

Table.5. Counts of Elision,Liaison/
1000 words,together with
Elision/Liaison Ratio set out
according to S(O+E)C, Age, Sex and
Profession.

SUBJECT NO.	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION	PROFESSION	AGE	SEX	NO. OF LIAISON/ 1000 words	NO. OF ELISION/ 1000 words	ELISION/LIAISON RATIO
058	1	I	A	Prof. en retraite	63	M	35	48	1.4
012	1	I	A	Ingénieur	54	M	33	43	1.3
019	2	IV	B	Comptable retraite	72	F	43	59	1.4
059	3	II	B	Employé Bureau	25	M	59	57	0.9
094	2	III	B	Direct- -rice	40	F	29	40	1.4
066	2	IV	B	Restaur- -ateur	30	M	20	84	4.2
010	3	IV	C	Coutur- -ière	59	F	14	27	1.9
001	3	V	D	Boucher	57	M	34	79	2.3
087	3	V	D	Agent EDF	39	M	25	142	5.6
135	3	V	D	Employé Bureau	39	F	34	53	1.5
140	3	V	D	Vendeuse	19	F	21	101	4.8
006	5	V	E	Chauffeur	52	M	18	85	4.7
106	4	V	E	Sans Activité	60	F	25	77	3.0
014	4	V	E	Maçon - Syndical	34	M	33	93	3.0

Key

'Légitime' = *

'Populaire' = **

* * * * * ** * ** ** *

correctly, suggesting a more normative use of this linguistic feature. Elision and liaison might not only therefore have separate symbolic values, but also differ in their relative sensitivity to influences of correctness.

001 (D) has fewer elisions and comparatively more liaisons. This is the 'Boucher', who has a relatively modest social background - S (O+E) C. D, S (O) C. 3, S(E). V. However, he is now the owner of a string of supermarkets, and is therefore a highly 'aspiring' individual; with many business contacts, etc..

087 with such a high number of elisions and fewer liaisons is described as 'français populaire' and in many ways is typical of 'language populaire'.

006 and 106 both find themselves as 'populaire' due to fewer liaisons and an increase in elision. Although these latter are comparatively reduced, again compared with our typical 'populaire' respondent. Perhaps the influence of working for "les familles bourgeoises" is acting on 106 together with her sex. (The observation that women are comparatively more linguistically sensitive will be taken up later). 006 too as a chauffeur is working with the public and therefore more linguistically 'active'. (14) 006 is S (O+E) C. B, as a restaurateur (in fact he spends his time in the kitchen), but is still in the area of 'populaire', clearly suggesting that he has not shaken off the effects of his modest education, S (E) C. IV.

In the 'area of legitimacy' 135 is an interesting case. 3 (O+E) C. D., but as an 'employé de bureau' (in this case running the office of a garage) exhibiting high 'linguistic capital' gained from her penetration into the 'linguistic market'.

O59 (B) is again interesting with a very high incidence of liaisons and rather more elisions. His young age (25) may suggest a relaxation on elision, and yet perceiving liaisons as a mark of 'distinction', increasing their use. We should not rule out the possibility of language being used (deliberately if non-consciously) to exploit this feature.

The further implications of all this and the incidence of hyper- and hypo - correction will be taken up again in the conclusions to this 'linguistic analysis' section.

Syntax

After phonetics and phonology the next level of linguistic analysis is syntax. I shall take this to mean specific lexical alternatives as well as their utilisation in the structure of language. Implicit in Bourdieu's theory is the freedom to 'act', to choose language. It is simply that this 'choice' is always made in a linguistic environment that is 'habitus - and 'champ' - specific.

Of course with prior knowledge of salient social linguistic features it is possible to examine their use throughout the social hierarchy.

Sankoff and Laberge (1978) is one attempt to apply theory of 'linguistic markets' to opposing choices in speech. They study the use of *être/avoir* in perfect tense verbs, *Cu'est* - *ce cue*/ *ce cue* in headed constructions, and on */ils* in references to groups that exclude the speaker. In each case they found that the former of the pair was used increasingly by individuals with a high index (and thus penetration into) in linguistic markets.

Rouvière (M.S.) examined specific structural sequences in language. In his study of nominal phrases in spoken French he found that the 'nominal reduplicated phrase' was the most sensitive to variables of social level, educational level, and age group. The nominal reduplicated can be observed in such strategies for emphasis as, "Monsieur Bailletot, il m'a dit".

