

Reproduction



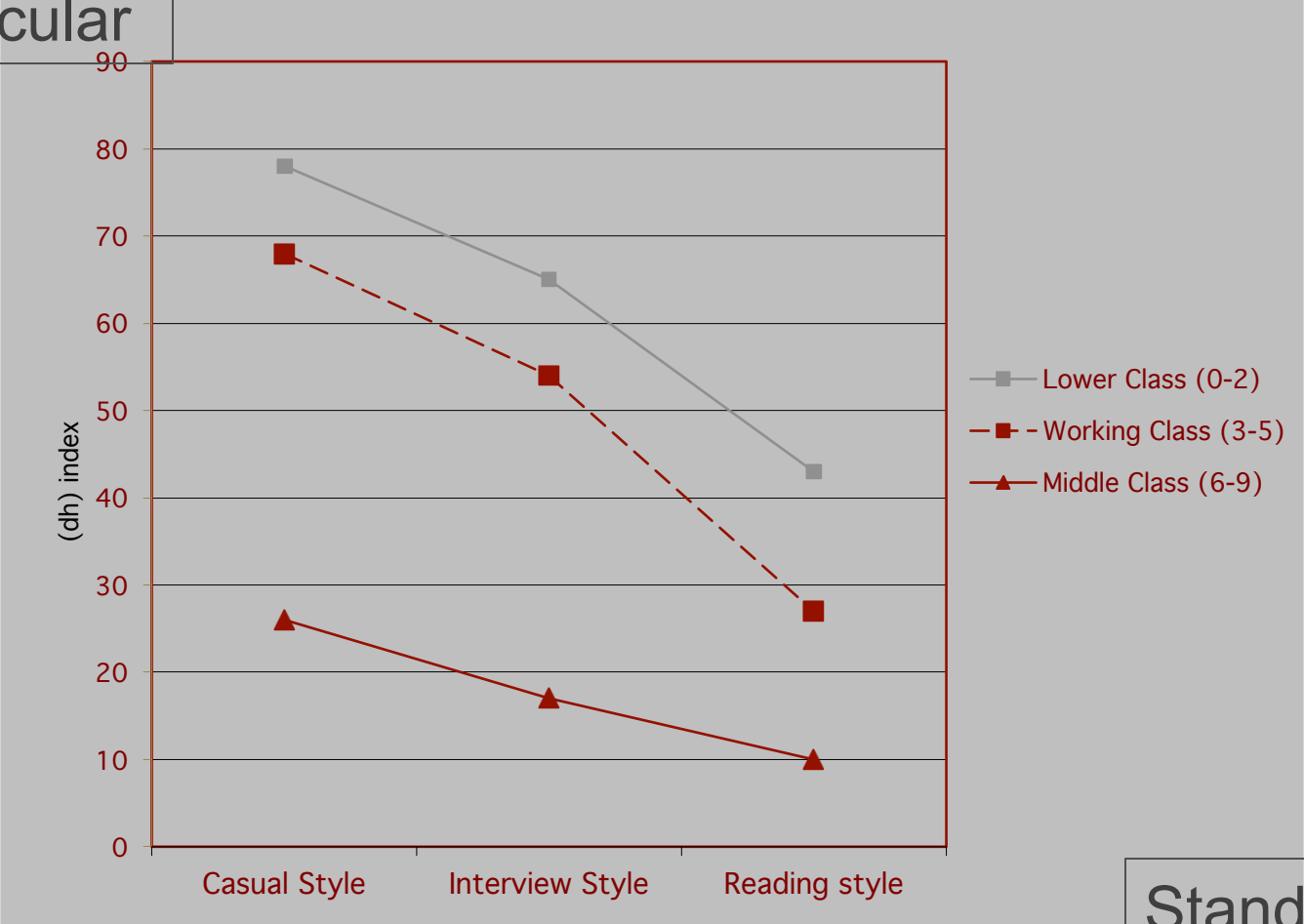
Structure and Agency

- **Agency:** The individual's capacity to act "independently" and to choose "freely".
- **Structure:** A system, larger than the sum of its parts, that organizes human activity.
- **The Issue:**
 - To what extent does structure constrain or determine individual agency?
 - To what extent does individual activity produce structure?

Vernacular: 2 senses

- Classic definition (community vernacular): indigenous or local language used by “ordinary people,” in contrast to a superposed standard or literary language.
- Labov’s (1966) definition (individual vernacular): the language first acquired by the language learner, controlled perfectly, and used primarily among intimate friends and family members.

