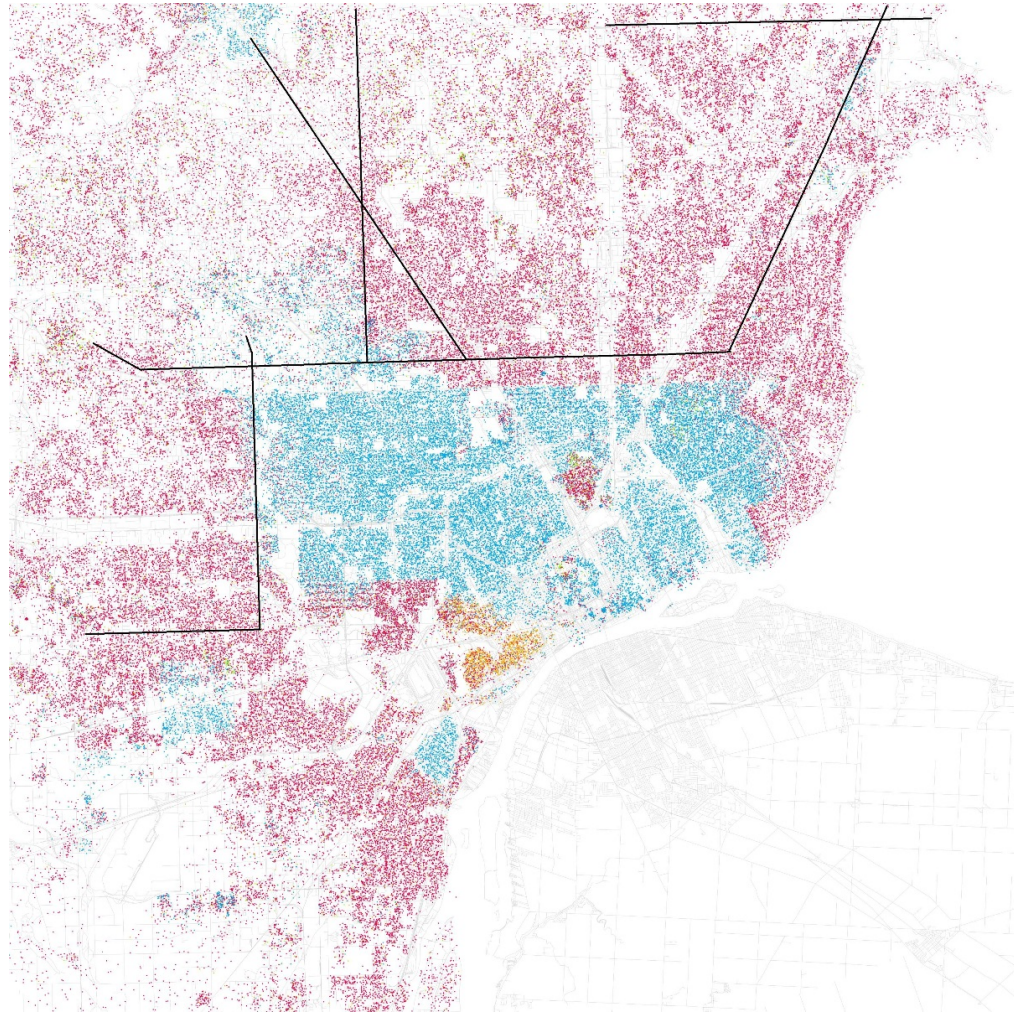
% vernacular forms

	10-12	14-17	Adults
Word-final t,d			
bimorphemic clusters	+	-	-
monomorphemic clusters	+	-	+
morpheme-medial and final	+	+	+
syllable-final d			
[t]	-	-	-
0	-	-	-
postvocalic r	+	-	+
suffixal -z			
3rd singular	+	-	+
possessive	+	-	-
plural	-		+
Multiple negation	+	-	+
Copula deletion	+	+	+
	8	2	7

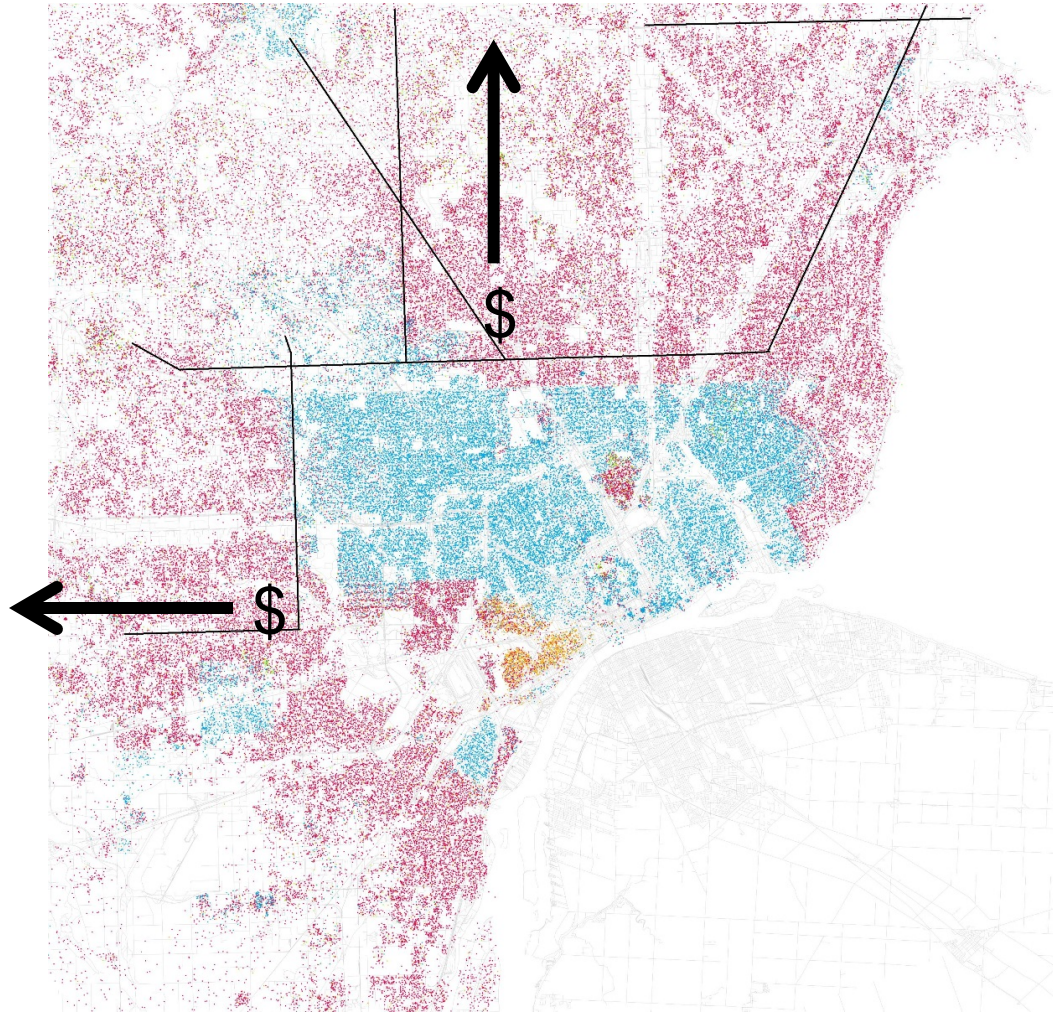


Belten High

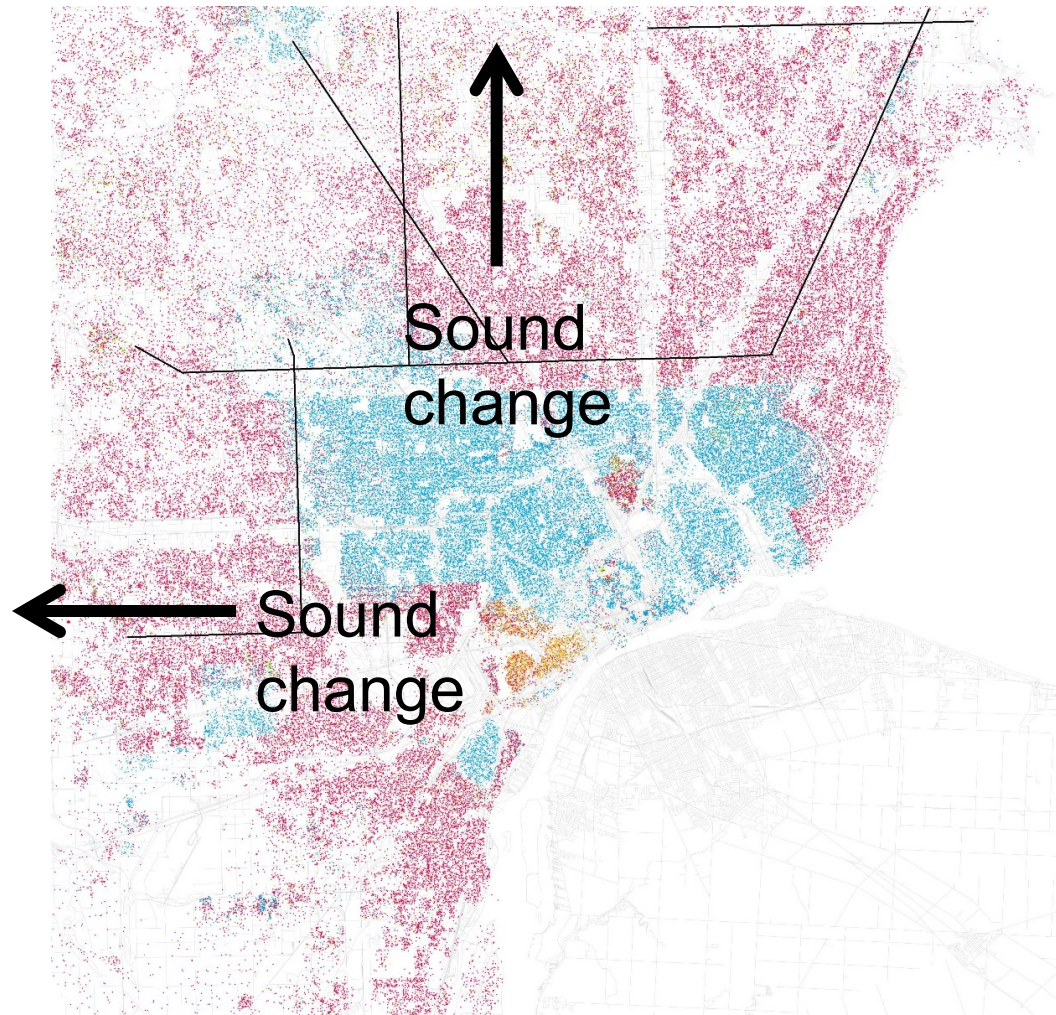
- Adolescents lead in linguistic change, and in the use of vernacular features.
- What is the nature of the adolescent social order in American high schools?
 - What is the relation between socioeconomic class and the adolescent social order?
- What is the relation between sociolinguistic variation and the adolescent social order?
- How does change spread through the adolescent population?