Ashby (1982) came to a similar conclusion in studying what he calls Subject and Topic sentences. These latter can involve left and/or right dislocation:-

Topic Sentences

moi, je dors
lui, il dort
cet enfant, il dort

Antitopic Sentences

je dors, moi
il dort, lui
il dort, cet enfant

In Topic/Antitopic sentences therefore, the disjunctive pronoun or subject noun phrase is phonologically set off from the rest; this will involve a left or right dislocation, (15). He contrasts this with what he refers to as 'pure' subject sentences:-

Subject Sentences

je dors
il dort
cet enfant dort

Ashby (op. cit.) found that the probability of 'topic' rather than 'subject' use for given or 'old referents' (16) was twice as high in upper social categories compared with lower groups (17).

Methodology

Similar counts of Topic (including antitopic as this is comparatively rare) and Subject sentences were made from the interviews. Here are some examples from the corpus:-

Topic

- (1) Le patron il nous a dit (037, D, 17, 14)
- (2) Interviewer - Alors monsieur qu'est-ce que vous faites de votre temps libre?
- Speaker - le temps libre c'est le dimanche (006, E, 7, 13)

Antitopic

- (3) Speaker - je trouve moi personnellement (012, A, 40, 24)

Subject

- (4) Interviewer - Votre femme vous avez dit travaille aussi
- Speaker - elle est professeur
- Speaker (later) - elle est professeur en sciences naturelles..
- .. ma femme a fait sa licence de sciences naturelles. (012, A, 17, 15)

Results.

After counting Topic and Subject sentences a Topic/Subject ratio was calculated. These are set out in Table. 10. In fact only eight of the respondents were analysed for this feature. Sentences such as 'moi, je trouve' were finally excluded as these were common with all respondents and therefore subject to 'normalization' (18).

Table. 10.

Topic/Subject Ratio against Social Group.

Corpus No.	Social Group	Topic/Subject Ratio
058	A	0.8
012	A	0.4
019	B	1.0
010	C	1.0
001	D	2.3
087	D	8.25
006	E	4.8
014	E	6.0

Discussion.

These figures obviously represent 'rough' counts as there was variation in the number of words (amount of discourse) available. Similarly, usage of these types of sentences is comparatively rare outside of specific common forms. Nevertheless, the ratios are remarkably consistent in showing an opposition between Upper and Lower social groups (19). It is not possible, on these results, to add further

comment on stratification within the social hierarchy or particular middle group phenomena.

It is interesting to note the high ratio (and therefore high Topic usage) of 087, who I earlier described as typical of 'language populaire'. This again confirms the suggestion that this feature is characteristic of less 'légitime' forms of language.

001 and 010 despite coming respectively from S (E) C. V and VI have both reduced use of this feature within their own speech. Both of these compare with their elision/liaison pattern which showed a trend towards the 'légitime'.

Estimates (François 1974) of the frequency of dislocated sentences in familiar or popular French go as high as 50% of all sentences containing subject N.P.s in cases where the subject is the dislocated element. Ball (1983) argues that the rhythmic structure of the French language does not permit widespread use of stress on individual words. Dislocation provides an alternative means. Nevertheless, the statistics used by Ashby suggest that this use is on the increase. This raises more interesting questions of the origins of change in the syntactic typology of French, outside of the scope of the present paper. I shall only add that if this is indeed the drift in French syntax, then the very negative symbolic value of dislocated sentences is likely to decrease. As previously noted this has already occurred with certain 'normalised' phrases such as "moi, je " etc.

Semantics

This level of linguistic analysis is probably the most neglected by socio-linguists and social-psychologists. Yet in terms of discourse, and a whole set of implicit/explicit strategies used in developing and expressing meaning, it is surely most important (20). Judge (1976) has in fact used the Orléans corpus to study coherence and cohesion in spoken French. Despite intricate tools of analysis used here and elsewhere there seems to have been little attempt to undertake an in depth examination of the features of discourse within the frame work of variations in the social hierarchy.

Both Bourdieu and Labov raise the whole question of 'verbosity'. Obviously this feature is highly constrained by topic referents within any discourse. Certainly, as in 'real' life, the corpus includes a wide range of developed, detailed interviews as well as as limited, restricted ones. Some respondents 'appear' highly lucid, eloquent, whilst others are more inhibited, restrained. A good example of this is the discussion on the May 1968 events. 006 (S (O+E) C. E), the 'chauffeur' manages to account for the events in approximately 250 words (006, pages. 18/19). The 'ingénieur', alternatively, takes the opportunity to launch into a detailed analysis of some 3500 words (012, page. 29-41) covering a range of social, political and economic aspects of the events. Yet within this, their mean length of utterance remains approximately the same; 6.7 and 6.2 words respectively. Pausing strategies in the discourse though are diverse; silence, repetition, filler phrase, vocal noise. As yet there seems no available criteria for

evaluating or quantifying these beyond counts. One crucial question, for example, is if silence or repetition has any more or less symbolic value within the linguistic market than a 'filler phrase' such as 'eh bien'. And moreover how does this latter compare with the elided form /bɛ̃/.