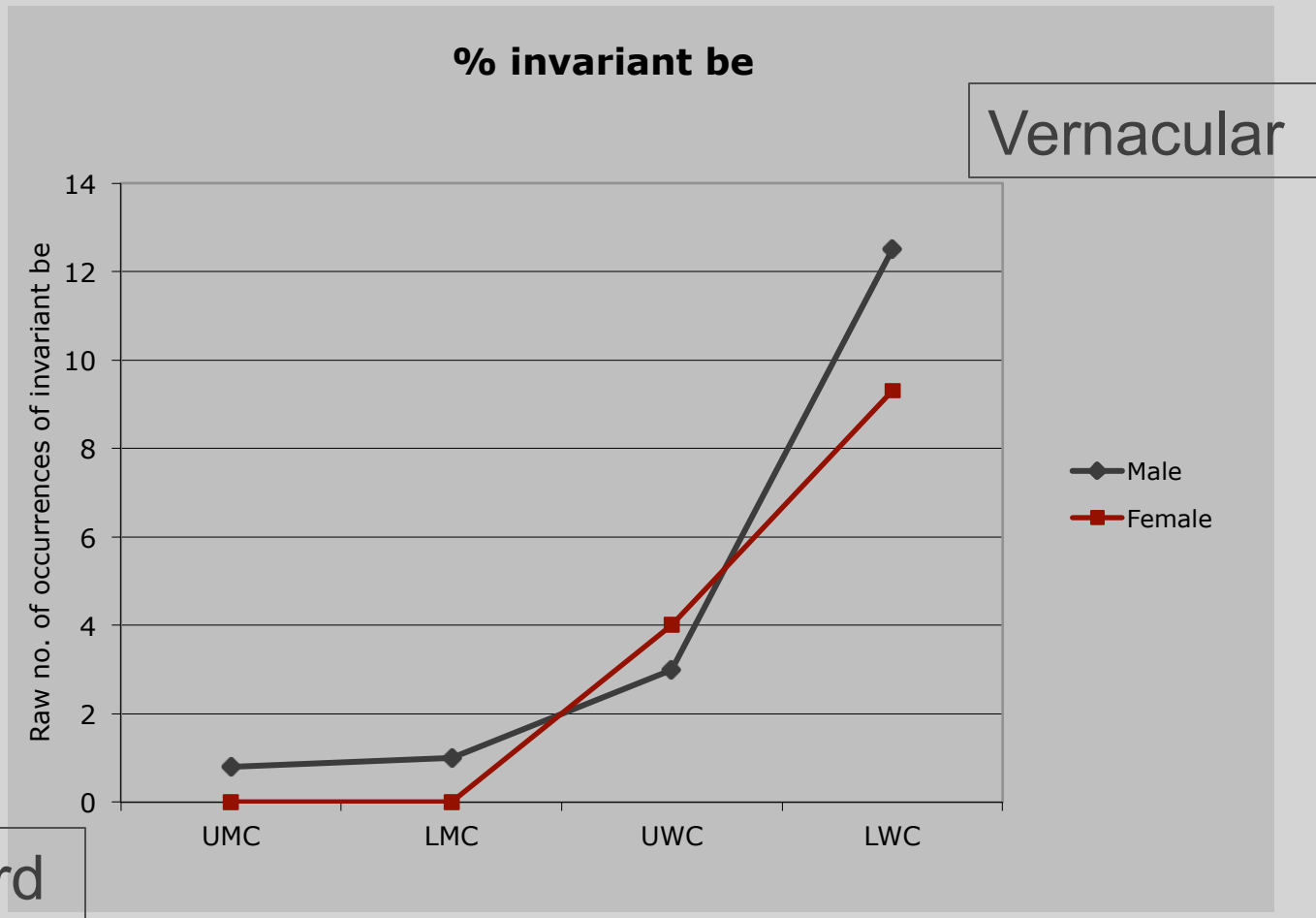
Vernacular



Standard

(dh) in New York City

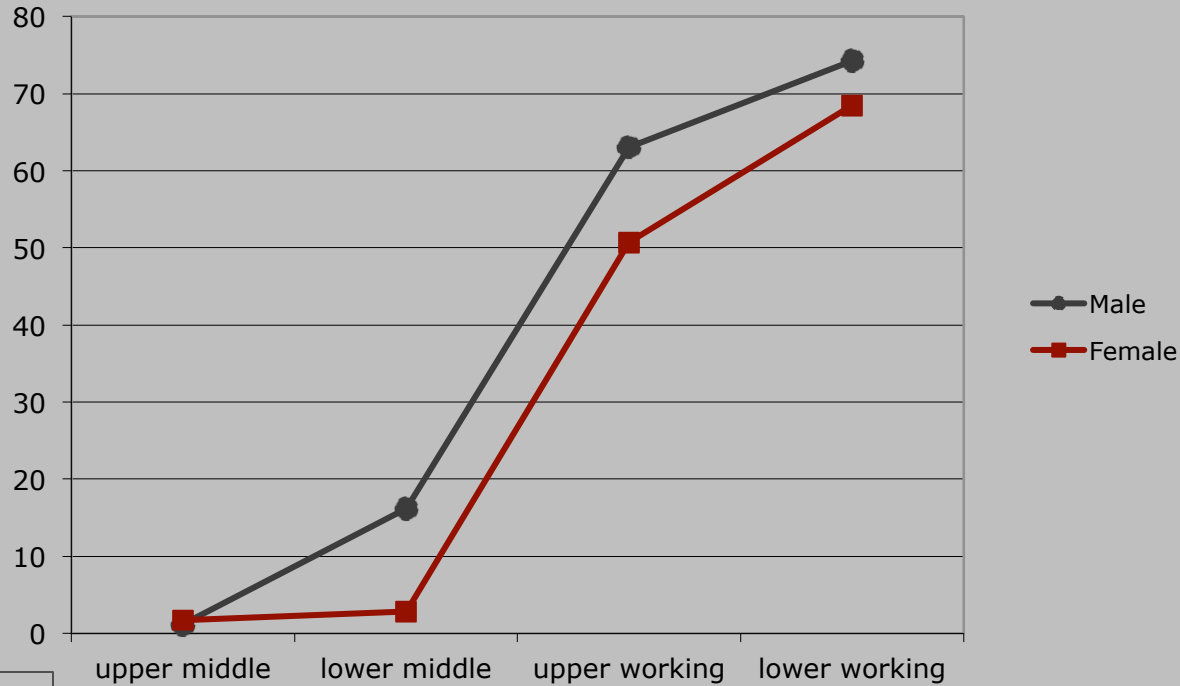
AAVE Distributive *be*



Wolfram, W. (1969). *A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

% 3 sg -s absence

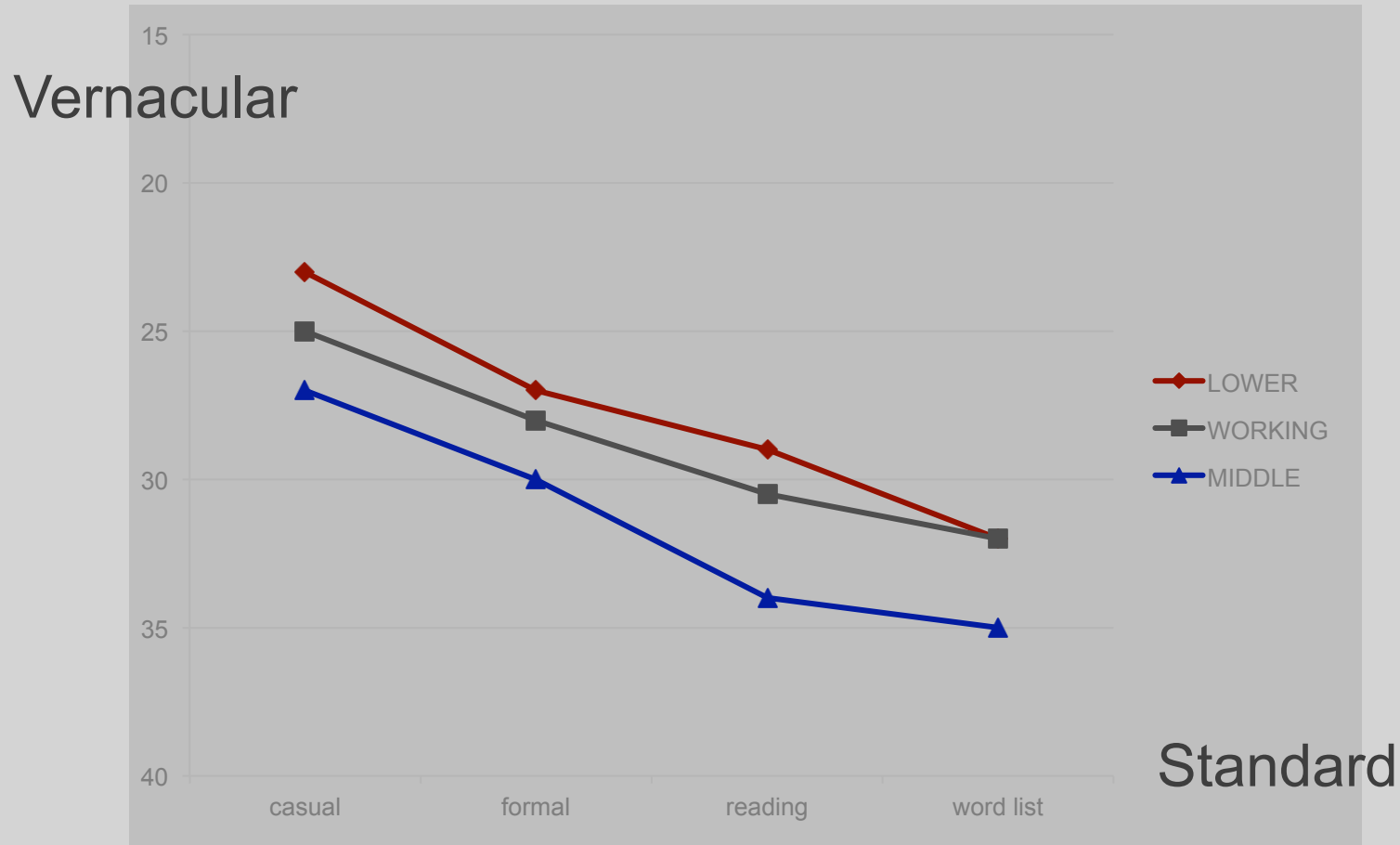
Vernacular



Standard

Wolfram, W. (1969). A sociolinguistic description of Detroit Negro speech. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

New York City (aeh)



Labov, W. (1966). The social stratification of English in New York City. Washington, DC, Center for Applied Linguistics.



First Wave:

Developing the big picture

- Large survey studies of geographically defined communities
- The socioeconomic hierarchy as a map of social space
- Variables as markers of primary social categories and carrying class-based prestige/stigma
- Style as attention paid to speech, and controlled by orientation to prestige/stigma

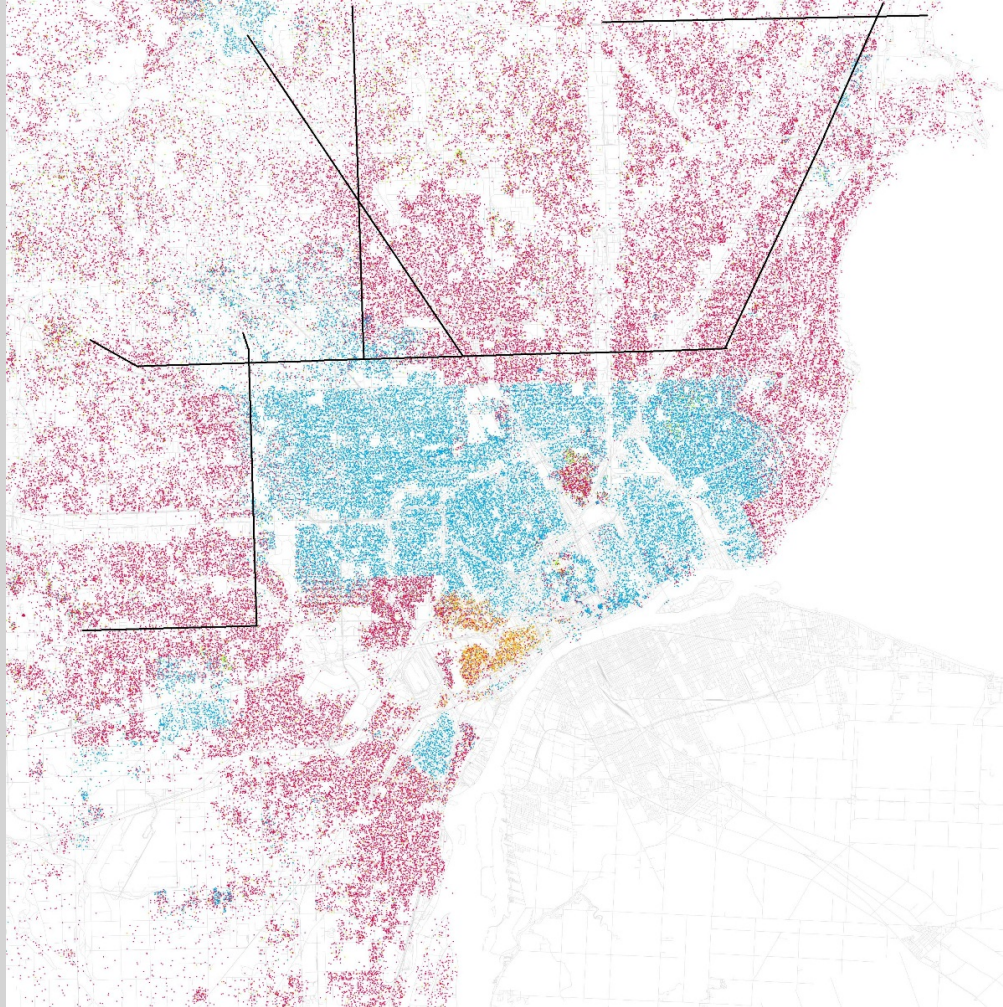
Eckert, P. (2012). Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 87–100.