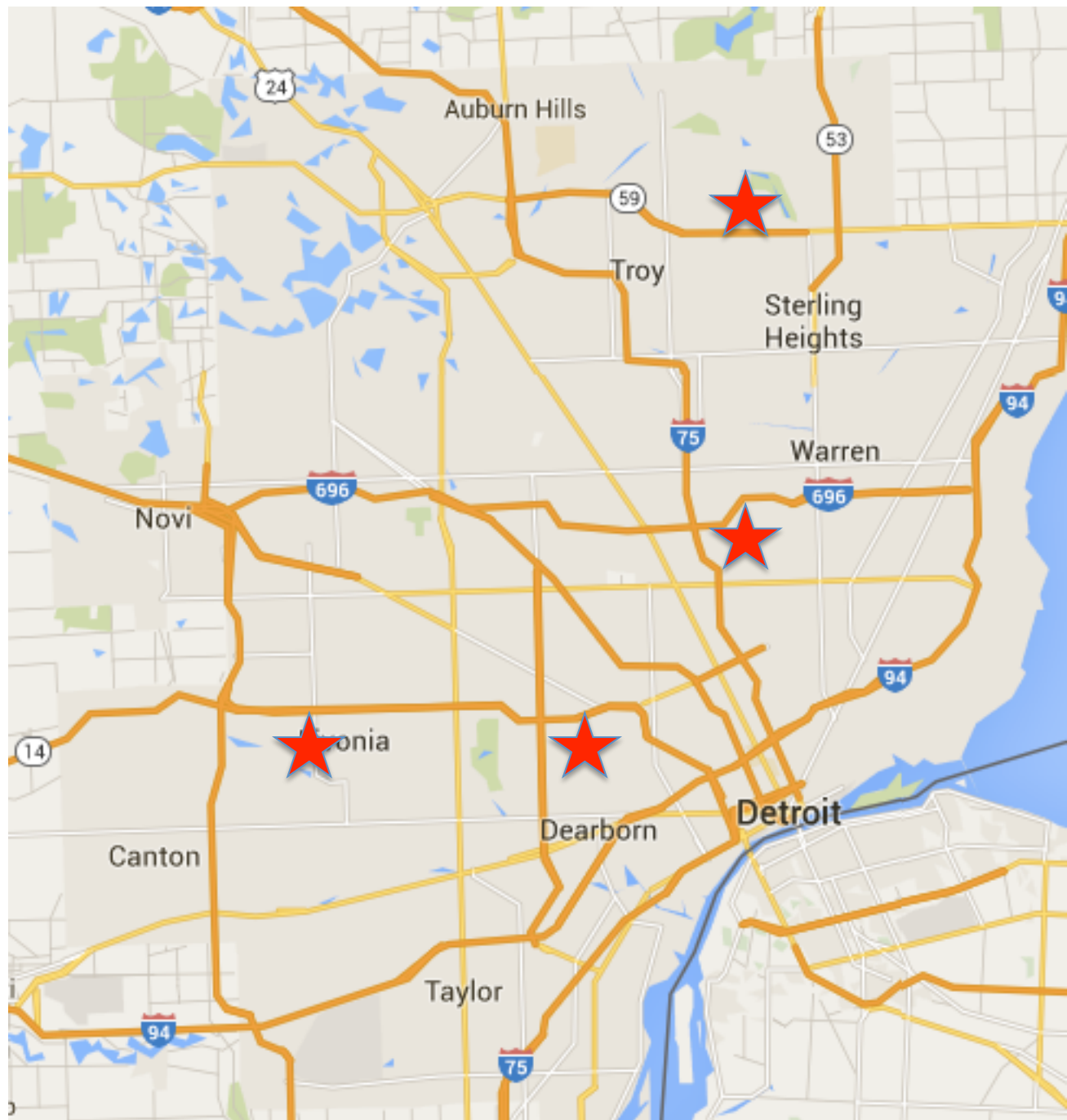
The Detroit area



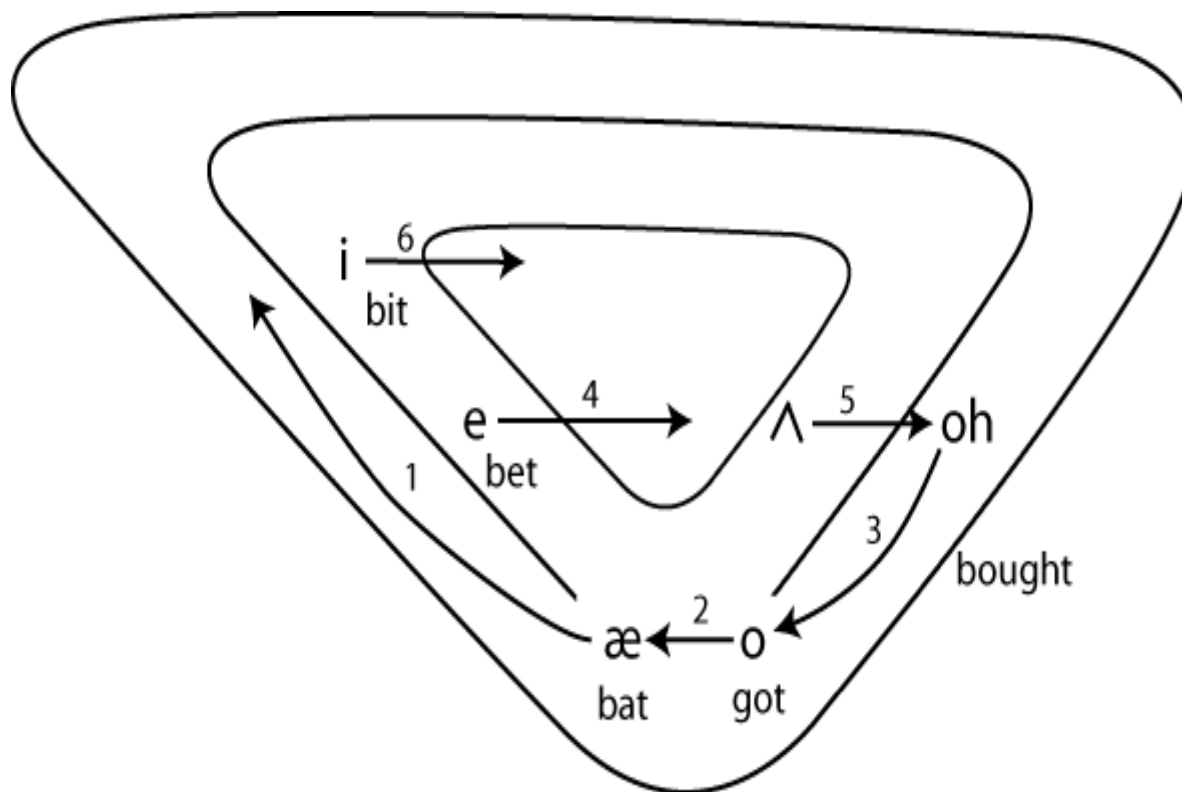
The Detroit area

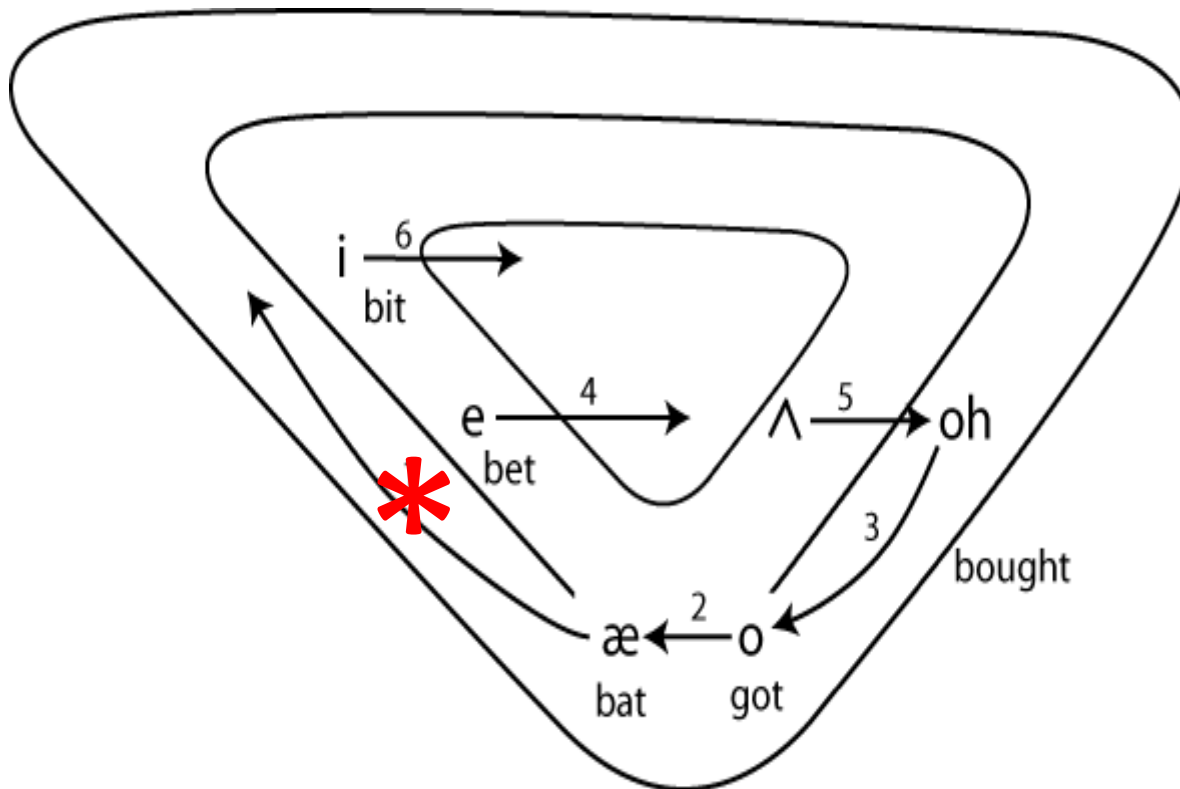


The Detroit area



