

<u>List of Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	2
<u>List of Contents</u>	3
<u>List of Illustrations</u>	4
<u>Introduction</u>	5
<u>Theory</u>	
Objective versus Subjective/Macro versus Micro	6
The Notion of 'Habitus'	9
The Notion of 'Champ'	15
'Reconnaissance de la Connaissance et Connaissance de la Reconnaissance'	16
'La Distinction' and the Linguistic Market	21
<u>The Orleans Corpus</u>	
The Population	24
The Questionnaires	31
<u>The Sociolinguistic Questionnaire</u>	33
Method	34
Results and Analysis	37
Discussion : Self and Others	42
Conclusions I	50
Footnotes 1 - 10	52
<u>Linguistic Analysis</u>	55
Phonetics and Phonology	56

Phonology	57
Syntax	62
Semantics	67
Grammaticalisation and Normalization : Discussion	71
Conclusions II	74
Footnotes 11 - 24	
<u>Further Implications</u>	
Social Identity/Linguistic Identity	81
Language Norm	82
Language Group	83
Language Group, Class, and Social Change	84
Research	86
<u>Conclusion</u>	88
Footnotes 25 - 34	91
Appendices	93
Bibliography	96

<u>List of Illustrations</u>	<u>Page</u>
Figure. 1. Model of Theoretical Basis of Linguistic Market.	8
Figure. 2. Model of Habitus as Constituting Language Group.	11
Figure. 3. Capital Configuration as determining Social Position.	13
Figure. 4. The System of Social Hierarchy.	14
Figure. 5. Social Hierarchy according to Quantity and and Quality of 'Connaissance' and 'Reconnaissance'.	18
Figure. 6. The Linguistic Market.	19
Table. 1. INSEE Socio-Professional Groups.	24
Table. 2. Orléans Social (Occupation) Classes.	25
Table. 3. Orléans Social (Education) Classes.	26
Table. 4. Orléans Social (Occupation + Education) Class.	28
Table. 5. Percentage of Age Groups against Social Mobility	29
Table. 6. Movement Between Occupational Group and Educational Group.	29
Table. 7. Percentage of Education Group against corresponding Occupational Group social mobility.	30
Table. 8. Answers to the Socio-Linguistic Questionnaire	36
Table. 9. Counts of Elision, Liaison/1000 words, together with Elisio/Liaison Ratio set out according to S (O+E) C., Age, Sex and Profession.	60
Table. 10. Topic/Subject Ratio against Social Group.	65
Table. 11. Number of Filler Phrases/1000 words according to Social Group.	68



## Introduction

The study of language in its social context has, during the development of linguistics, split into separate disciplines. Of these, none seem more erroneously opposed in the field than sociolinguistics and social-psycholinguistics; each respectively constituting objective and subjective criteria in language. So sociolinguistics have mostly been concerned with describing linguistic variations according to broader social, objective categories such as age, class, sex, etc. Comparatively more recently, social-psychologists have attempted to up grade the significance of subjective attitudes; what individuals 'feel' about language. As such, both fall into the trap of taking descriptions of language as an end in itself, failing to relate these to an adequate theory of language and language groupings which will take account of both perspectives, and yet be dynamic enough to be predictive.

The following is an attempt to respond to this need by constructing a theory based on the 'Linguistic Market' developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The major difference in this perspective is that it approaches linguistics from the viewpoint of an existing sociological theory. Rather than accounting for linguistic variation in terms of social categories, it applies the 'theory' to what we can observe in language. Once the theory has been outlined, its implications will be tested within an analysis of the Orléans Corpus. In order to do this, qualitative and quantitative techniques will be utilised. Finally, after some discussion and possible conclusions, suggestions will be made concerning the direction of future research, and the conceptual tools of analysis this will require.

## Theory

### Objective versus Subjective / Macro versus Micro

Pierre Bourdieu makes a great deal of trying to establish a 'sociology of sociology' and objectifying sociological practices (Bourdieu 1980 (b) Book 1 ). One possible example of this might be to describe his theory of linguistic markets in terms of a dominant 'ideology'; elsewhere expressed as liberal economics, representing an ideational force in the socio-structural trends of a particular historic stage in the development of western capitalism. But what has this to do with linguistics?

