Final Report

Ling 560: Study of the Speech Community

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May 10, 2011

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1. Introduction

The aim of "Study of the Speech Community" is for students to use sociolinguistic techniques and theory in their study of a single city block.

Students enter a selected neighborhood and through observation and brief interactions with residents attempt to analyze the social structure of the blocks. Based upon this analysis, a promising block is selected within which students develop a network of contacts. Tape-recorded data is collected through interviews, and this data is analyzed in the final report.

Group 1 chose to study a block in an Italian neighborhood with the original aim of collecting and analyzing data which could be compared with previous projects to provide a diachronic perspective on changes in progress. However, our experiences in sociolinguistic interviews and developing networks on the block led the group to adopt a shift in focus. The group became interested in the effects of engagement in higher education, the educational institution attended, and the orientation towards the local community in language variation between individuals. As such we pursued contacts both on and off the block.

2. Group Members

Meishan Chen

I was fortunate to have the opportunity to work with the students who have previous interview and research experience within a linguistics department. Throughout the academic year, they provided me with a lot of valuable advice about how to conduct interviews and use various tools to process and interpret the data.

I am a non-native speaker and unfamiliar with the field of Linguistics. As a student in the TESOL program, Graduate School of Education, I have focused on second language acquisition. Pedagogy is our main focus, and as such I haven't systematically studied linguistics. My linguistic experiences come from my one-year linguistics study as an undergraduate, and one educational linguistics class and sociolinguistics class.

This was my first time conducting a sociolinguistic interview. Due to my Asian ethnicity and foreign accent, people usually had the first impression that I was a foreigner, which set a barrier between me and my interviewees from freely talking about Philly's local culture. Even if I could communicate with my interviewees without misunderstanding them or being misunderstood by them, I still felt that they seemed to feel more relaxed and less embarrassed to talk with a native speaker rather than a non-native speaker like me. However, I found it quite reassuring that our interviewees didn't slow down or consciously pronounce the words more clearly when they spoke to me, even if they knew I was a non-native speaker before the interview began.

Limited by my English proficiency (especially vocabulary use), I felt very nervous every time I conducted an interview. For example, in Nicole's interview, I tried to perform like a native speaker, but I was so nervous that when I tried to repeat my question to her, I actually asked a different question, which probably confused her. This could be detrimental to an interview, because the switch of my interview question could have stopped my interviewees from talking about their personal experiences that I wanted to hear about.

The idea that my interviewers are native speakers while I am not made me feel very frustrated. Compared with my group members, I have double barriers (language level and culture level) when doing the interview—the English language and the American (or Philadelphia local) culture. Because of these double barriers, I always positioned myself as a lower authority during the interview, which turned out to be an advantage for me to do the interviews.

The only way for me to successfully conduct an interview was to practice the modules before an interview. It seemed to me that I'd never become "fully prepared" because there was always something unexpected when an interview was conducted. I consider this to be a result of limited English language skills and cultural knowledge. I did have some good

questions to ask at certain points during the interviews, which could elicit what I wanted to hear from my interviewees. However, I could not organize the language quickly enough, and thus I always missed the best timing to ask the questions.

What impressed most in Ling560 was the art of talking. I think the most intriguing issue for me is how to adjust my talking according to other people's tone of talking, their facial expressions and body gestures. Furthermore, learning about how people of different native language and cultural background live and how they view the controversial topics such as race gave me a new perspective on these issues.

Amy Goodwin Davies

I was fortunate to be working with students who had previous experience conducting this type of interview and were able to offer valuable advice. Before conducting my first interview I attended an interview with an experienced fieldworker.

As an undergraduate exchange student from the United Kingdom, I was totally unfamiliar with much of the culturally relevant material. Overall, I think this was an advantage in conducting Sociolinguistic interviews. Whilst it was necessary for me to prepare for interviews by familiarizing myself with aspects of local culture (e.g. the Phillies, multiculturalism in Philadelphia, customs at Halloween and Thanksgiving), as a foreigner I was easily able to position myself as a learner in my interviews. My 'youthful' appearance (often mistaken for a high school student), and my shy and hesitant manner also served to position me as a lower authority. However, my nervousness cannot have helped my speakers feel at ease, and my repeated use of the filler "um" may have been off-putting. In later interviews I tried to appear more relaxed and to improve the fluency of my speech with some success.

According to my peers at Penn, for many people a British accent is associated with education and intellect. In other aspects of my experiences in the States this may have worked to my advantage. However, the effect in my sociolinguistic interviews must have been detrimental, prompting the speakers to pay more attention to their speech. Without drastic measures this problem is out of my control.

Vocabulary use, however, is within my control. Before interviews I practiced the interview modules in order to get the questions 'rolling off my tongue' in a plain vernacular. When devising questions spontaneously in interviews I found myself using more academic language, or becoming incoherent in my attempts to formulate my sentences appropriately. In early interviews I was nervous, and found myself becoming tongue-tied which resulted in some uncomfortably long pauses. Practicing modules, anticipating the potential responses of the speaker and devising follow-up questions were strategies I employed to improve my interview style in later interviews. My experiences highlight the importance of preparation for inexperienced interviewers.

Several of our speakers reported that the way people interact on the block has changed. Victor reported that people no longer sit on their stoops in the evenings, and Michelle commented that many of her neighbors "keep themselves to themselves." My overall impression is that the blocks are less socially cohesive. Speakers offered a range of explanations for the change: more frequent home-moves, busier lifestyles, the arrival of different nationalities, and the increased use of communications technology. This has implications for fieldworkers; the traditional strategy of developing contacts on the block may no longer be effective or appropriate. In the second semester we used the Internet to develop contacts and organize interviews.

Linguists sometimes report their increased attention to *how* people say things over *what* people say. I have not experienced this phenomenon in Ling560. Meeting people from a variety of backgrounds, learning about their cultural heritage, and gaining an insight into what is important to them has undoubtedly been a highlight of my time spent in the US.

Soohyun Kwon

I was mistaken in that I considered myself to be good at interviewing people. Before taking this class, I had conducted many sociolinguistic interviews in my native language, Korean, when I was involved in the research on language change in Seoul. One of my strengths in conducting sociolinguistic interviews was that I truly enjoyed listening to people's life stories and their philosophies during the interview. I always showed great interest in what they said throughout the interview and this attitude made interviewees feel comfortable with me, hence considerably reducing the self-consciousness of interviewees. I was convinced that such experience would help me lead successful sociolinguistic interviews in the field works in this class and I was very excited about conducting sociolinguistic interviews in a foreign language. It turned out, however, that it was not all that easy to conduct an interview with a person who has totally different cultural experience, linguistic norms and world-views.

One of my biggest weaknesses was that I always feared that my non-native accents may make my interviewees consider me foreign and this might set some barriers between us. I consider this to be fatal because such barrier could make my interviewees feel uncomfortable and even make them think that I wouldn't be interested in hearing about their story. The fact that I am not a native English speaker often prevented me from asking appropriate and timely questions that could elicit good narratives from interviewees.

Another good lesson I've learned from this class was that I can never be a good sociolinguistic interviewer without the appropriate cultural background that I could comfortably share with interviewees. Even if I succeed in eliciting appropriate answers to the interview module, the interviewees tend to keep their answers short if I do not come up with good questions that arouse their interests. Whenever they answer something I am new

to, I couldn't help but be speechless or change the topic. Such experience made me realize how having a similar cultural background and being able to ask questions about this is critical to leading good sociolinguistic interviews.

Despite these difficulties, conducting sociolinguistic interviews was always a joyful experience for me. I indeed had such difficulties, but I would not say I was unsuccessful. Even though I tend to be nervous at the beginning of the interviews, I was able to let my interviewees feel comfortable in telling their own stories at some point in the interviews. To become a better interviewer in future sociolinguistics studies, the weaknesses I have pointed out here are the areas I will put efforts to improve. I will also have to maintain my advantages.

Hilary Prichard

Conducting fieldwork for this class has provided me with a unique opportunity for personal reflection. As a native Southerner living and studying above the Mason-Dixon line, I am already to a certain extent used to feeling like something of an outsider, both culturally and linguistically. However, it was not until embarking on this project that I truly began to realize the way in which my class, education, and associated tastes can mark me as an outsider even before I open my mouth. Our initial excursions to South Philadelphia began to make me keenly aware of the face I present to the world and the assumptions people will make accordingly, while our in-class discussions of news and sports taught me the vast extent to which my personal interests and beliefs differ from those of the community we were hoping to gain access to. For example, while I think that I was reasonably successful at modifying my dress in an attempt to not look eccentrically academic, and at using as casual a speech style as possible, it was a constant struggle to keep up with the local points of interest. I have never followed sports teams, and at the beginning of the year, could not carry on a conversation about the Phillies or the Eagles to save my life.

On a deeper level, I found my own values occasionally in conflict with certain characteristics of the community. The latent racism, superstition, and deep religious belief which at times came out in our interviews were somewhat jarring, and could make it difficult for me to relate to the interviewees; so I have no doubt that they likewise had difficulty relating to me! Furthermore, I found the mode of obtaining interviews to be uncomfortable. I had a bit of experience conducting interviews already from my undergraduate studies, but those contacts were always made through my social networks. I found it exceedingly awkward to approach strangers on the street with the goal of obtaining an interview, especially since the attitude of some of these contacts later on seemed to imply that they were only being polite in the initial contact, and weren't actually interested in speaking with us again. I think that this method resulted in a somewhat tenuous relationship, where I didn't feel particularly comfortable pressing a speaker for more information, or following up on extremely personal topics.

That said, I don't think that my interviewing style was wholly unsuccessful. I was perhaps not quite as module-driven as some, which could be a disadvantage in terms of eliciting specific types of information, but which also allowed me to spend more time pursuing topics which seemed of particular interest to the speaker. I felt reasonably comfortable with picking out topics the speaker introduced and using those to guide the flow of conversation, rather than relying on prepared questions. I'm certainly more of a listener than a talker anyway, so I was more than content to allow the speaker to take over and talk at length. I think I could stand to improve this style by learning when and how to interrupt a monologue in an effort to obtain more narratives and less description. I do think though that this particular laid-back approach served me well in potentially challenging interview environments, as I was able to "go with the flow" and remain relatively unflustered in the face of rowdy children and rogue cockroaches.

Meredith Tamminga

I was struck, early in the first semester, by a passage from Labov (1984: 40):

> The basic counter-strategy of the sociolinguistic interview is to emphasize the position of the interviewer as a learner, in a position of lower authority than the person he is talking to. This favorable interactive position can only be achieved by a thoroughgoing rejection of the authority that stems from association with the dominating social class. Sociolinguistic interviewers must continually monitor their behavior for any signs of this authority. They must review their lexical and grammatical choices to remove any evidence of bookishness or influence of literary language, and ruthlessly plane away all remains of conspicuous ostentation to achieve a plain, unvarnished style.

The goal outlined here – of adopting a comfortable vernacular that is accessible and unthreatening to the interviewee – was undoubtedly my biggest challenge this year. The difficulty for me was not in positioning myself as a learner, as I was constantly aware of how unfamiliar the world I had entered was, but in speaking without a hint of ivory tower pretensions. I grew up in a small college town with a teacher mother and professor father. Throughout my childhood and teenage years, almost all of my friends were also professors' kids; most of them are now graduate students themselves. And leaving home for college and grad school has hardly lessened the effect of academic style on my speech! The influence of literary language is about as deeply ingrained as possible in my own style.

Although I was aware of this challenge from the beginning, my success in overcoming it was mixed. I would often cringe while listening to the recordings, wondering how I could possibly have slipped up and picked a word like, say, 'tangential'. The difficulty stemmed partly from monitoring my own speech in situations where I was nervous or unsure of myself. I think that I was best able to speak plainly in the situations where I was most comfortable, namely the individual follow-up interviews with Michael and Michelle. This

wasn't because a more familiar situation naturally brings out my vernacular, but because when I wasn't distracted by anxiety over conducting the interview I was better able to focus on achieving that unvarnished style. Overall, the single best strategy I've found to avoid saying overly-bookish things during an interview is simply to keep my mouth shut as much as possible. Combining this strategy with a greater simplicity of style when I do need to speak during an interview is an area I should continue working on.

An area that I think I was more successful in was modifying my style of dress in a more neutral direction. My style attracts attention and comment even within my own circles, being quite girly and somewhat dressier than average. From the very beginning I took extra care in choosing my outfits when going to do fieldwork: slightly baggy jeans, a block colored t-shirt, plain flats or even running shoes. It's hard to say how much of a difference this made. The one time I forgot to dress this way was when I did the rapid and anonymous data collection on Walnut Street. Even though I was asking for directions in very middle-class stores that I would shop at anyways, such as H&M and Zara, it happened several times that a salesperson would pause, give me a thorough once-over, and add, "…but *you* don't want to go *there*" when naming the Gallery as a nearby mall. The lack of similar experiences during my interviews suggests that, even if I didn't actually blend in with the South Philly locals, at least my clothing wasn't attracting attention.

One thing I struggled with that never improved was feeling like I was encroaching on people's privacy when I approached them on the block. This worry was not helped by the chilly reception we often faced as we tried to make contacts. Although I understand that one of the main goals of the course is to demonstrate that fieldworkers can enter a community without connections, I wonder to what extent that continues to be true as the years go on. I was never fully convinced that what we were doing was socially acceptable, and was uncomfortable beginning my interactions with people whose generosity I needed to prevail upon in a socially questionable way.

Finally, I think a strength that I brought to the group's fieldwork was my previous experience doing sociolinguistic interviews. Although I still get nervous before each interview, having already conducted nearly forty interviews gave me the confidence to get started interviewing for this project as early as possible. I'd had plenty of practice using an interview format designed on the model of the Q-GEN II modules and had already learned from experience about some of the potential pitfalls. For example, I began my interviews with the straightforward elicitation of demographic information because I was aware that it's easy to forget to ask those crucial questions later. I was also well aware of how much I would regret it if I listened to the recordings later and found myself talking at every turn. This awareness helped me come to my aforementioned strategy of keeping my own speech to a minimum.

3.   Introduction to the Block

3.1   Selecting the Block

Group 1 decided to visit the neighborhood immediately South-West of Snyder Station. This neighborhood was selected with three points in mind. Firstly, the neighborhood has many narrow residential streets which are typically host to the type of small cohesive speech community we aim to study. Secondly, the neighborhood is predominantly Italian, and previous studies have been successful developing social contacts in Italian communities. Thirdly, we noticed several previous studies had selected streets in this neighborhood, and we thought it would be interesting to compare our results with previous studies and comment on any diachronic change.

Lock Street, 09/19/10

Group 1 visited this neighborhood on a warm, sunny Sunday afternoon. We aimed to collect systematic observations of the ways people make themselves available for verbal interaction in public spaces in the neighborhood. After wandering through several blocks, we decided to split into two groups and make observations of two possible areas: the 2200 block of Lock Street and 2300 block of Smith Street. We selected the streets which had the most street decorations, and where we had noticed people around outside. Soohyun and Meredith observed Lock Street while Hilary, Meishan, and Amy observed Smith Street.

Lock Street, 2200 block between Ritner & Wolf

Soohyun and Meredith arrived on the block at 2:05 PM. After a general observation of the verbal interaction and behavior of the residents in public spaces on that block, Soohyun and Meredith found that the overall atmosphere of the street was 'friendly'. Lock Street, based on systematic observation, was predicted to be an ideal choice for studying its verbal interactions for the following reasons:

First, inhabitants on the street seemed to interact, judging from the observation that they greet each other in a friendly manner. For example, a middle-aged woman cheerfully said "hey you" to the girl in the neighborhood and the girl said "hey" back to her. When a delivery boy walked along the street, a man in his 40s talked to him, smiling. Such active interaction among neighbors may indicate that there is an established speech community sharing certain linguistic norms. This will enable us to reveal the systematic patterns of language in this speech community.

Second, inhabitants on the street are likely to have a favorable attitude towards us, judging from the observation that those we encountered on the street never had a hostile attitude towards us but were friendly to us. An old man living across where we were sitting did not take a protective attitude at all. Instead, he looked around the block with a smile on his face. Also, the man who tried to park where we were sitting was also being generous to us, saying "sorry." He might have been irritated by us, who seemed to be total strangers on the street, but he was being very friendly.

Smith Street

Smith Street, 09/19/10

Hilary, Meishan and Amy arrived at the street at about 2pm. The group sat down on the curb near the end of the block where Smith Street is crossed by Wolf Street. After a half-an-hour systematic observation of the verbal interaction of the residents in public spaces on this block, our overall impressions of the block were that there are a lot of young children, and perhaps, as a result of this people are a little more protective and less likely to welcome intrusion, judging from the observation that people paid attention to what we were doing on their block. For example, a young woman (who we later discovered has at least one young child) asked us from her window what we were doing taking photos. To this, Hilary replied that we were looking at the architecture, and asked whether this was okay (Hilary had her sketchbook out). The woman agreed that was fine, but she did not seem entirely satisfied.

On Smith Street, people didn't seem to make themselves available for interaction, only emerging from their households with a purpose.

The Sketches of Smith Street:

Smith Street Façade   Smith Street Façade (detail)

3.2   Interaction with our first contacts

In making our initial contacts, our group used the following set of questions (as directed in class):

First, sentences that we could use to identify ourselves and introduce our intention of the interview:

1) I wonder if you can help me out a minute.
2) My name is _____. I'm a student taking a course about different neighborhoods in Philadelphia.
3) Do you have a minute to talk a little bit about your neighborhood? We'd like to find out if this block is a good one for me and my group to study.

Second, questions to find out about the social life of the block and establish contacts (we planned to introduce the tape-recorder if the person started to speak at length).

1) Have you lived on this block for long? How long have you lived on this block?
2) Are there many people who have lived here for long? (Try to get their names)
3) Are there many young people living here, too? Do you know where they usually hang around?
4) Have there been new people moving in to the block.
5) By the way, this neighborhood seems to be really well kept up. Do a lot of people renovate their houses?
6) Do you think people in this neighborhood be friendly and help each other?
7) (If the answer to the previous question is positive) Wow, it sounds like this neighborhood is a place we were looking for. Would it be okay to come back and ask you

more question some time next week or something?

The following report details our experiences making our first contacts on the block. Hilary, Soohyun, and Meredith visited the block on Saturday October 2nd, and Saturday November 13. while Meishan and Amy visited on Sunday October 3rd, and Wednesday November 17th. We will report the four experiences in turn.

Saturday, October 2, 3pm

It was a beautiful fall afternoon, very warm and sunny. Soohyun and Meredith approached a middle-aged couple (who turned out to be brother and sister) near the middle of the street, who were looking at a gray car. Their names were "Sal" and "Nancy" and they had lived in the neighborhood their whole lives. We explained what we were doing while standing on the sidewalk on the west side of the street; they stood in the street, Sal behind the car and next to the sidewalk, Nancy facing us with the car in between us. They were willing to talk, but when we asked them whether they thought this would be a good block for us to study, their response was "No." They said the block is empty, that nobody hangs around outside, and that there are no families with kids. Sal asked us twice, "Wait, what kind of class is this that you're taking?" They said that if we wanted to learn about the neighborhood and community, we should go to the Rec. center around the corner [Guerin Rec. Center] because there are people there working on community development initiatives who could tell us everything we needed to know. They were discouraging of the idea that we might find people to talk to about these issues on the street. Nancy did hold forth for a minute about the different kinds of parties the block holds occasionally (8th grade graduation and little kids' birthdays). They did mention that the block of Lock St. just south of them was more lively, had more local people living on it, younger people, etc. They also suggested that we go to the flea market that was going on at the time at the Rec. center, pointing out that it was probably almost over and we could meet people who were interested in the neighborhood there. At this point we left the block. Meredith went to check out the flea market, which turned out to be over already. Meanwhile Hilary and Soohyun went to check out the next block down (further south on Lock St). They didn't find anyone else to approach, despite going several blocks south. The streets were just empty.

After Meredith left the flea market she chatted with the people at the candy store on the corner of Lock and Ritner, but they turned out not to live around there. Meredith also approached a man on the stairs of one of the houses and he agreed that this would be a good neighborhood to study ("Sure, why not?") before she found out he was also not from the block, just visiting a friend there. The three of us reunited and wandered around some of the surrounding streets together, and there just were no people hanging out on the residential blocks.

Sunday, October 3, 1:30pm

Amy and Meishan decided to go to Lock St. for their second contact on Sunday, because the weather was forecasted to be good. The neighborhood is predominantly Italian, and people usually go to church in the morning and come back at noon or in the afternoon. Therefore, we choose to go there on Sunday at 1:30, hoping to meet someone in the street.

After Amy and Meishan arrived at Lock street, we noticed there were not many people around. We walked along the street and saw many Halloween decorations on people's front

door. At around 2pm, we saw a tall slim man who was in his early 20s. Judging from his appearance, he might be of mixed race (African-American and Hispanic). At first, we decided not to talk with him since as Amy and Meishan thought that he was distant and indifferent looking, and did not make eye contact with us. However, after we walked to the end of the street and found no one, we began to walk back and decided to talk with the man, otherwise we would look a little bit suspicious if we passed twice. So we went back again and found that he was still there. Amy walked up to him and asked if he could he could help us. His reply, to paraphrase, was "Actually I'm not living here, I live in the street a few blocks down. And I'm waiting here for someone. [thinks for one or two seconds] Yes, from what I've seen, this is a decent neighborhood. I don't really know." Since the man didn't seem that ready to talk, we didn't talk with him that long and we moved on after saying thank you and bye.

We then went to the end of the 2200 block, and we noticed two women sitting on their stoop. We could only see them from behind, so it was not easy to judge whether or not they were ready for interaction. But we still walked up to them, and this time Meishan initiated the conversation by saying the same thing Amy said to the man. But the older lady said she didn't understand and asked Meishan to "run that by her again." This time, Amy explained once again. She didn't really seem to react to that, then Amy said again: "Do you think it's a decent community here or do you think people keep themselves to themselves?" And she replied: "People keep themselves to themselves." We got the impression from her behavior that she wasn't ready to talk. We thought she probably was having a private conversation with younger lady, who we guess might be her daughter.

After that Amy and Meishan continued to walk around the neighborhood. While we were on South 16th Street we came across an old lady. At the beginning, she thought she was in our way, so she moved aside, saying: "Oooops, sorry girls." From her high-pitch tone (friendly), we thought she might be open to talking to use. Therefore, we decided to ask for her help. As we approached to her, Amy asked: "Would you be able to help us?." Before we explained our intentions, she introduced herself and told us her name is Maud. Amy asked: "So do people look out for each other here?" and Maud said: "Yes, at least we do," pointing at herself. She seemed to be quite proud of her neighborhood. She began reciting poetry that she had written ten years ago. Amy asked her how she found the neighborhood, she said: "It's a good neighborhood. People work hard. Everyone cleans. Even I will sweep the street." Then she asked us where we were going, and we said we were going to the end of this street. So she went with us, linking arms with Meishan. Then she began to tell us about her husband. She said her husband was one year younger than her, and they were married for 61 years. She also mentioned their ages, 84 and 83. Then she said she was born in 1926, and her husband 1927. At that time, Amy asked about how they got to know each other. The old lady then said, "Because of my cousin." We saw a market, called "Melrose." She said most people go there for shopping, but she would not go there. Moreover, she pointed to the diner, and said that's where everyone goes to eat, but she doesn't, she cooks. Earlier she guessed our age. She asked Amy whether she is 15 or 16, and after Amy told her that she's 21, she seemed to be quite surprised. Then she turned to ask Meishan her age, saying: 19? When Meishan told her she is 23, she was smiling and said we looked much younger than our real age. Finally, Amy tried to introduce the idea of rescheduling a time for another talk next week, but she seemed to not be willing to schedule a time, saying, "Nah-ah-ah- ah-ah…" She told us she usually walks the same place every day and if we come here we might come across her. She also mentioned that everyone here knows her. The overall impression is

that she was quite happy to talk with us, but we will need to consider how promising she is as a contact given her reluctance to schedule an interview.