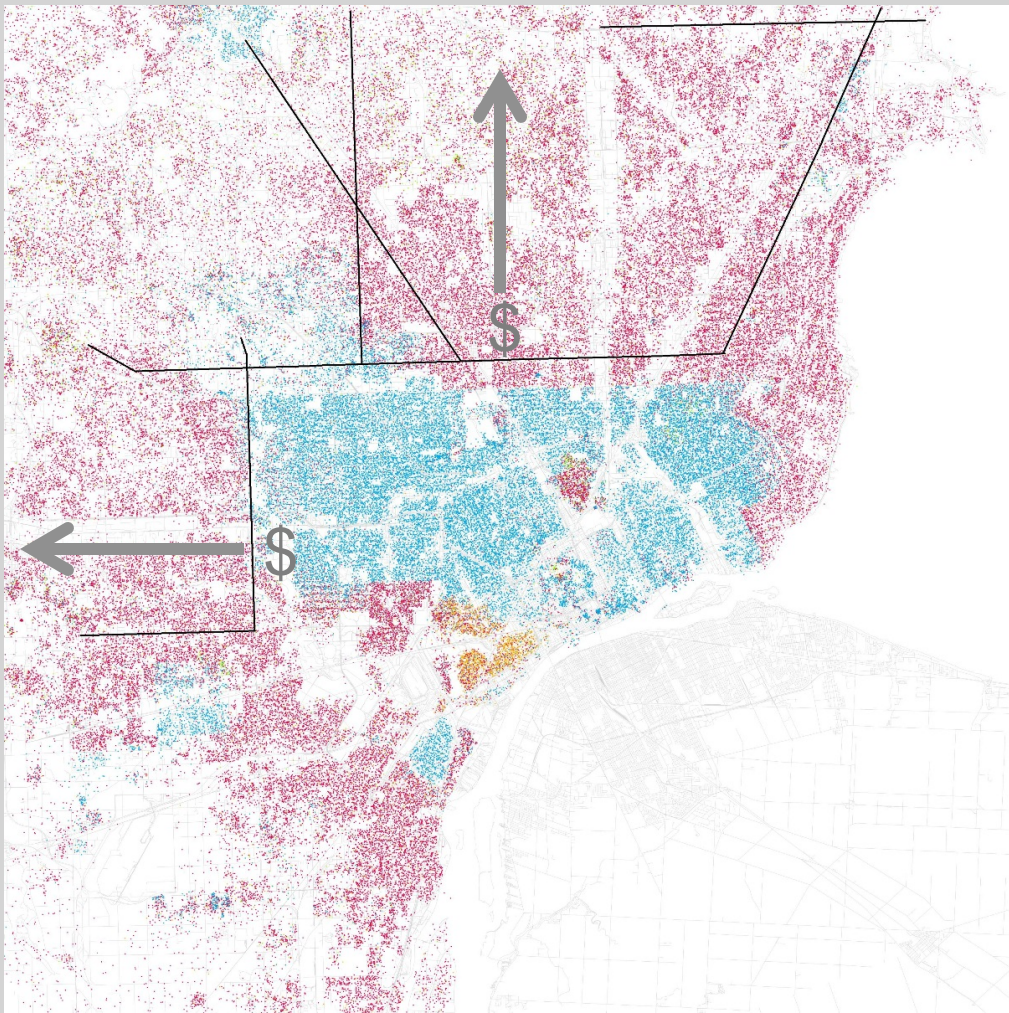
Second Wave:

Developing the local picture

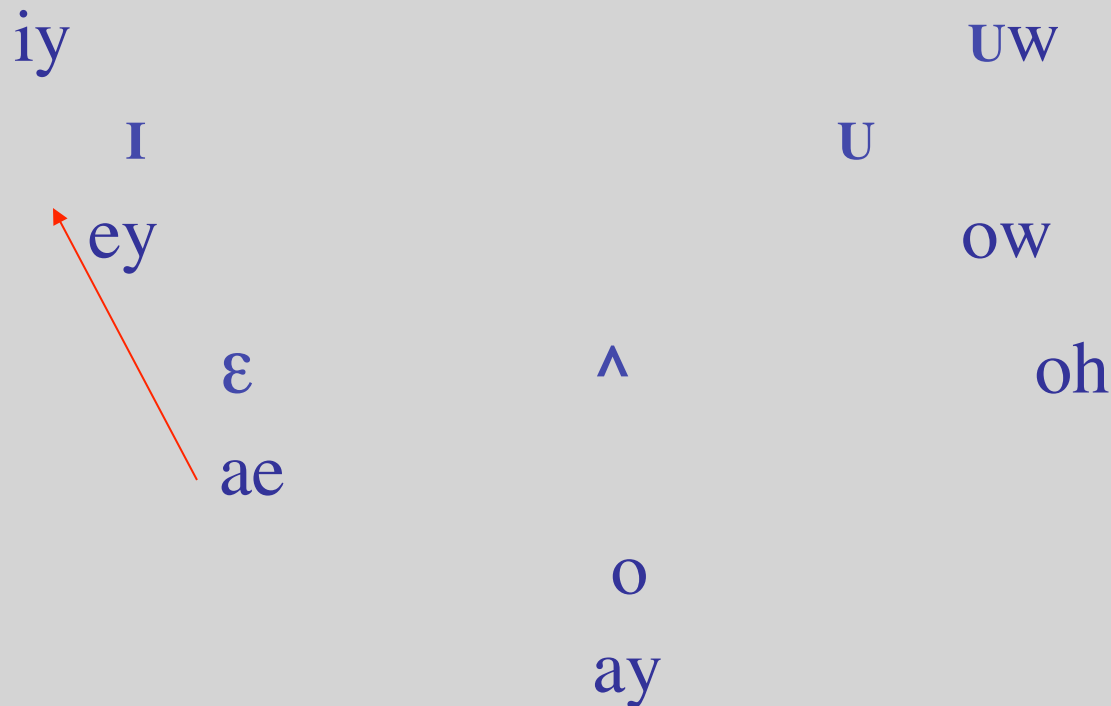
- Ethnographic studies of geographically defined communities
- Local categories as links to macrosocial categories
- Variables as markers of locally-defined categories
- Style as acts of category affiliation