The traditional approach in linguistic theory has been to view language as a set of universal features based on innate properties of the mind. A consequence of this is that linguistic 'competence' is often 'the' preoccupying concern; an ideal synchronic description of language:

"Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker - listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance."

(Chomsky 1965 p. 3)

For Bourdieu, however, this constitutes a reification of language as a "trésor universel" in saussurian terms; an ideal "langue" that not only does not exist, but obscures the operations of language as a set of symbolic systems; language for him is first and foremost 'praxis'; it is made for saying and hence must be spoken appropriately in specific situations. This implies pre-determined sources through objective 'modifying' conditions internalised by the individual. Individual subjectivities are therefore acted upon by the objective 'social' environment.

Figure 1 is a theoretical representation of Bourdieu's attempt to reconcile the 'subjective' with the 'objective'; here applied to language, although it could easily apply to any human social activity. This reconciliation can only be understood as, "a science of dialectical relations between objective structures ..... and the structural (subjective) dispositions within which these structures are actualised, and which tend to reproduce them."

(Bourdieu 1977 (a) p. 3)

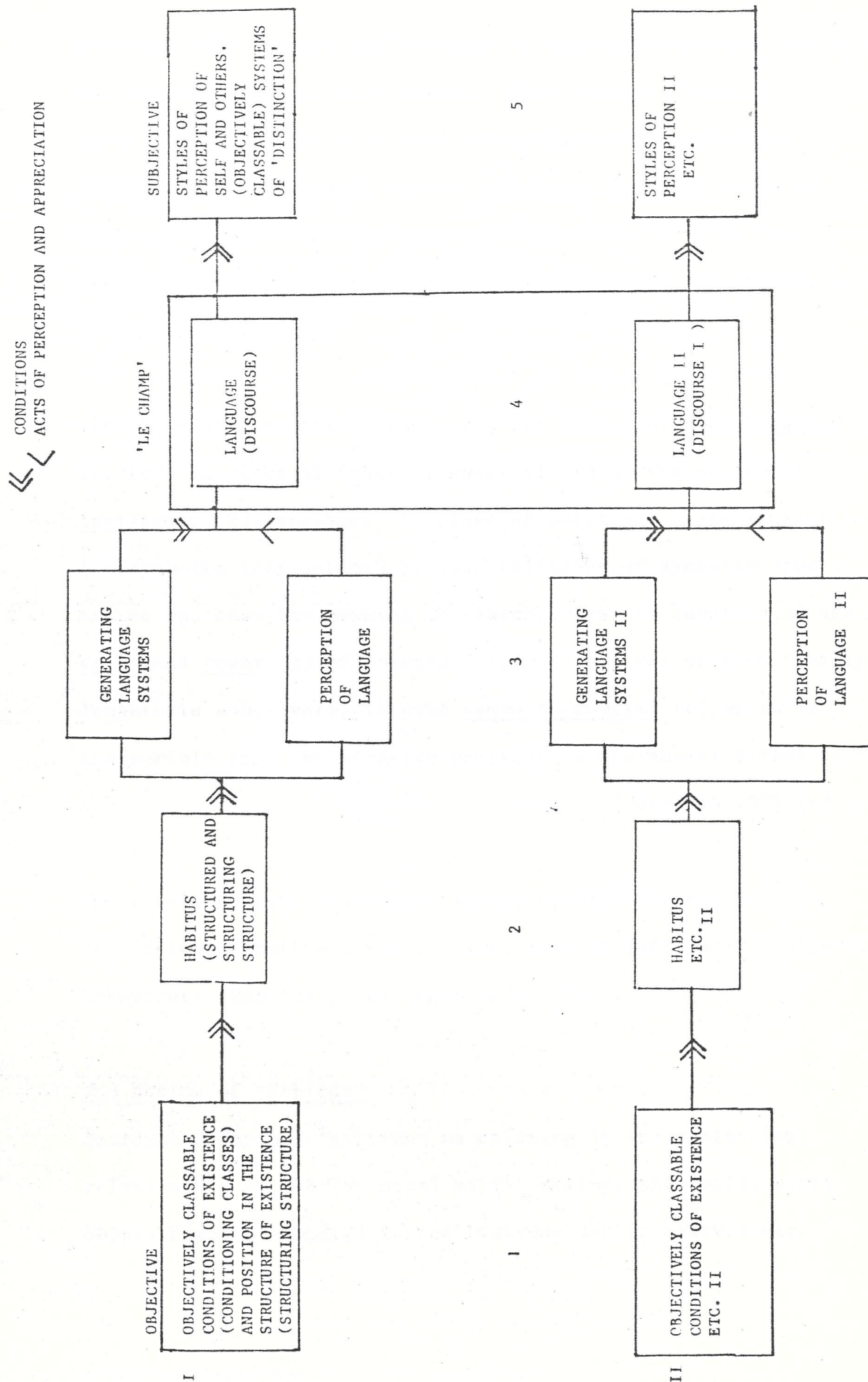
So objective conditions not only determine human praxis, they can only be realised in it, "One must remember that ultimately objective relations do not exist and do not realise themselves except in and through the system of dispositions of agents, produced by internalising objective conditions."

