

A little more on space

Kids at Steps Elementary

- Going public
 - class trips
 - going to the mall
 - going to Stanford

Calls in the market

Bauman, Richard. 2001. The ethnography of genre in a Mexican market: Form, function, variation. Stylistic variation in language, ed. by Penelope Eckert and John Rickford, 57-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

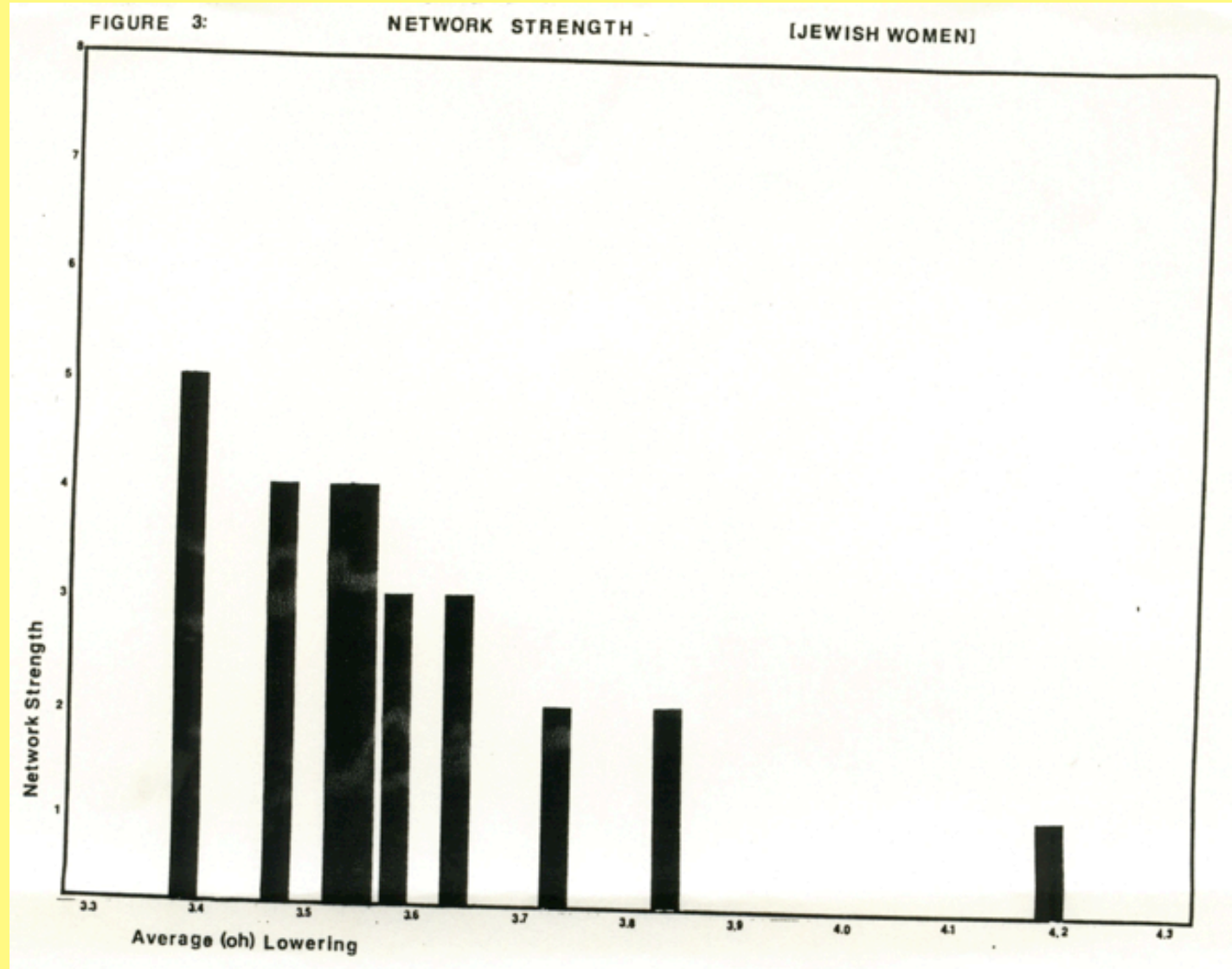
Geography in meaning

- The international level
 - Brits and /t/ release
- The regional level
 - The northern cities shift
- The local level
 - [rʌjt]