Racial segregation in the Detroit area

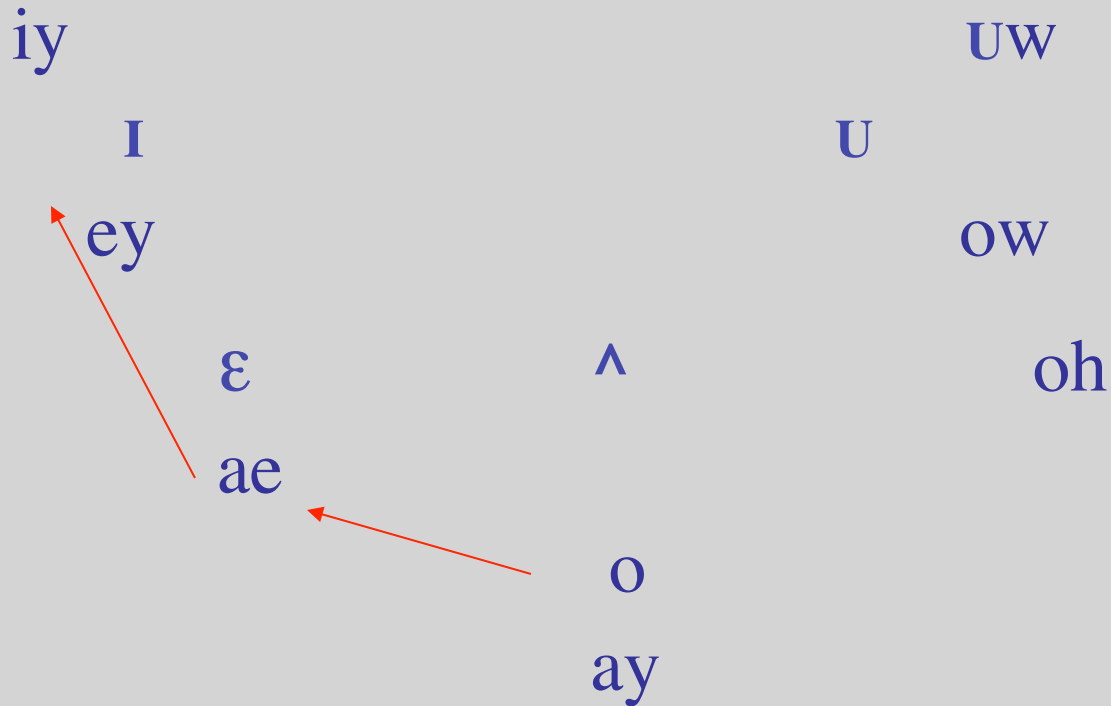


Northern Cities Shift (ae)



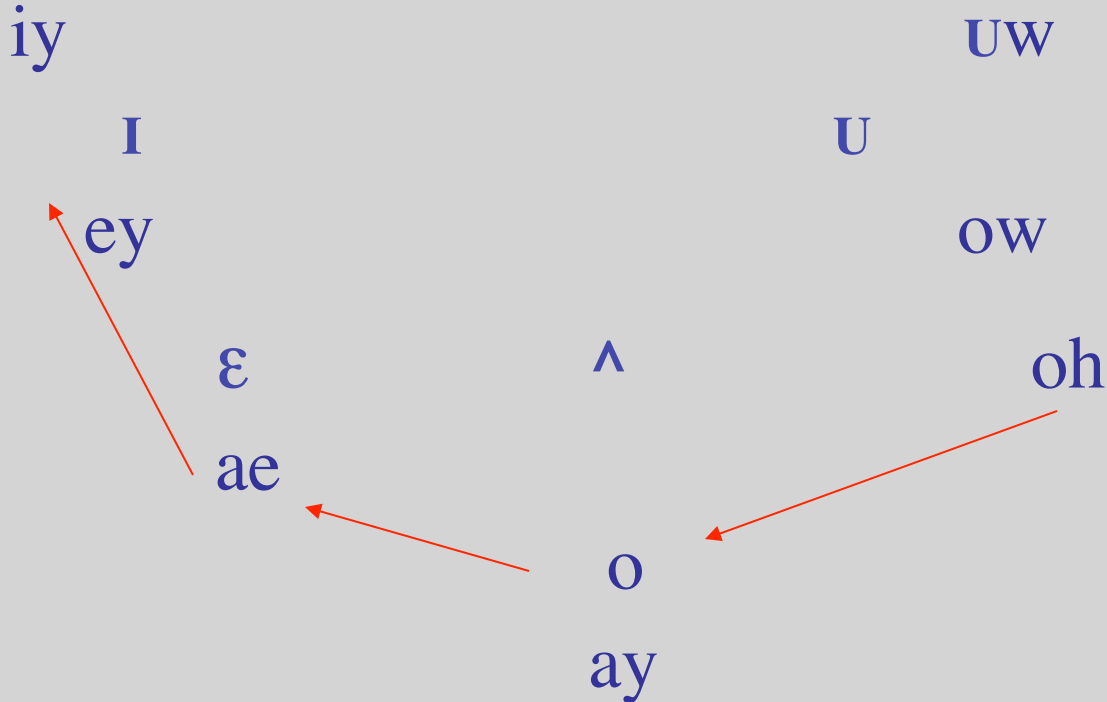
We thought this was you know really **bad**.
Now my mom **laughs at** it but then ...

Northern Cities Shift (o)



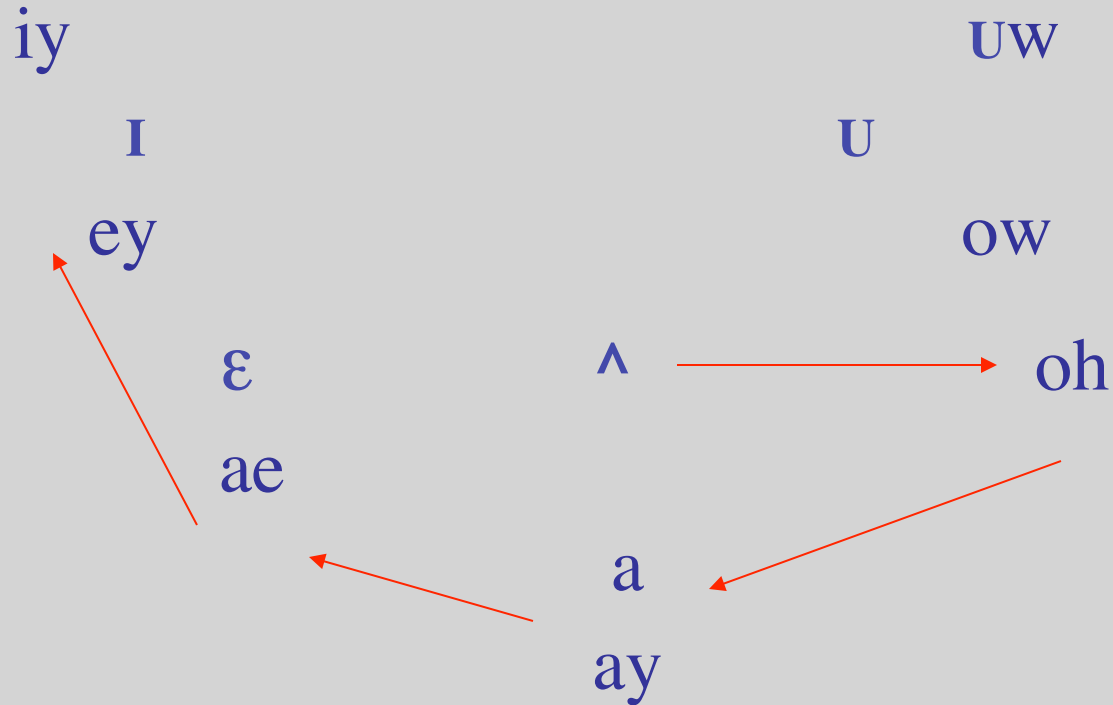
I wasn't even **on** nothing

Northern Cities Shift (oh)



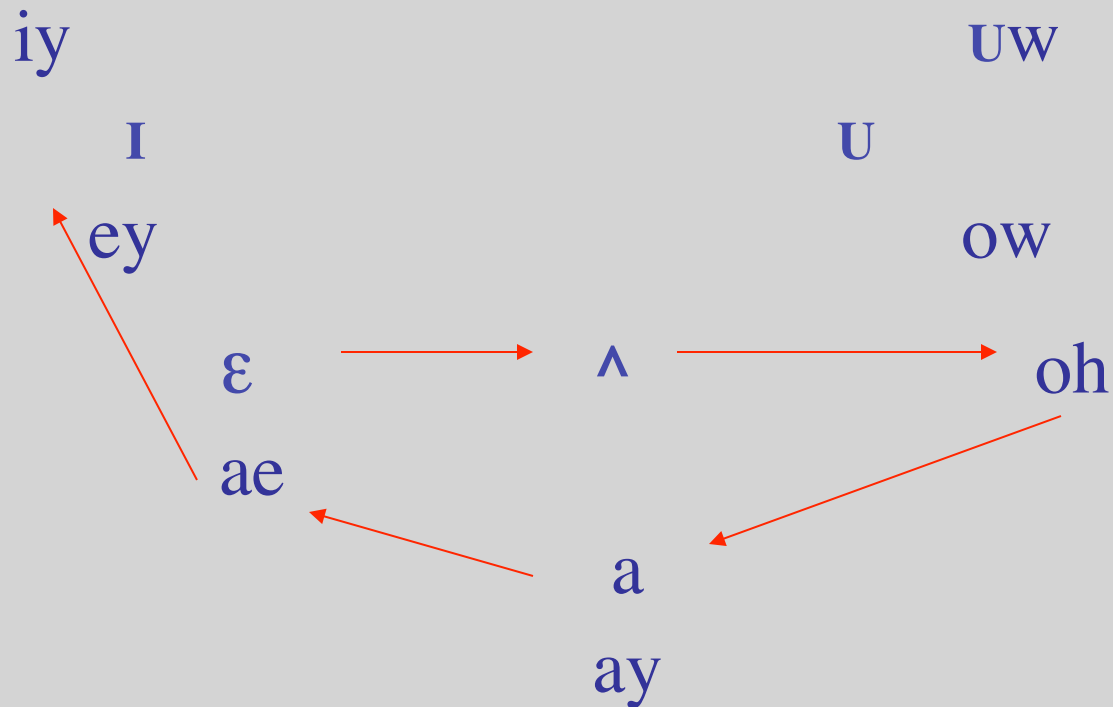
All my aunts they're such bitches

Northern Cities Shift (uh)