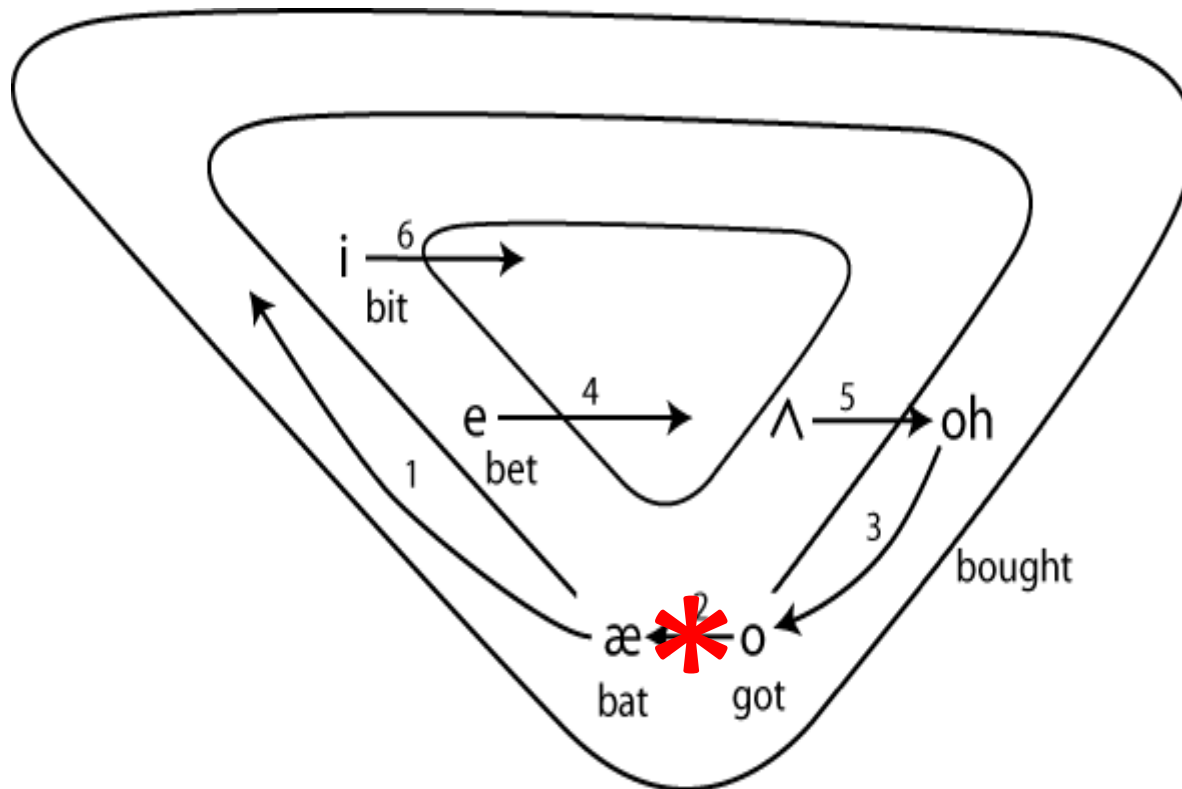
The Northern Cities Shift





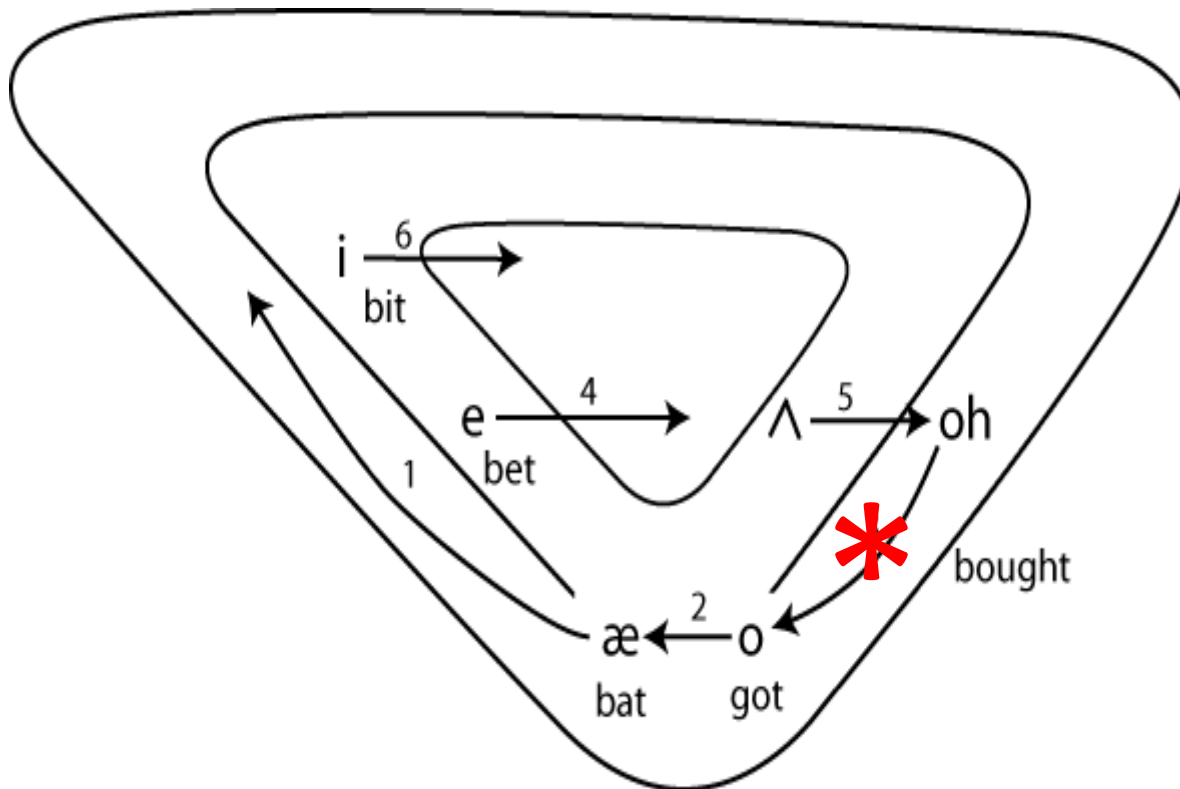
We thought this was you know really **bad**. Now my mom **laughs at** it but then ...