Saturday, November 13, afternoon

Meredith and Soohyun went to the flea market on Saturday afternoon and managed to interview some people there. We got there at about noon and approached some of the people selling their stock.

We first approached Jana and Britney and they agreed to talk with us (They were cousins). We talked with them for about 10 min. But we couldn't just go on because we didn't want to interrupt their sales. But they kindly introduced one of their relatives named Dorothy and we talked with her for about another 10 min. They were all friendly and the interview went well but we couldn't go further into the questions we intended to ask at the flea market. So most of questions just revolved around things about how long they have lived around here, how their folks get along and something about their family.

Then we walked further and tried to make some interaction with people, saying hi to them. But people weren't really friendly and they seemed to be quite preoccupied with what they were doing. So we decided to check out the playground. We sat on the bench and tried to find some people who weren't busy. But most of people there were children and their parents and parents seemed preoccupied with checking if their children are safe. So we thought we wouldn't be able to talk to someone there.

Therefore, we decided to check out the neighborhood and walked to the block. Unfortunately again, we saw nobody there except for three kids, who were very unfriendly to us. So we finally came back to the flea market again. And we could talk to another woman who talked to us about 10 minutes. However, when we checked the recording after we got home, we found that the interview with this woman was not recorded because the microphone had run out of battery.

Overall, it was good to talk to some of people both in the flea market and the nearby neighborhood, but we were not really satisfied with the interview because we were not able to get a chance to elicit any of those narratives that were talked about in the class.

October 25 and 26

Following a successful interview with Raymond, the group returned to the household on two occasions. On October 25th Amy and Meishan went to Raymond's house at 5:30 pm. We knocked at the door, and Raymond's brother who opened the door. He seemed to be a little reluctant to fully open the door, instead, he stood in between the door and the wall while talking with us. He told us that Ray was out playing football, and asked us whether we could come back the following evening to check, at 5:30pm. He seemed to be more protective than Ray, who was happy to talk with Meredith and Amy in the first interview.

The following day, Amy and Meishan went to Raymond's house at around 6pm. When we arrived there, Ray's sister was outside of the house. We said hello to her, and asked if it was convenient to interview Ray. She told us Ray was not at home. So we asked if we could interview her, but she turned us down and told us that she would not like to be interrupted anymore. We felt that she rejected us on behalf of her whole family, because when we asked

if we could interview her parents, she told us that her parents were not at home, and they also didn't want to be bothered. Therefore, we decided to develop some new contacts in the same neighborhood.

Amy and Meishan wandered along the Lock street, and met two women who were walking their dogs along the same side of Lock Street with us. Since they were walking behind us, we slowed down our walking, and turned back, stepped toward them and tried to initiate a friendly conversation with them. Fortunately, they were very nice and kind people. One of them invited us to her home and said that she would accept our interview at her home. Her house was just at the place where we met them. So after we arrived at her house, we explained to her that we were Penn students who were studying Philadelphia neighborhood, and wanted to ask her opinion about how people interact in South Philly neighborhood. The interview lasted for 50 minutes, and she also introduced her son's fiancée, Nicole, another interviewee who was working as a international program coordinator at Penn.

Before we left, Amy asked her if we could do one follow-up interview with her, she seemed to be accepting our request. However, when Amy tried to contact her in the following weeks, she obviously did not want to be bothered again. So we did not get the second chance to interview her, but rather tried to find Nicole as our next interviewee.

Discussion

We struggled to develop a network on the block without any prior contacts. Some residents were suspicious about our activities, or reluctant to participate. Our interviewees were generally unable to recommend other neighbors as potential interviewees. Some contacts who originally expressed a willingness to be interviewed (or re-interviewed) were unavailable for further interviews. It seems residents have busy lifestyles, people are generally more guarded and that the city block is less socially cohesive. These factors contributed to the group's limited success in developing a network using the traditional approach.

3.3 Census Tract Information

The following section includes information from the U.S. Census Bureau about our neighborhood.
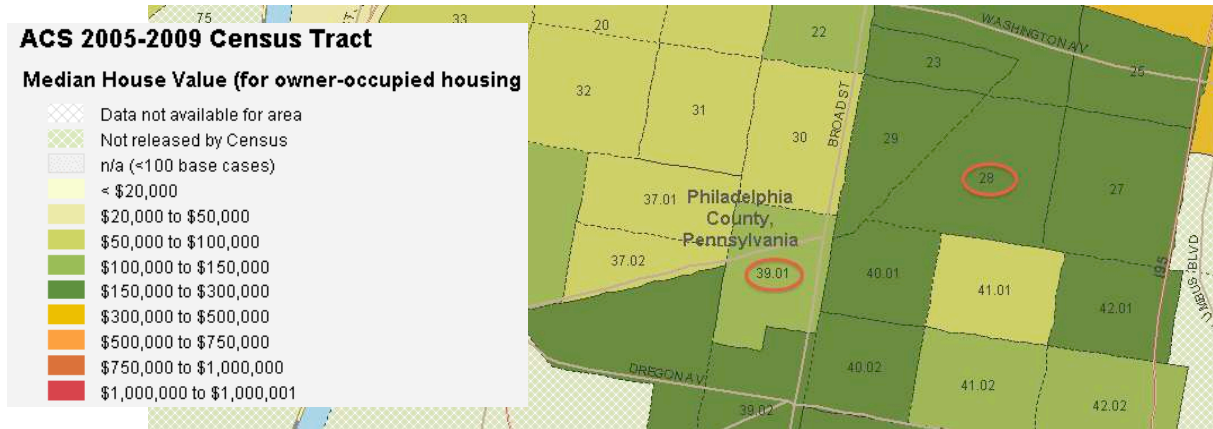

Figure 3.1: South Philly census tracts with median house value

Figure 3.1 above shows the location of the two neighborhoods where the majority of our interviewed speakers live (circled in red). Our original block is located in census tract 39.01, and the later connections we made off-block were from census tract 28. As figure 3.1 shows, our original block has a median house value of $100,000 - $150,000, while our additional interview site has slightly higher house values, of $150,000 - $300,000. Unfortunately there does not seem to be data available from the census on individual house values, so it will not be possible to make a comparison between specific residences on our block. This map does give us some idea of the position of our neighborhood relative to nearby areas of South Philadelphia, though. Below are similar maps showing some of our neighborhoods' education and occupation statistics.
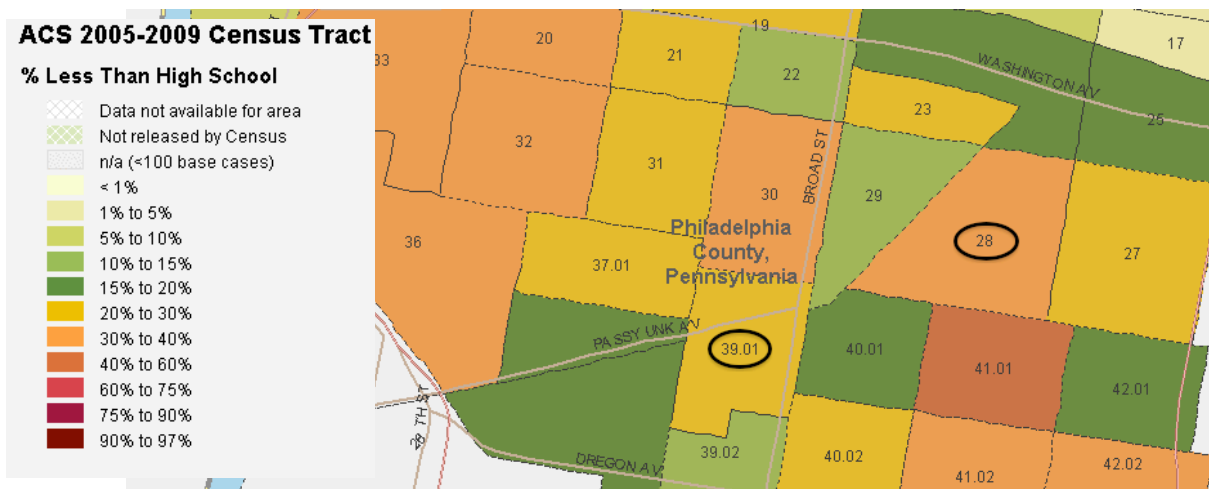

Figure 3.2: South Philly census tracts with % less than high school education

As figure 3.2 shows, our original block has 20% to 30% of people who have less than high school education, and our additional interview site has 30-40% of people who have less than high school education. This is a very interesting phenomenon, because people with higher education are considered to have higher social economic class than those with fewer education, and thus their house value is expected to be higher than those with fewer education. But in the case of our interview site in South Philly, the house value of the people who have more education is lower than that of the people who have less education.
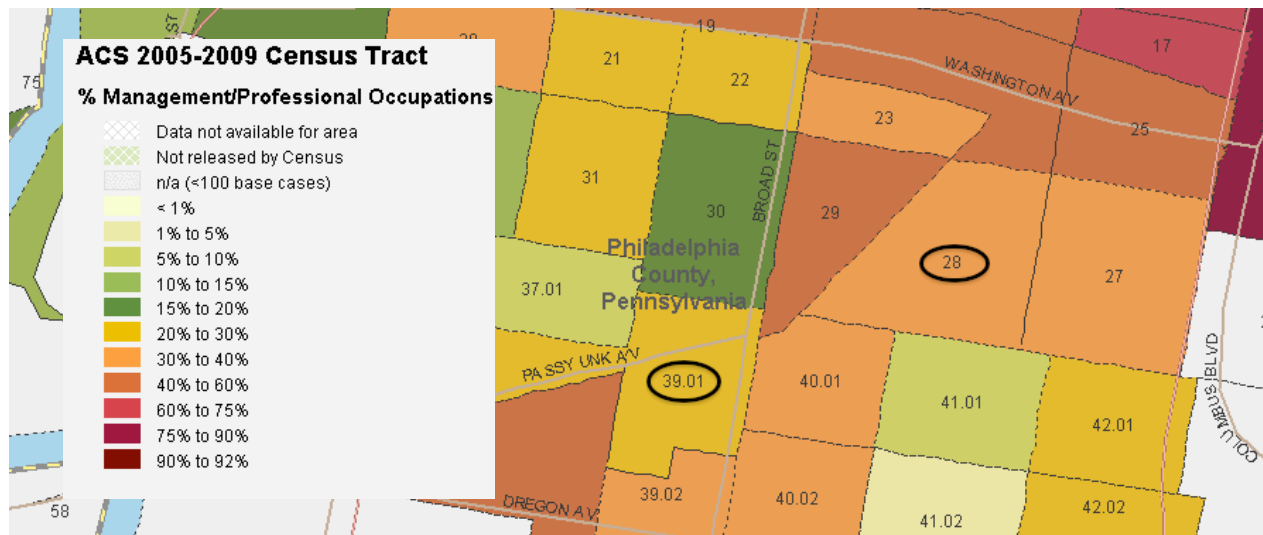

Figure 3.3: South Philly census tracts with % in professional occupations

As Figure 3.3 shows, in our original interview site, there are 20-30% people who have a management/professional occupation, while in our additional interview site, there are 30-40% of people who have a management/professional job. It is interesting that these tracts have both professionals and high-school dropouts represented substantially, indicating that the socioeconomic range in these areas is quite wide despite the impression of social homogeneity.

4. Shift in Focus

In the second semester we shifted our focus from the original block to developing other contacts from South Philadelphia Italian-American neighborhoods. We focused increasingly upon younger speakers, and the linguistic effects of upward mobility. We became interested in the effects of engagement in higher education, the educational institution attended, and the orientation towards the local community in language variation between individuals.

Our interview with Nicole, conducted at the end of November, prompted the group's shift in focus. Nicole was decidedly international in her outlook and less oriented toward the local community than our previous speakers (Patricia, Raymond and Barbara). Nevertheless, she described Italian-American family customs as being an important part of her culture and her fiancé is from a similar cultural background (Patricia's son). As such, she is engaged in both local and wider spheres. Her upward social mobility, and particularly her educational and professional experiences correlate with her orientation toward wider societal and cultural ideologies. We were interested in investigating whether the differences in her orientation, and the pressures of the linguistic marketplace of education and employment at an international University would be reflected in her speech patterns.

Michael is a contact of one of the group members (Amy) from other classes at Penn. Whereas Nicole appeared to be from a (lower) middle-class background, Michael A is from a large working class Italian-American family, and lives in a neighborhood close-by (about seven blocks west) to the one selected by our group for the project. As a student at the University of Pennsylvania, he is at the interface between working and middle classes, participating in both. As such, we considered him a promising contact for our new research focus. Michael said that he and his sister Michelle A would be willing to be interviewed. The siblings, like Nicole, are undergoing upward social trajectories through higher education, and are participating in both local and wider community linguistic marketplaces. We anticipated this would be reflected in their ideological orientation, and furthermore, their speech patterns.

Michael and Michelle A received the same education at local schools. Michael A is currently an undergraduate student at the University of Pennsylvania (studying Linguistics and Cognitive Science) and Michelle A is a Criminal Justice major at Drexel University. Michelle seemed to orient herself more to the local community than her brother. This difference in orientation is reflected in their choice of educational institution. The University of Pennsylvania is a very prestigious and affluent national and international university, whereas Drexel University is a regional university. At Penn the student body is composed of students from across the nation and overseas. In contrast, at Drexel University the students are predominantly local to Philadelphia. The siblings' participation in these distinct communities is likely to influence their ideological orientation. Michael and Michelle's differing orientations are not reducible solely to their college experiences. Growing up, this difference in orientation between siblings was observed. Michael's friendship group in high

school was made up of people from a range of cultural backgrounds from different neighborhoods, whereas Michelle's friends were mostly Italian-Americans from the same neighborhood. In his second interview Michael related how people describe Michelle's Philadelphia accent as stronger than his own. The contrast between Michelle and Michael highlights the important role of orientation that results in linguistic variation between individuals.

Successful interviews with Nicole R, Michael A and Michelle A combined with limited progress developing contacts on the block in the traditional manner led our group to make the decision to focus upon the role of socio-economic status, ideological orientation, and participation in various linguistic marketplaces in language variation. We continued to develop contacts through Michael and Michelle A.

4.1. Developing Contacts
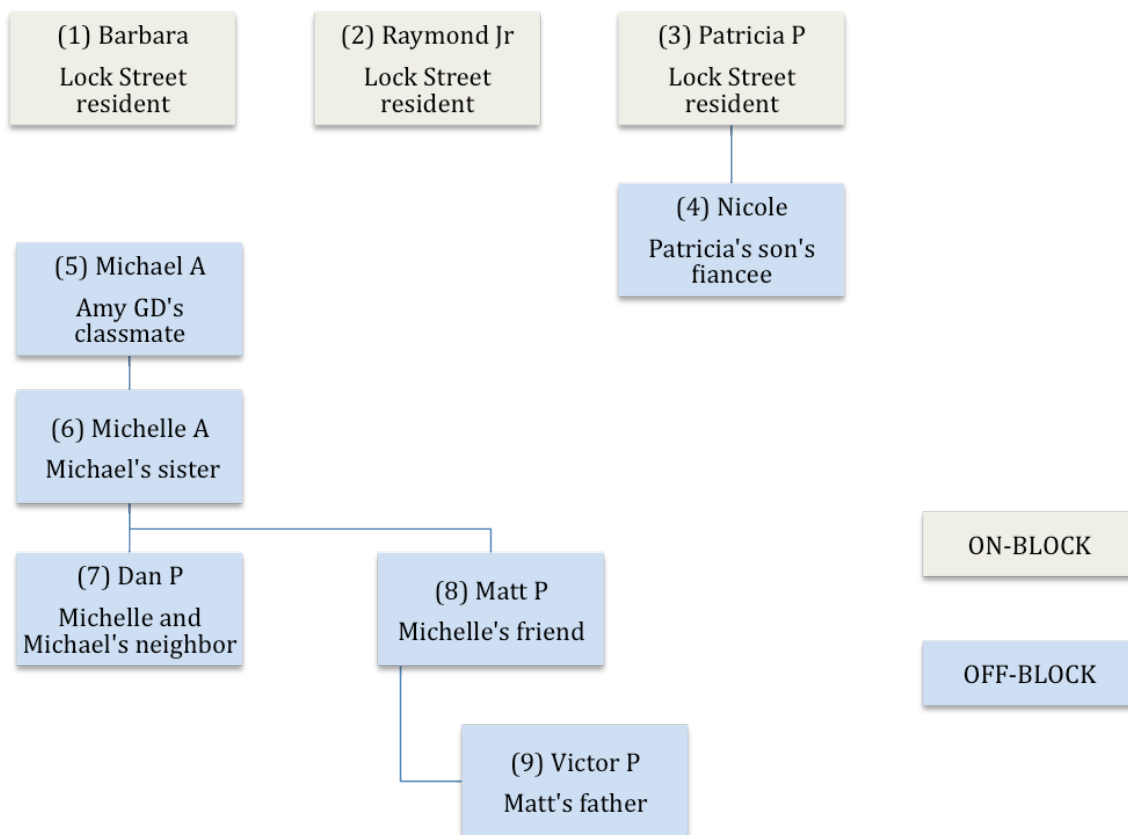
5. The Speakers

Interview Catalogue

Speaker	Interview File(s)	Date of first interview	Age	SEC	Pseudo-address
Barbara	PH10-1-1-Barbara	10/12/2010	42	8	2330 Lock Street
Raymond	PH10-1-2-Raymond	10/16/2010	19	I: 7, II: 10	2312 Lock Street
Patricia	PH10-1-3-Patricia	10/26/2010	65	7	2339 Lock Street
Nicole	PH10-1-4-Nicole	11/22/2010	30	12	17th & Lambert
Michael	PH10-1-5A-Michael, PH10-1-5B-Michael	2/4/2011	20	I: 8, II: 12	1806 South High Street
Michelle	PH10-1-6A-Michelle, PH10-1-6B-Michelle	2/4/2011	22	I: 8, II: 10	1806 South High Street
Dan	PH10-1-7-Dan	1/23/2011	46	9	1805 South High Street
Matt	PH10-1-9-Matt	2/27/2011	22	8	1816 South Sun Street
Victor	PH10-1-10-Victor	3/27/2011	54	9	1816 South Sun Street

5.1. Map
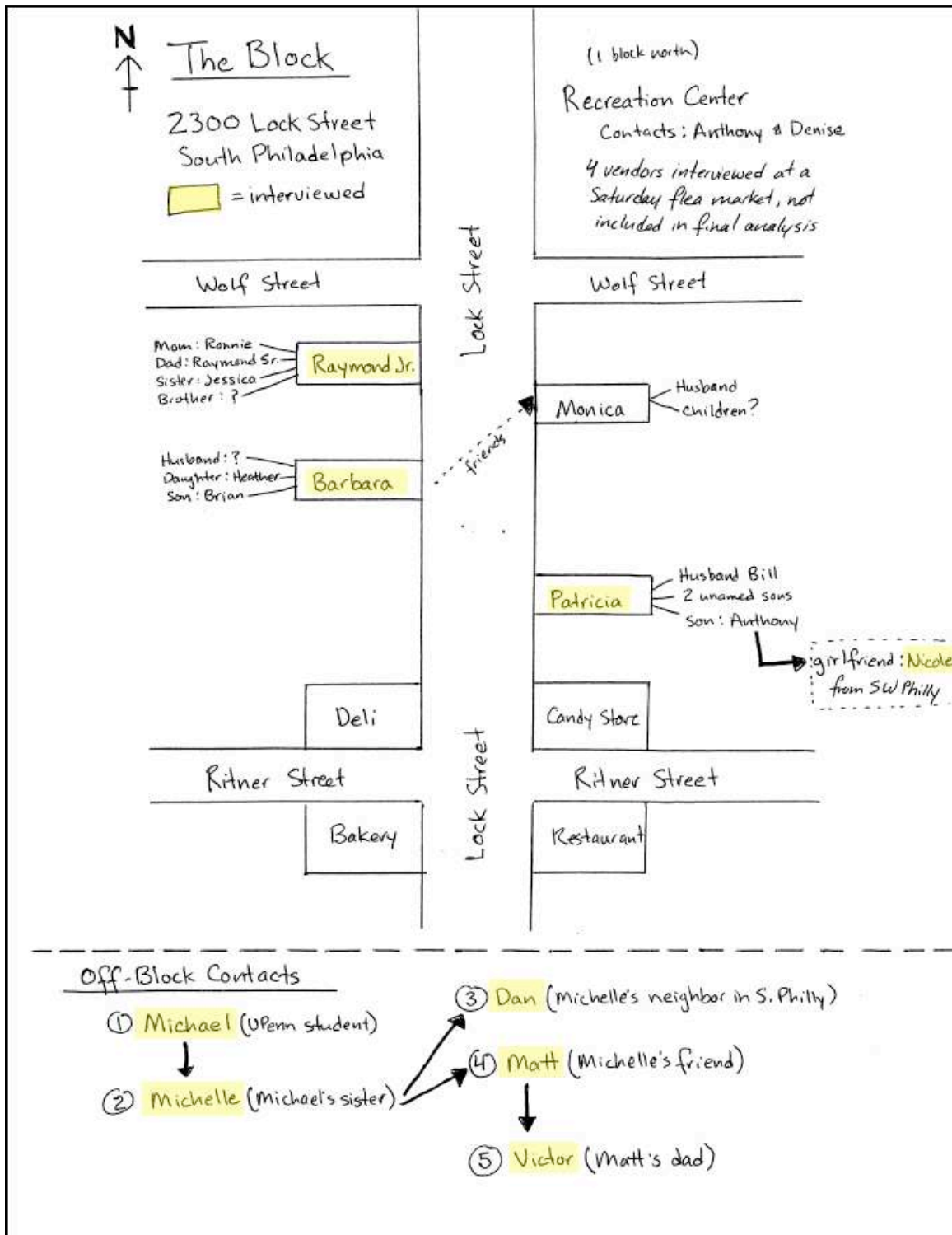
5.2. SEC Ratings

The SEC Ratings are calculated according to Principles of Linguistic Change Vol. 2 (Labov 2001: 61). Ratings are based solely on Education and Occupation because specific house values are not available. Scores are on a scale from 1-6 for each factor, for a maximum rating of 12 points.

For students Raymond, Michelle and Michael we give two SEC Ratings. The first (I), which is used in the analysis, is based on the socioeconomic status of their parents. The second, "Social Aspiration Index" (II) is a speculative rating based on their future aspirations.