Labov (1977. p. 219) noted the appearance of a high number of 'filler phrases' in middle class speech. My own counts confirm this observation. Table. 11. sets out the number of 'filler phrases'/1000; again taken from samples throughout the interview.

Table. 11.

Number of Filler Phrases/1000 words according to Social Group

Corpus No.	Social Group	No. of Filler Phrases
012	A	23
058	A	23
019	B	45 *
059	B	65 *
094	B	14
066	B	46 *
010	C	27
001	D	58 *
087	D	28
135	D	23
140	D	20
006	E	21
106	E	28
014	E	30

In this case there is clearly no opposition between Upper and Lower social groupings (21); this being a feature of middle groups. So whilst membership to the latter does not presuppose high incidence of 'filler phrases', inordinate usage of these does seem a characteristic of certain individuals in these groups. 001 (S (O+E) C. D.) is again an interesting case. This is the 'aspiring' Boucher whose upwards mobility (or intention at least) encourages him to appropriate features of speech from higher groups. This in itself can be seen as a mark of 'linguistic insecurity', or a lack of confidence in one's 'own' speech.

We must again recall the 'value' and 'variety' of these phrases. Here is a list of the first 17 different phrases used by two respondents:-

012 S (O+E) C. A. Ingénieur

Alors

Enfin ça

Ben

Si vous voulez

On doit dire

dirons - nous

disons

d'ailleurs

d'une façon générale

Dans la mesure

j'ai l'impression

en ce qui concerne

pour resumer

vous voyez

étant donné que

donc

n'oubliez pas

006 S (O+R) C. F. Chauffeur.

Ben

disons

Ma foi

vraiment

tandis que

à mon avis

enfin

quand même

quoi

donc

alors

vous comprenez

puis

hein

voilà

Monsieur

en général

Obviously some phrases are used by both, although the general impression is that the 'ingénieur' has greater sophistication and range in his usage. It may be that this 'impression' is finally all important. Clearly much more needs to be done to find adequate research tools of analysis to account for these differences.

Bourdieu calls these phrases a 'métalangue pratique' (1982 (a) p.89) which operates as a mark of 'distance neutralisante' (ibid). Labov (1977) claims that their effect is to avoid any misstatement or overstatement (p. 218) or extremes. For Bourdieu these are a feature of the general attitude that Upper groups have to language; as 'une affirmation de la capacité de tenir ses distances à l'égard de ses propres propos', as opposed to those who 's'abandonnent sans retenue ni censure à la pulsion expressive'; and this 'neutralisation' is a 'mise à distance de la réalité qu'est la stylisation de la vie'. He is therefore perhaps correct that this attitude of

verbosity is a character of the 'official' market which sacrifices real 'communication' as long as the 'performative' logic of the language is realised as a symbolic domination. What we should add is again that upper social group respondents know when to relax formality, inappropriate as this would be within the 'openness' of the corpus interview. Certain members of middle groups, however, have 'penetrated' this feature, and employ it to mimic dominance over language. This in itself betrays 'linguistic insecurity' as incomplete knowledge of the 'norm'. They 'know' how to use it, therefore, but this 'connaissance' does not include appreciation of levels of appropriateness. Alternatively, 'filler phrases' may also be employed to maintain the dynamic of discourse communication - when the 'right' words and phrases will not come. In other words, as a control strategy to reassert dominance over the language; again a distinct mark of linguistic insecurity.

Grammaticalisation and Normalisation : Discussion.

Implicit in all these linguistic levels of analysis, phonetics, phonology, etc. are opposing forces to define the values of discourse. As previously stated, the reference for this evaluation is some predetermined recognition of what is the 'norm'. I now want to examine deviation from this legitimate language in more detail.