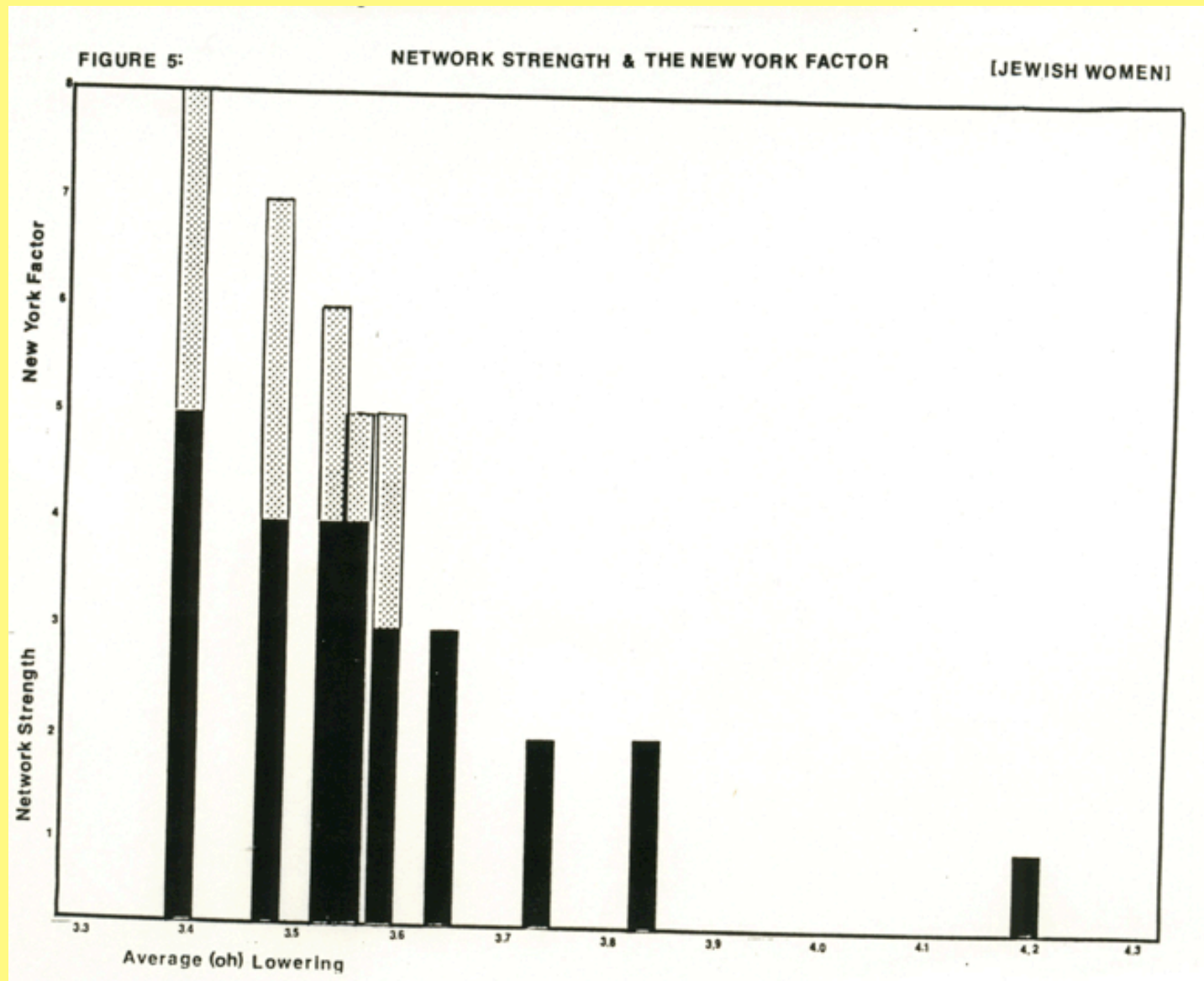
the non-homogeneity of space

Even if you're Catholic, if you live in New York you're Jewish. If you live in Butte, Montana, you're going to be goyish even if you're Jewish.

Lenny Bruce



Knack, Rebecca. 1991. Ethnic boundaries in linguistic variation. *New Ways of Analyzing Sound Change*, ed. by Penelope Eckert, 252-72. New York: Academic Press.



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The value of NY linguistic products on the market

- New York as an intellectual center
- Jews as an intellectual ethnicity
- what kinds of ideas can you sell with a southern accent?
 - cooking ...
 - etiquette ...