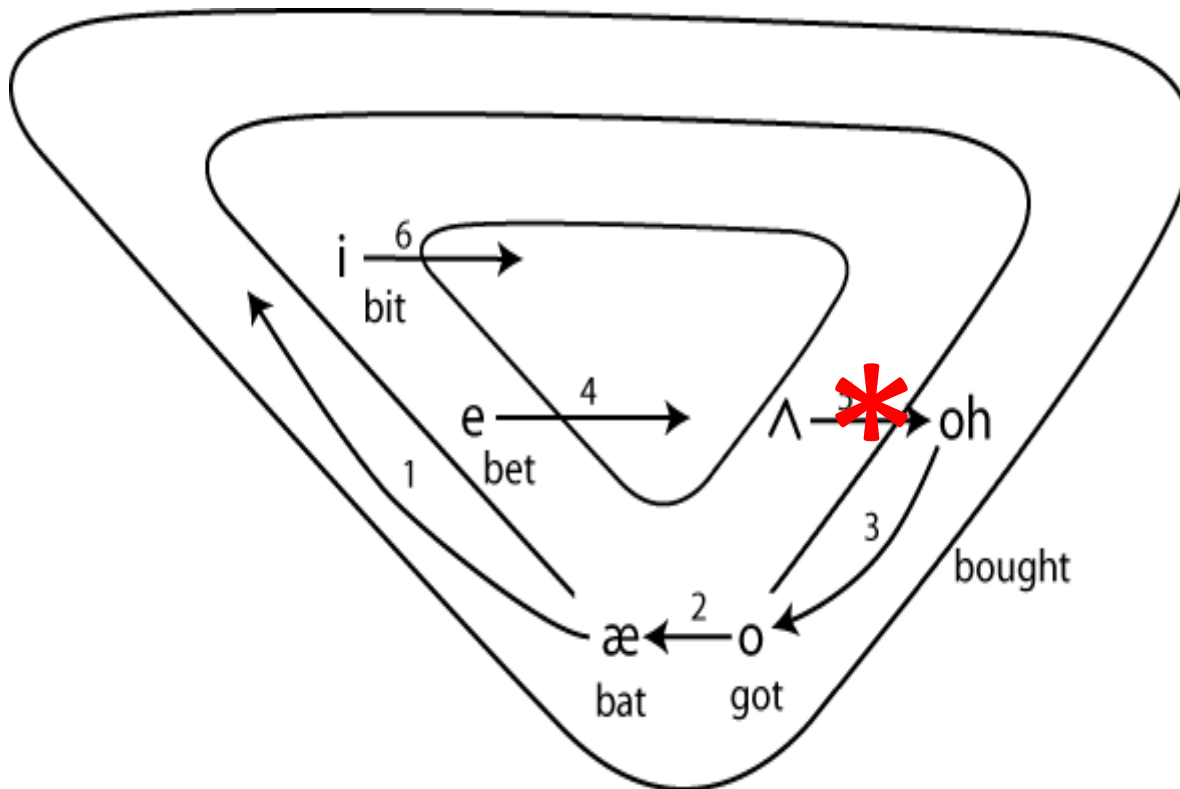
I wasn't even **on** nothing





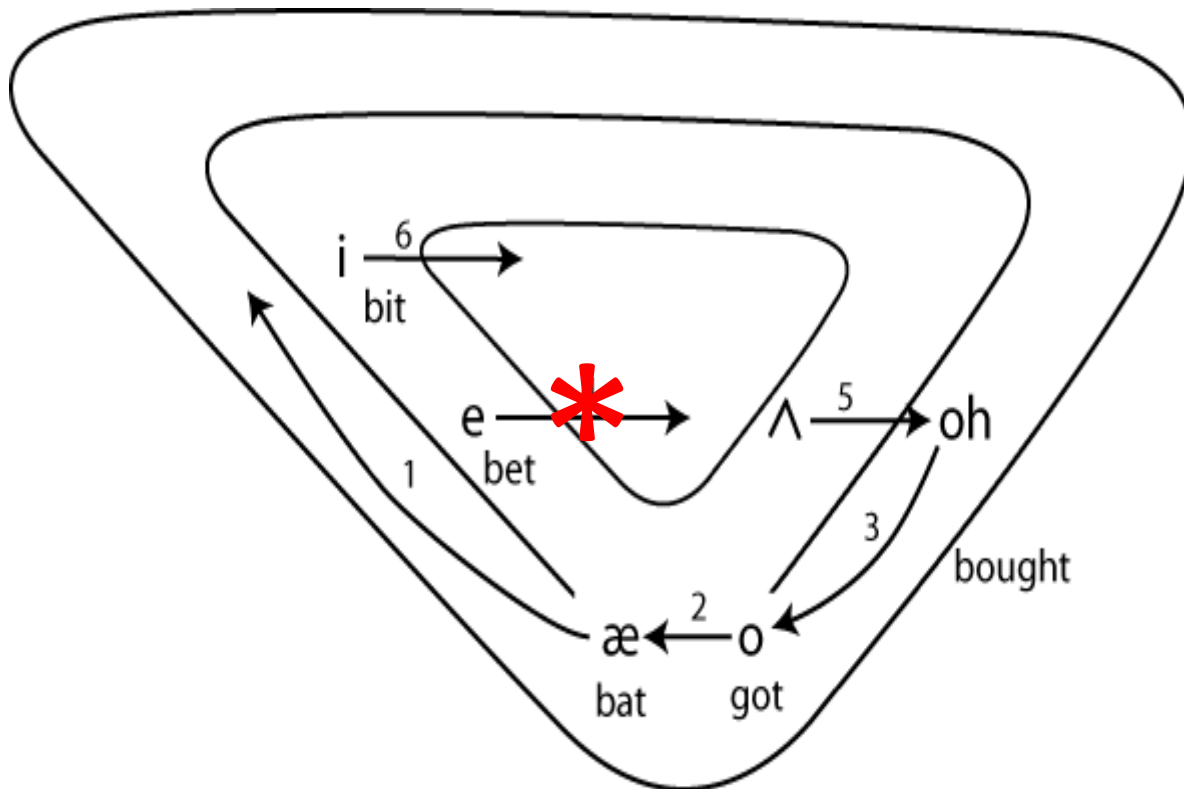
All my aunts they're such bitches





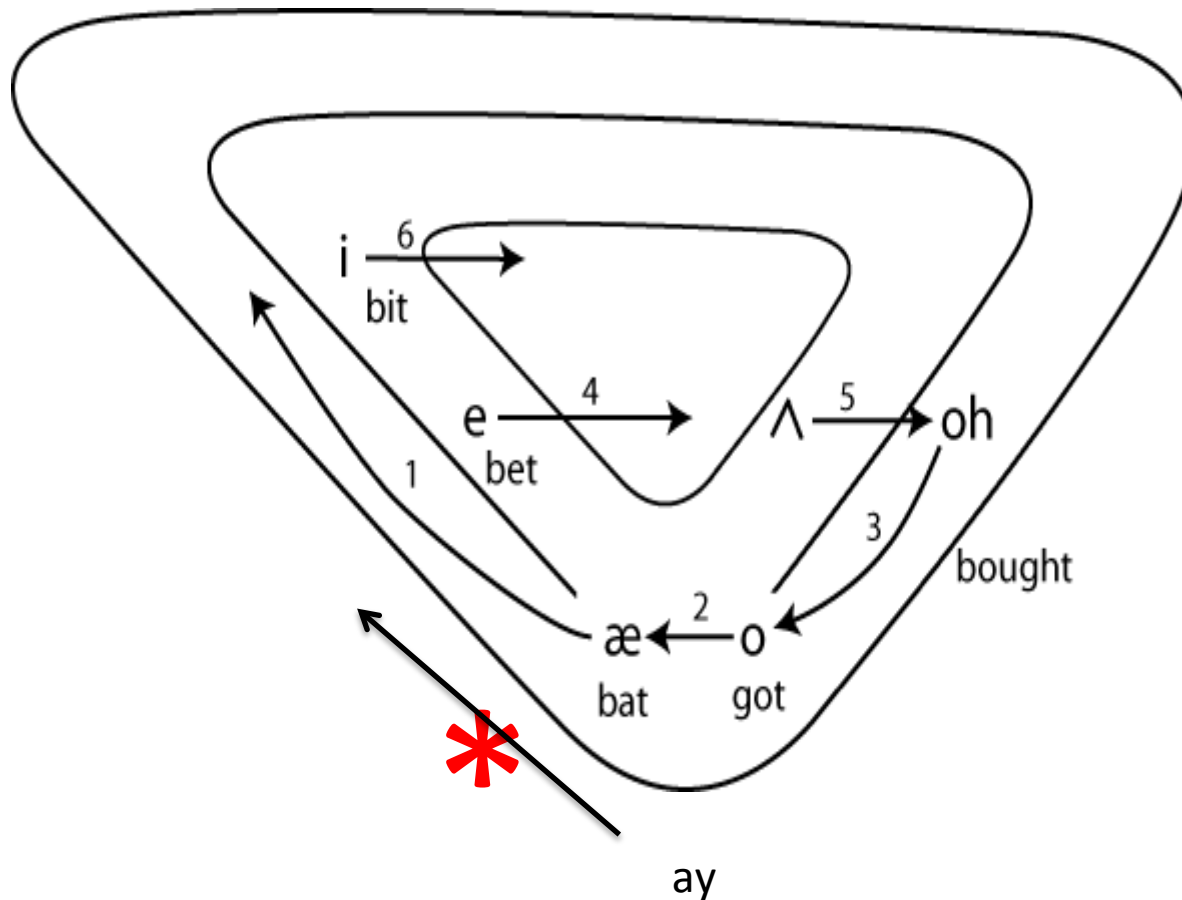
I always steal my **lunch**





Zeppelin

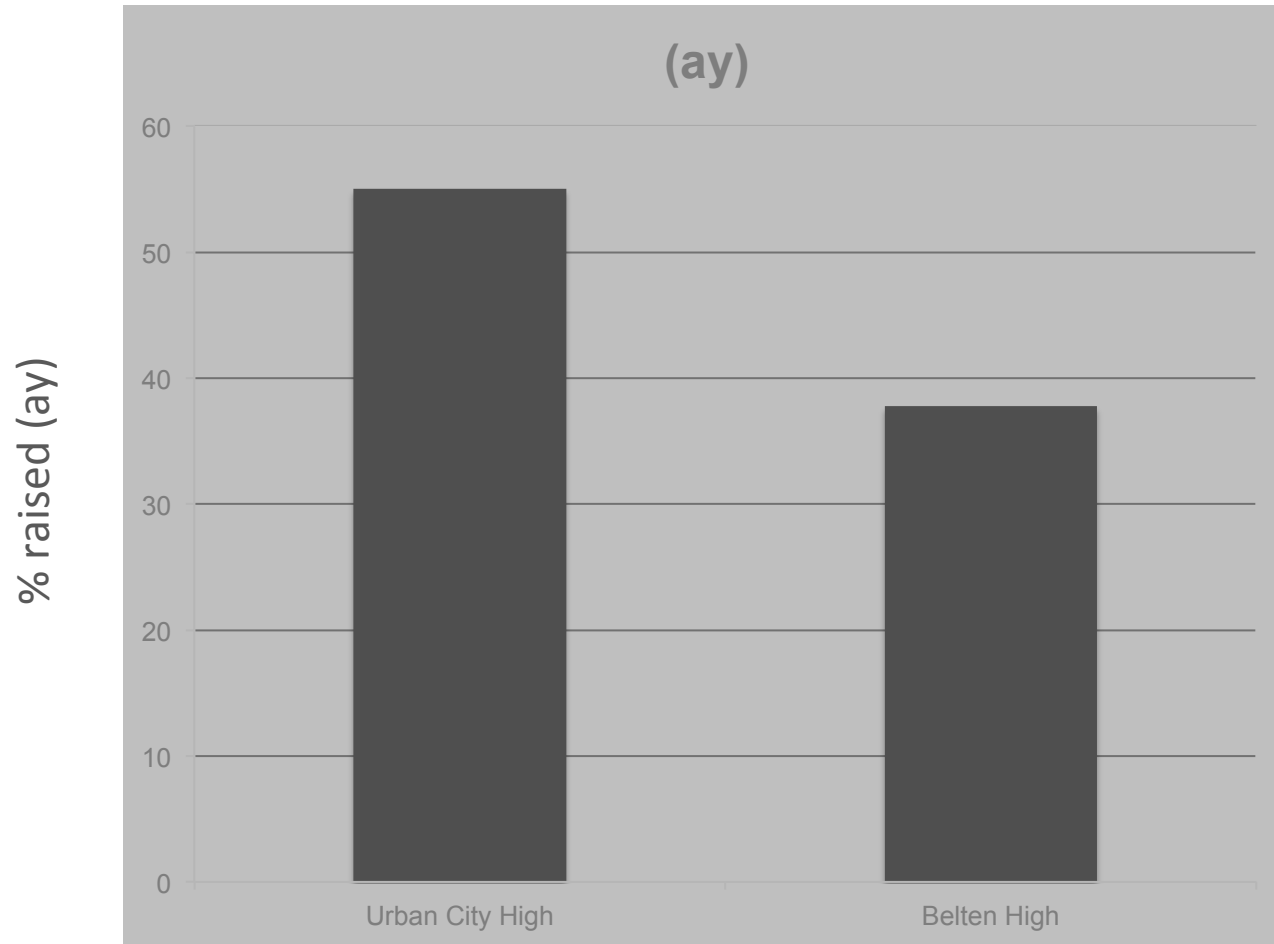