Speaker	Interview File(s)	Education	Occupation	SEC Rating
Barbara	PH10-1-1-Barbara	Some college: 4	Secretary for Air Force: 4	8
Raymond	PH10-1-2-Raymond	Parents did not attend college (?): 3	F: construction, M: optometrist's assistant: 4	I: 7
		Plans to graduate college: 5	White-collar aspirations? 5	II: 10
Patricia	PH10-1-3-Patricia	High school graduate: 3	Assistant manager at local market: 4	7
Nicole	PH10-1-4-Nicole	Professional school: 6	Assistant director of graduate international program: 6	12
Michael	PH10-1-5A-Michael, PH10-1-5B-Michael	F: some college, M: no college: 4	F: unemployed, M: administration at local school: 4	I: 8
		Plans to attend graduate school: 6	Academic career aspirations: 6	II: 12
Michelle	PH10-1-6A-Michelle, PH10-1-6B-Michelle	F: some college, M: no college 4	F: unemployed, M: administration at local school: 4	I: 8
		Plans to graduate college: 5	White collar aspirations? 5	II: 10
Dan	PH10-1-7-Dan	College graduate: 5	(until recently) IT manager: 4	9

| Matt | PH10-1-9-Matt | Some college: 4 | Associate at Rite-aid: 4 | 8 |
| Victor | PH10-1-10-Victor | College graduate: 5 | Treasurer at S&L: 4 | 9 |

Based on our interviews we have also ranked our speakers in terms of their orientation toward the local community:

Speakers ranked by orientation toward the local neighborhood:

1. Patricia, Raymond, Dan   Most strongly oriented
2. Barbara, Victor, Matt
3. Michelle
4. Michael
5. Nicole   Least strongly oriented

5.3.   Speaker Profiles

In the following speaker profiles we introduce our speakers; their social characteristics, their social networks and the interview content. Speaker profiles are arranged chronologically by interview date.

1. Barbara
2. Raymond
3. Patricia
4. Nicole
5. Michael
6. Michelle
7. Dan
8. Matt
9. Victor

Barbara

Age: 42
Education: High school graduate, some college
Occupation: Secretary (US Air Force)
Social networks: Family living close-by, some involvement with local Catholic Church.

The group met Barbara on one of their first visits to the block. Barbara was out on her stoop and she expressed a willingness to be interviewed. Hilary and Soohyun went back to the block a few days later to conduct their interview. Barbara grew up in Southwest Philadelphia. She also lived in Northeast Philadelphia for some time after marrying her husband, before moving to the block. At the time of interview, she had been living in the neighborhood for about three years. She has a lot of family living close-by. Barbara works as a secretary for the Air Force (she has been working there 25 years), and her husband works night shifts for UPS. She has two young children, Brian and Heather. The main topic of conversation was her children and their education. She seemed to be moderately involved with the local community with lots of family members living close by, sometimes helping out with fundraising events at her Catholic Church.

Raymond

Age: 19
Education: High school graduate, attending community college
Occupation: Student
Social networks: Family living close-by, plays football at the local Recreation Center, friendship network within neighborhood

Meredith and Amy met Raymond's sister on the block one evening, who suggested that her family members might be available for interview during the day on a weekend. When we went back to their house the following Sunday, we were invited in by the father of the family. Raymond was watching TV in the living room. He agreed to be interviewed.

Raymond is half Irish-American (maternal side) and half Italian-American (paternal). At the time of interview he had just completed his first year of community college, where he was considering majoring in Communications. His father works in construction, and his mother works as an optometrist's assistant. He was very positive about South Philadelphia, offering such opinions as, "South Philly's awesome." His family network is within South Philly, and is very close: "My whole family everybody, like, it's close-knit family, everybody lives around here." Raymond didn't express a desire to leave South Philadelphia, and in contrast to Michael, for him even Center City seems distant: "You can even walk to Center City if you want here. You really can. I mean it'll be a little far, but…" The topics of conversation that generated the most interest were family, South Philadelphia weddings, games he played on the block as a child, and fights. Raymond was extremely oriented to the local neighborhood.

Patricia P

Age: 65
Education: High school graduate
Occupation: Assistant manager at local market
Social networks: Close family network (largely off-block)

We met Patricia as she was walking her dog on the block. We asked whether she would be willing to be interviewed and she immediately invited us into her home.

Patricia grew up in South Philadelphia, and although she had spent some time living elsewhere, she prefers life in the neighborhood, where she has been living for the past twenty years: "I like city living, I like the suburban lifestyle but I couldn't live that." After leaving high school Patricia worked various secretarial and accounting jobs. She was keen to talk about her family, saying that "we try to keep a close-knit family." Her children are college-educated, and have moved away from the block. Other topics of conversation that generated considerable interest were superstition and "The Maloiks," how she met her husband, and the benefits of living in South Philadelphia. Patricia was positive about multiculturalism, and made numerous generalizations about different nationalities. Her husband is Welsh, and she attributed various personality traits to his nationality: "He is Welsh, so, I didn't even realize, we have nothing in common! … He's got a lot of ways that … he's not dramatic and he's not emotional."

Upon hearing we were students at Penn, Patricia suggested we contacted her son's fiancée Nicole who, at the time, was working at the University. Patricia gave us Nicole's full name, and we were able to find her email address on a University website.

Nicole R

Age: 30
Education: BA and MA from Penn
Occupation: Associate Director of the International Graduate Programs, at Temple
Social networks: No longer lives in neighborhood but regularly has Sunday lunch at her parents' or partner's parents' home.

Nicole was raised in Southwest Philadelphia. At the time of interview she was living in the Rittenhouse section of Center City Philadelphia. She was educated at the University of Pennsylvania where she majored in Korean and French. Post-graduation she was employed for five years by the Center for East Asian Studies at Penn. During this time she completed a master's degree in Intercultural Communication at Penn's Graduate School of Education, where she was still working when we met her. Nicole is currently working for Temple University's Fox School of Business as the Associate Director of the International Graduate Programs Division.

As discussed in Section 4, Nicole was decidedly international in her outlook and less oriented toward the local community than our previous speakers. However, she still viewed her Italian-American cultural background as important, and her fiancé (Patricia's son) is from a similar background. She regularly visits her parents' or her fiancé's parent's home for Sunday lunches.

Michael A

Age: 20
Education: Current undergraduate at Penn
Occupation: Student
Social networks: Friends aren't from the neighborhood

Michael was a classmate of Amy's. He is an undergraduate student at Penn, where he is majoring in Linguistics and Cognitive Science. He hopes to study Computational Linguistics at graduate school. He lives in South Philadelphia, a few blocks northwest of Snyder station. His father is unemployed, and his mother works in an administrative role at a local school. Michael attended St. Nicholas of Tolentine elementary school and Neumann-Goretti high school.

In contrast to Raymond, who describes Center City as "a little far," Michael regularly walks to Chinatown and Center City. Unlike his sister Michelle, whose friends are from the local neighborhood, his friends from high school are mostly Vietnamese and Chinese, and do not live in South Philadelphia. As a child, he did not play on the block. Nevertheless, Michael has a positive attitude toward South Philly: "I'm not saying I would definitely stay in South Philly, but it's always good to know that I could!"

Michelle A

Age: 22
Education: Current undergraduate at Drexel
Occupation: Student
Social networks: Friends largely from local neighborhood

Michelle is Michael's sister. She also attended St. Nicholas of Tolentine elementary school and Neumann-Goretti high school.

Michelle and Michael differed in their friendship groups before attending university. Whereas Michael's friends are from different ethnic backgrounds, and don't live on the block, in talking about her friends Michelle said, "a good majority of them are still Italian," and Michael described Michelle's friends as "very South Philly." Whereas Michael often goes into Center City with her friends Michelle often plays ball games (e.g. 'Chink' or 'Sui') in the neighborhood with her friends, and they are often 'hanging around.' Despite her stronger orientation to the local neighborhood, she did express some desire to get away from the neighborhood at times, saying that "everybody knows everybody," and expressing a desire to "get away from that for a while." Michelle described the neighborhood as having changed in terms of different nationalities moving in: "Asians and Mexicans are big in my neighborhood." She said she hears a lot of Spanish on the block.

Dan P

Age: 46
Education: College-educated
Occupation: IT manager (currently unemployed)
Social networks: Family live locally, friends from the neighborhood, involved with local Catholic church

Michelle put us in contact with her neighbor Dan, who we contacted by email.

Dan came to Philadelphia from Italy when he was nine. Dan attended Pierce College, and after leaving college worked in computer repair. He received on-the-job training and became an IT manager. His wife is from the suburbs. In our interview he was keen to give a good impression of the neighborhood, and he assumed a 'soapbox' style for the majority of the interview, expounding upon topics like, "There's good culture in South Philly" He described the neighborhood as being safer than it used to be. He also described living in Philadelphia as being a good way to experience "Irish, German, Polish, Italian, Asian, Black culture." However, later in the interview he expressed some resentment about the way the neighborhood has changed: "I can't say 9th street is Italian anymore … it's a shame," and "The neighborhood changed. More preppy people came to the neighborhood … people with their

bikes, they ride the bike and dress weird. And they don't like South Philly people […] this is our neighborhood remember!"

Dan was happy to discuss growing up on the street and playing games with the other children. Dan has family in the local neighborhood, attends the local Catholic church and sings in the choir.

Matt P

Age: 22
Education: High-school graduate, one year college
Occupation: Associate at Rite-Aid
Social networks: Close network of family and friends within local neighborhood

Michelle also introduced the group to her friend Matt. We arranged an interview via Facebook. Michelle, and another friend, Melissa, arrived seven minutes into the interview (07:30). Following the interview Matt invited the interviewers to dinner with him and his friends.

Matt was very friendly and extremely positive about the neighborhood. "I love this place, honestly, if I don't have to, I'm not leaving." Matt describes the neighborhood in a positive light, "It's a great neighborhood, everyone knows everyone," but later in the interview concedes that technology has changed the way people interact in the neighborhood, and in general. "That's one thing I don't like about our generation, it's that technology separates this … [gestures to friends sitting around together talking] actual physical interaction." Matt's family lives on the neighborhood, and he describes his father's side of the family as tight-knit.

Matt's father works as a treasurer for a savings and loan company, and his mother works as a secretary at Jefferson hospital. Matt attended St. Nicholas of Tolentine elementary school and the Roman Catholic High School for Boys. He attended Shippensburg University for one year before dropping out, where his major was secondary education. He has been working as an associate at Rite-Aid for about three years.

Topics of particular interest included "The Maloiks," the benefits of living in the city neighborhoods as opposed to the suburbs, and games played on the block. Matt's girlfriend is from the suburbs: "She's got very few friends [whereas he has many] … Where's she's at, it's a suburb thing I think, your nearest neighbor is half an acre away."

Victor P

Age: 54
Education: College-educated
Occupation: Treasurer at S&L
Social networks: Family and friends both within, and from outside the neighborhood.

Matt asked other members of his family whether they would be willing to be interviewed, and said that his father would be happy to participate. Matt was also present at the interview, but said very little.

Victor was raised in South Philadelphia. He started working at a Savings and Loan company during high school, and continued to work for them throughout college. He is currently treasurer. Victor was keen to discuss his experiences growing up in the neighborhood, and how things have changed. "The neighbors all used to look out for each other," he said, whereas now "people are more looking out for themselves than before." Victor was quite dismissive of superstition: "The Maloik? The Evil Eye? I don't buy into that." His Catholicism is very important to him. He often goes to Jersey (where he has some family). Although he described the diminishing social interaction on the block, Victor seemed to know some of his neighbors very well. One neighbor even stopped by during the interview.

5.4 Narratives

1) Barbara: "Cut her foot open"
2) Raymond: "First fight"
3) Patricia: "Meeting her husband"

PH10-1-1 Barbara   Ivr: Hilary Prichard

Cut her foot open

36:31: Even though they're pain in the asses, I can say I love 'em very very much. Just like-
     ORIENTATION
a   Just like last year, how upset I was that
b   she followed him, played follow the leader, jumpin' around-
c   and show 'em your foot, sweetie!
     [Narrative interrupted by a cockroach at this point. 13 seconds pass before
     narrative resumes.]
     COMPLICATING ACTION
d   But, she ended up - he ended up jumping from the nightstand,
e   when we were in - when we were all in my room - [also part of the orientation?]
f   the nightstand, to one of the ah, mattresses.
g   Sh- he did it fine.
h   She tried to do it?
i   The part of the bed where the metal is, the very end of the bed? She ended up
      stepping on that,
j   and cutting her foot open. **[most reportable event]**
k   She ended up with five stitches in her foot.
     EVALUATION / RESOLUTION
l   So, I was ready to scream.
     (Is she ok now?)
m   Yeah, yeah. Heather! Again. Show 'em your foot. Right there.
     [36 seconds intervene while we admire Heather's scar]
     CODA
n   But that's the one thing we have to watch, that they like to do follow the leader.
o   And they - like her especially - end up getting hurt.
p   So we tell her, we tell her not to - we tell her not to follow him sometimes.

Linguistic devices used for evaluation: Barbara notes how she felt at the end of this series of events - "I was ready to scream" - interjecting her evaluation of the situation.

PH10-1-2-Raymond   Ivr: Meredith Tamminga

First fight

967: We would go in the schoolyard and play, that was a lot, uh lot of fun, we played there. A lot of arguments would start.

ORIENTATION
a   That's when I got in my first fight.
b   A kid in sixth grade,
c   There's this kid, like, loud mouth, always talkin' stuff about my friends.
         COMPLICATING ACTION
d   One time I just got fed up with it
e   And he was like, sayin' some stuff,
f   Like, a big thing was like, "Oh, your mom," or something like dumb like that.
g   Like something so simple like that where, I wouldn't even get mad, uh, today, but, um—
h   Yeah, like we fought, or whatever.
i   And I remember I won. **[most reportable event]**
         EVALUATION
j   And like everybody like, it was like all the sixth graders and up, and all my friends,
k   And like they couldn't believe it.
l   I like felt cool about myself.
m   I was like, "Yeah!"
         RESOLUTION
n   The kid, like, he went in school with a black eye.
o   Like I was like, "All right."
p   We shook hands right after, I mean—
         CODA
q   But yeah, there's always like little fights and stuff, you get into.

There are two devices used for evaluation here. First, there is a culturally defined evaluation in *k* where Tom appeals to the judgment of a third person (or rather, people): the onlookers were surprised by his victory ("they couldn't believe it") because of its unlikeliness. Second, we see semantically defined evaluation both in *l* where Tom states directly how he felt and in *m* when he states what he said to himself (congratulating himself on his victory).

The antagonist in this narrative is the sixth grader who Tom fights. He is polarized as a participant by being described in negative terms as a "loudmouth" in *c* and his comments being described dismissively as "dumb" and "simple" in *f* and *g*.

The historical present does not occur in this narrative. The only verb of quotation used is *be like*.

PH10-1-2-Patricia   Ivr: Amy Goodwin Davies
Meeting her husband

1	Meishan:	Actually, I was wondering, how did you and your husband meet each other?

2   ORIENTATION:

3   Pamela: We were in bar, and, I, I, wasn't attracted to him, he was very small, not small, he
4   was very thin. I was a, I'm not as heavy as I am now, but I was a big girl and I was
5   built nice but I wasn't … He was very short and very thin, short, thin and…

6   COMPLICATING ACTION:

7   he said "wouldya like to dance?"**[reportable event$_1$]** and I said "No! Oourgh!"
8   (Laughter) And he said, cause I was looking at this big handsome guy you know, I
9   said "No!" he said "Why not?" I said "No.. I don't know, I don't wanna dance" so he
10   said "Come on!" and I said "No!" so he said "please!" and I said "Well, alright"and
11   then I thought; "Oh, he's a little persistent," he was very persistent and he said "I
12   like, cause the way you were staying," cause I was staying in the corner, standing in
13   the corner, I dunno why he said "I liked the way you were standing in the corner and
14   I saw your hair," 'cause I had really long black hair, dyed hair, and that's, that was it.

15 Meishan: That's quite romantic. (laughter)
16 Pamela: You think?
17 Amy: And when did you realise that you…

18 EVALUATION:

19 Pamela: That very night. Does that make sense? We were girlfriends in the car, I still
20   remember this, we're coming home from the bar, me and my two girlfriends, and, as
21   we're coming home I said "I'm, I'm gonna come here tomorrow night and then I'm
22   gonna stay with him the rest of my life…" and they said "What!?" and I said "I just
23   know that," something, I just know it and um, "Yeah, right, sure just you yeah you"
24   and I said "I swear to god! I know that's going to be my, not my husband! I just know
25   I'm going to spend the rest of my life with him"**[reportable event$_2$]**

26 RESOLUTION:

27   That's not romantic, that's just, I had that funny feeling. Very strange. Yeah, I like, I
28   was very comfortable with him. I felt like he was a good person, very good, he had a
29   very good way about him.

30 Meishan: Actually I have a lot of friends, they have a long-term relationship, with their partner
31   … and they told me that when they met they them they know … (too quiet on tape)
32 Pamela: Yeah,
33 Meishan: Because I haven't… (Laughter)

34 CODA:

35 Pamela: You will, you'll know. And if not, maybe some people don't, but I think you have…
36   You put your head on the pillow at night and say can I look at that person for the
37   rest of my life when I wake up in the morning? Do I feel like I could face that for the
38   rest of my life and if you, you'll say "nah I don't want to do that," but you'll, you'll
39   know. Someone that wants you for what you are the way you are. With make-up
40   without make-up, clothed, dressed, dirty, whatever you are if they… I have been in
41   such bad situations where any other man would have walked out. I have, the things

42   that I have done to him, I have, I'm telling you, any man would have walked away.
43   And I knew that from the night that I met him that he was gonna be a good man and
44   put up with all things that were terrible, really, that he had to put up with, yes.
45   [Silence]
46   Amy: So, how about finally making the decision to run away together…

- **Linguistic devices used for evaluation:**
  - In the **Complicating Action** lots of direct speech is quoted. This serves to make the action more dramatic and more real for the audience; encouraging them to evaluate the narrative as both **reportable** and **credible**.
  - The speaker uses repetition (lines 7-8, 23, "you'll know" in the CODA). The repetitions are assertions, presenting the speaker as confident about the narrative and encouraging the audience to evaluate the narrative as **credible.**
  - The polarization of participants in the action and the integration of the audience are both used for evaluation:
    - **Devices for (1) polarization (stressing differences) or (2) integration (stressing similarities) of the participants in the action:**
      - (1) The **polarization** of her girlfriends amplifies the point of the narrative, and as such is also a device used for evaluation. She describes the incredulous reaction of girlfriends: "What!?" (line 20) "Yeah, right, sure just you yeah you." (line 20-21) and her response: "I swear to god! I know that's going to be my, not my husband! I just know I'm going to spend the rest of my life with him." (line 21-22). That she met her husband in a bar is not very interesting in itself. The assertion that she knew she would spend the rest of her life with him after this first meeting appears to be the **point** of the narrative. The polarization device encourages the audience to evaluate the event as **reportable**. (The reported conversation between the speaker and her friends also results in validation, as witnesses are brought into the narrative. This encourages the audience to evaluate the narrative as more **credible.**)
      - (2) Whilst the participants do not appear to be integrated into the action, the audience is. On line 16 the speaker seeks the audience's agreement: "Does that make sense?" The speaker uses the affirmatives "yeah" (lines 24 and 30) and "yes" (line 42) to signal she's engaging with the audience and receiving positive feedback. In the coda she addresses the audience directly (lines 32-37) "You will, you'll know" … "You put your head on the pillow at night and say can I look at that person for the rest of my life when I wake up in the morning?." This **integration** encourages the audience to evaluate the narrative as relevant, and as such, **reportable.**
    - **Use of the historical present:** One instance: "we're coming home from the bar" (line 17). Makes event seem more immediate (and real, thus evaluated as more **credible**).
    - **Verbs of quotation:** consistent used of "said" as verb of quotation

6   Consonantal Analysis: Stable Variables (dh) and (ing)

This chapter explores how the use of variants of two consonantal variables, (dh) and (ing), are influenced by social factors as well as linguistic constraints in the speech of our speakers. Consonantal variables, (dh) and (ing), have been shown to demonstrate stable variation across regions and across time (Labov 1972a; Wagner 2008). With regard to these stable variables, one variant is considered standard while the other non-standard. The sociolinguistic patterns displayed by (dh) and (ing) are remarkably consistent. They are strongly affected by socioeconomic class, moderately by age, and weakly by gender. Lower class, younger, and male speakers use more of the stigmatized features than higher class, older, and female speakers. We are going to examine if these patterns are replicated in the current data.

6.1. (dh)

6.1.1. Analyzing the (dh) variable

The first variable to be examined is (dh). The (dh) variable investigated here is restricted to variation in word-initial position only. The principal variants of (dh) are a voiced interdental fricative /ð/ and a voiced alveolar or dental stop /d/. Using the HandCoder Praat script by Josef Fruehwald, all the (dh) tokens were coded along with five constraints 1) sex (male & female speakers), 2) age (older speakers above 40 & Younger speakers below 39, 3) Social Aspirational Index (Low Middle Class whose SEC rating falls under the range of 7-9 & Middle Middle Class whose SEC rating falls under the range of 10-15 and 4) style (casual & careful speech) and 5) grammatical status of the word (Progressive, participle, gerund, adjective, noun). All the data of (dh) in this section is displayed with the (dh) index. The calculation of the (dh) index is based on the sum of coding values: 0 for the fricatives and 2 for the stops, which are then averaged and multiplied by 100. The lower the index score, the more standard the speaker's pronunciation of (dh).