(Bourdieu 1968 (b) p. 5)

We cannot therefore understand individual social behaviour except as in some ways symptomatic of actual objective conditions;



FIGURE.1. MODEL OF THEORETICAL BASIS OF 'LINGUISTIC MARKET'



although these conditions can only be expressed through individuals and the institutions they create. This dialectic though is occult, in as much as we can only ever partly 'objectify' objective conditions in individual praxis; otherwise language could not exist in the semi-automated way that it does. Even so this theoretical understanding has major implications for (traditional) linguistic theory:

"in place of grammaticalness (put) the notion of acceptability (1) ... (or) in place of "the" language (langue), the notion of legitimate (2) language. In place of relations of communication (or symbolic interaction) it puts relations of symbolic power, and so replaces the meaning of speech, with the question of the value and power (3) of speech. Lastly, in place of specifically linguistic competence, it puts symbolic capital (4), which is inseparable from the speakers position in the social structure."

(Bourdieu 1977 (e) p. 646)

There are, however, two mediating categories between what is 'objectively' defined, and the actuality of individual (subjective) behaviour; 'Habitus', and 'Champ'.

#### The Notion of "Habitus"

Bourdieu describes 'habitus' as existing in the dialectical relationship of two (or more) social states; the social world objectified as embodied in institutions and/or individuals.



"Le corps est dans le monde social, mais le monde social est dans le corps."

(Bourdieu 1982 (b) p.38)

More specifically, it is from similarities of Habitus that classable behaviour can be observed. Thus,

"The coherence to be observed in all products of the same application of the same habitus has no other basis than the coherence which the generative principle constituting habitus owes to the social structure of which they are a product."

(Bourdieu 1971 (a) p. 96)

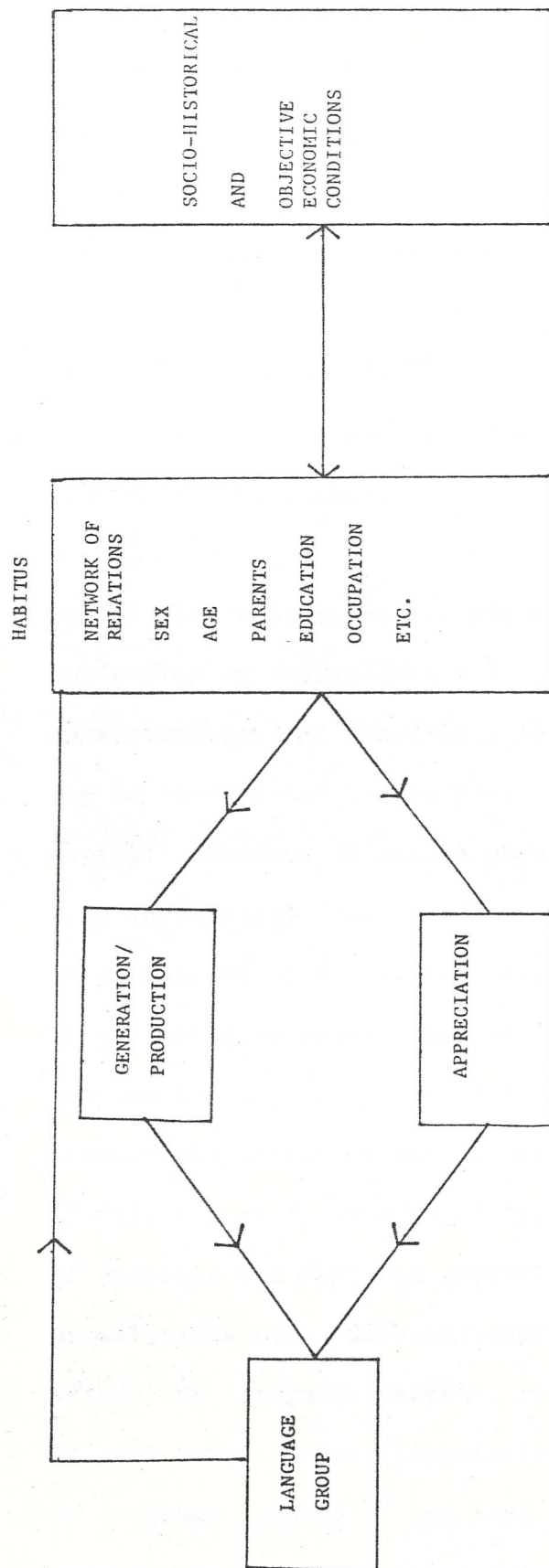
The principle behind any individual's Habitus is therefore structurally homologous to the principle behind the relationship that Habitus has with the social structure. The most overt form of this, of course, being social class;