Michiganders' evaluations of northern/southern speech

Means scores (ordered) South				Means scores (ordered) North			
Factor	Mean	Attribute	Rank	Rank	Factor	Mean	Attribute
-1&2	4.66	Casual	1	12	-1&2	3.53	Casual
2	4.58	Friendly	2	9.5	2	4.00	Friendly
2&-1	4.54	Down-to-earth	3	6	2&-1	4.19	Down-to-earth
2	4.20	Polite	4	9.5	2	4.00	Polite
∅	4.09	Not nasal	5	11	∅	3.94	Not nasal
	*						
1&2	‡3.22	Normal [Abnormal]	6	3	1&2	4.94	Normal
1	‡3.04	Smart [Dumb]	7	4	1	4.53	Smart
1	‡2.96	No twang [Twang]	8	2	1	5.07	No twang
1	‡2.86	Good English [Bad English]	9	5	1	4.41	Good English
1	‡2.72	Educated [Uneducated]	10	8	1	4.09	Educated
1	‡2.42	Fast [Slow]	11	7	1	4.12	Fast
1	‡2.22	No drawl [Drawl]	12	1	1	5.11	No drawl

Preston, D. (ms). "The south: Still different."
<http://www.msu.edu/~preston/LAVIS.pdf>.

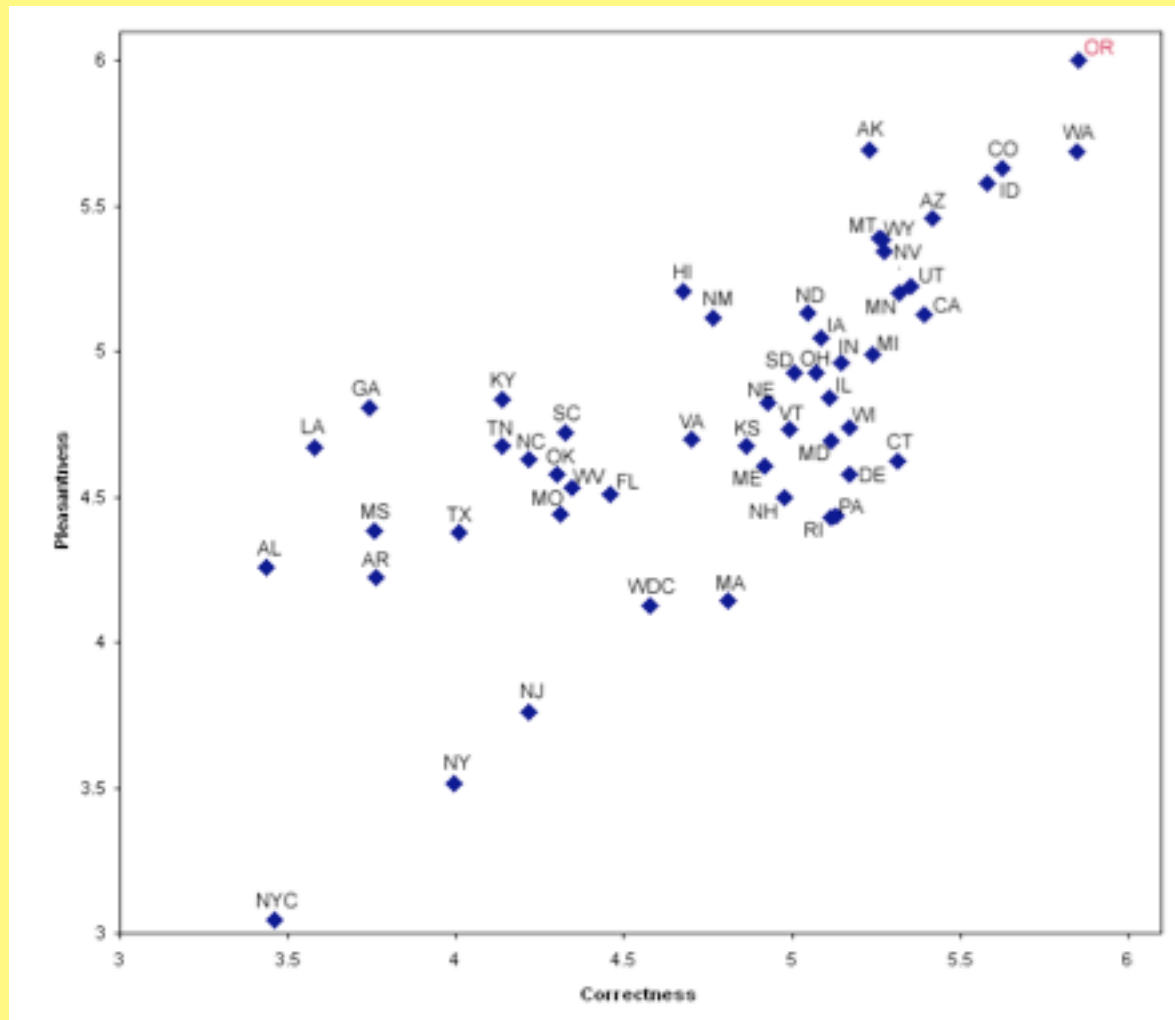
Not just northerners ..