6.1.2. Distributional analysis of the Stop Variant of (dh)

Overall distribution

Out of 410 tokens, 76 (18.5%) were articulated as a stop /d/. If we look at the inter-speaker differences displayed in Figure 6.1, we can see two speakers, Raymond and Dan, never or barely use the stop variant. They are the categorical or near-categorical users of the fricative variant. The rate of use of the fricative variant by these two speakers is 98% and 94%, respectively. Given that adding the data of these categorical speakers could obscure the variation pattern of (dh) of our speakers, the data from Raymond and Dan are excluded from the analysis of (dh) in this section.
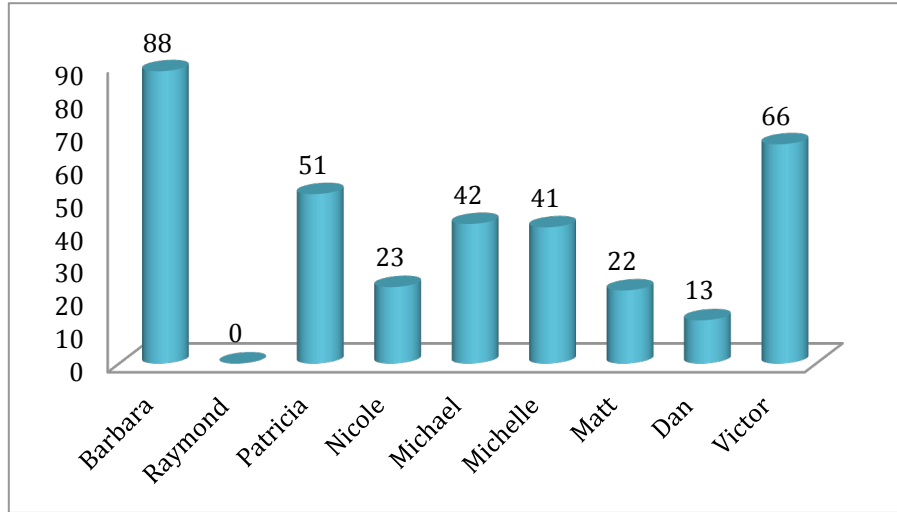
Figure 6.1. The (dh) index of nine speakers

Distribution by Sex and Age

Figure 6.2 shows the (dh) patterns by sex and age. Contrary to the previous findings that male speakers are more likely to use the non-standard variant, in this case the stop variant, than female speakers, there is no significant difference between male and female speakers. Except for Victor's, the (dh) index of all of our male speakers is below 50. To compare it with the previous findings, Labov (2001) shows that 61% of the female speakers have index value of 40 or lower; while the same percentage of men have index values of 41 or higher. Difference by age is not significant either. Contrary to the previous findings that older speakers are more likely to use standard fricative variant and younger speakers will use a stigmatized stop variant more than older speaker (Labov, 2001), older speakers use the stop variant more frequently than younger speakers in the current data. The (dh) pattern shown in the current data appears to behave differently from the previous findings.
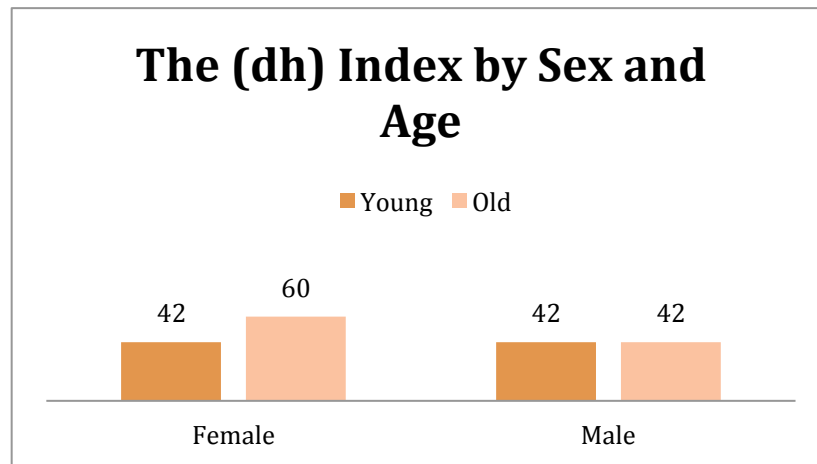
Figure 6.2. The (dh) pattern by sex and age

***Distribution by SEC* and style**

The (dh) variable is known to display a gap between working class and middle class informants. Since there is no working class speaker among our speakers, we were not able to capture the divide between working and middle class speakers. Still, the (dh) pattern by SEC and Style in Figure 6.3 shows the consistent pattern that low middle class (LMC) speakers are more likely to use the stop variant compared to their middle middle class (MMC) counterparts. As for stylistic difference, however, the expected results were not obtained. The use of the non-standard variants of (dh) decreases as the formality of the setting increases, from casual to careful style (Labov, 2006). Our speakers in both LMC and MMC slightly increase the use of stop variant in the careful speech. This difference, however, proves statistically not significant.
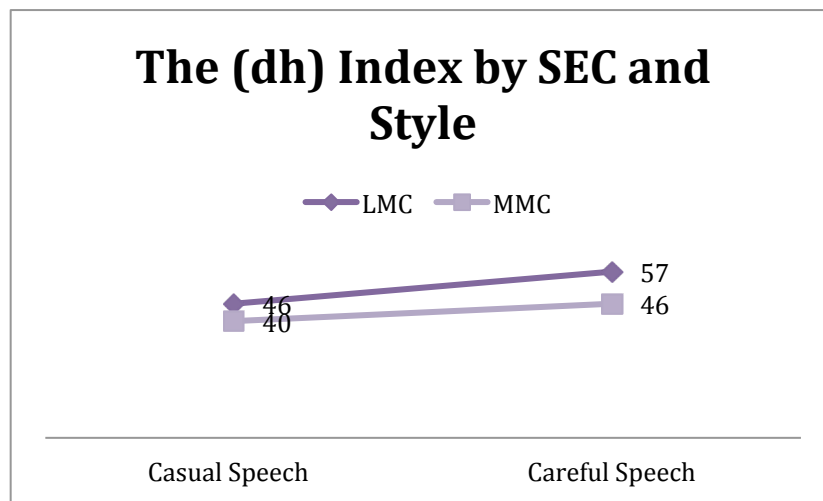
Figure 6.3. The (dh) Index by social class and style

6.2.2. Multivariate analysis of (dh)

For a more accurate account of sociolinguistic structure and multifaceted effects simultaneously affecting the use of the variants of (dh), we conducted a multivariate analysis on the contribution of each factor to the use of the stop variant of (dh), using GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff, 1990). A binomial one step analysis and a binomial step-up/step down analysis were conducted on all of the data. The results are shown in Figure 6.4.

The results of multivariate analyses show that none of the social factors were selected as significant on the use of (dh) by our speakers. This was more or less unexpected but there could be a few possible explanations for this.

Stop variant of (dh)	%	Factor Weight	N
Corrected Mean	.23		
Sex			
Male	21.0	[.50][1]	138
Female	24.7	[.50]	174
Age			
Old	25.2	[.50]	155
Young	21.0	[.50]	157
SEC			
Low Middle Class (LMC)	25.2	[.50]	155
Middle Middle Class (MMC)	21.0	[.50]	157
Style			
Careful Speech	24.1	[.56]	191
Casual Speech	22.9	[.41]	109

Figure 6.4. Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of use of the stop variant of (dh)

6.2. (ing)

6.2.1. Analyzing the (ing) variable

This section explores how unstressed (ing) varies according to the social and grammatical constraints. The main variants of unstressed (ing) are apical /in/ and velar /iŋ/. Using HandCoder, all the (ing) tokens were coded along with social factors 1) age, 2) sex, 3) SEC as well as 4) style and 5) grammatical status of the word. Two lexical items *everything* and *anything* are excluded from the analysis since these two words invariably show velar articulation in Philadelphia (Labov, 2001). All the data of (ing) is displayed with the (ing) index. Apical articulation is assigned 1 and velar 0 so that the (ing) index is the percent apical articulation.

6.2.2. Distributional analysis

Overall distribution
Of the 350 unstressed (ing), 101 were articulated as an apical /in/ while 249 as velar /iŋ/. The overall rate of apical articulation was 28.9%. Figure 6.5 shows the (ing) index of all 9 speakers. From this, we notice that Nicole and Michael are near-categorical users of the velar variant. This accords well with the fact that (ing) is a stable sociolinguistic variable which is subject to correction. Nicole and Michael rank the highest on our SAI, and thus are more likely to correct

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[1] Brackets indicate statistical non-significance.

towards (ing). As we will see in the vowel analysis below, this pattern is not limited to this consonantal variable; Nicole and Michael also show correction in socially marked vowel variables. For the same reason as Raymond and Dan were excluded from the (dh) analysis, the data from Nicole and Michael are excluded from the (ing) analysis.
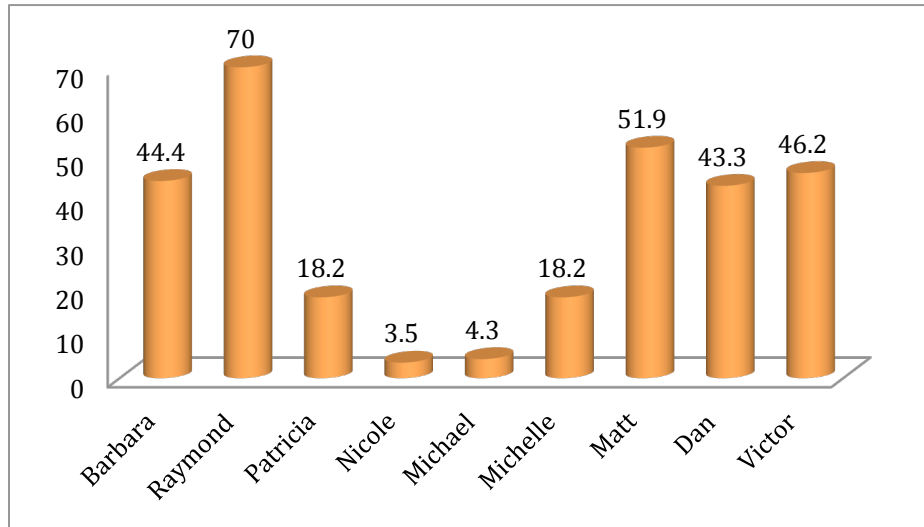
Figure 6.5. The (ing) index (percent /in/) of 9 speakers

Distribution by Grammatical status

Grammatical status of unstressed (ing) has been one of the strongest constraints on the apical realization of (ing). The /in/ form consistently shows higher frequencies for the progressive and participles with verbal characteristics of assigning theta-roles, while it shows lower frequencies for adjectives, gerunds and nouns. Similar patterns are replicated in this study. Figure 6.6 shows the grammatical conditioning of (ing) for our speakers. The highest /in/ value of 45% is shown for the participles and the next highest /in/ value of 39% progressive. Verbal constructions indeed were the favorable environment for the /in/ articulation. There is a significant drop for the next categories of nouns, gerunds and adjectives to 29%, 15% and 8%, respectively.
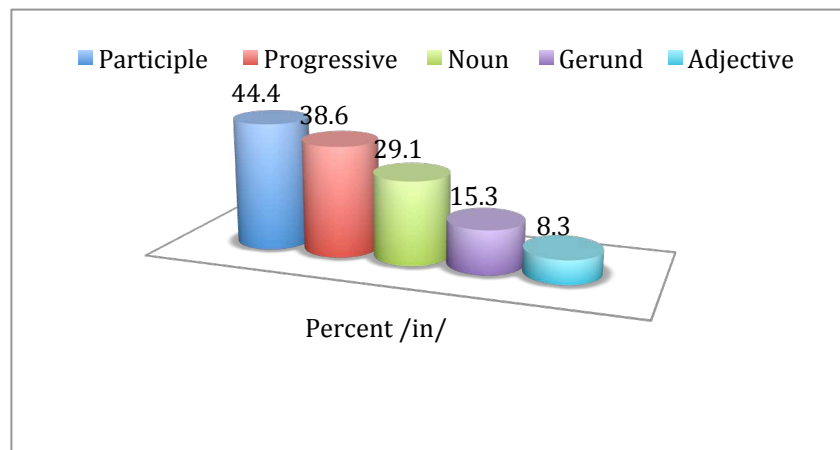
Figure 6.6. Grammatical conditioning of (ing)

This ranking might look a bit puzzling because nouns are situated in the middle.[2] Note, however, that if *something*, which occurs robustly in the data and is realized as an apical /in/ at a much higher rate than other nouns, is excluded from the category of noun, the ranking is immediately reordered and the nouns become the second least favorable environment for apical realization.
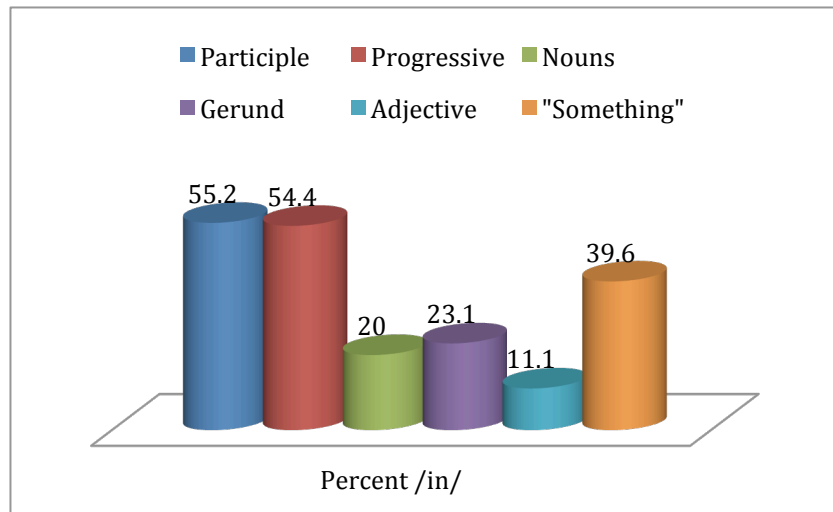
Figure 6.7. Grammatical conditioning of (ing) for 9 speakers

This reordered ranking shows the consistent pattern with the previous findings in which verbal constructions such as participle and progressive favor the apical /in/ variant while nominal or adjectival constructions disfavor it.

Distribution by Age and Sex

It has been reported that older speakers are more likely to use standard /iŋ/ than younger speakers (Labov, 2001). This pattern is not replicated in the current data. The percent of /in/ by older speakers, 48.1%, is rather higher than that by younger speakers, 43.3%. This difference, however, proves statistically insignificant in the multivariate analysis which will be discussed in section 6.2.3. The previous pattern of gender difference, on the other hand, is replicated in the current data. Figure 6.8 shows that in both age groups (younger cohort and older cohort), male speakers are more likely to use the apical variant /in/ than female speakers. This pattern is consistent with the well-known sociolinguistic belief that women use more of the standard variant than men.

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[2] Nouns are usually known to be the least favorable environment for apical realization of (ing).
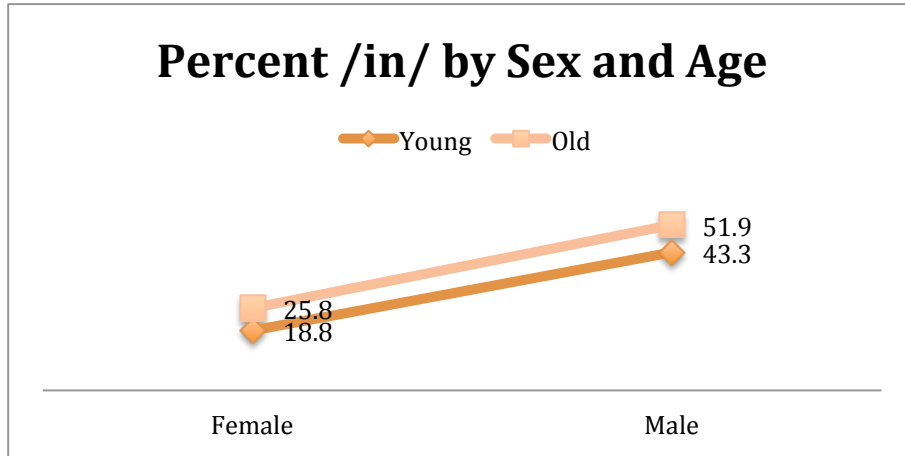
Figure 6.8. Percent /in/ by age and sex

Distribution by SEC and Style

It has been revealed that the variable (ing) shows fine social class stratification: speakers in the lower social class tend to use the apical variant more frequently (Labov, 2001). Stylistic difference revealed so far is that /in/ functions as the colloquial symbol of informal speech while /iŋ/ in as the formal symbol of careful speech. The pattern found in the current data, however, is not easy to interpret because for lower middle class speakers, the (ing) index rather increases as the formality increases. In cases of middle middle class speakers, on the other hand, behaves as predicted: they reduce the percent /in/ as the formality increases.
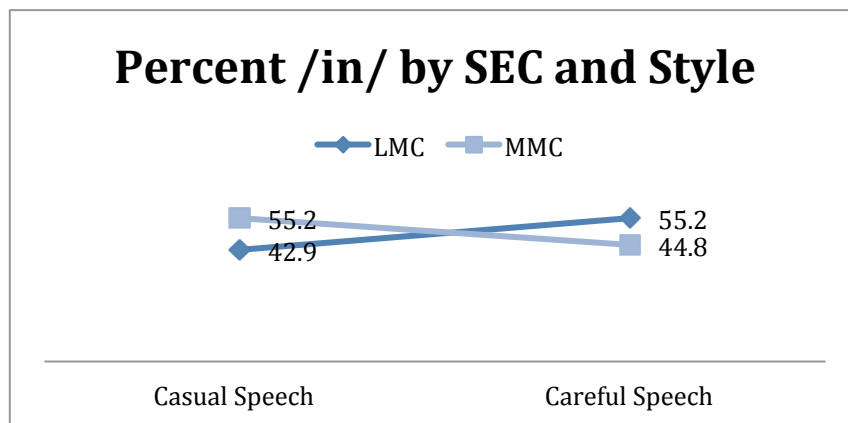
Figure 6.9. Percent /in/ by SEC and style

6.2.2. Multivariate analysis

For a more accurate account of multifaceted effect on the use of variants of (ing), we conducted a multivariate analysis on the contribution of each factor to use of the apical variant of (ing), using GoldVarb (Rand & Sankoff, 1990). A binomial one step analysis and a binomial step-up/step down analysis were conducted on all of the data. The results are shown in Figure 6.10.

Apical variant (/in/) of (ing)	%	Factor Weight	N
Corrected Mean	.38		
Grammatical Status			
Progressive	39	.69	100
Participle	45	.75	36
Gerund	15	.30	98
Adjective	8	.16	13
Noun	17	.30	30
Range		59	
Sex			
Male	40	[.53][3]	169
Female	18	[.47]	183
Age			
Old	35	[.54]	147
Young	25	[.47]	205
SEC			
Low Middle Class (LMC)	36	[.52]	177
Middle Middle Class (MMC)	21	[.48]	17
Style			
Careful Speech	32	[.50]	159
Casual Speech	25	[.51]	168

Figure 6.10. Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of use of stop variant of (dh)

The results of the multivariate analyses reveal that only the internal factor, grammatical status, has a statistically significant conditioning effect on (ing) production. Verbal constructions such as the participle and progressive have much greater factor weights than gerund, nouns and adjectives. The range for grammatical status is 59.

6.3. Summary and Discussion

Through the distributional and multivariate analyses, we have seen that some of the patterns found in previous studies are replicated in the current data but some are not.

In the distributional analysis of (dh), we found that the stop variant of (dh) is related to the social class of speakers. The speakers of lower social class in our data are more like to use the stop variant compared to those of the higher social class. Except for the social class constraint, the variation between the stop variant and fricative one showed different patterns from the findings of previous

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[3] Brackets indicate statistical non-significance.

studies (Labov, 2001). In the multivariate analyses, it was demonstrated that none of the social factors of (dh) have statistically significant effects.

In the distributional analyses of (ing), the constraints of grammatical status and sex had patterns consistent with previous findings. Verbal constructions (progressive and participles) are favorable environments for the apical variant while nominal and adjectival constructions prove least favorable. Regarding gender differences, male speakers are more likely to use the apical variant than the female speakers in our data. As for the constraints of age, SEC and style, however, there were patterns opposite to those from previous studies or little to none difference. The multivariate analyses of (ing) revealed that the internal factor, grammatical status, had the strong effects with a range of 59. However, none of the social constraints prove statistically significant.

Since the multivariate analyses have revealed that there is no significant social conditioning on either (dh) or (ing), it seems inappropriate to draw strong conclusion from the results of this chapter. But let us finish this chapter by introducing some interesting observations on the relationship between the variation of two consonant variables (dh) and (ing) and the social factors. The first interesting observation is that Barbara and Victor, who are in the lower social class among our speakers, behave quite similarly with regard to their use of the (dh) and (ing) variables. These two speakers are frequent users the non-standard variant of both (dh) and (ing) variable. Their (dh) index and (ing) index are higher than 40. Another one is that Nicole and Michael, who have a great deal of aspiration for upward mobility, have similar linguistic behavior with regard to (ing) variable. Their (ing) index value was lower than 10. Both were (near-)categorical users of the velar variant.

7　Vowel variables

While consonantal variables often provide an excellent picture of socially stratified variation within the speech community, many of the most recognizable characteristics of the Philadelphia dialect are vocalic. In this section, we undertake an investigation of four vowel variables in our sample. Two of these are traditional Philadelphia features: the split short-a system and the low-back distinction. Another is a change known to be currently progressing in Philadelphia: the raising of /ey/ in checked position. The final one is a change taking place on a national scale: the fronting of /uw/. We will relate our speakers' behavior with respect to these different types of variables to what we know about their social characteristics, including age, gender, and socioeconomic class.

The split short-a system

The first variable of interest is the split short-a system. In the notation we're using, the split is between lax /æ/ and tense /æh/. The short-a class descends from the Early Modern English phoneme /a:/ and in most American English dialects shows phonologically predictable tensing. The most common short-a system is the nasal system, wherein /æ/ is tensed before /m, n/. There is some amount of phonetic conditioning to this effect across almost all short-a systems, suggesting that the nasal system develops naturally and may constitute a default. In Philadelphia, however, the situation is more complex. Like its neighbor New York City, Philadelphia has a split short-a system, meaning that there are minimal pairs to establish a phonemic distinction between the tense and lax classes. For example, *tin can* has a tense /æh/ while *I can* has a lax /æ/. Despite the existence of such minimal pairs, the system is still largely phonologically predictable, with tense /æh/ being found before /m, n, f, θ, s/ (only in closed syllables). There is also complex morphological conditioning. Suffixes such as *-ing*, *-y*, and *-ish* can cause resyllabification such that the short-a phoneme in the words they are added to ends up in an open syllable but remains tense (if it already was) regardless. Similarly, resyllabification resulting from truncation of words does not cause tensing if the original word has lax /æ/.

We decided to investigate the current state of the short-a system after initial exploratory data analysis suggested that this feature was not represented as clearly in certain speakers' systems as we expected. This turned out to be an excellent proving ground for our ideas about upwards mobility and changing orientations towards South Philadelphia neighborhoods, as we will describe in this section.

The low-back distinction

The distinction, or lack thereof, between the low back vowels /o/ as in *cot* and /oh/ as in *caught* is one of the most fundamental divisions in American dialects. Philadelphia not only falls squarely in the set of dialects which have a robust distinction, but its /oh/ vowel has an extremely tense and immediately recognizable quality. There have not, to our knowledge, been any suggestions that the low-back merger is encroaching on Philadelphia. When we discovered some variability in the strength of the split short-a system, however, we thought it might be fruitful to investigate whether

such a move away from the locally-marked extreme phonetic differentiation would be found in other parts of the vowel system.

The raising of checked /ey/

The raising of checked /ey/, as in *made* or *plate*, has been reported as an innovation local to Philadelphia. We expect to find this change in progress in our data, with women in the lead. We chose to investigate it as an aspect of the Philadelphia dialect that is below the level of consciousness and thus might pattern differently than short-a and the low back distinction.

The fronting of /uw/

The fronting of /uw/, particularly after coronal consonants but not before /l/, has been observed across North America (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006). We have no reason to expect that it's associated with the Philadelphia dialect in particular, but every reason to suspect that our speakers will be participating in this change. Because it is a national-level change, we thought it would provide a good contrast with the highly localized /ey/-raising and perhaps reveal differences between speakers with stronger local or national orientations. On the other hand, such differences may not emerge in this comparison of /ey/ and /uw/ because both are changes from below, meaning speakers should not have a high enough level of conscious awareness to identify, even subconsciously, the local or nonlocal significance of these changes.

7.1 Vowel analysis methodology

We obtained the vowel measurements for this section by automated formant extraction, using a program called extractFormants (Evanini 2009). This Python script operates on the word- and phone-level aligned output from the FAAValign adaptation of the Penn Phonetics Lab Forced Aligner (Yuan and Liberman 2008). The first three formants of each vowel longer than 30 milliseconds were measured at a point one third of the way through the duration of the vowel (these are the extractFormants default settings, which we chose to adopt). The output of this process is a Plotnik token file, which allowed us to create vowel plots for each individual speaker. Before creating the vowel plots, though, we Lobanov-normalized each speaker's vowel measurements. Lobanov normalization involves conversion to a z-score that gets scaled back into Hertz so that it can be interpreted in familiar vowel space terms, and has been identified as the most effective normalization technique currently available (Fabricius, Watt and Johnson 2009). The normalizations for the vowel plots were done inside Plotnik, while the data for the statistical analyses were normalized and scaled with a Python script, using the same method as Plotnik. The statistical vowel analyses were done in the open-source statistics environment R as well as in Rbrul (Johnson 2009), a program for regression analyses that runs inside R.