Thibault (1983) develops the theme of 'grammaticalisation' and 'normalization'; by which she intends the trend for linguistic non-normative variants to become standardised. In other words, they lose their negative symbolic value; because everyone is using them they no longer act as linguistic stigma. Her own research focuses on the use of 'ca' as subject referent, direct object,

indirect object, etc.. Here are some examples, this time from the Orléans corpus:-

- (5) "Ça c'est la génération qui vent çà" (087, D, 15, 9)
- (6) "Le tour de France avant la guerre je vous parle de çà" (001, D, 4, 27)
- (7) "Ça sûrement le rajeunissement ça c'est l'université" (012, A, 5, 6)

The 'impression' is that there is extensive variation in the use of çà as an alternative to normative forms. Nevertheless, Thibault is unable to find any difference in the use of these variables according to the three categories of social grouping, education and sex. She consequently concludes that these forms are less susceptible to social distribution the more frequently they are used. It is only when she splits the sample down into age groups that variations occur within the three categories. This suggests that important 'practical' differences are still marked and that age (itself a major constituent of 'habitus') may be of prime importance in instigating new linguistic variants.

'Grammaticalisation' is important as it implies that the 'norm' may itself be changed by the situation ('champ'), etc.. It is unsurprising therefore to find S (O+E) C. A. members in the corpus using 'ça' so extensively as this has become partially 'normalised' for specific situations. Using it does not damage 'distinction'. Indeed its very usage can be seen as a form of 'hypocorrection'. This latter for Bourdieu represents 'l'exhibition d'aisance' (1982 (a) p. 55); lack of concern in language use, and therefore reduced

linguistic tension amongst Upper social groupings is the very mark of 'distinction'.

Thus as previously argued, our S (O+E) C. A. respondents do not use a high number of filler phrases; such formal manners of verbosity being inappropriate in this situation. Moreover, one S (O+E) C. A. respondent at least seems ready to adopt certain styles of speech more characteristic of a lower social placement. Thus for 'bien' he frequently uses 'ben'; [bɛ̃] for the normative [bjɛ̃], suggesting either that this pronunciation has become 'normalised' or itself is 'chic', a flirtation with features that are 'populaire'.

The opposite to hypocorrection is 'hypercorrection'. This can be understood as the product of linguistic tension generated from the mismatch between 'connaissance' and 'reconnaissance' :-

"This pretention, 'reconnaissance' of the 'distinction' reveals itself even in the effort to deny it by appropriating it"

(Boudieu, 1982 (a) p.54).

This sense of effort is again revealed in middle group respondent's language, for example, 'filler phrases'. This feature extends into phonological expressions; in the overt use of liaison by 059 (B) who employs it even in repetition:-

(8) "il est_il apprend" (059, B, 21, 24)

Hypercorrection also leads to incorrect use of linguistic features in an effort to adopt the characteristic styles of 'distinction' with liaison :-

(9) "les jeunes ont beaucoup évolué" (019, B, 18, 1)

Both hypo - and hypercorrection are absent in the lower social groups. Hypocorrection is more likely to be simply 'incorrection' reflecting a lack of 'connaissance' ; for example the overt use of Topic sentences by 087 (D, Français populaire) or under-use of liaison amongst lower categories

(10) "pour nous c'est assez difficile" (140, D, 15, 9)

(11) "vous êtes habillé" (087, D, 2, 17)

(12) "Ça c'est une question de mon métier" (087, D, 4, 4,)

Conclusions II

What emerges from all this is a complex picture of the usage and effects of various linguistic features throughout the social hierarchy. Moreover, any particular language characteristic can mean something quite different depending on who uses it and where.

'Habitus' has again been important in determining linguistic styles. So besides education and occupation, there is some evidence that age and sex are crucial in shaping language. Thibault (op. cit. p.126) found marked incidence of 'hypocorrection' in female respondents, suggesting that women are perhaps more sensitive to the symbolic value of language (22). Other conditions of 'habitus' may add to or subtract from this predisposition towards use of the linguistic 'norm'. For example, in the case of Orléans respondent 135 (S (O+E) C. D.), sex, age, and linguistic status of her occupation all encourage a certain 'conformism' in language.

Any particular variation in language use therefore needs to be read against a background of configurations in 'habitus' constituents.

Despite this, it is also clear that a standard linguistic 'norm' is still apparent. Although the 'légitime' is not always clearly represented, but is open to manipulation. Any deviation in the 'norm', however, is finally determined by what is 'defined' as permissible or appropriate for that particular situation; in the case of the Orléans corpus, it is the interview. 'Penetration' into 'language populaire' therefore has occurred throughout the social hierarchy. One explanation for this has been that through processes of 'normalisation' and 'grammaticalisation' some negatively symbolic features of language lose their value. Although we have seen that through strategies of 'hypocorrection' Upper social groups use linguistic deviations from the 'norm' as a further mark of distinction. However, there are strict rules on how and where this relaxation can be applied; for example, it rarely extends to the level of phonetics (23). So informality can be introduced on one linguistic level whilst formality is maintained on another.