"structuring structure which organises practice and perceptions of practice, the habitus is also a structured structure; the principle of the division into logical classes which organises the perception of the social world is itself the product of the incorporation of division into social classes."

(Bourdieu 1979 (d) p. 191)

Figure 2 is an attempt to sketch out how the components of Habitus fit into the overall model. It is made up of possible social groupings according to sex, age, parents, education, occupation patterns, networks of relations, etc.

FIGURE.2. MODEL OF 'HABITUS' AS CONSTITUTING LANGUAGE GROUP



Of course these are not 'linked', but 'superimposed' on each other. Habitus is therefore specific to individuals; no two persons have the same configurations. However, objective, social, historical, economic conditions give power and direction to specific features; and it is out of the structural homologies of these that separate individuals find affinities and/or oppositions. For linguistic purposes it is possible to downgrade the importance of 'social class' in favour of 'language group' as defined in terms of structural 'patterns' of Habitus.

Out of this also comes the notion of each constituent of Habitus conferring on individuals specific amounts (qualitatively and quantitatively) of 'Capital': 'economic or financial capital' can be 'cashed in' in any part of the social structure; 'social capital' consists of social placements and networks of contacts with influential (symbolic powerful) individuals; 'cultural capital' is expressive of education, style, taste, accent, etc. Figure 3 is a schematic representation of how Habitus determines social position through the configuration of 'Capital' deposited with individuals through the objective conditions they find themselves in. Blanc et al (1984), figure 4, have objectified this in assigning varying amounts of economic and cultural capital to specific groups within the social hierarchy. Cultural Capital is indeed the concern of language within the 'linguist market', although in order for it to be 'used', it must have a value (Linguistic Capital) which has to be actualised as language 'praxis'. And here it is necessary to distinguish between systems that are used to generate language, and those that perceive it; the former giving value to the language, the latter