7.2 Vowel systems: Descriptive comparison of individual speakers

7.2.1   The traditional Philadelphia pattern

Patricia and Barbara

Patricia and Barbara have nearly identical vowel systems, at least with respect to the vowel classes investigated here. What differences there are can be attributed to previously identified active changes in the Philadelphia dialect. It is also worth noting that we have more data from Patricia than from Barbara because we transcribed Patricia's entire interview (about 50 minutes of data compared to 15 minutes for Barbara).

Both Patricia and Barbara have a widely split short-a (/ae/ versus /aeh/) system and a clear distinction between /o/ and /oh/, two characteristic Philadelphia features. Notice that Barbara, the younger speaker, has more dramatic tensing of tense /aeh/ and /oh/, which might suggest that the tendency of these classes to become more peripheral is continuing in Philadelphia. However, it is also worth noting that Barbara seems to have quite peripheralized vowel system overall, which is reined in somewhat by normalization. We suspect this may be related to her uniquely emphatic way of speaking.

For both speakers the checked /ey/ class has a mean above the F1 midline of the system but the mean for free /ey/ is below the midline. However, we can also see that Barbara's checked /ey/ class is raised substantially higher than Patricia's, while their free /ey/ means appear to be the same. This is in accordance with the previous observation that checked /ey/ is currently raising and that this change in progress is independent of free /ey/.

It is less clear how to interpret the results for /uw/, as both women seem to have substantial amounts of /uw/ fronting despite the usual assumption that this is a fairly recent innovation in North American English. One possibly interesting observation is that the effect of a following /l/ seems to affect Patricia's /uw/ more categorically than Barbara's, while the preceding segment (coronal or non-coronal) affects Barbara's /uw/ more strongly. Barbara's post-coronal /uw/ class is extremely fronted, well forward of the F2 midline with a mean around 2100 Hz. Patricia's is also forward of the midline but not as dramatically so, with a mean less than 2000 Hz. There has not, to our knowledge, been any claims made regarding possible social interpretations of the difference between the /Tuw/ and /Kuw/ classes, but the gap between them is striking in Barbara's system.

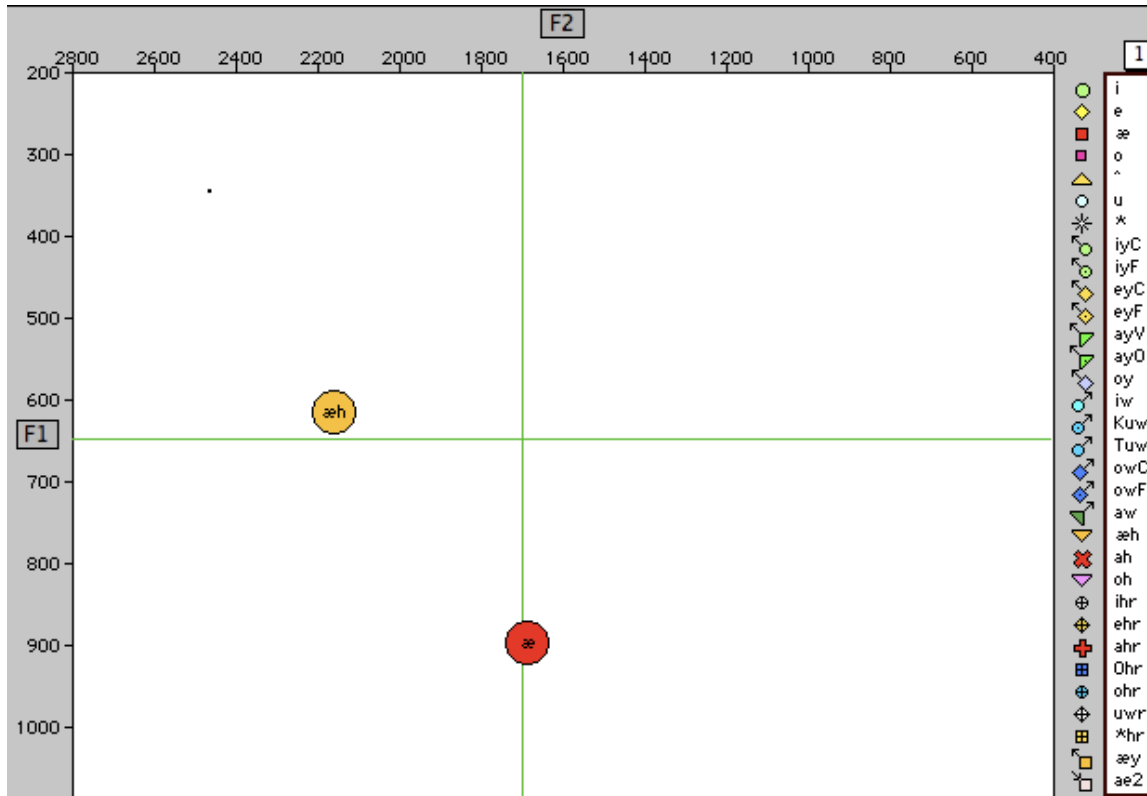Patricia and Barbara's vowels can be seen in Figures 7.1 through 7.10.

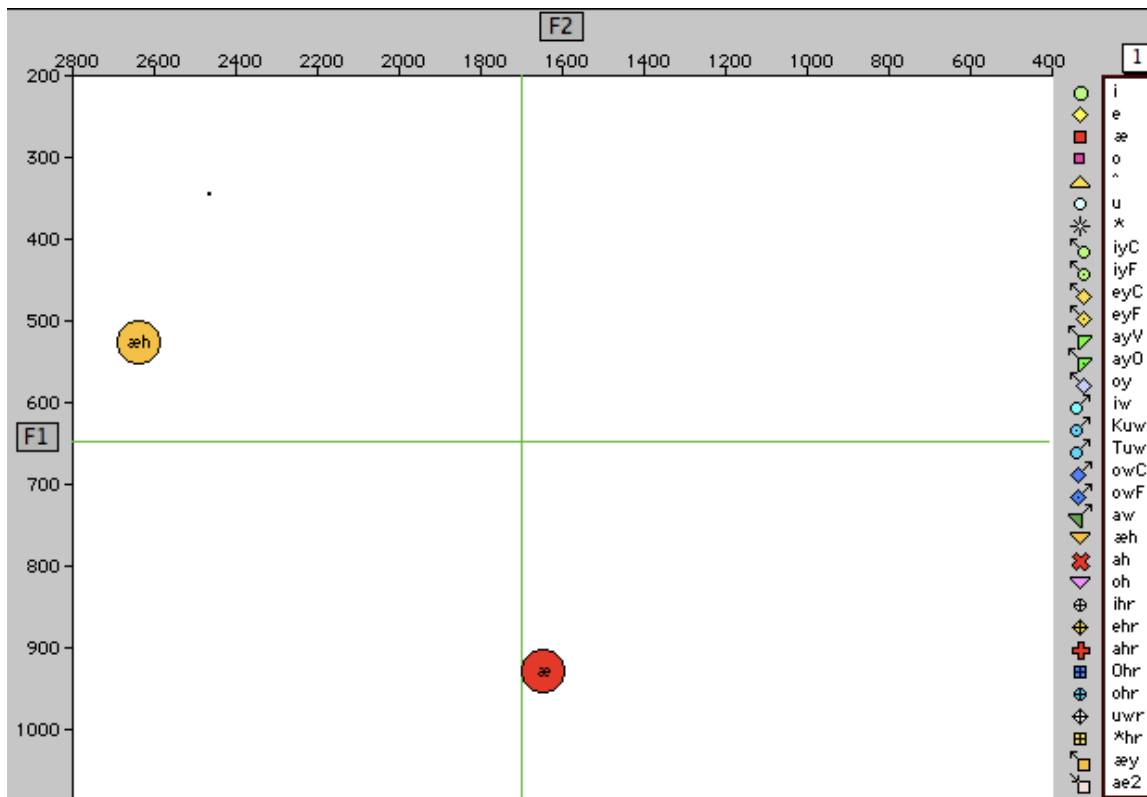**Figure 7.1. Short-a means for Patricia, F65**
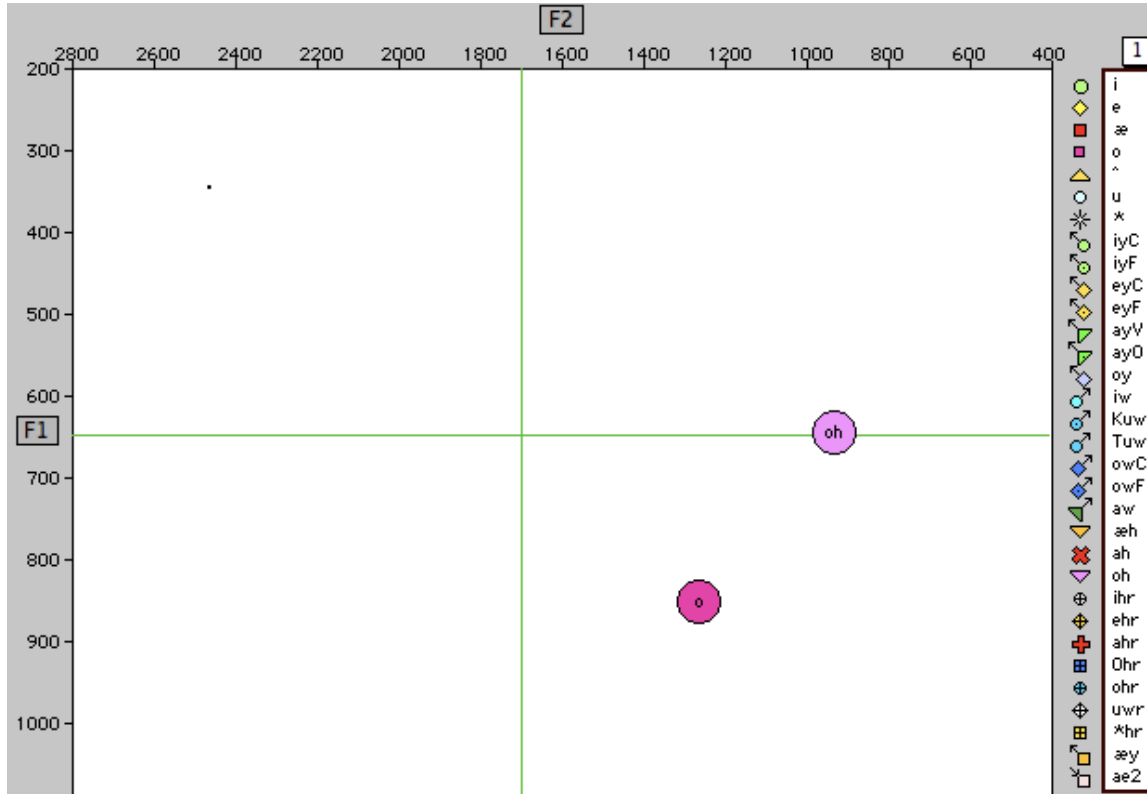

Figure 7.2. Short-a means for Barbara, F42

Figure 7.3. Low back means for Patricia, F65
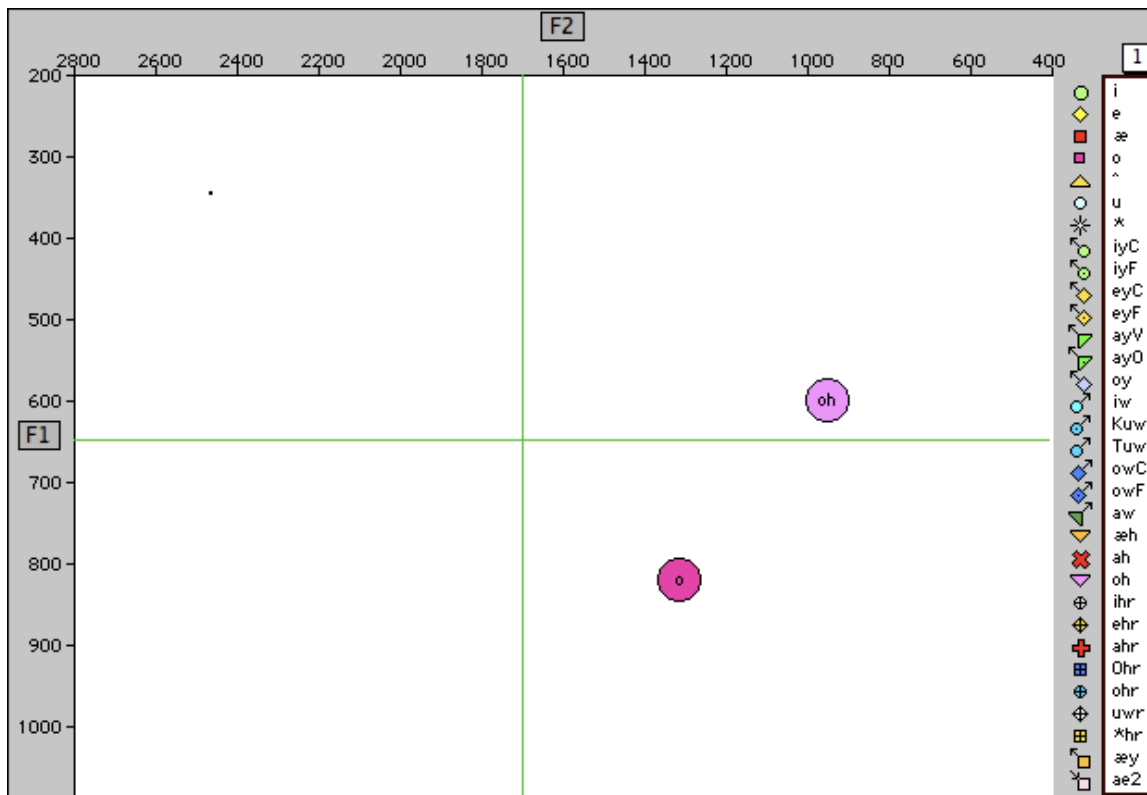

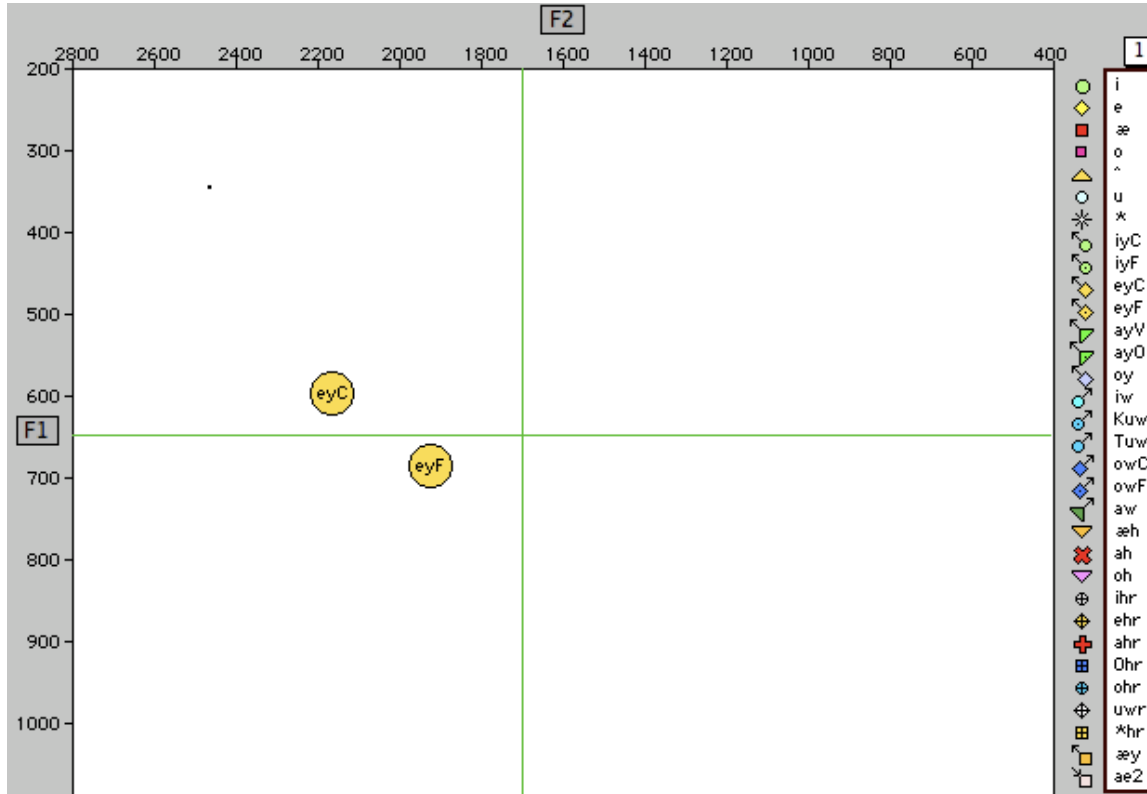**Figure 7.4. Low back means for Barbara, F42**

Figure 7.5. Checked and free /ey/ means for Patricia, F65

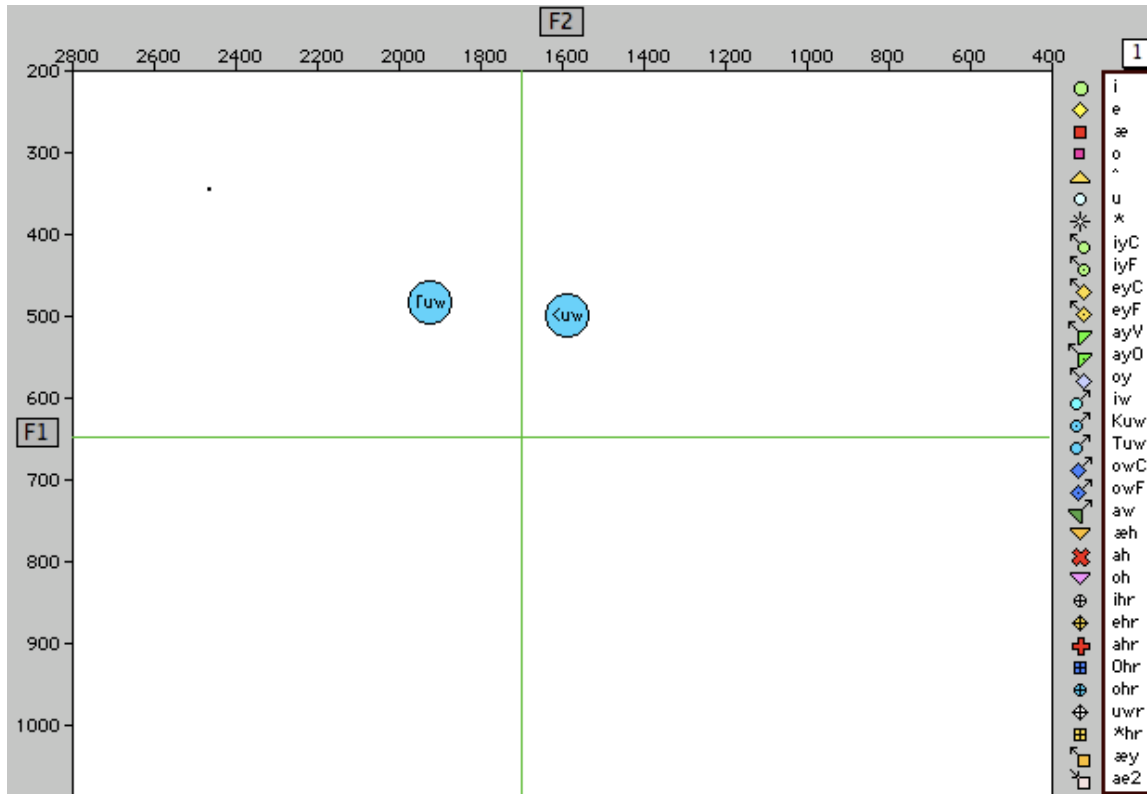**Figure 7.6. Checked and free /ey/ means for Barbara, F42**

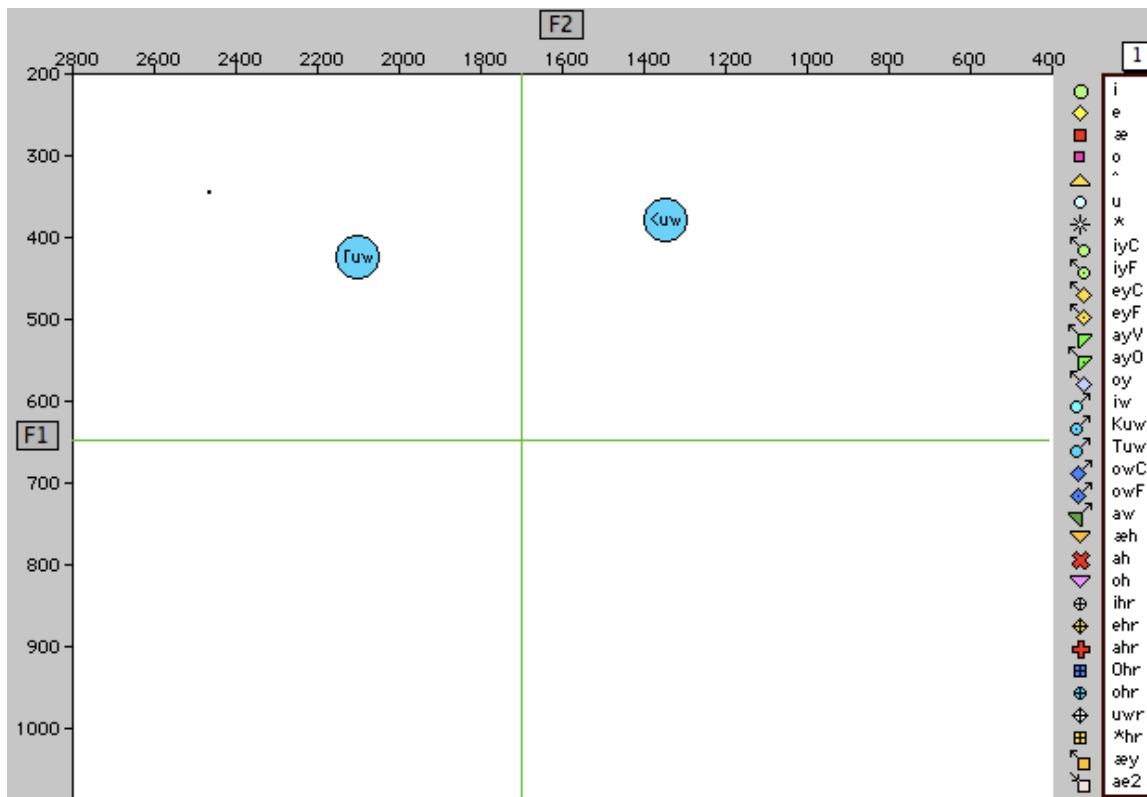**Figure 7.7. Fronting of /uw/ means for Patricia, F65**