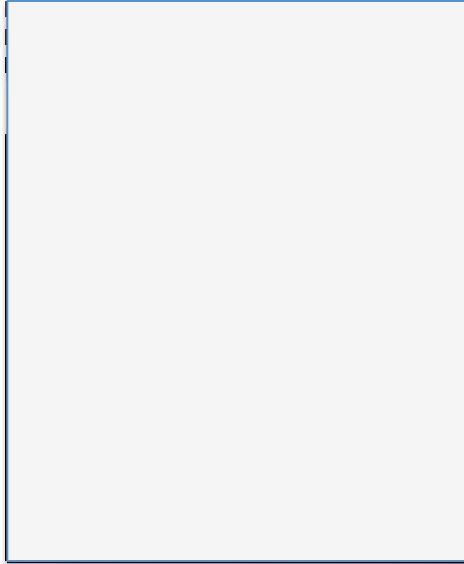
Well I got **typing**. I'm taking auto mechanics next year.



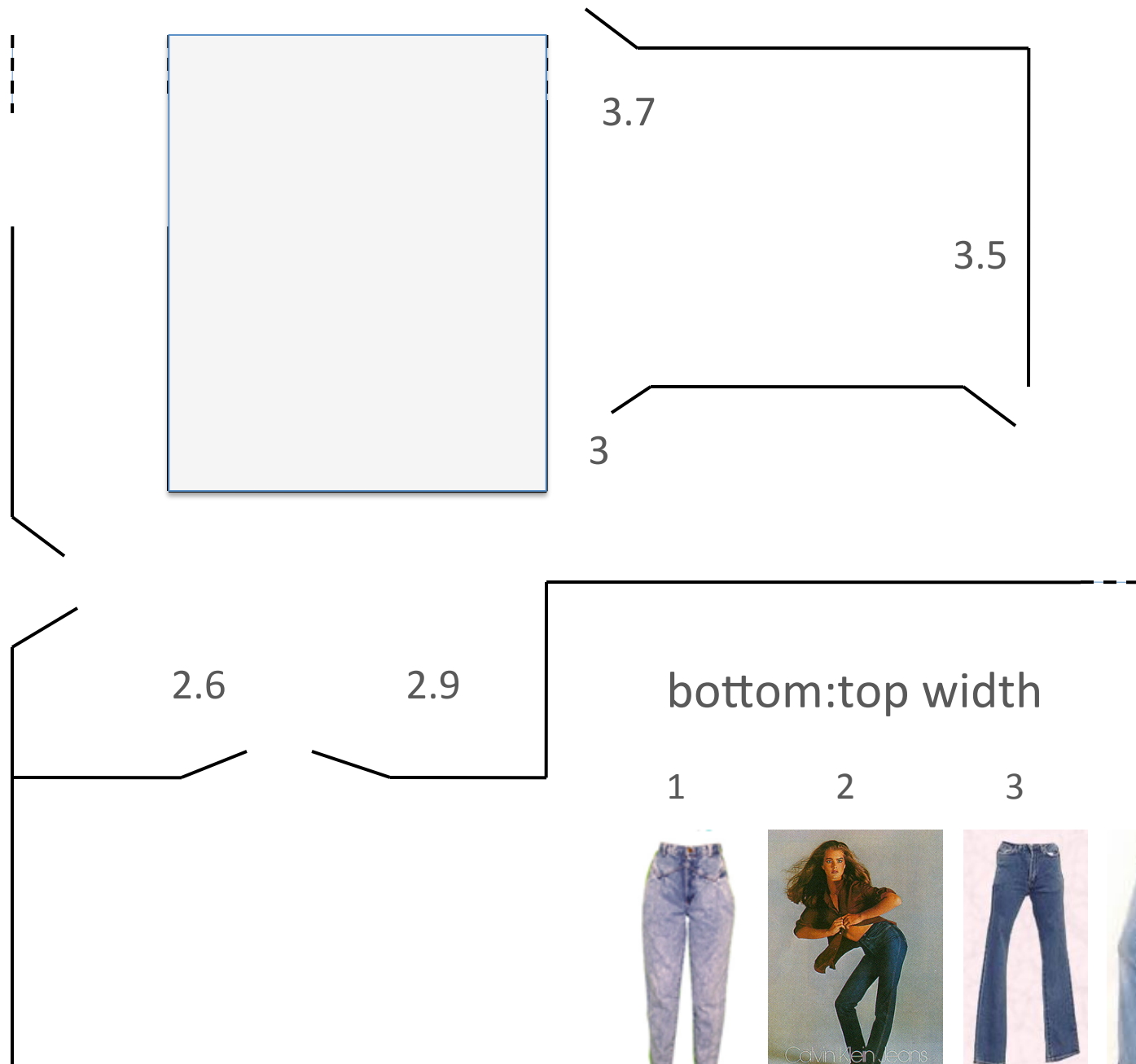
Urban change spreading from urban periphery



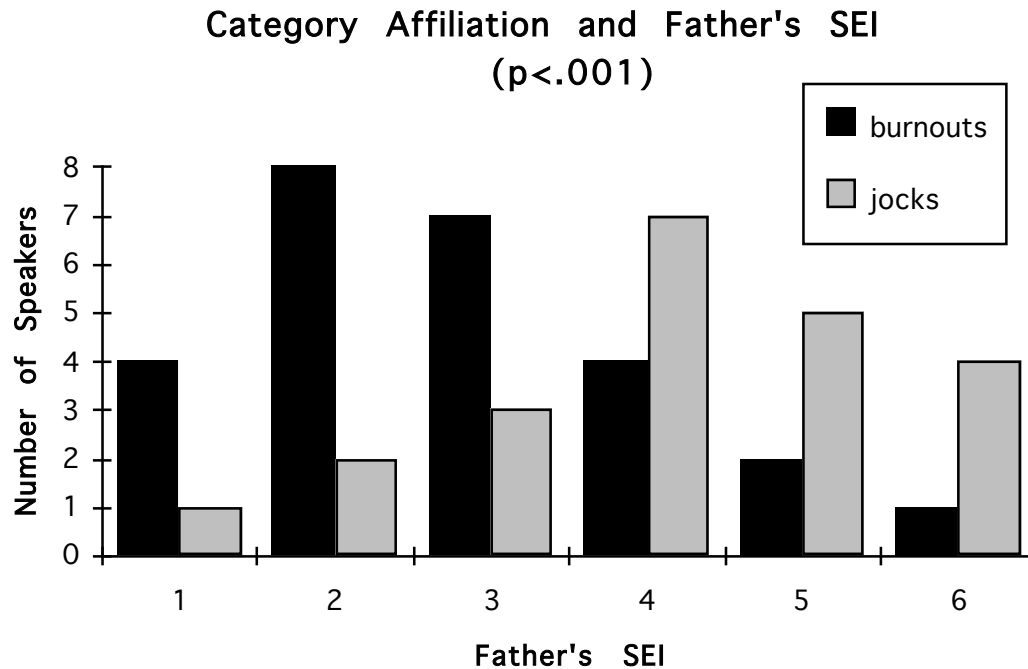
Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.