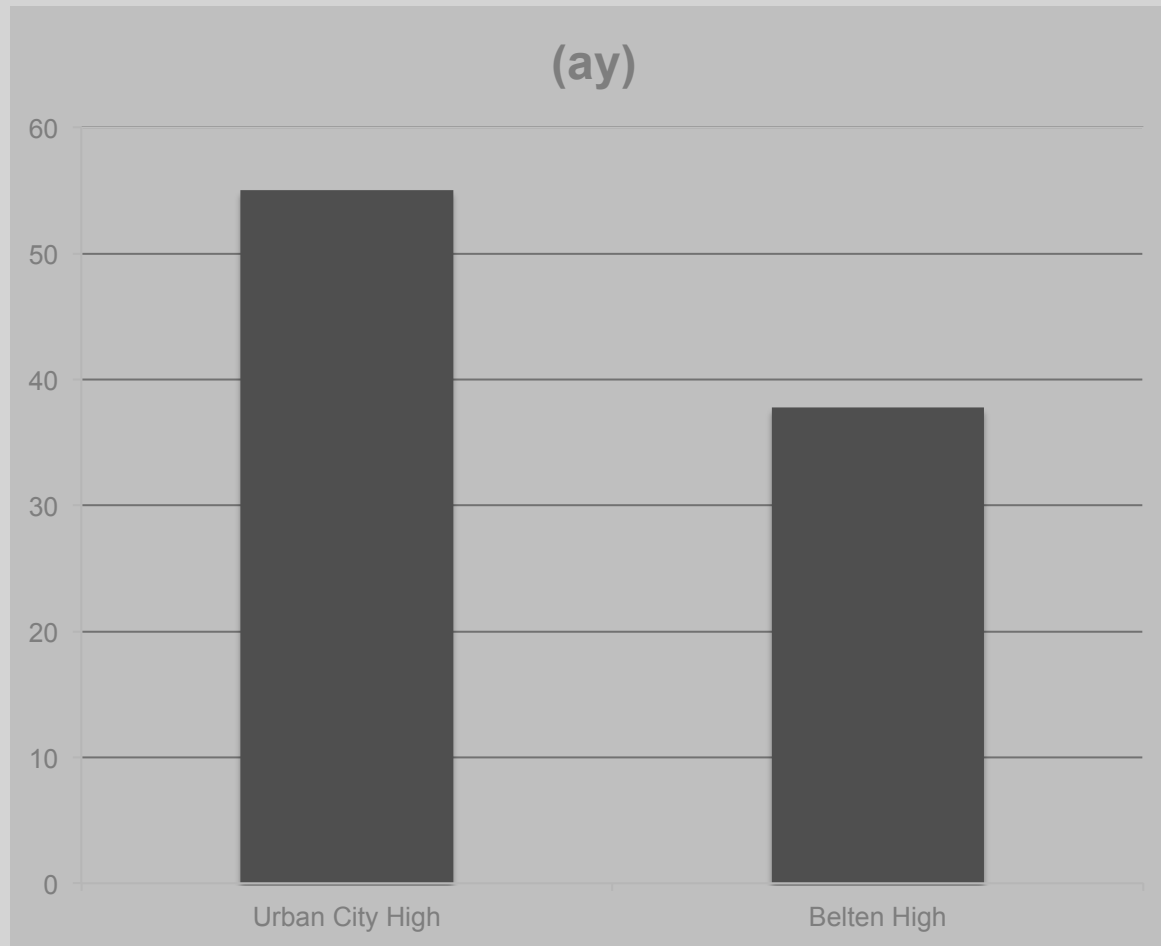


I always steal my **lunch**

Northern Cities Shift (e)