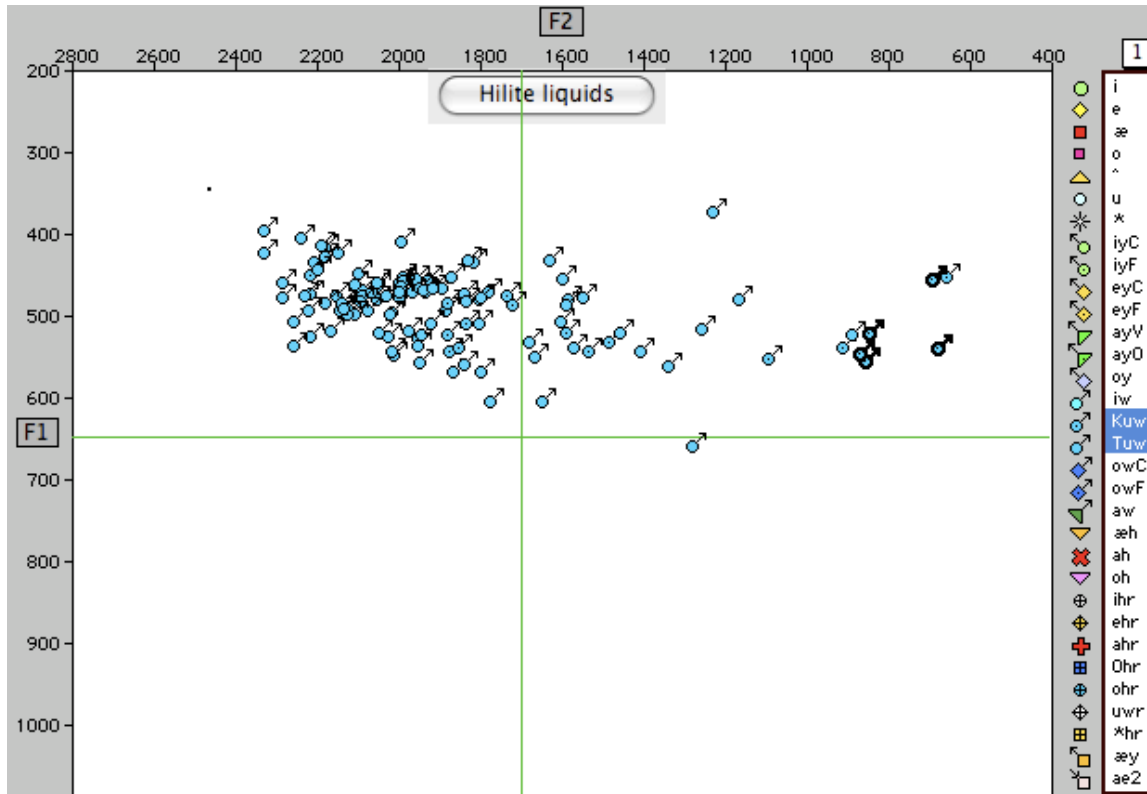**Figure 7.8. Fronting of /uw/ means for Barbara, F42**

Figure 7.9. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Patricia, F65 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)
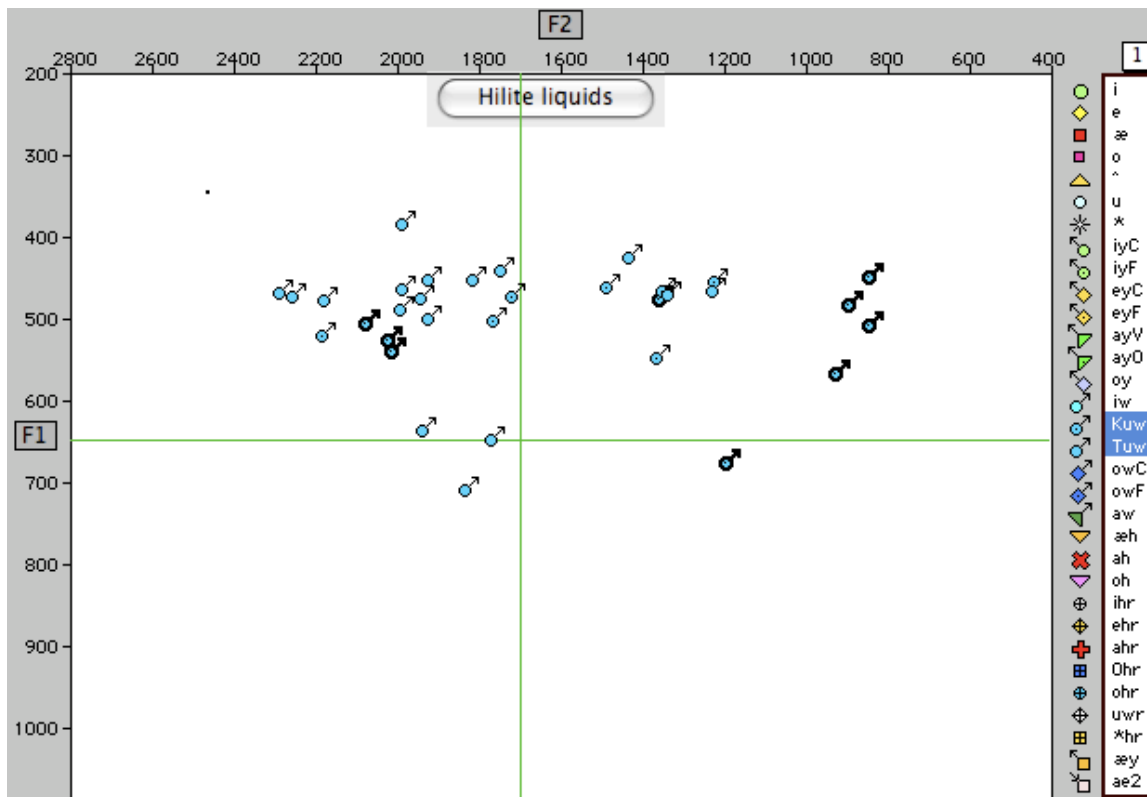
Figure 7.10. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Barbara, F42 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)

Victor and Dan

Victor and Dan are two adult males who also have very similar and traditional Philadelphia vowel systems. Like Patricia and Barbara, they have robust low back and short-a distinctions. An observation of potential interest is that the distance between the means for /ae/ and /aeh/ was larger than the distance between /o/ and /oh/ for both women, but for the men it's the distance between /o/ and /oh/ that's greater than the distance between /ae/ and /aeh/. In fact, for both of these men, the distinction between /ae/ and /aeh/, while statistically significant (p < .001), is not actually categorical, with some amount of overlap between the classes.

Checked versus free /ey/ shows the same general pattern for Victor and Dan as for Barbara and Patricia: checked /ey/ is raised above the midline while free /ey/ is not. Both men more closely resemble Patricia in that their checked /ey/ classes are not raised as dramatically as Barbara's. This is consistent with the raising of checked /ey/ being a female-led sound change.

The fronting of /uw/ is not nearly as advanced for either Dan or Victor as it is for Patricia and Barbara, with both men having post-coronal means (the most favoring environment) around the F2 midline. Again, this can probably be attributed to a female lead in /uw/-fronting. Like Patricia, both men have pre-/l/ /uw/ tokens at the very back of the vowel space.

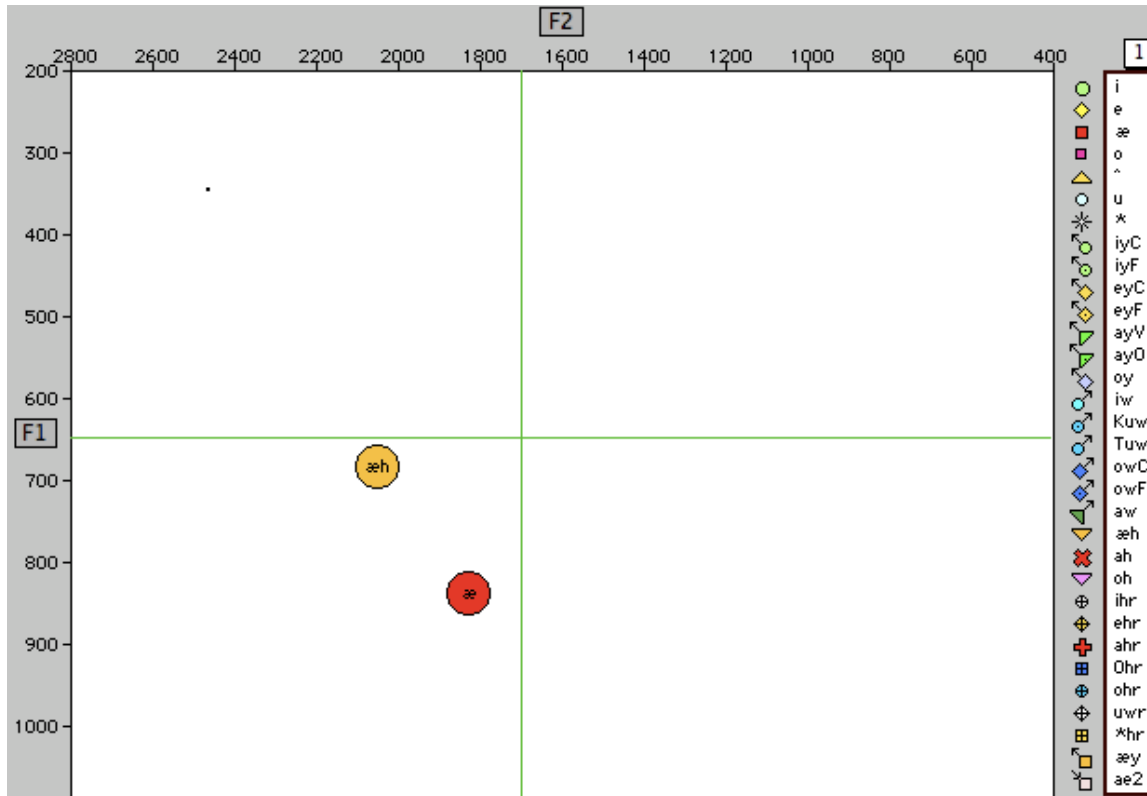Dan and Victor's vowels can be seen in Figures 7.11 through 7.22 below.

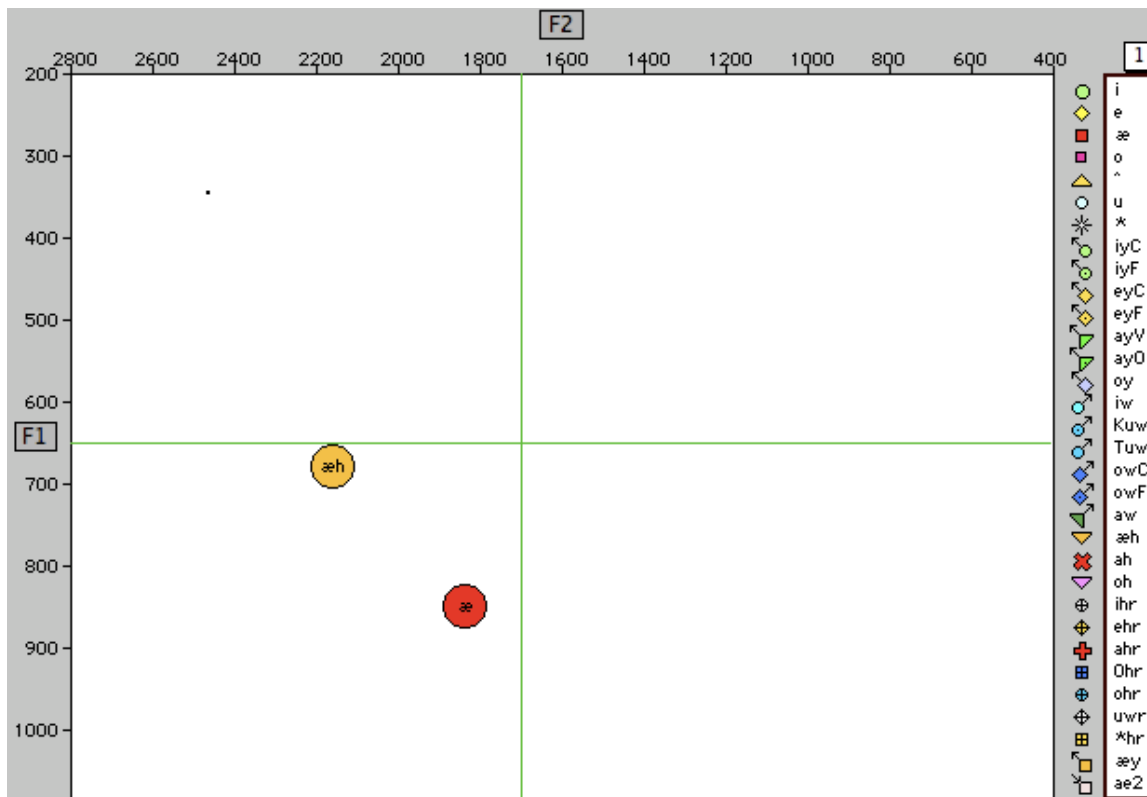**Figure 7.11. Short-a means for Victor, M54**
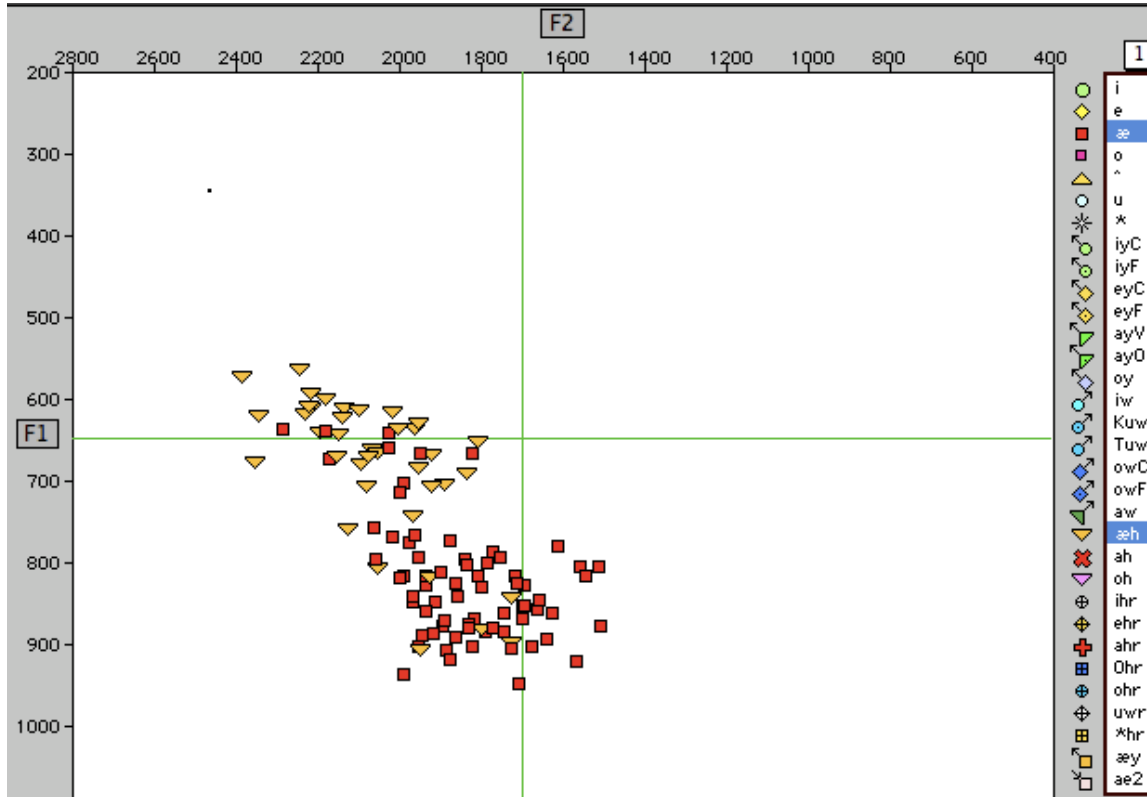

Figure 7.12. Short-a means for Dan, M45

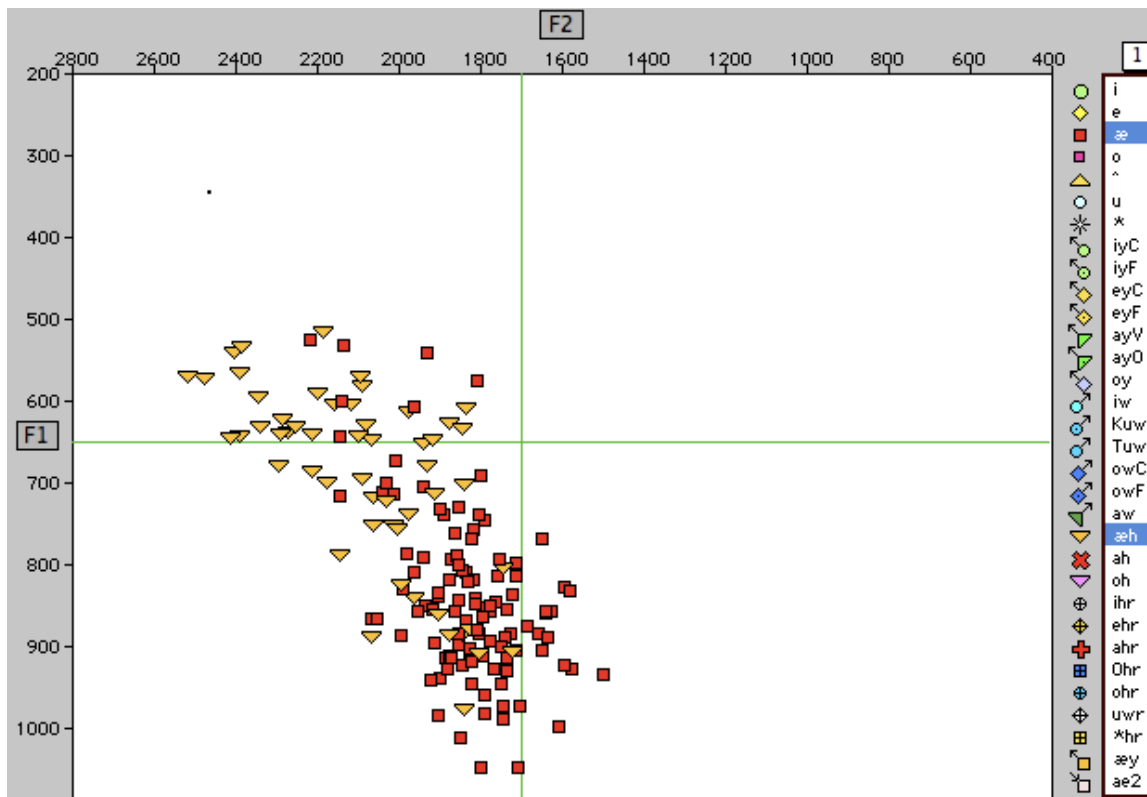**Figure 7.13. Short-a tokens for Victor, M54**

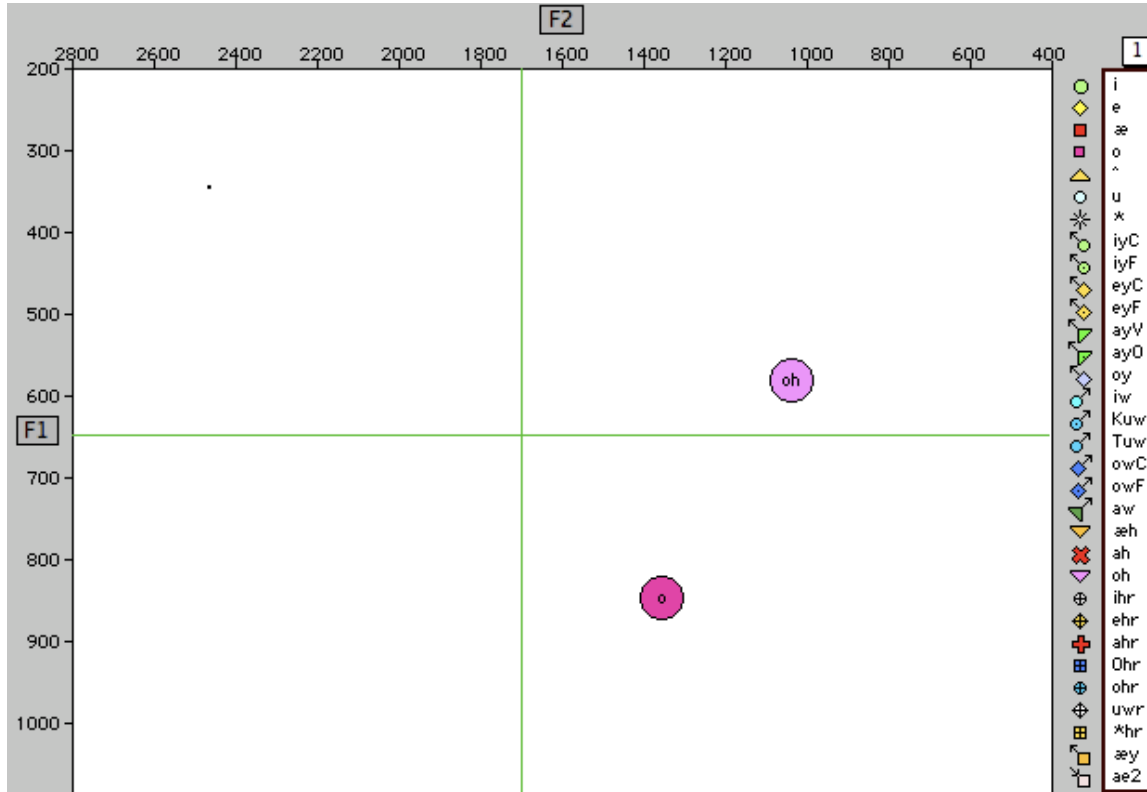**Figure 7.14. Short-a tokens for Dan, M45**
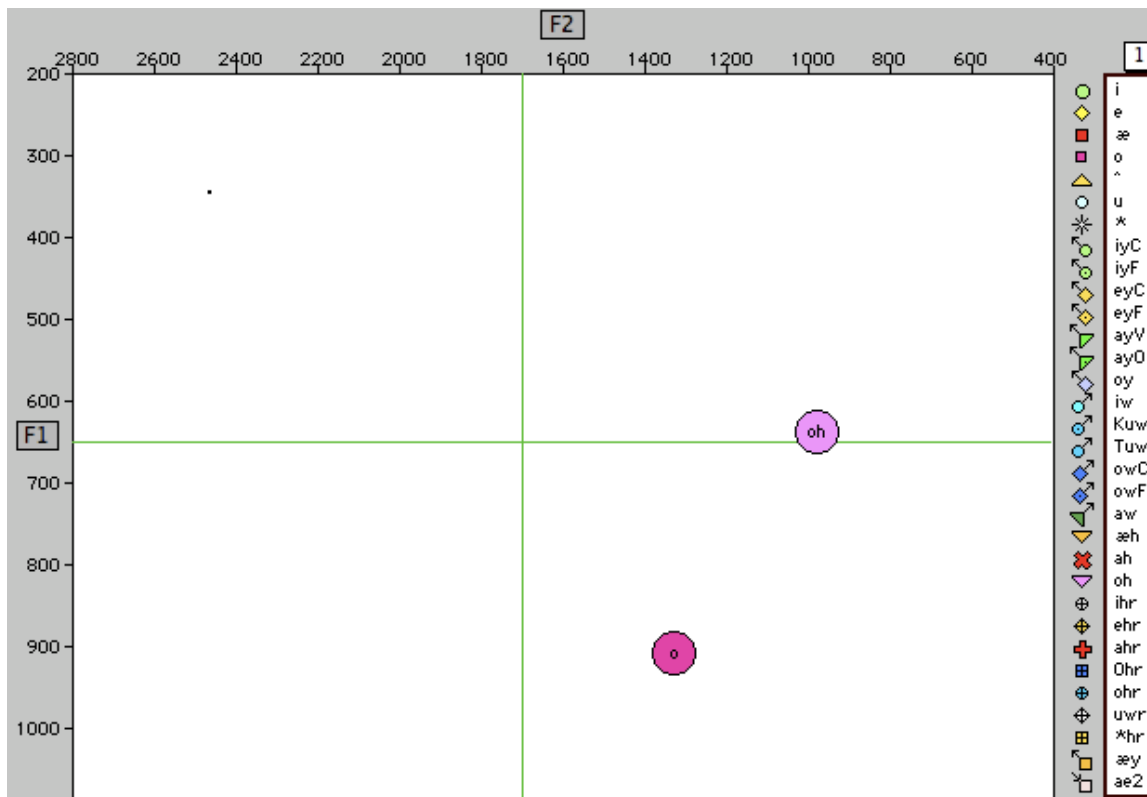
Figure 7.15. Low back means for Victor, M54