Texans' evaluations of northerners and southerners

- Northerners superior in: intelligence, education, ambition, talent, success and proper English.
- Southerners superior in: honesty, friendliness, trustworthiness, down-to-earthness, casualness, community, politeness, and large families. Bad English

White, Jessica and Kathleen Shaw. 2004. The North, the South, and Texas: Linguistic and regional perception from the Lone Star State. A paper presented at NWAV (New Ways of Analyzing Variation). Ann Arbor. (cited in Preston ms.)

Oregonians' evaluations of regional speech



Hartley, Laura. (1999). A view from the west: Perceptions of U.S. dialect regions by Oregon residents. Handbook of perceptual dialectology. D. R. Preston. Amsterdam, Benjamins: 315-32.

Region and (ING)

The **-in** form enhances perceived Southern accents and shares with them associations with the country, lack of education, and the image of the redneck. In a different performance, the **-ing** variant strengthens an accent associated with being gay or metrosexual, with the city, and with less masculinity.

Campbell-Kibler, K. (2007). "Accent, (ING), and the social logic of listener perceptions." *American speech*. 82(1): 32-64.

And no, I wouldn't hang out with him. Although I will tell you since this is a linguistic study that, um people do like to say that once you hear Southern accent you have to subtract several intelligence points just because of the accent which is unfortunate; 'cause there are a lot of, um smart Southern people, and they have accent but people think of the Southern accent as being dumb. It just sounds dumb to a lot of people.

Campbell-Kibler, Kathryn. (2007). "Accent, (ING), and the social logic of listener perceptions." *American speech*. 82(1): 32-64.

'natural' -ing speakers

So I think it sounds more natural for her to say -ing. Hiking. Hikin' just - it just doesn't mesh well with the rest of the sentence. But I mean if she did, if she were, if I did have a true situation in which she was saying - which she was saying hiking or sorry hikin' with i-n on the end of it? It would sound as though she's trying, she's maybe around somebody Southern, and she's trying to be Southern or trying to be a little bit too laid-back relaxed linguistically.

Campbell-Kibler, K. (2007). "Accent, (ING), and the social logic of listener perceptions." *American speech*. 82(1): 32-64.

-in is not a reduction of -ing

- -in < OE participial -inde, -ende
- -ing < OE verbal noun -inge, -yng

Labov, William. 2000. Principles of linguistic change: Social factors. Cambridge: Blackwell. p. 86 ff.

Yet ...

- -in came to be a “reduced” form
- -in came to be socially stratified



So ...

- How did it (ING) get socially stratified?
- How did the south end up with more -in?

Explanations for the stratification of sound changes in progress

- Regular sound changes are natural processes that flow until they meet resistance.
- resistance increases as one moves upwards in the socioeconomic hierarchy.

Kroch, Anthony S. 1978. Toward a theory of social dialect variation. *Language in Society*, 7.17-36.

- This stands in apparent opposition to the view that sound changes are adopted in locally-based communities (i.e. working class) as acts of identity.

LePage, R.B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. 1985. *Acts of Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- And to the relation between local variables and locally-based networks.

Milroy, Lesley. 1980. *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, Walter F. 1991. Sociolinguistic behavior in a Detroit inner-city black neighborhood. *Language in Society*, 21.93-115.

AGENCY

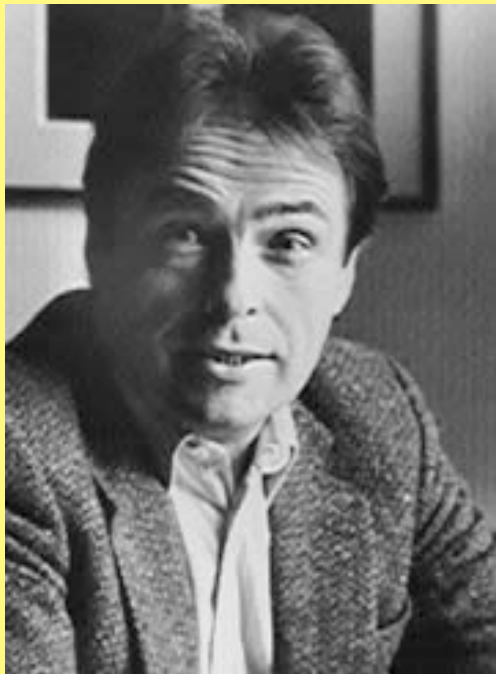
- The two views are not incompatible, but are part of a broader issue of agency.