This practice does not seem to be available to middle social groupings. Their deviation from the 'norm' is more likely to be the result of social origins. Much of their linguistic behaviour can be seen as attempts to converge as much as possible with the 'norm'. Again, though, 'penetration' into 'légitime' would seem to be different for separate linguistic levels. This phenomenon is a further sign of linguistic insecurity.

It is in this play of linguistic tension and relaxation that the 'linguistic market' is most apparent. It is a 'competition' for 'distinction' through which linguistic change occurs. Linguistic convergence is therefore likely to effect the behaviour of those who consider the 'norm' their own; provoking strategies to maintain dominance (24). We should again add that the source of this change must ultimately be the broader evolutions of social 'class' society.

Footnotes contd.

11 Here it is worth pointing out that we are not simply looking for linguistic variation. A sociolinguistic variable rather is one that can be correlated with other nonlinguistic variables; for example, context, age, sex, social grouping, etc.. Labov (1972. p.237) calls these linguistic features 'indicators' when they show a regular distribution over socio economic, ethnic, age groups, etc.; although interestingly he states that these are used by individuals more or less the same in any context.

12 Bourdieu repeatedly makes the point that we need to 'objectify' and be 'critical' about subjective feelings and the objective circumstances that give rise to them,

"(one must) submit social and epistemological conditions to a critical objectification which makes possible not only the reflexive return to subjective experience of the social world but also the objectification of the objective conditions of this experience"

(Bourdieu, 1980, p.43)

13 These comments are taken from the 'remarques' made on each profile in the Essex University Archives of the corpus.

14 As previously quoted Sankoff, D. and Laberge, S. (1978) suggest that language performance depends on involvement in the 'linguistic market'. Therefore individuals may have a modest occupation, but still show 'connaissance' of the 'norm' by the

very fact that their job involves use of language (eg. secretary) or public presentation, (eg. shop assistants). Interestingly this 'knowledge' may again vary according to different linguistic levels.

15 In rare cases both may occur eg. Cet enfant, il dort, lui.

16 This condition that the topic of those types of sentences must already have been referred to is clearly necessary, otherwise any 'topic nomination' could be counted as a 'Subject sentence.'

17 Ashby (op.cit. p.39)

	<u>Varbrul 2.</u>	<u>Probability of 'Topic'</u> <u>Type.</u>
Social Economic Category	Upper	0.385
	Lower	0.615
Sex	Male	0.544
	Female	0.456
Age	14-21	0.645
	54-64	0.355

18 The concept of 'normalisation' will be taken up in the discussion on this linguistic analysis together with 'grammaticalisation'.

19 Kendalls $T = 0.75$, Significant at $p < .05$

20 Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A. (1955) studied differences in modes of communication in interviews with lower - and middle - class individuals in Arkansas. In a passage that could have been taken from Bourdieu they state:-

"Men live in an environment which is mediated through symbols. By naming, identifying, and classifying, the world's objects and events are perceived and handled. Order is imposed through conceptual organization, and this organization embodies not just anybody's rules but the grammatical, logical, and communicative canons of groups. Communication proceeds in terms of social requirements for comprehension, and so does "inner conversation" or thought.

After comparing conversations they find "considerable disparity in (a) the number and kinds of perspectives utilized in communication; (b) the ability to take the listener's role; (c) the handling of classifications; and (d) the framework and stylistic devices which order and implement the communication." (ibid. p.330)

21 Kendalls $T = 0.043$, Non-significant; thus confirming no correlation between numbers of filler phrases and height of placement within the social hierarchy.

22 La sensibilité et l'insécurité linguistique culminent chez les femmes des classes moyennes. La division du travail entre les sexes qui fait que les femmes tendent à attendre l'ascension sociale de leurs capacités de production symbolique les voue à investir davantage dans l'acquisition des dispositions légitimes.

(Bourdieu 1977 page 29)

23 Bourdieu quotes Troubetzkoy that "une articulation non chalante est une des manières les plus universellement attestées de marquer la distinction"; but then from Encrevé claims that strategic linguistic relaxation rarely touches the level of phonetics.

(Bourdieu 1982 (a) p. 55)

24 "(Reconnaissance of the 'norm') introduces in the field of competition a permanent pressure that can only give rise to new strategies of 'distinction' from the owners of distinctive marks socially recognised as distinguished."

(Bourdieu 1982 (a) p. 54)