Eckert, Penelope. 1982. Clothing and geography in a suburban high school. *Researching American culture*, ed. by Conrad Phillip Kottak, 45-48. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.



Jocks and Burnouts



Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Burnouts – a working class culture

- Urban Oriented – networks, destinations
- Reject institution as basis of social lives
- Consciously have-nots
- Egalitarian and solidary
 - Share goods, services and problems
- Vocational curriculum
- Lay claim to adult prerogatives



Jocks – a middle class culture

- Base networks and activities in school
- Urban area only for institutional engagement
- Meritocratic ideology
- Hierarchical and cautious social relations
- College bound
- Collegial relations with adults



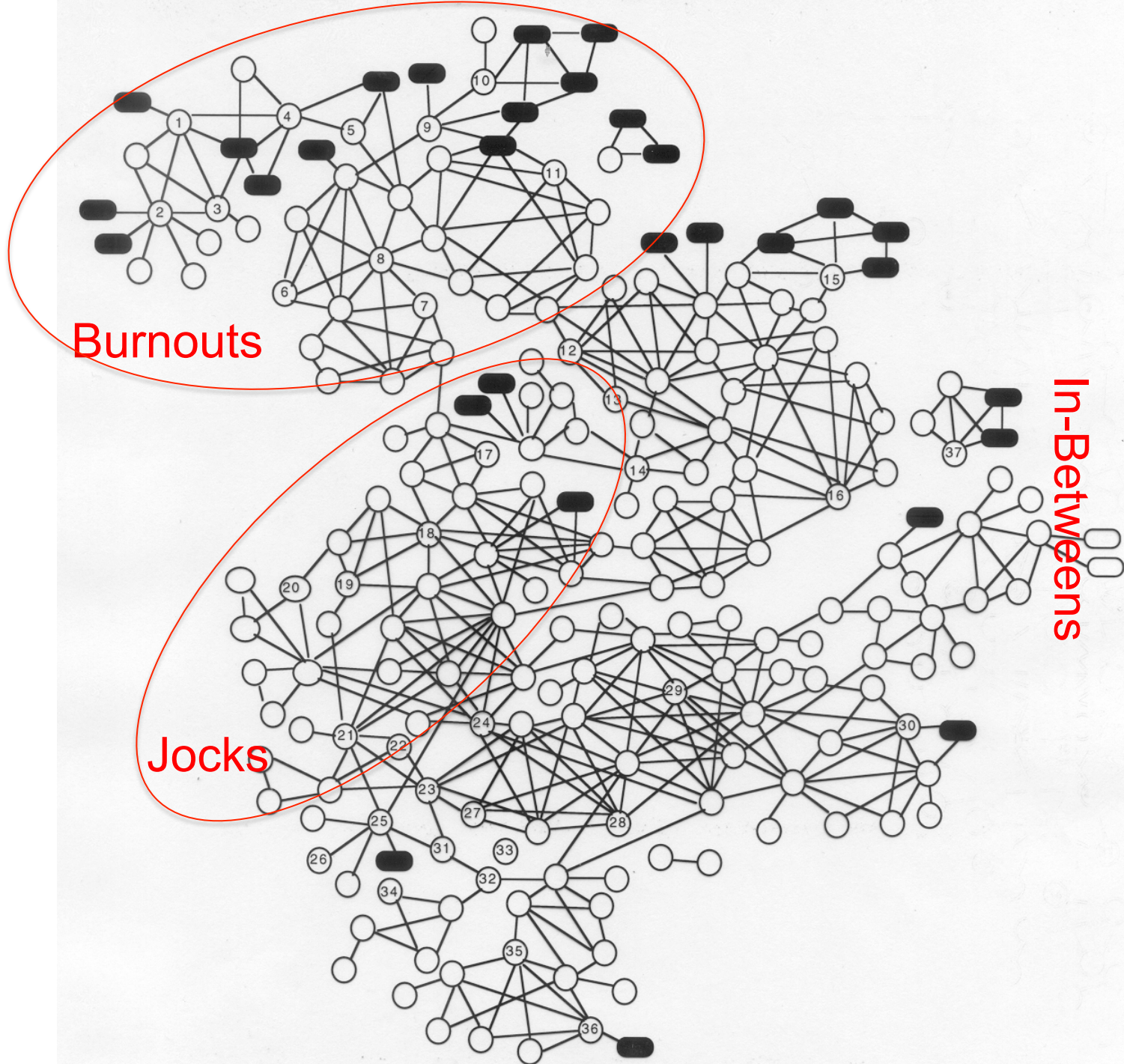


Figure 7.6 academics/cat

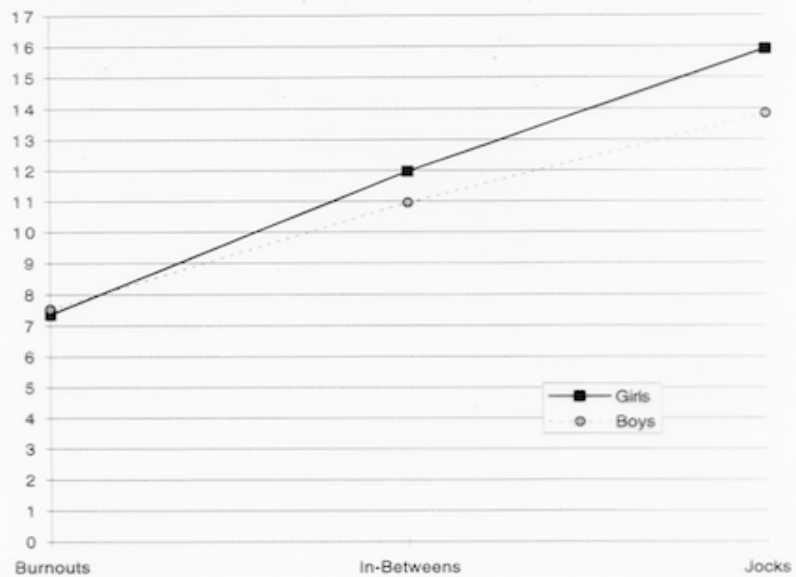


Figure 7.7 acad honors/category

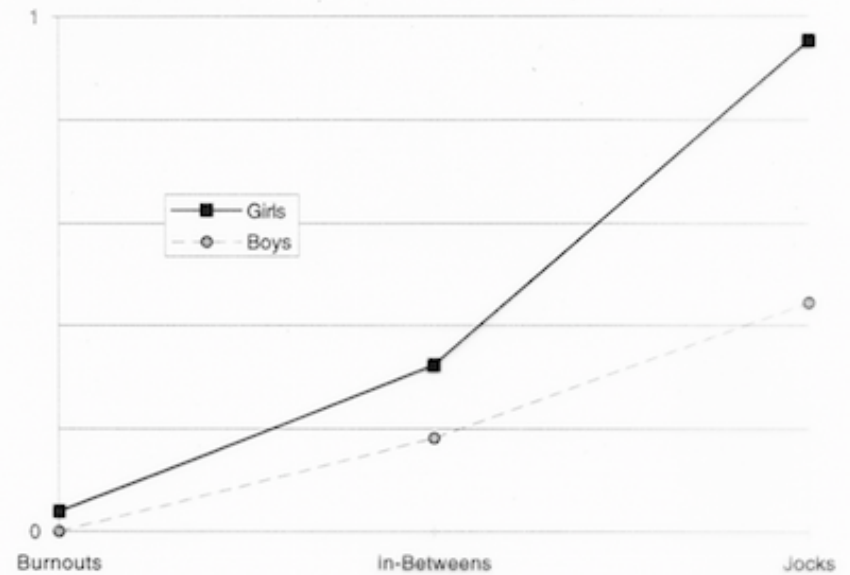
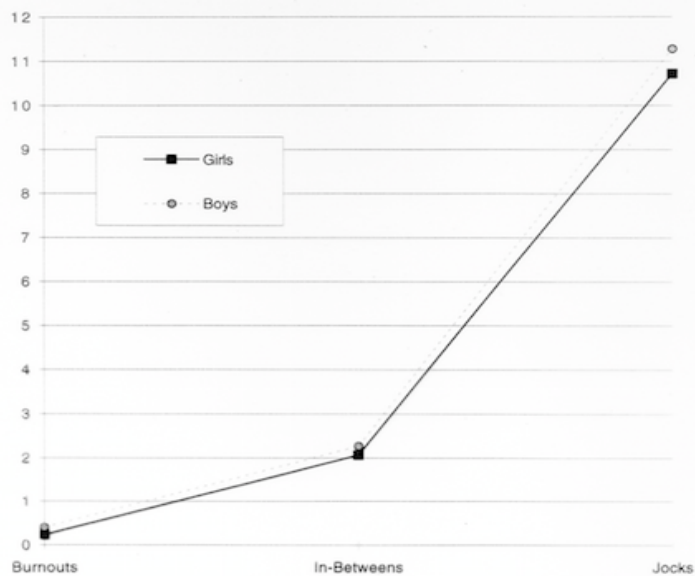
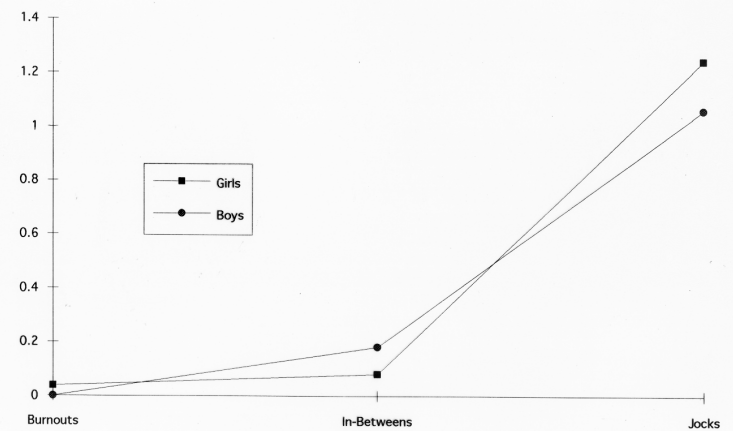