REPRODUCTION

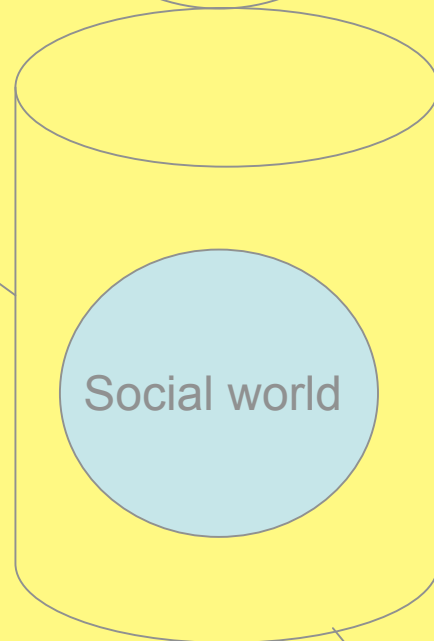
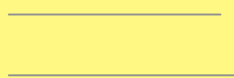
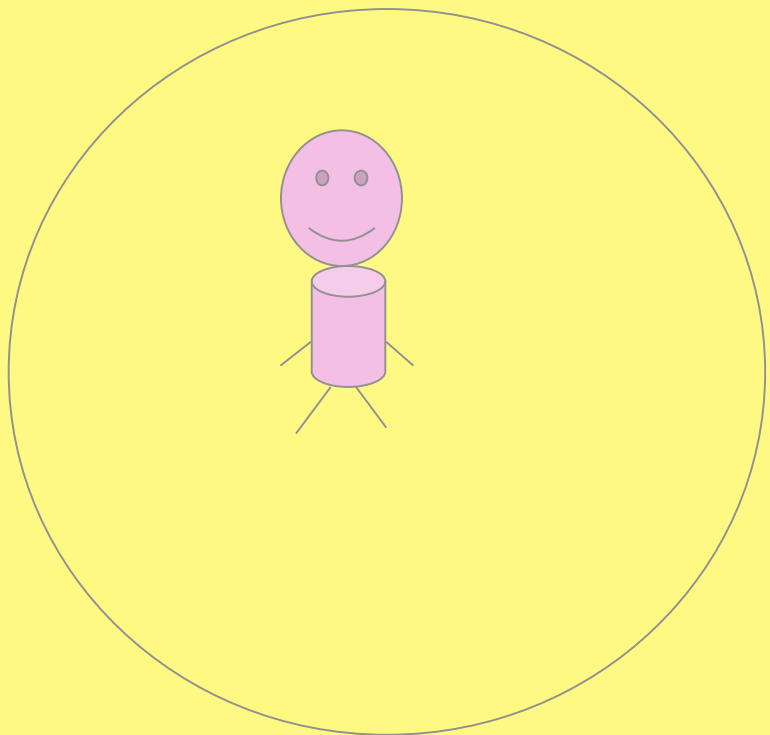
- It won't do to think of language - or of a variable - as just there; it is something that gets produced and reproduced.

Pierre Bourdieu

(1930-2002)



Social world



Social world

habitus

- Internalized structure (derived from pre-existing external structures) that determines how an individual acts in and reacts to the world
 - C.J. Throop and K. M. Murphy, “Bourdieu and phenomenology, *Anthropological Theory* 2002:2:185-207
- they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will
- orienting practices practically, they embed... 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 — and engage the most fundamental principles of construction and evaluation of the social world
 - *Distinctions. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Conclusion.* 1984, translated by Richard Nice, published by Harvard University Press, 1984, 604pp. – selected from pp. 466-484.

Bodily *hexis*

- a basic dimension of the sense of social orientation, is a practical way of experiencing and expressing one's own sense of social value.

- *Distinctions. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste. Conclusion.* 1984, translated by Richard Nice, published by Harvard University Press, 1984, 604pp.
– selected from pp. 466-484

Language as Bodily Hexis

Language is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's wholly social informed relation to the world, are expressed. [...]

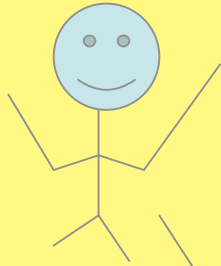
The most frequent articulatory position is an element in an overall way of using the mouth (in talking but also in eating, drinking, laughing etc.) [...] in the case of the lower classes, articulatory style is quite clearly part of a relation to the body that is dominated by the refusal of 'airs and graces' [...]