FIGURE.3. 'CAPITAL' CONFIGURATION AS DETERMINANT OF SOCIAL POSITION

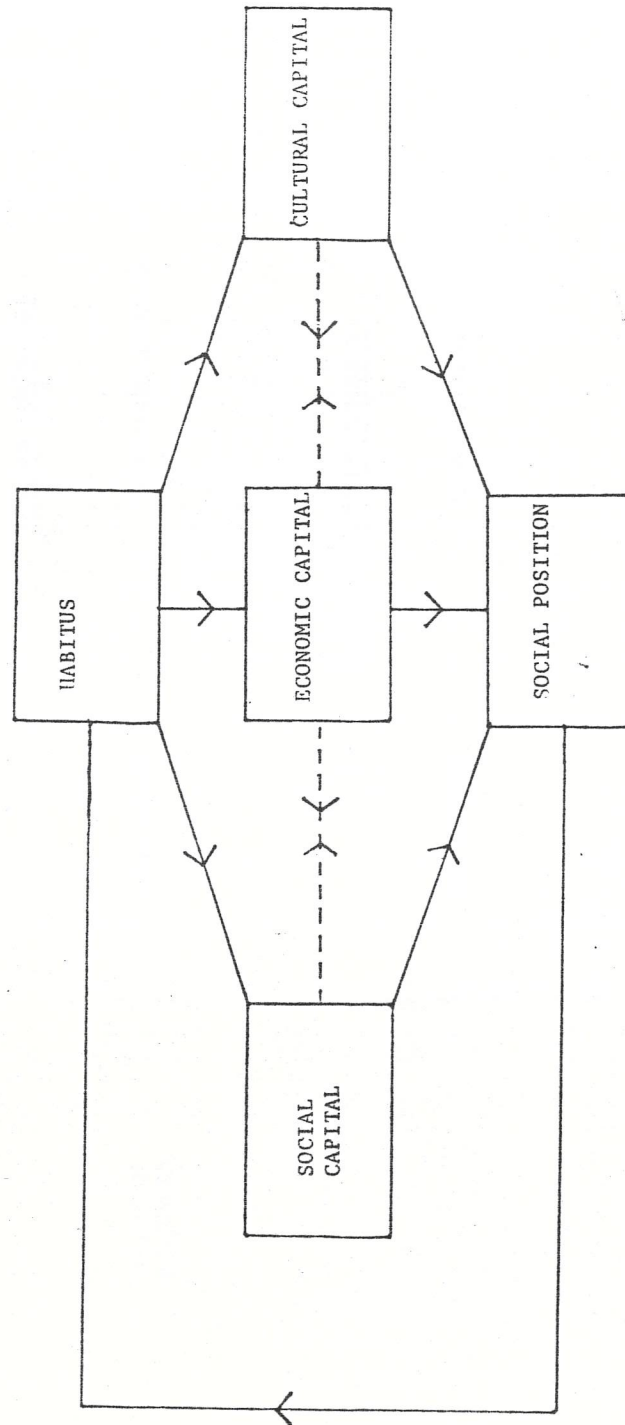
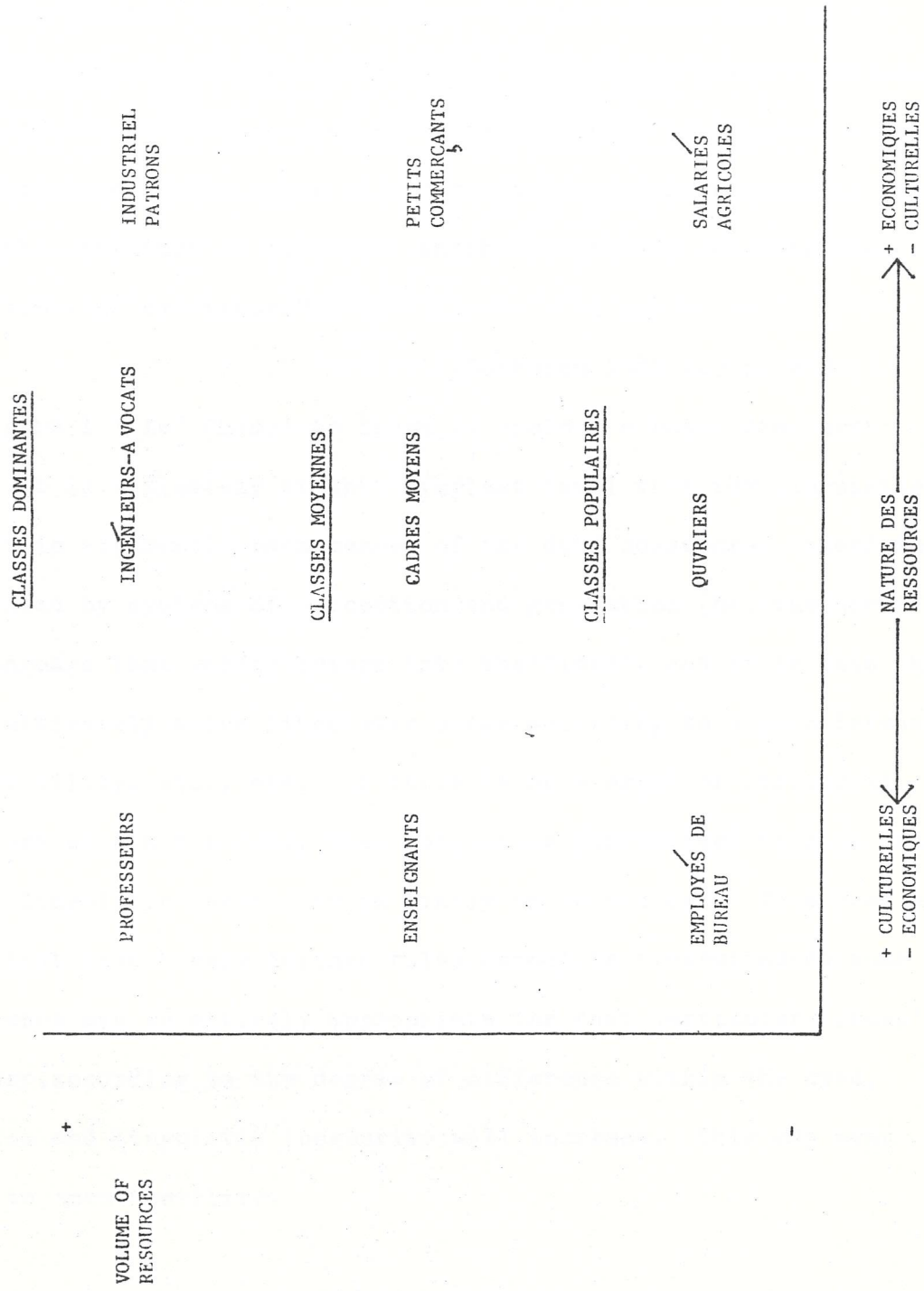