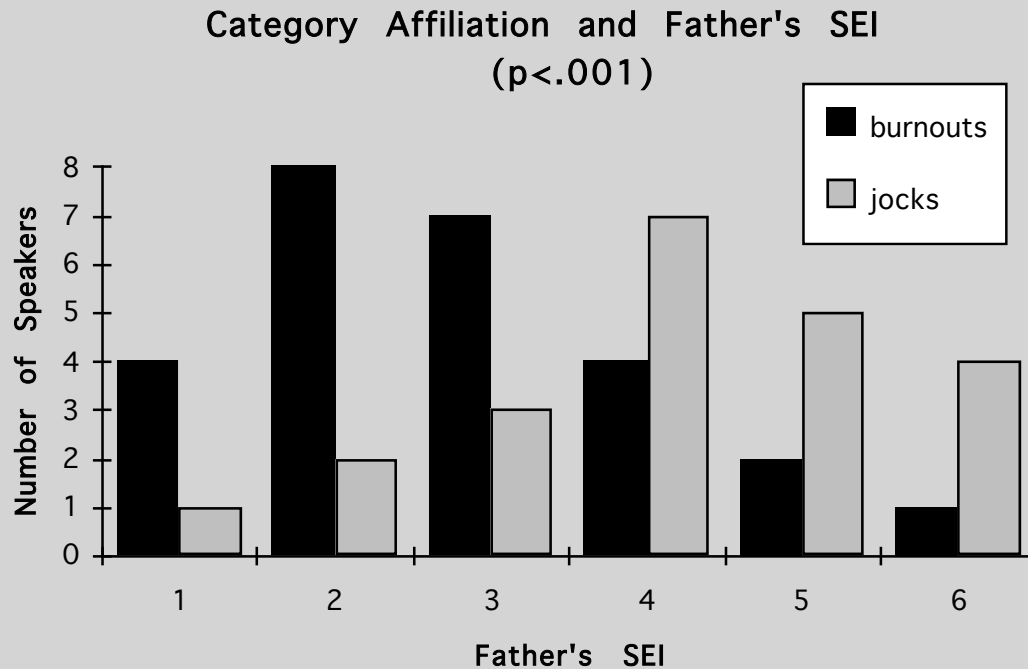


Zeppelin



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

Jocks and Burnouts



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

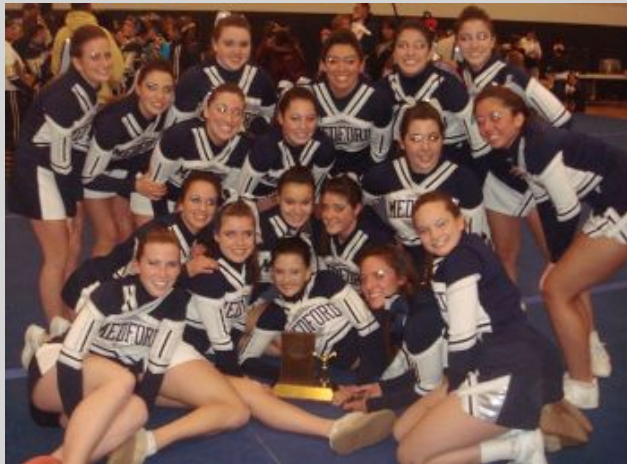
Burnouts – a working class culture

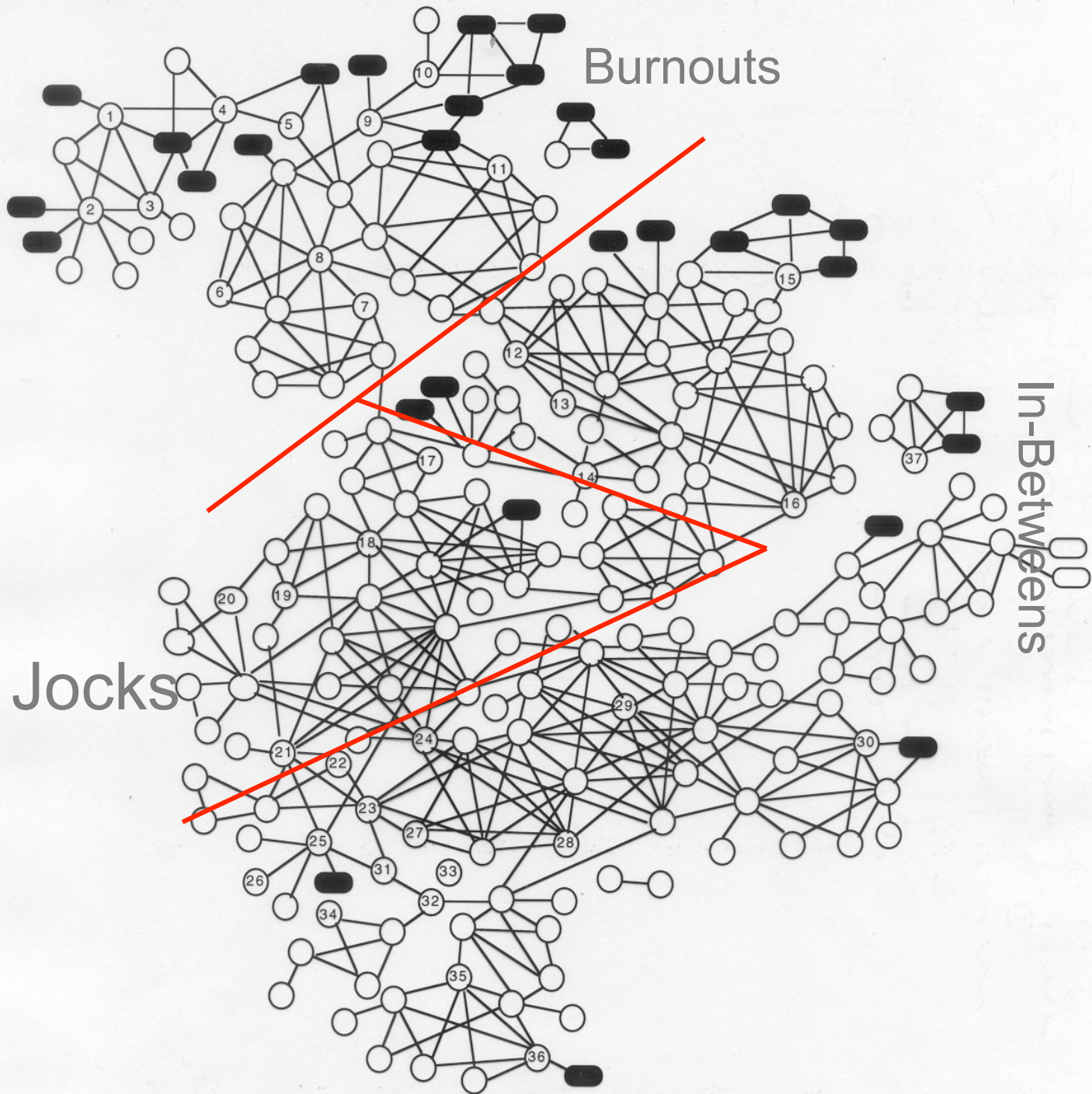
- Urban Oriented – networks, destinations
- Reject institution as basis of social lives
- Consciously have-nots
- Egalitarian and solidary
 - Share goods, services and problems
- Vocational curriculum
- Lay claim to adult prerogatives