Bourgeois dispositions [esp. petit bourgeois] convey in their physical postures of tension and exertion ... the bodily indices of quite general dispositions towards the world and other people, such as haughtiness and disdain. (Bourdieu 1992, 149)

Bourdieu's hyper-determinism

- Social agents *actively* determine, on the basis of these socially and historically constituted categories of perception and appreciation, the situation that determines them (Bourdieu 1992:136).

dispositions

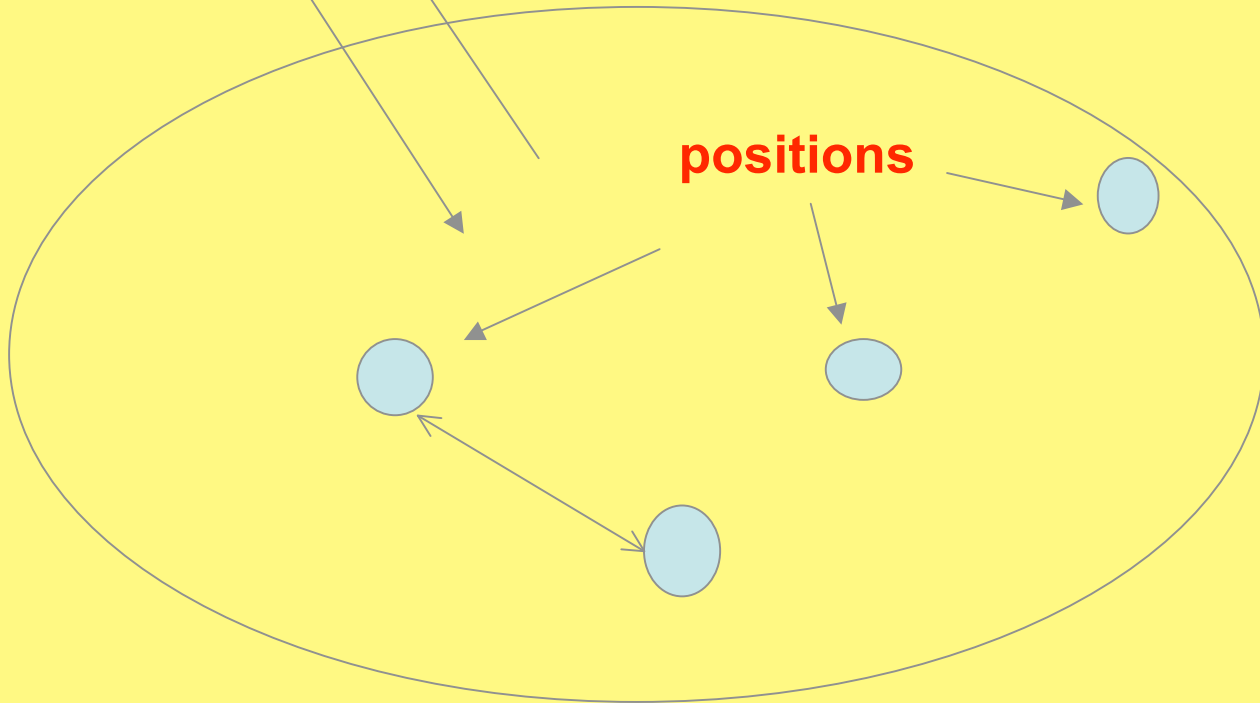


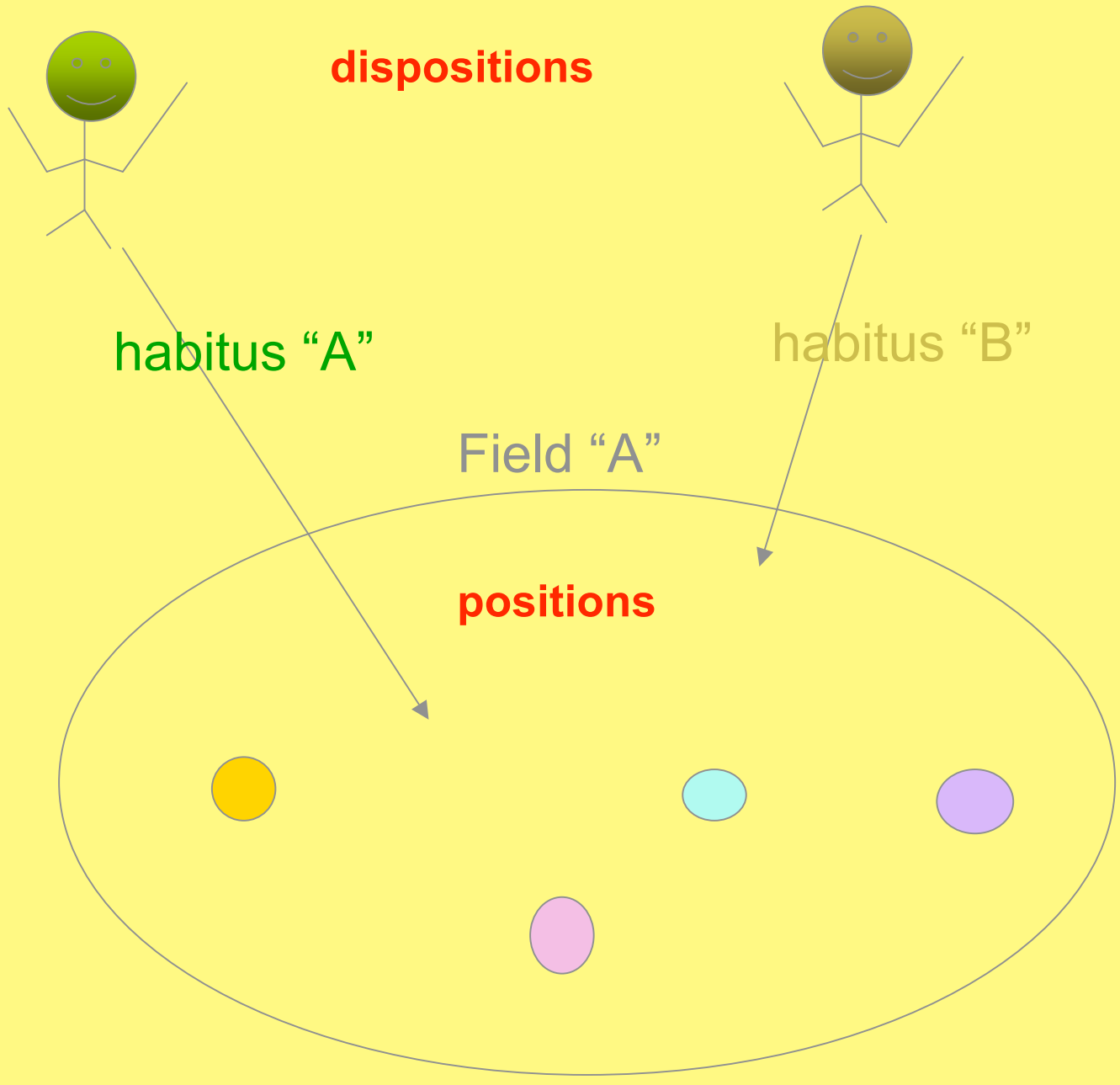
habitus

Reflexivity

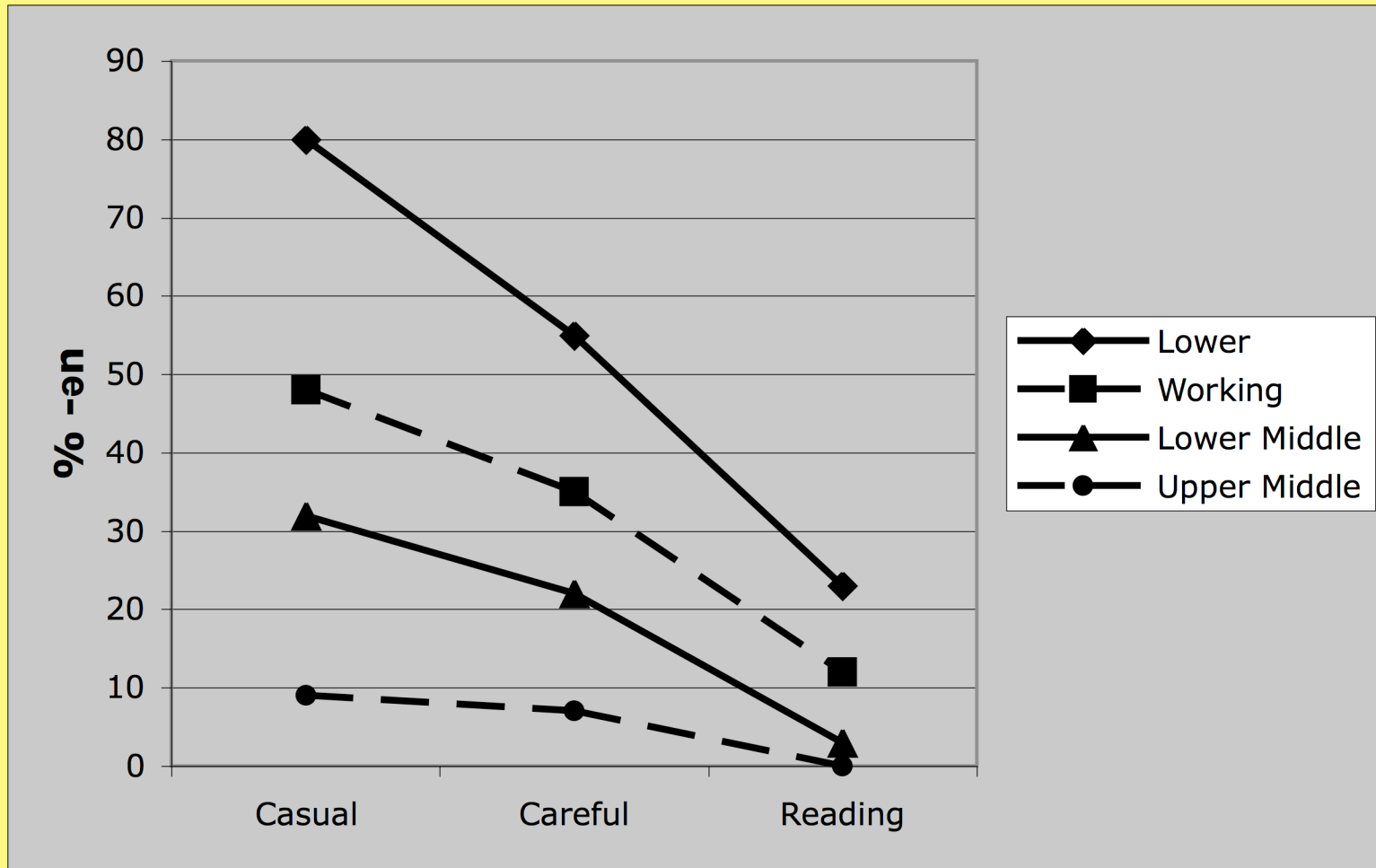
field

positions





Back to the Big Picture



Labov, William. (1966) The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. (2nd Edition 2007, Cambridge University Press)

Is the vernacular the same as habitus?

Set of dispositions