FIGURE.4. THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL HIERARCHY



recognising it. This must operate within a field of reference, though, known as 'le Champ'.

#### The Notion of "Champ"

Bourdieu defines '(le) Champ' thus, "By the intermediory of the structure of the linguistic field, as a system of power relations linguistically based on unequal distribution of linguistic capital, the structure of the space of expressive styles reproduces in its turn the structure of distances which objectively separate the conditions of existence."

(Bourdieu 1982 (a) p. 46)

In figure 1 '(Le) Champ' is drawn to enclose a basic discourse dyad; it is ultimately at this simplest level that the linguistic market is apparent. Each member of the dyad possesses, indeed is possessed by systems of perception and generation (habitus specific) of language that she/he brings into the 'field', and it is this that will ultimately value linguistic usage according to appropriateness, acceptability, etc., etc. If there is an element of structural homology within the dyad, then subjective (affective) tension and hence linguistic insecurity is likely to be reduced. This does not mean that objectively defined rules cannot be broken; indeed such an occurrence may be entirely appropriate for that particular 'champ'. However, according to the degree of difference within the dyad, tension and linguistic insecurity will increase. This may even lead to open hostility.

The 'Champ' will also define which features of Habitus are likely to have most significance for discourse. Thus any one (or more)



of the elements in figure 2 may assume dominant importance according to the defined limits of the situation. This allows for individuals to act ("subjectively") as sometimes representative of one 'language group', sometimes of another.

Outside of this variable 'valuation' of linguistic capital, there is also an objectified 'idealised 'norm' which can be referred to as 'Legitimate Language'. Indeed it is from this absolute form, that linguistic variation obtains its value. In its most overt form the legitimate language is usually also the speech of the dominant social group(s). It is also used as the 'official' language of social relations. Indeed,

"the more the market is official, that is conforming to the norms of the legitimate language, the more it is dominated by the dominating, that is the owners of linguistic capital, authorised to speak with authority."

(Bourdieu 1982 (a) p. 64)

If there is inequality in the possession of linguistic capital, there must be differences in knowledge and recognition of the symbolically powerful aspects of language.

"Reconnaissance de la Connaissance, et Connaissance de la Reconnaissance"

The title here is retained in French for two reasons: firstly, I want to emphasise the dialectical relationship between the two concepts; secondly, the French is needed to express the dual

definition they each include. 'Connaissance' as 'acquaintance' as well as 'knowledge', 'reconnaissance' as 'familiarity' and 'acknowledged status'. Thus 'Legitimate Language' is useless per se, and only gains its value or power by being 'recognised' as 'superior'. Ipso facto, 'connaissance' of the Norm is again specific so that it can be used in the 'market'; it has a value that can demand recognition, and exert power if necessary. Although within linguistic praxis, this 'knowledge' is semi-automatised

"all knowledge of the social world is an act of construction putting into operation schemes of thought and expression that constitutes the structuring activity of social agents ..... and between the conditions of existence and the practices or the representations comes the structuring activity of agents, who far from reacting mechanically to the stimulations, respond to the calls or the threats of a world of which they have themselves contributed to produce 'sense'."