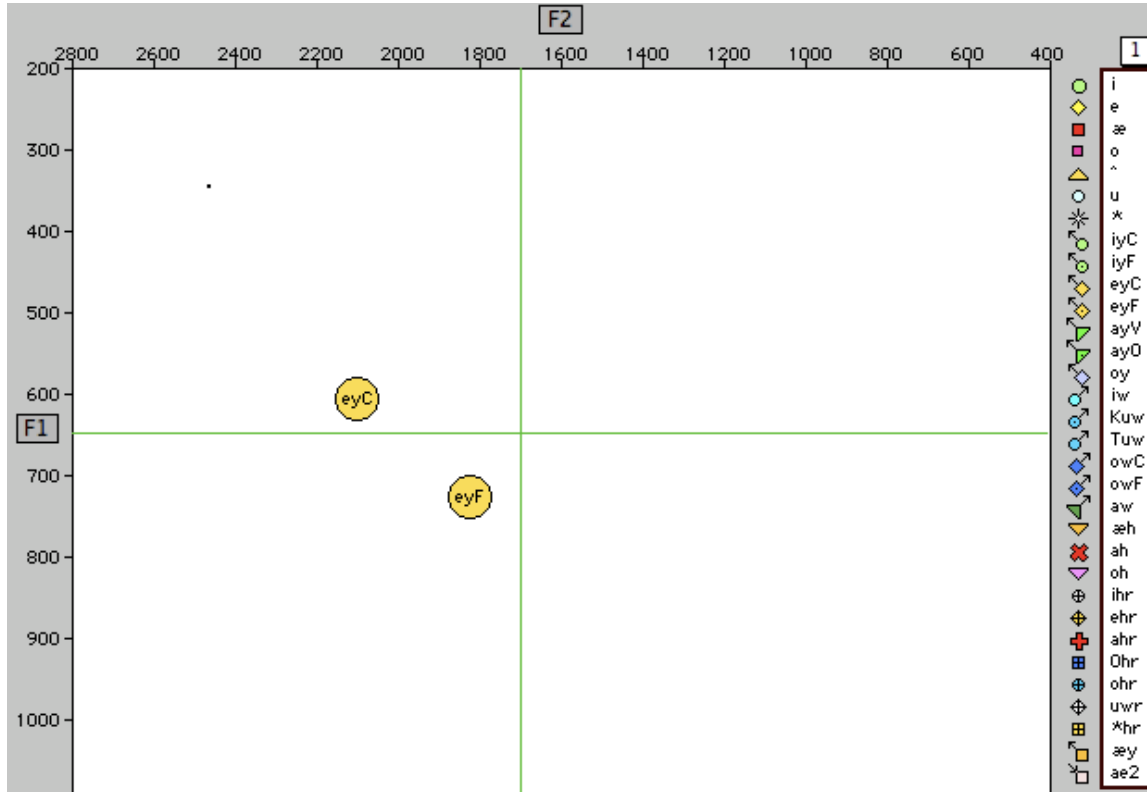**Figure 7.16. Low back means for Dan, M45**

Figure 7.17. Checked and free /ey/ means for Victor, M54
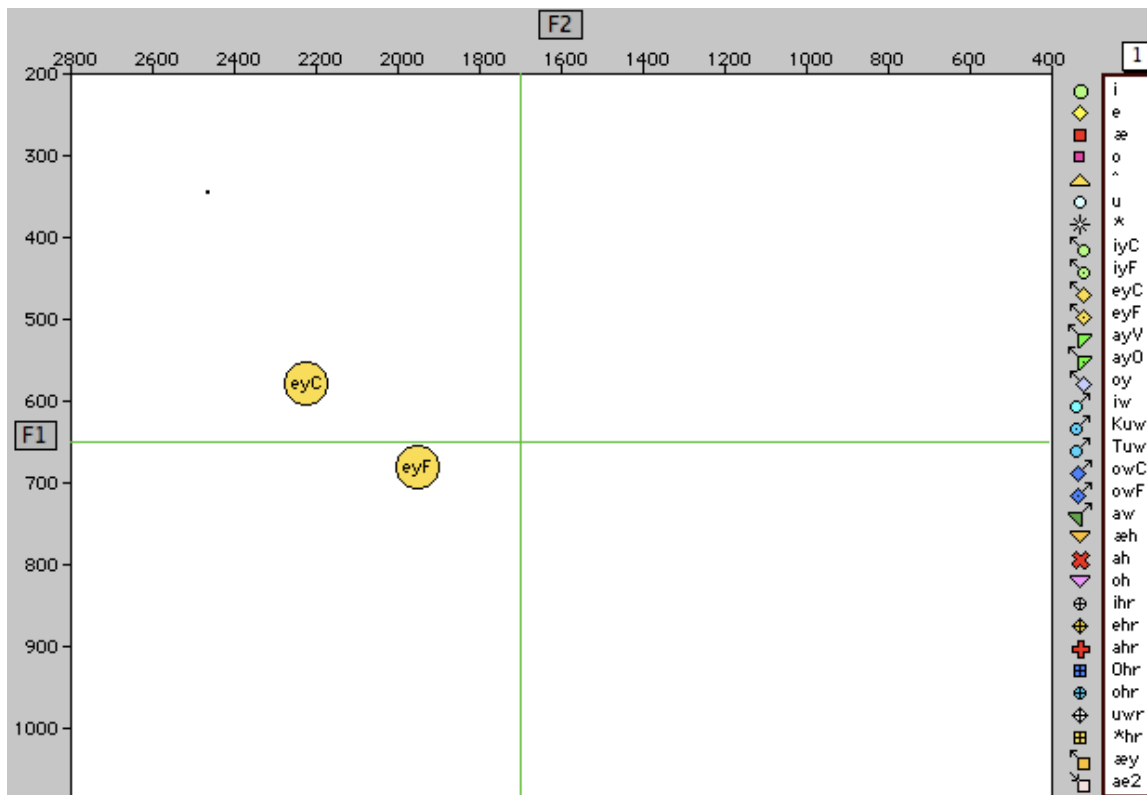

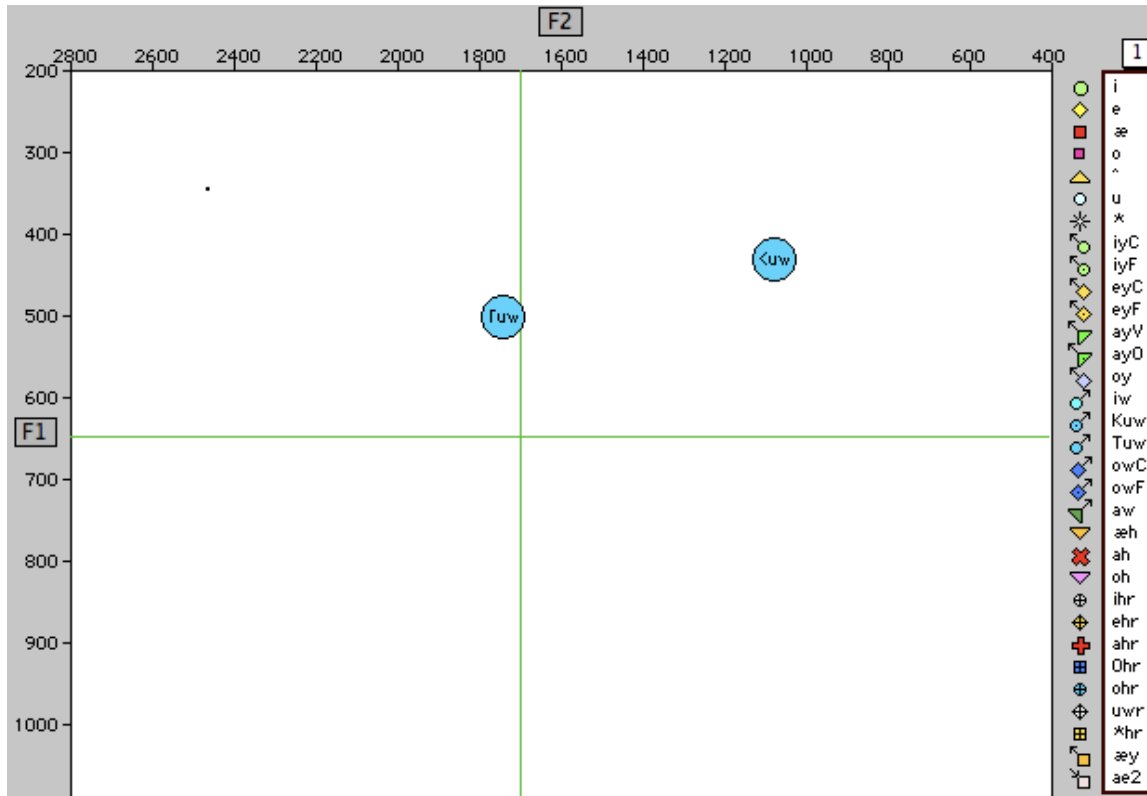**Figure 7.18. Checked and free /ey/ means for Dan, M45**

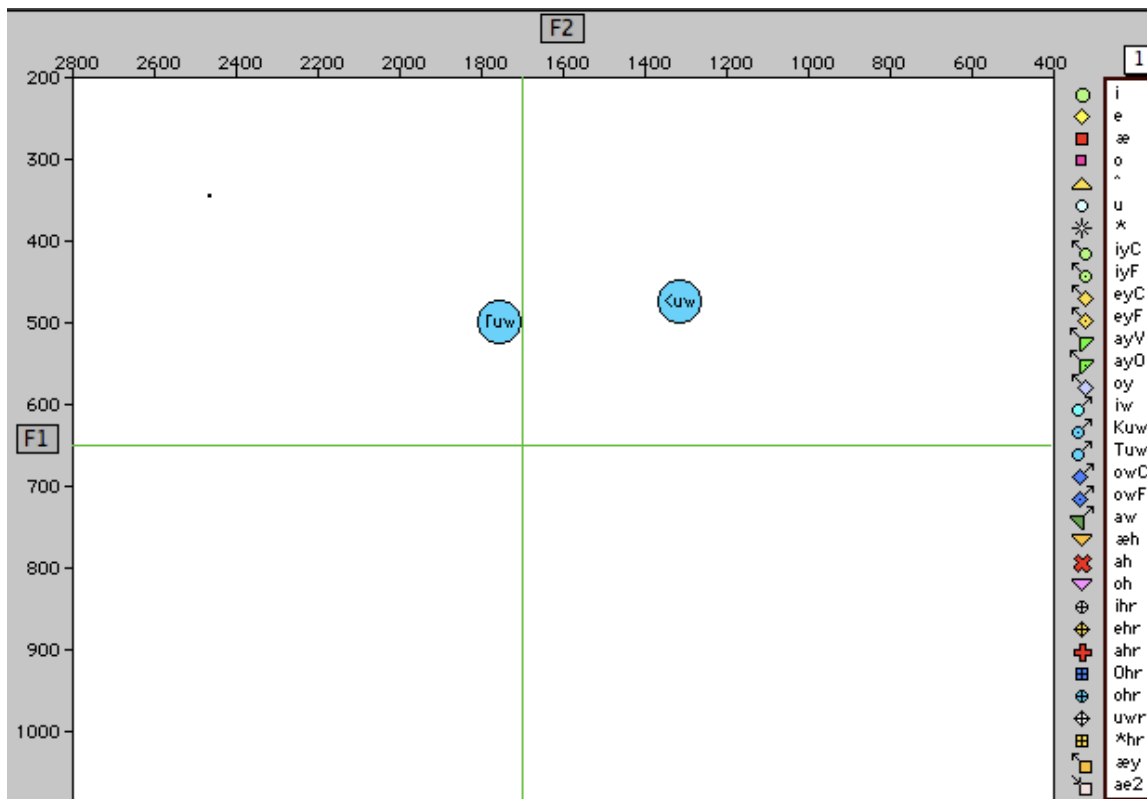**Figure 7.19. Fronting of /uw/ means for Victor, M54**

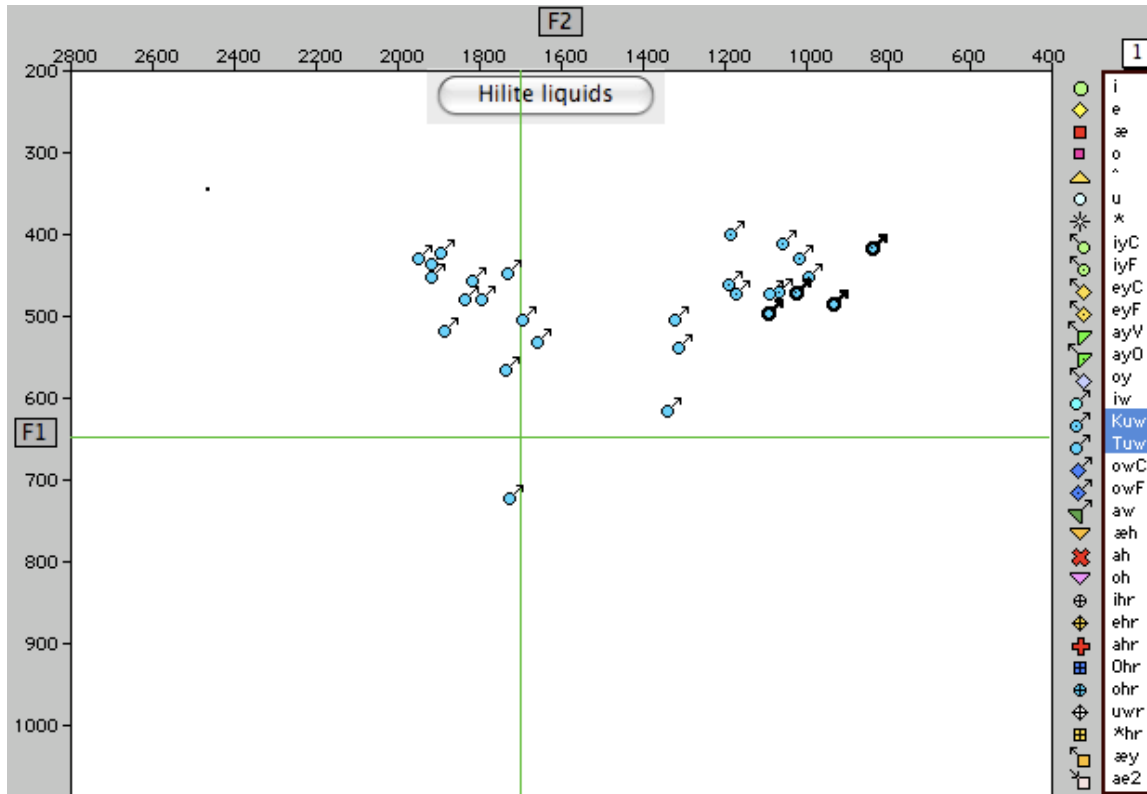**Figure 7.20. Fronting of /uw/ means for Dan, M45**

Figure 7.21. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Victor, M54 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)
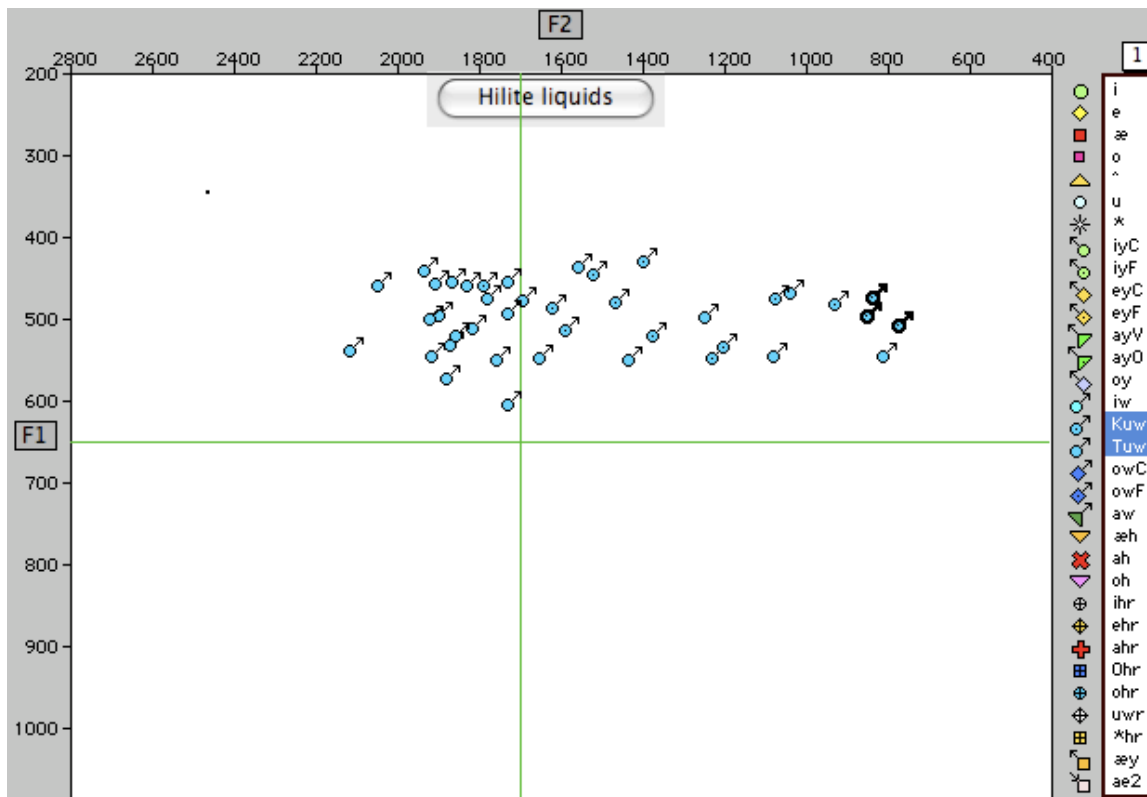

Figure 7.22. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Dan, M45 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)

Raymond

At 19, Raymond is our youngest speaker. He is a high school graduate who is currently attending community college. His vowel system shows him to be very much a Philadelphian. Most noticeably, he maintains unambiguous distinctions for the short-a classes and the low back classes. Both of these pairs are essentially non-overlapping in their distributions (recall that even the older adult males Victor and Dan had somewhat overlapping distributions for /ae/ versus /aeh/). The effect of a following nasal on the short-a vowels, which we will see appears to be relevant for some of the other young speakers, is completely nonexistent.

Interestingly, Raymond's free /ey/ mean is right around the F1 midline of his system, putting it slightly higher than the older adults'. His checked /ey/ class looks more like Barbara's than anyone else's so far, with a mean closer to 500 Hz than 600 Hz. The fact that free /ey/ does not fall well below the midline is our first hint that free /ey/ may be following in the path of checked /ey/ and beginning to raise.

Like all the other speakers, Raymond's /uw/ class has advanced past the F2 midline when following coronal segments. However, despite being younger he still does not have the extremely advanced /uw/ that Barbara, or even Patricia, has. Instead he looks more like the other male speakers seen so far, Dan and Victor. There is also a clear effect of a following /l/, with completely non-overlapping distributions between pre-/l/ and non-pre-/l/ tokens.