First/early learned

Systematic

- Natural object
- Source of regular change

Habitual

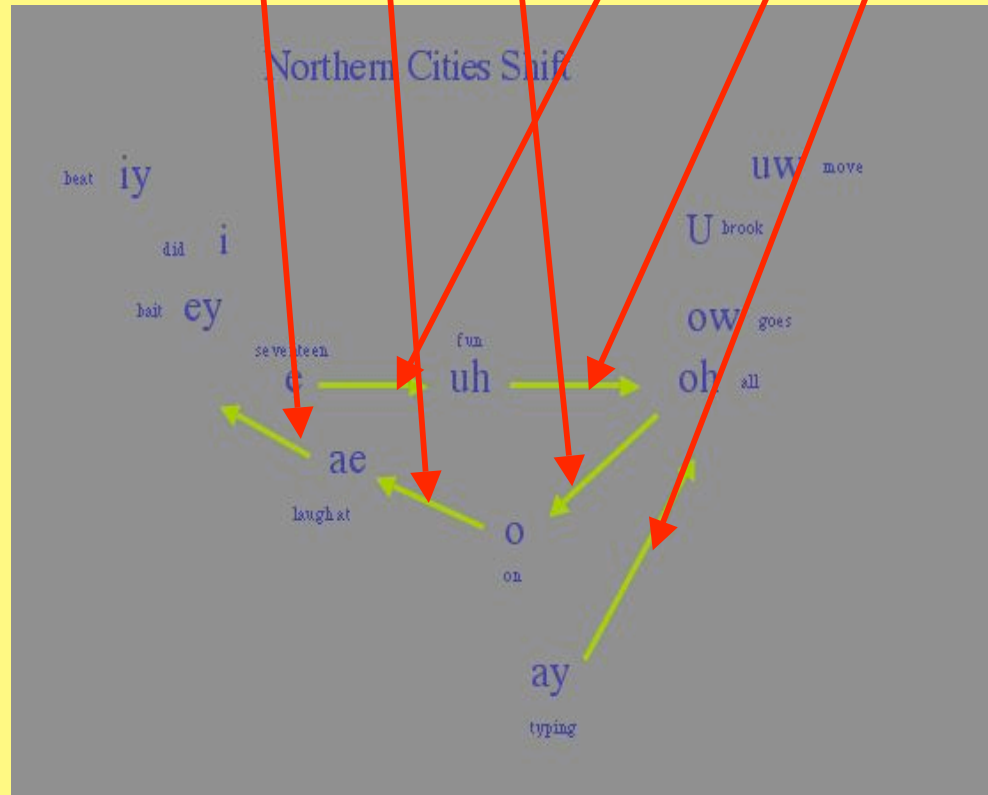
- Ingrained
- Unconscious

Bodily hexis

e.g. articulatory settings



	Non-Urban Variables			Urban Variables		
	ae>e	o>ae	oh>o	e>uh	uh>oh	ay>oy
jock boys						
jock girls						
burnout girls						
burnout boys						



What can
sound changes
in progress
mean?

embodiment
and articulatory
setting