Jocks – a middle class culture

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

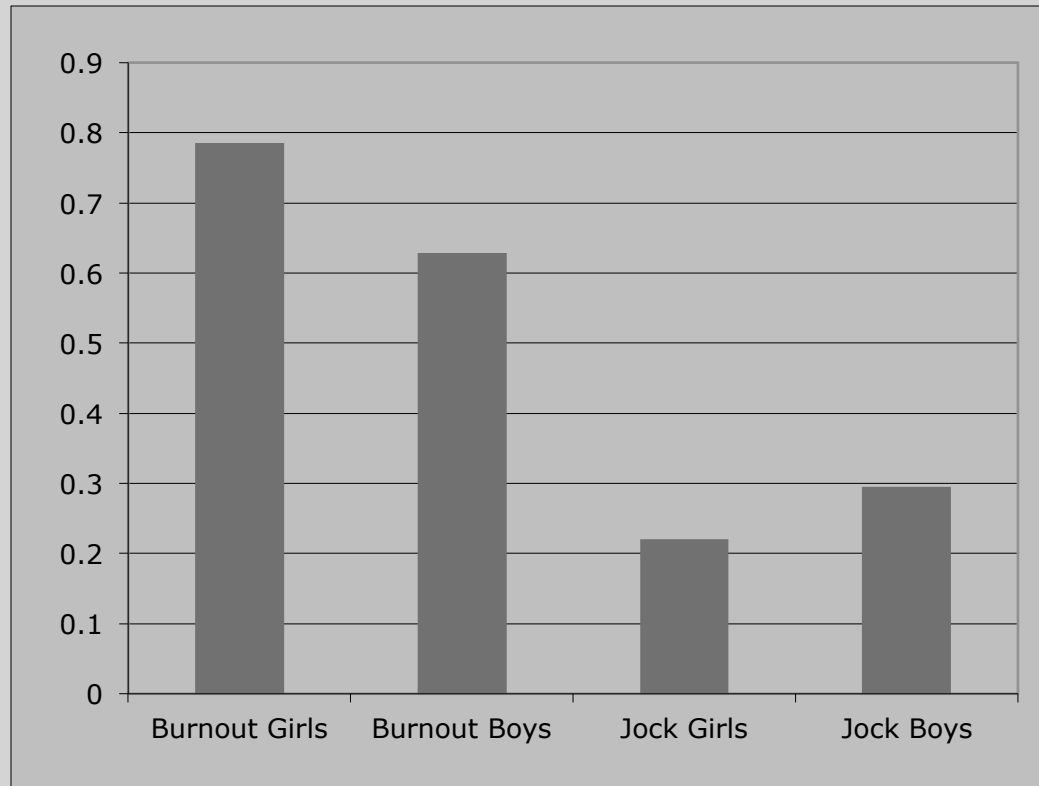




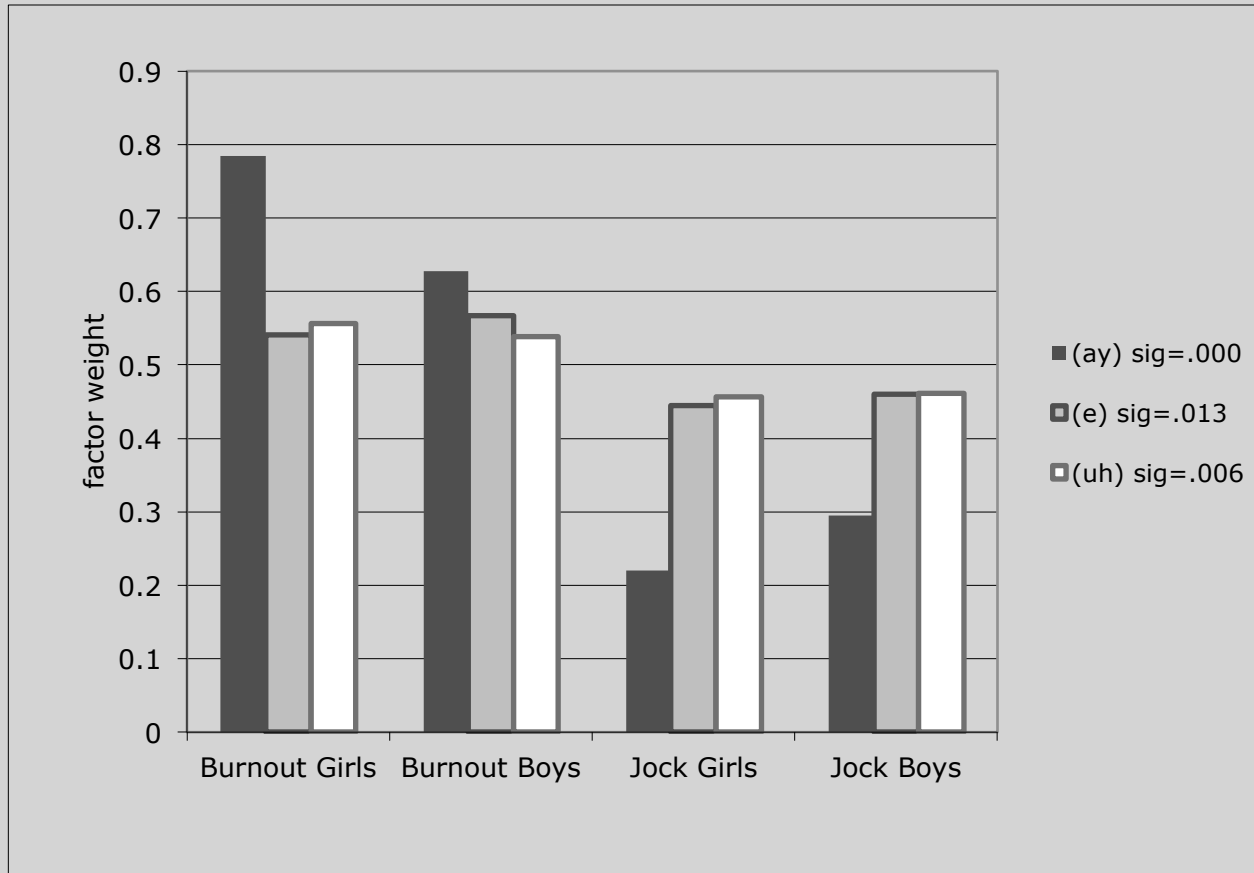
Communities of Practice

- Communities of practice emerge as people respond to a common situation.
- People come to engage in practice together because they have a shared interest in a particular place at a particular time.
- 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.

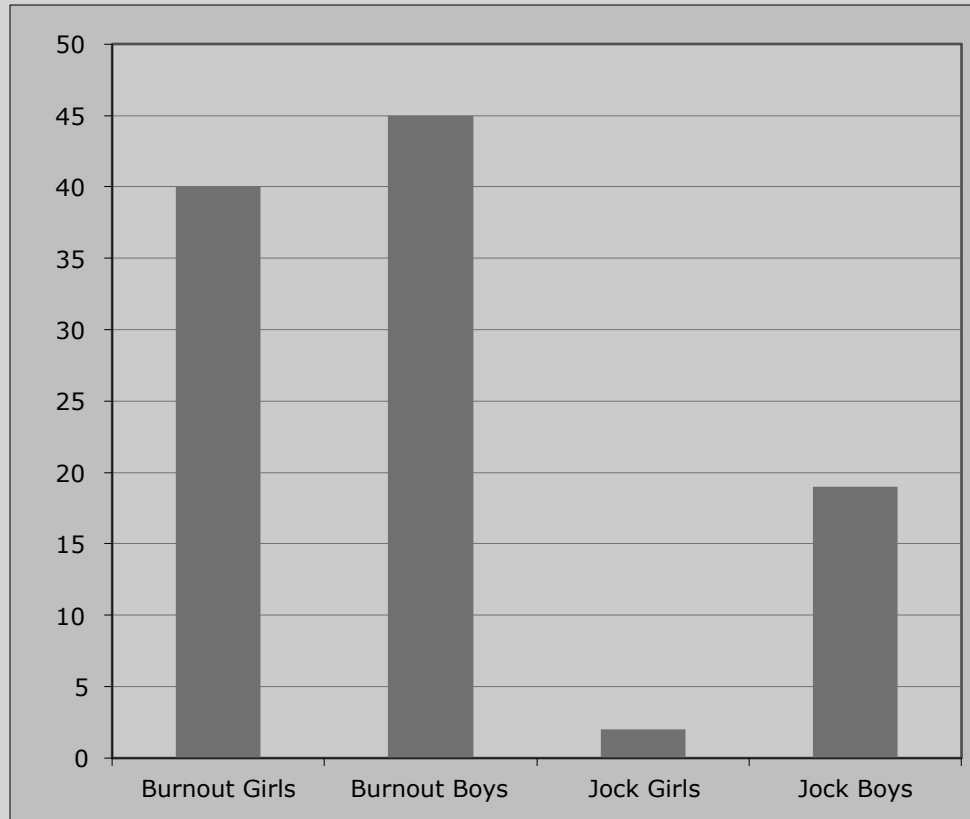
(ay)



Urban variables



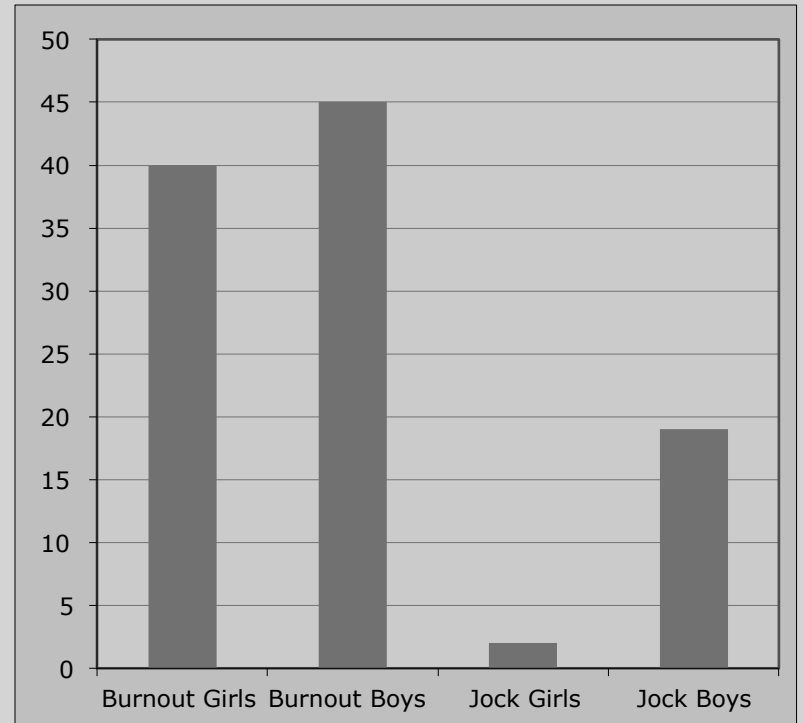
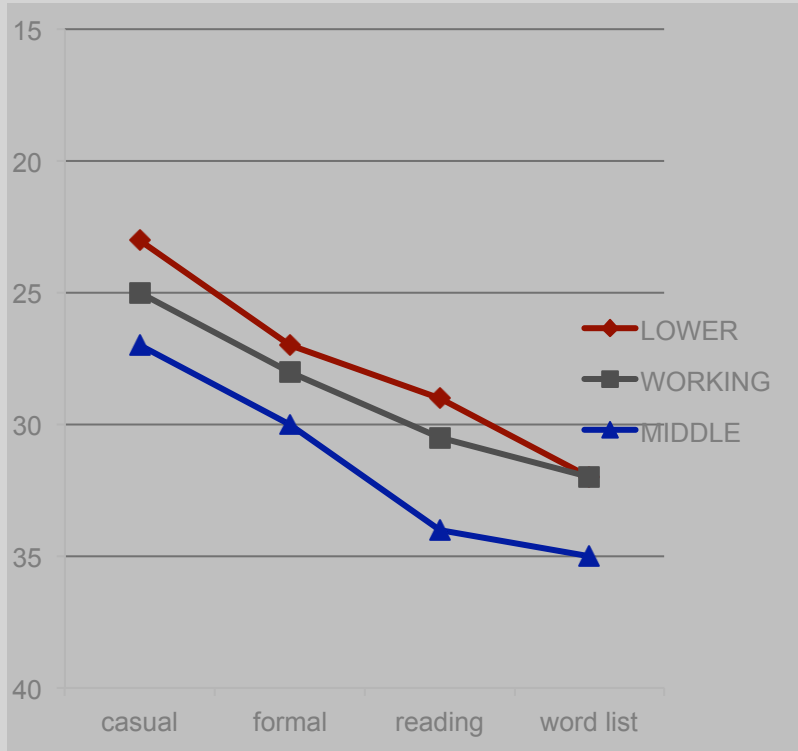
% Negative Concord



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

Getting from Here

to Here



(and back)

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.