(Bourdieu 1979 (d) p. 344)

'Connaissance' and 'reconnaissance' therefore arise from the totality of any individual's world experience. Figures 5 and 6 develop this for a social group analysis within the Linguistic Market. In Figure 6, Upper, Middle, and Lower Social groups represent ideal types (in the Weberian sense) as do the extremes of 'langage populaire' and 'langage légitime'. Social groupings are still Habitus-specific, although for our linguistic intentions we can now express these as varying quantities of 'connaissance' and 'reconnaissance'. The extreme of the total absence of 'connaissance' and 'reconnaissance'

FIGURE.5. SOCIAL HIERARCHY ACCORDING TO QUANTITY AND  
QUALITY OF 'CONNAISSANCE AND RECONNAISSANCE'

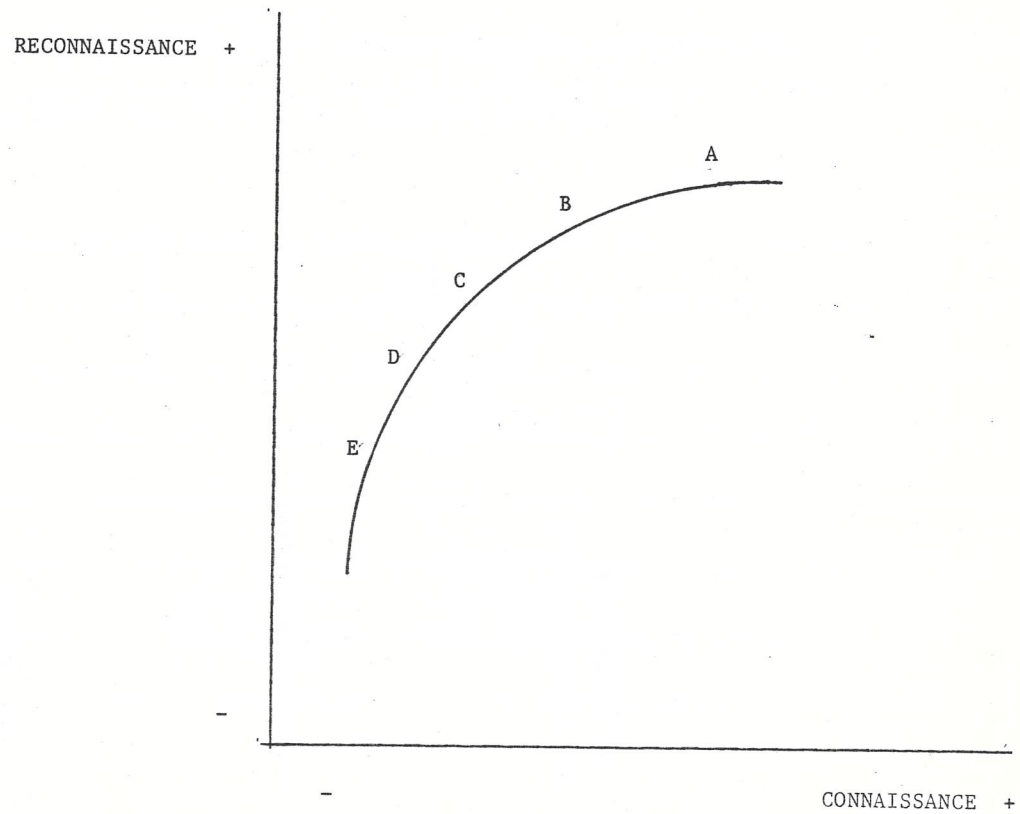
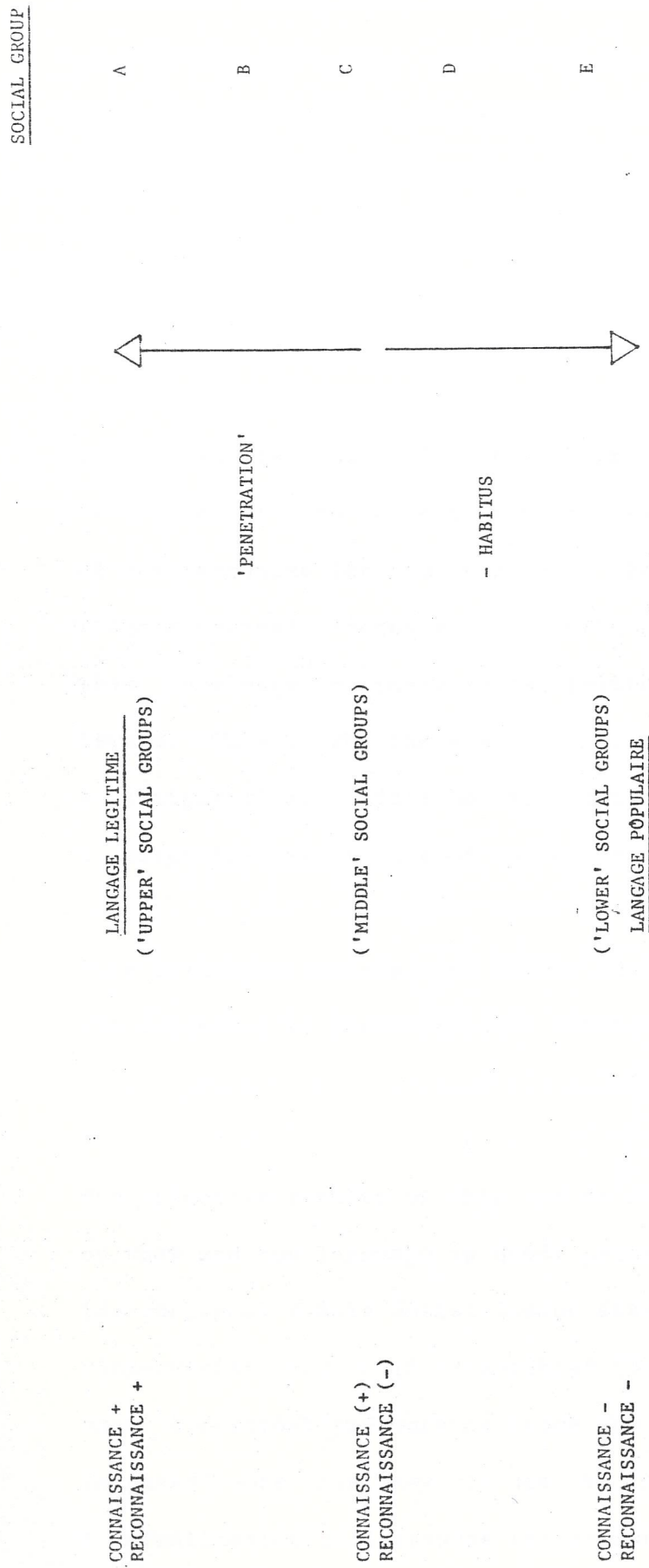