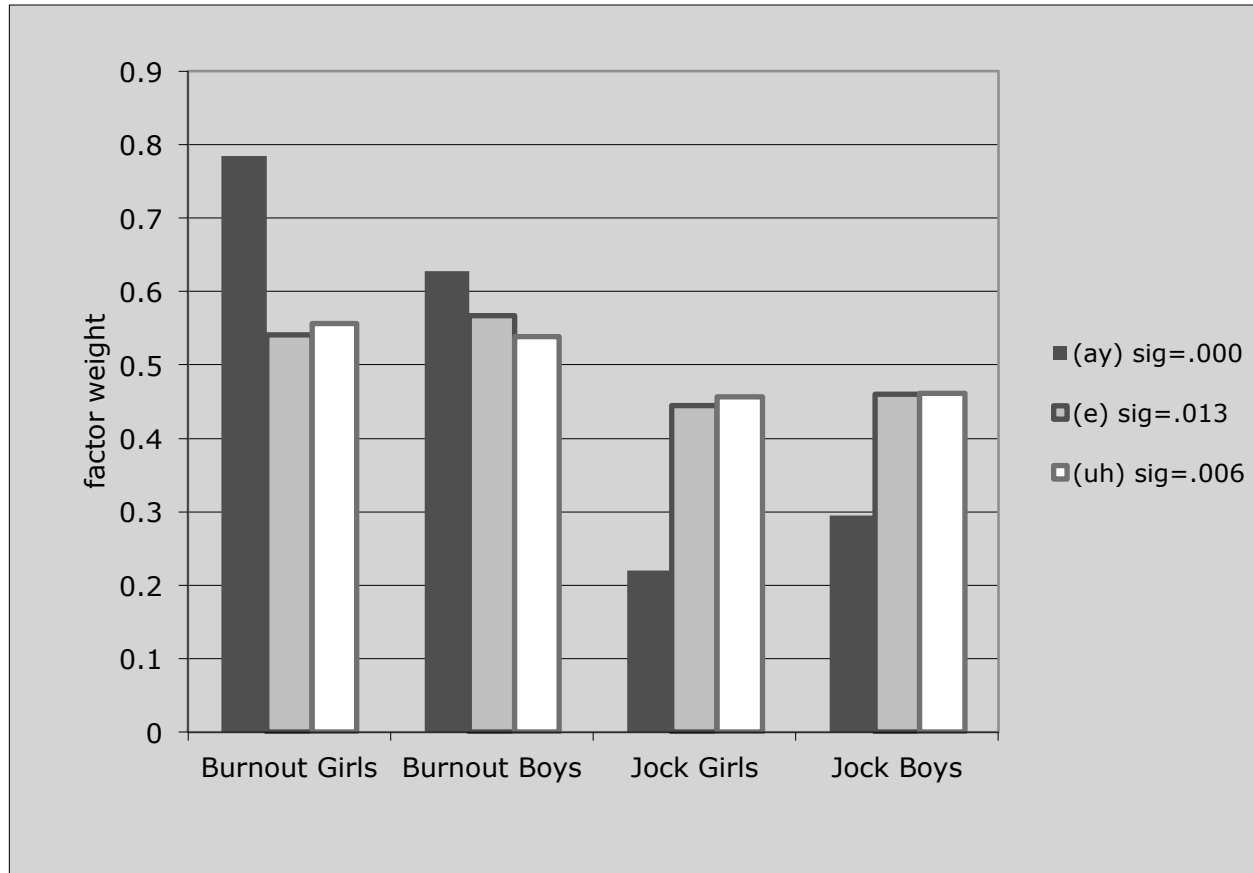
Figure 7.2 activities/category



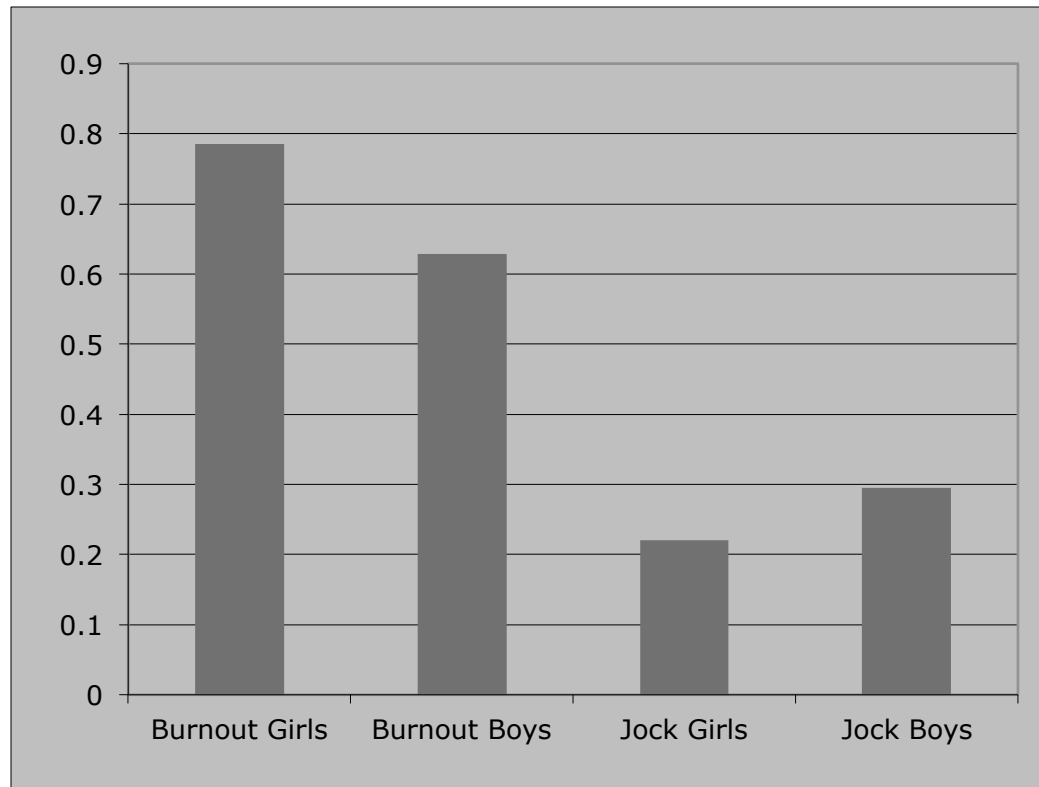
elected school-wide/category



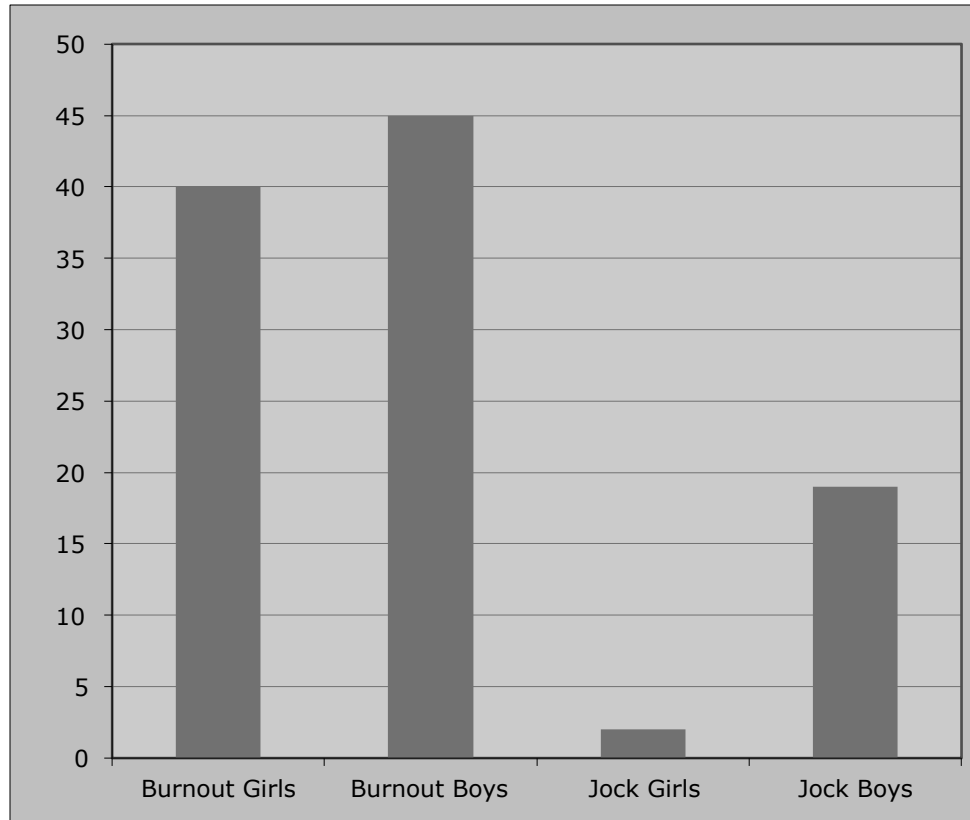
Urban variables



(ay)



% Negative Concord



Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic variation as social practice*. Oxford: Blackwell.