A Mechanism: 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

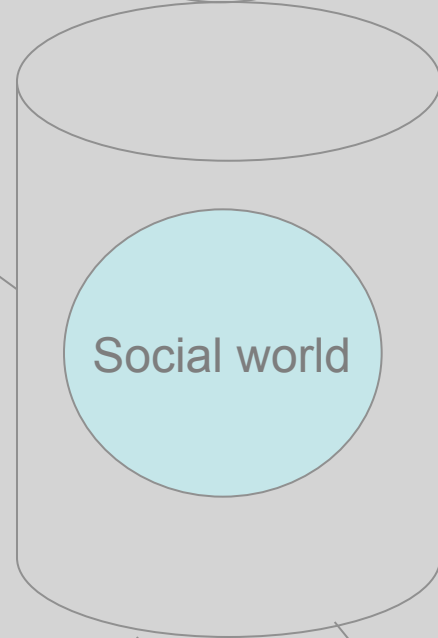
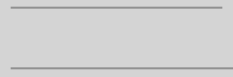
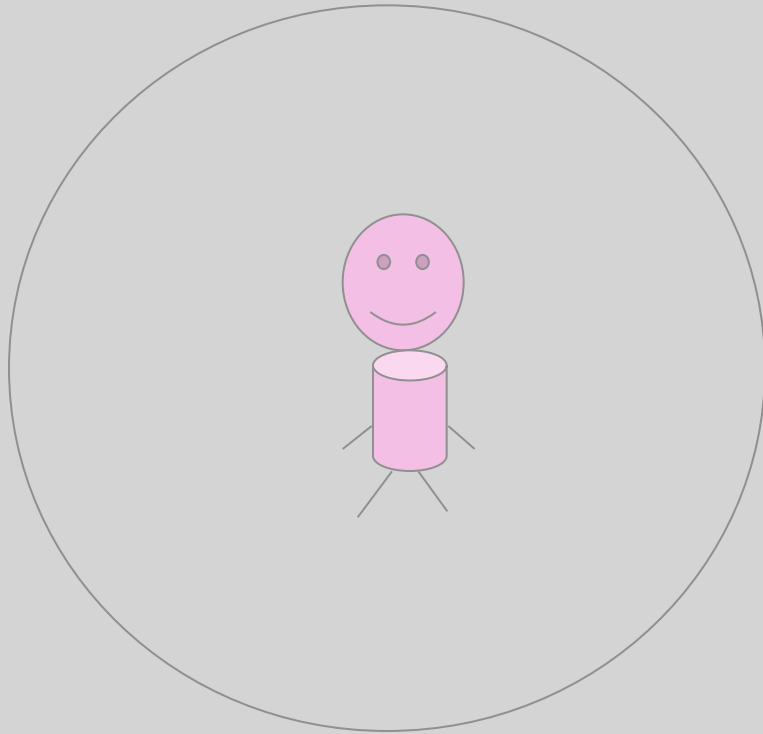
Wacquant, L. (2005) Habitus. International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology. J. Becket and Z. Milan. London, Routledge.p. 316

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

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.

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*
 - adversarial vs. collegial relations with school adults
 - friends vs. activities as determining factor

We experience social position with others

- Communities of practice
 - Social aggregates defined by shared practice
 - Socially located
 - Sites for the development of the habitus

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 emerge in clusters of experience, hence of kinds of communities of practice.
- Women are more likely than men to participate in car pools, childcare groups, exercise classes.
- Working-class people are more likely than middle-class people to participate in bowling teams, neighborhood friendship groups, and extended families.
- Communities of practice are the locus of the habitus.

Why Jock status isn't 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.

Semiotic processes of linguistic differentiation

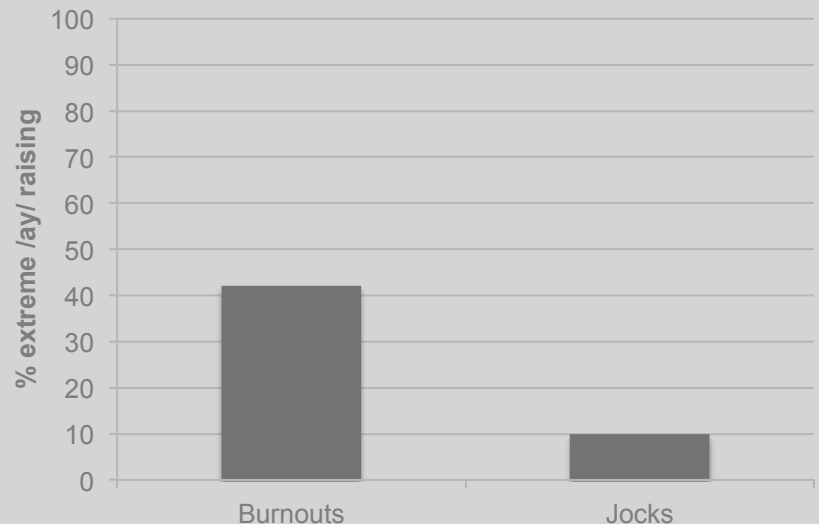
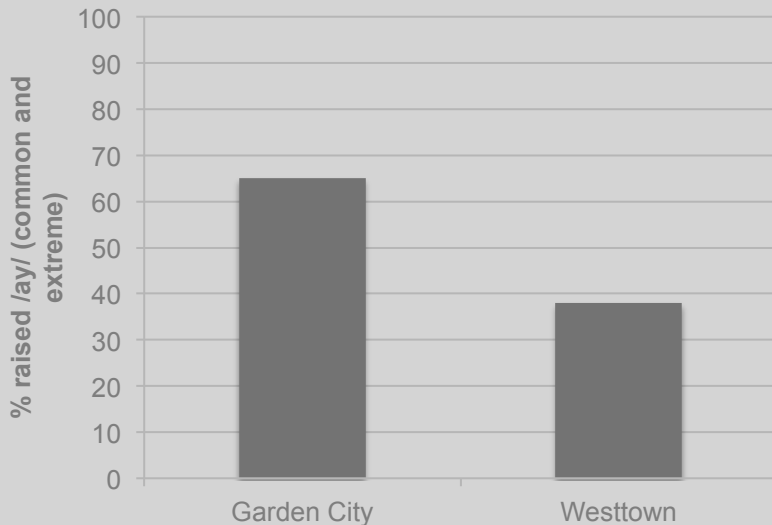
- *Fractal Recursivity*: “involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level.”
- *Erasure*: “the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible.”
- *Iconization*: “Linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence.”

Gal, S. and Irvine, J. 2000. Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. Regimes of Language, ed. by Paul V. Kroskrity. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press. 35-83.

(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.



Erasure



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Iconization

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Class: distinction(s) based on the distribution of capital

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.

- Power: the ability to control or influence others' actions.
 - Power doesn't reside in the individual

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. London: Penguin Press.
- Hegemony: consent gained from control over others' beliefs.
 - The most successful power is non-coercive

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Prison Notebooks*. (translated and edited by Q. H. and G. Nowell-Smith, Ed.). New York: International Publishers.
- Authority: Legitimacy of power
 - Standard language as legitimated and legitimizing

The value of utterances on the market

- Linguistic markets
 - Standard language market
 - Vernacular market

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16(6), 645–668.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

- Language as cultural capital

Bourdieu, P. (1986). Forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood Press.

- Language as habitus

The sense of the value of one's own linguistic products...is one of the fundamental dimensions of the sense of class position.

BOURDIEU, PIERRE. 1977. The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16.645-68

The local and the global vernacular and standard

Standard

- Global networks
- 'Transcendent' loyalty
- Institutional

Vernacular

- Local networks
- Local loyalty
- Personal

The standard and the elite

- Conspicuous consumption and leisure as the pursuit of waste

Veblen, Thorston. 1994. Theory of the leisure class. New York: Penguin (Originally published 1899).

- Active distance from necessity

- Conservatism and essentialism ('taste' as a natural gift)

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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, Pierre and Wacquant, Loic J.D. 1992. An invitation to reflexive sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. p. 149

- Given that we have to categorize to study variation, what kinds of categories are likely to be meaningful?
- Class is one of several hierarchies (gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality...)
 - How do these hierarchies differ?
 - How do these hierarchies interact?
- All of these categories are constructed, have a history, are changing.
- Remember always that science is driven by the ideologies of the research community.
- and ... Is it all about hierarchy?

Laconic

- tending to use few words, terse
- a x person with very few words
- using few words, brief and not containing any details
- Don't know (8)
- the use of vegetables in denaturing chemicals
- combination of lexical items and emoji expressions
- socially meaningful icon
- a not ideal form
- signature, or like Laocoön

Laconic

- pithy, witty (of speech or writing)
- short
- quiet
- quiet, dry, serious
- acerbic
- wry or humorous
- pleasant to be around
- interested, passionate about a topic
- easy going, uninterested
- nonchalant, without much affect
- disinterested, mellow, meh
- dead pan
- slow, sleep-inducing
- lazy and slow-moving
- tearful, sad
- sad, hopeless