FIGURE 6. THE 'LINGUISTIC MARKET'



will never exist; every one is 'aware' and can use some aspects of legitimate language. Amount of Linguistic Capital will consequently depend on degrees of what I shall call 'Penetration' into legitimate language. 'Penetration' is a theoretical term and is meant to designate impulses within linguistic behaviour towards knowledge and recognition of dominant linguistic norms; and it is by definition limited. For lower social groups, in particular, Habitus norms are likely to obscure these, and hence impede penetration. Middle social groups are ideally those that have penetrated to the extent that they have clear representations of and recognise legitimate speech. However, although high in 'reconnaissance', 'connaissance' defined as the ability to recreate this knowledge is likely to be limited to specific linguistic levels. This is why the graph in figure 5 shows a curve, and not a straight line. Middle Social Group 'connaissance' is not able to match the performance of Upper Social Groups.

"the dominated classes, and in particular the petit-bourgeois - are condemned to reconnaissance without connaissance."

(Bourdieu 1975 (e) p. 8)

The affective results of this are to have a determinant effect on what and how language is used; producing permanent linguistic insecurity as Middle Social Groups attempt to increase penetration. "Supervision" and "self-censorship" (Bourdieu 1977(e) p. 658) exert a constant pressure on those who recognise it (legitimate language) more than they can use it. This is likely to produce a formalization of discourse (as opposed to outspokenness), and