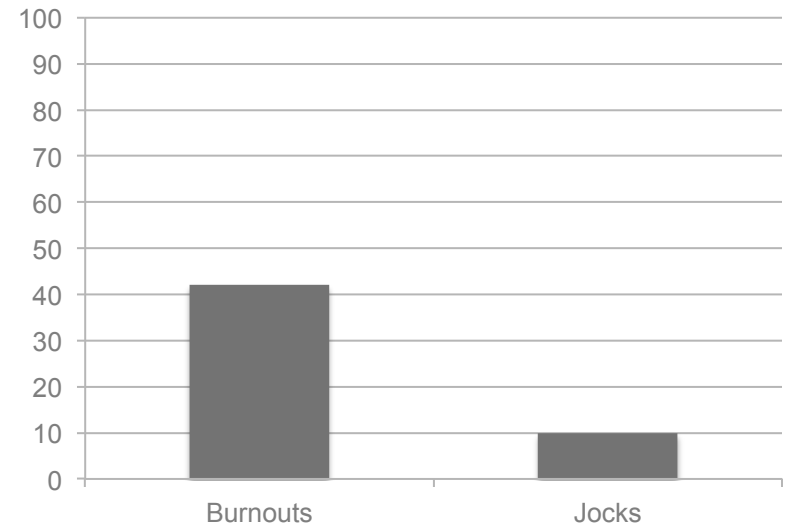
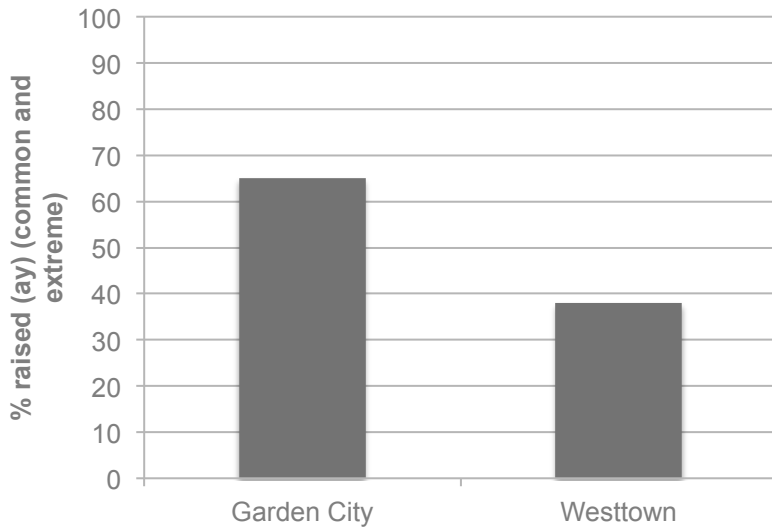
Locating class in geography

Why Jock status is not transportable

... all these short haired kids. My hair was long, it was really long, you know, and these people were, "well get your hair cut," you know. And they all had these Nike tennis shoes on. And that's what I remember. Nike tennis shoes. So I went home and said, "Mom, screw these Trax tennis shoes, I got to get some Nikes" you know. "We're moving up in the world." So I had to get Nike tennis shoes like the rest of them. You know, that's about the thing they all dressed like way nicer than in Garden City. Garden City was strictly jeans and tee shirts, you know.

(Fractal) Recursivity

“the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level.”



Irvine, J. T., & Gal, S. (2000). Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities* (pp. 35–83). Santa Fe NM: SAR Press.

Back to the issue of agency

- Urban variants correlate with adolescent identity, not childhood class origins.
- People do not passively become Jocks, Burnouts, or In-Betweens.
- On the other hand, they don't just choose.
- So what kinds of social forces are at work?

Social (and Linguistic) Reproduction

- In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible.
- All human action is performed within the context of a pre-existing social structure, hence is constrained or partly predetermined based on the varying contextual rules under which it occurs.
- The structure and rules are not permanent and external, but sustained by human action.
- Human action involves a process of reflexive feedback, sustaining and modifying the structure and rules.

GIDDENS, ANTHONY. 1979. *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

We experience social position with others

- Communities of practice
 - Social aggregates defined by shared practice
 - Socially located

Lave, Jean and Wenger, Etienne. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, Etienne. 2000. *Communities of practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Communities of Practice and the Macro-Structure

- Categories like gender, class, and race involve clusters of experience.
- Communities of practice emerge in shared response to socially-located conditions and situations.
 - Women are more likely than men to participate in secretarial pools, childcare groups, exercise classes.
 - Working-class people are more likely than middle-class people to participate in unions, neighborhood friendship groups, extended families.
- Thus communities of practice do not emerge randomly, but are structured by the kinds of situations that present themselves in different places in society.

- Jocks and Burnouts emerged in response to a shared orientation to the school institution. This orientation is related to, but not determined by, class.
- Communities of practice are defined not by membership, but by engagement in joint (not necessarily consensual) practice.
- Jocks and Burnouts develop radically different practices in response to their oppositional orientation to the world around them.

Habitus

Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a theory of practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

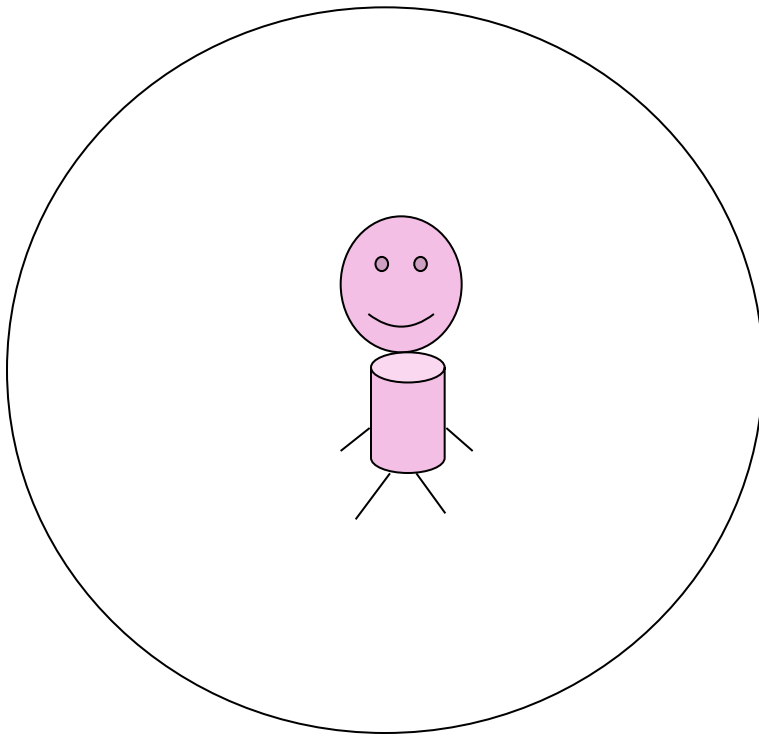
Non-discursive knowledge – aspects of culture that are embodied in the daily practices of individuals, groups, societies, nations. Skills, tastes, automatic movements.

Mauss, M. 1934. Les techniques du corps. Journal du psychologie, 32. (3-4).

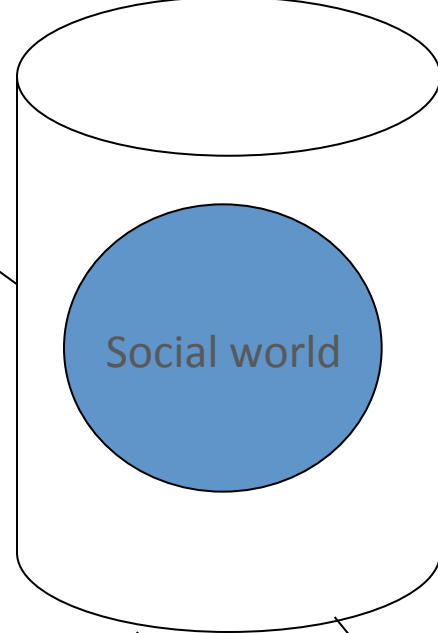
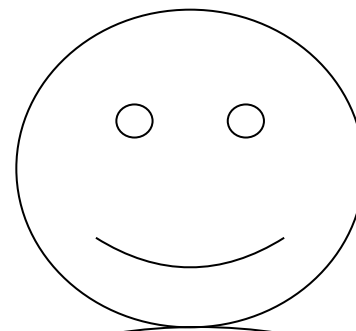
... society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them

Wacquant, L. (2005) Habitus. *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology*. J. Becket and Z. Milan. London, Routledge.p. 316

Social world



=



“society written into the body, into the biological individual”

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In other words: Essays toward a reflexive sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p. 63.

Representation courtesy of Miyako Inoue

Bodily hexis

- ...embeds what some would mistakenly call values in the most automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques of the body — ways of walking or blowing one's nose, ways of eating or talking...

Bourdieu, P. 1984. *A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*.
translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Habitus and how Jocks & Burnouts come to be

- Neighborhood networks vs. play dates
 - peer vs. parental resources & dependence
 - sibling care vs. competition
 - egalitarianism vs. hierarchy
- Institutional consequences: local vs. institutional base
 - refusal vs. acceptance of school's *in loco parentis* role
 - adversarial vs. collegial relations with school adults
 - friends vs. activities as determining factor