Raymond's vowels can be seen in Figures 7.23 through 7.29.
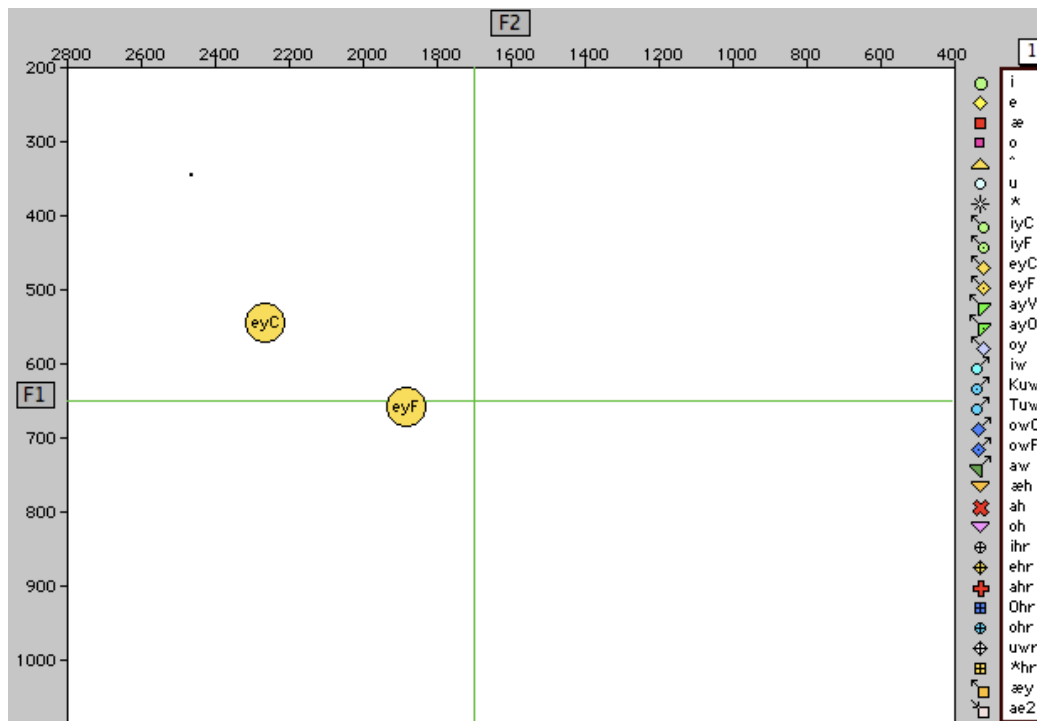
Figure 7.23. Checked and free /ey/ means for Raymond, M19
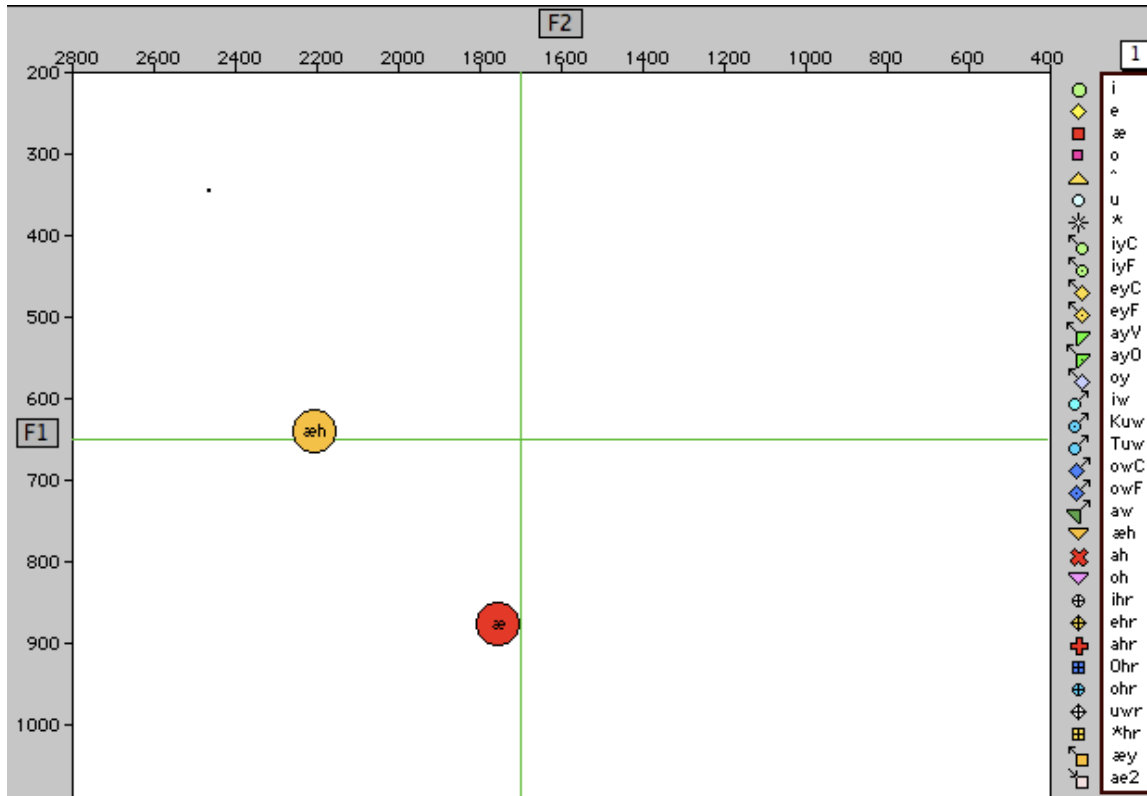
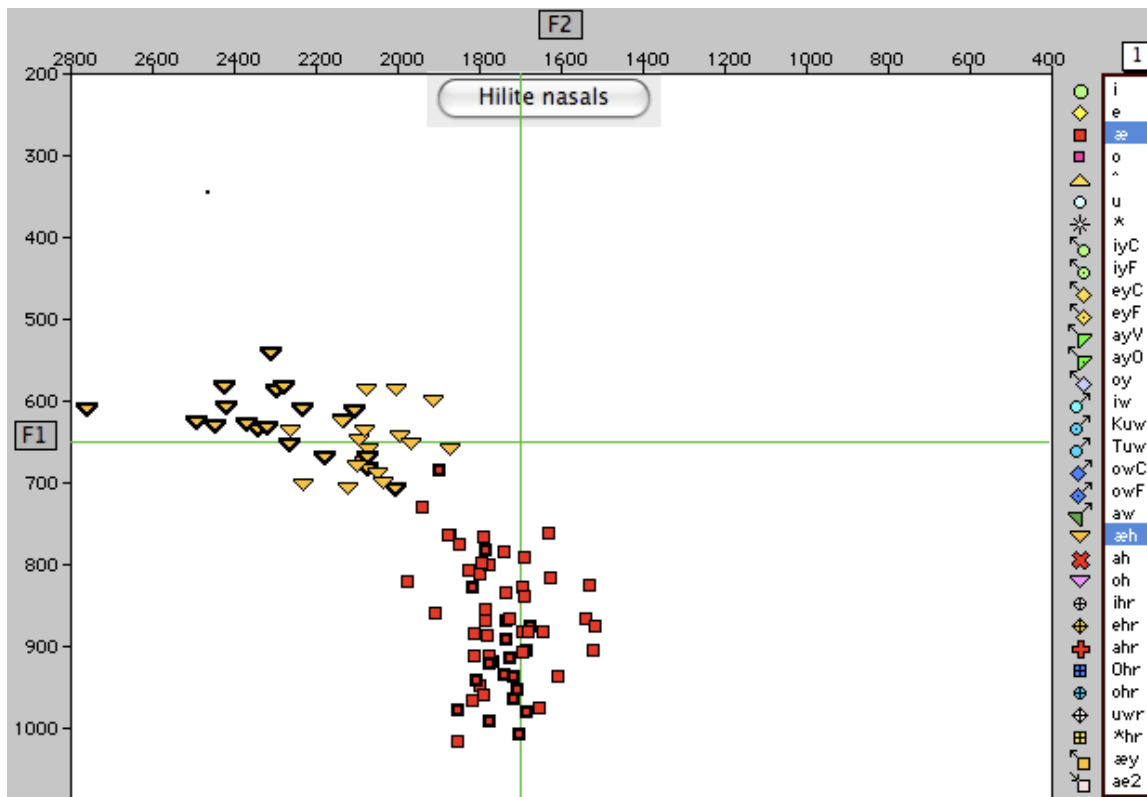**Figure 7.24. Short-a means for Raymond, M19**

Figure 7.25. Short-a tokens for Raymond, M19 (pre-nasal tokens highlighted)
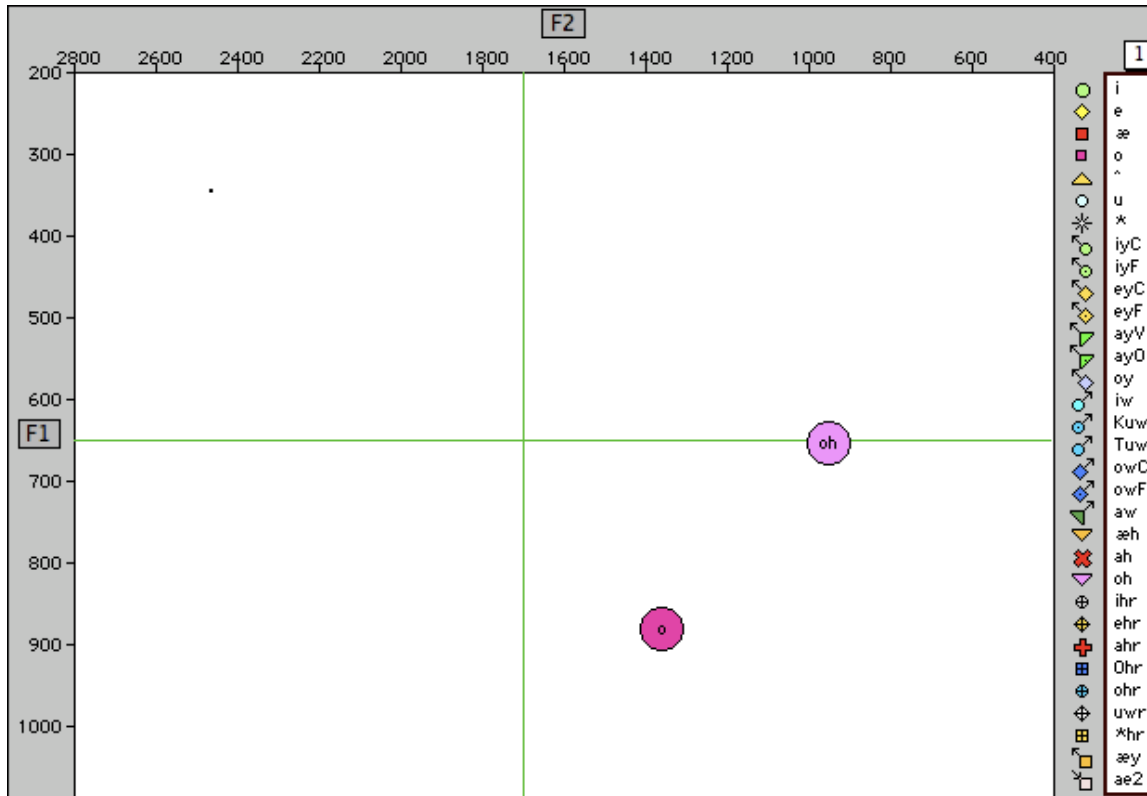
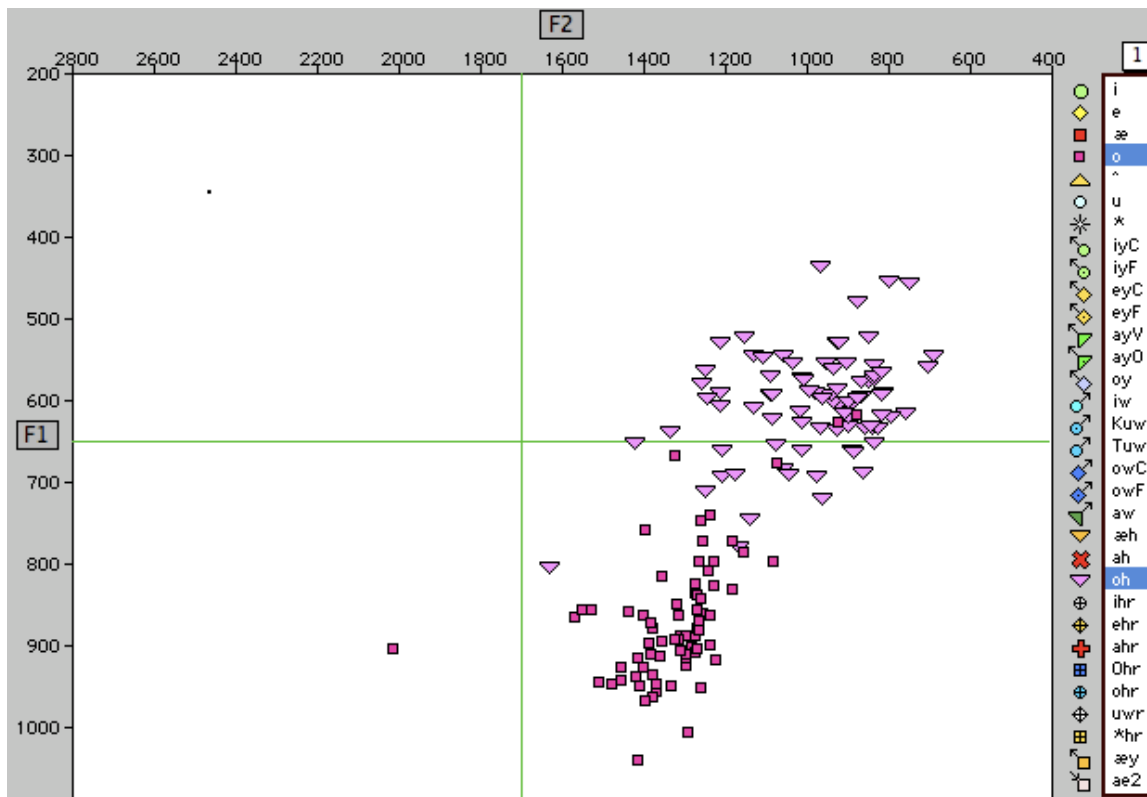**Figure 7.26. Low back means for Raymond, M19**

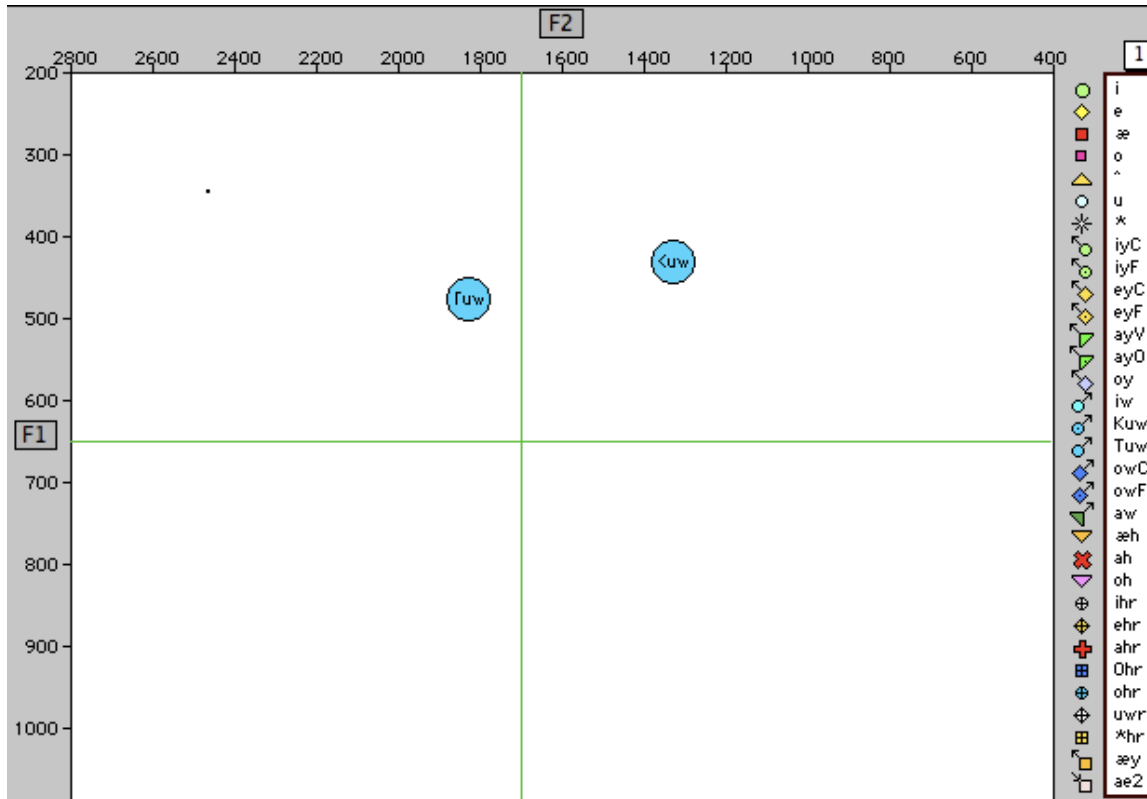**Figure 7.27. Low back tokens for Raymond, M19**

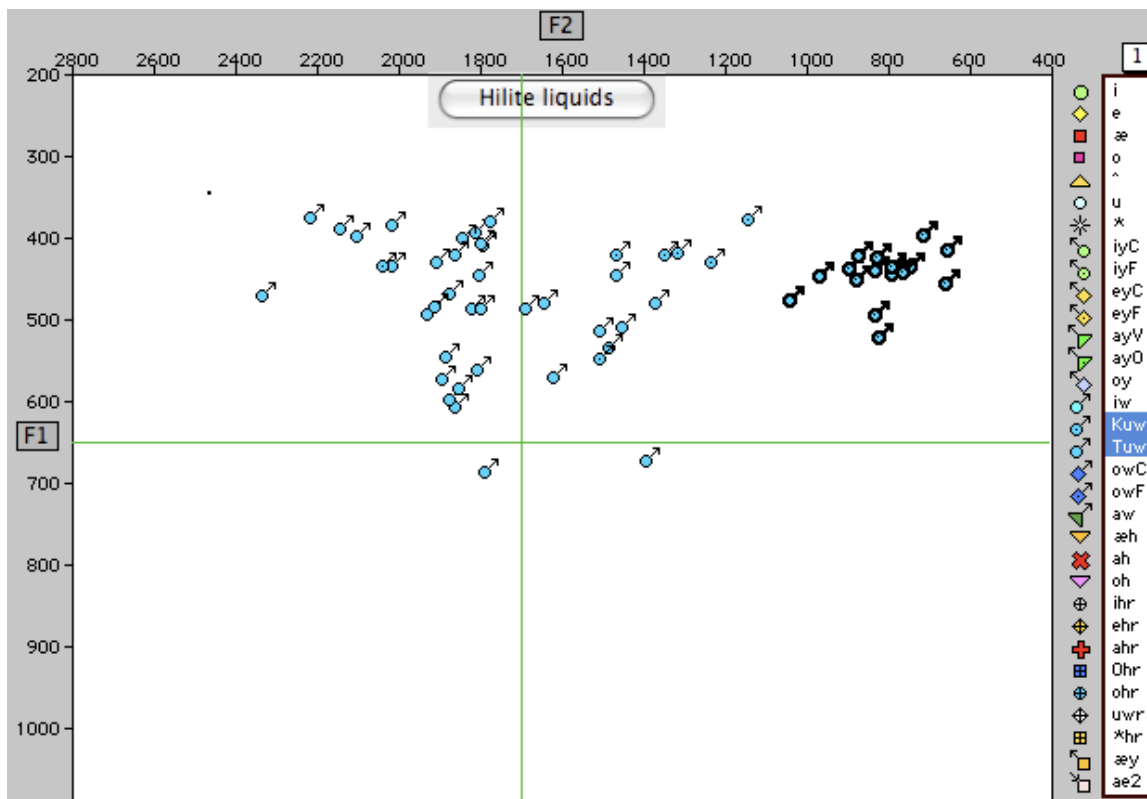**Figure 7.28. Fronting of /uw/ means for Raymond, M19**

Figure 7.29. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Raymond, M19 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)

7.3 Modified Philadelphia vowel systems

Nicole and Michael

Nicole and Michael are the speakers in our sample with the greatest degree of upwards mobility and have a considerably less locally-oriented worldview. Nicole earned her Bachelor's and Master's degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, where Michael is a current undergraduate student. Nicole has the highest level of education obtained by any of our speakers, and Michael aspires to the same; they have been grouped together in our Social Aspiration Index (SAI).

The most striking aspect of both Nicole and Michael's vowel systems is the heavy overlap between /ae/ - /aeh/ and /o/ - /oh/. It is unclear whether they even make these distinctions; the t-tests in the statistical analysis section suggest they do, but only evaluation of their perception and judgments of these vowel pairs could tell us for sure whether the distinction is still active. Notably, these pairs were not tested as minimal pairs because it had not occurred to us that the short-a or low back distinctions could be in question in Philadelphia! When we look at the phonetic conditioning of short-a, it appears that a following nasal has a stronger effect on short-a than in the traditional systems, suggesting a tendency towards the emergence of a default nasal short-a system.

With respect to traditional Philadelphia features, then, it appears that Nicole and Michael are both moving away from the phonetics of the local dialect, although likely not losing the phonological distinctions they presumably grew up with. The susceptibility of these features to this sort of "correction" suggests that they are sociolinguistic markers, above the level of conscious awareness. But what about a change that's almost certainly still taking place from below? Nicole and Michael are both advanced in the raising of checked /ey/, with Nicole resembling Barbara (our most advanced checked /ey/ speaker) and Michael having a mean that's lower (as this is a typical female-led change from below) but is very close to that of Raymond, who is the same age but had a very different profile for short-a and the low back vowels. Fascinatingly, it is also Nicole and Michael who are far beyond any of our other speakers in the raising of *free* /ey/. When we examined Raymond's /ey/, we noted that his free /ey/ class fell right around the F1 midline rather than solidly below it as in the older traditional Philadelphia speakers' systems. Now we find additional evidence for our tentative suggestion that free /ey/ may be raising too: for Michael and Nicole, free /ey/ has a mean above the F1 midline. In other words, not only are they leaders of the incrementation of the raising of /eyC/, they're also innovators in extending this change to /eyF/.

Nicole and Michael are also advanced in the fronting of /uw/, which is a change from below taking place on the national level. Michael's post-coronal /uw/ mean is fronter than Raymond's, and his distribution has a strong, nearly categorical effect of a preceding non-coronal segment that Raymond did not show. Nicole again joins Barbara in being at the vanguard of the fronting within our sample. Also like Barbara, Nicole has some pre-/l/ tokens in the fronter part of her /uw/ distribution, although it's also true that all the least fronted tokens are pre-/l/. Note that Nicole is only 12 years younger than Barbara, so they're not even a generation apart.
Nicole and Michael's vowels can be seen in figures 7.30 through 7.43.
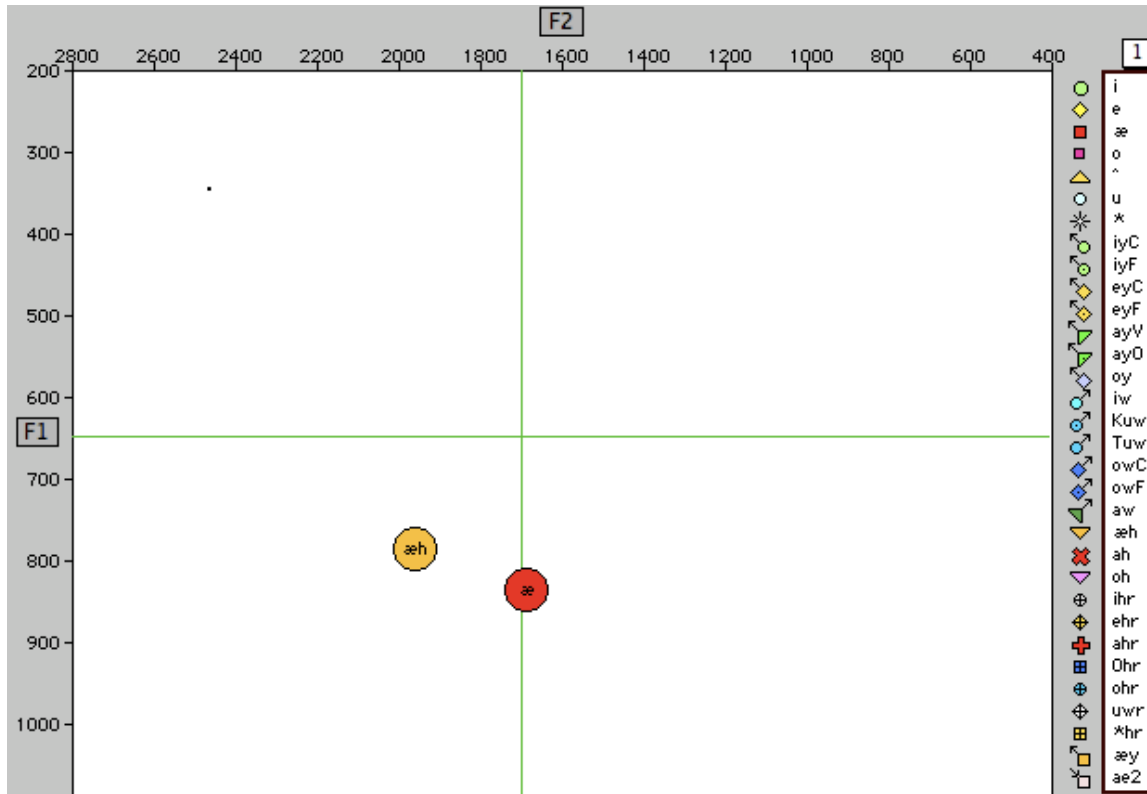
Figure 7.30. Short-a means for Nicole, F30
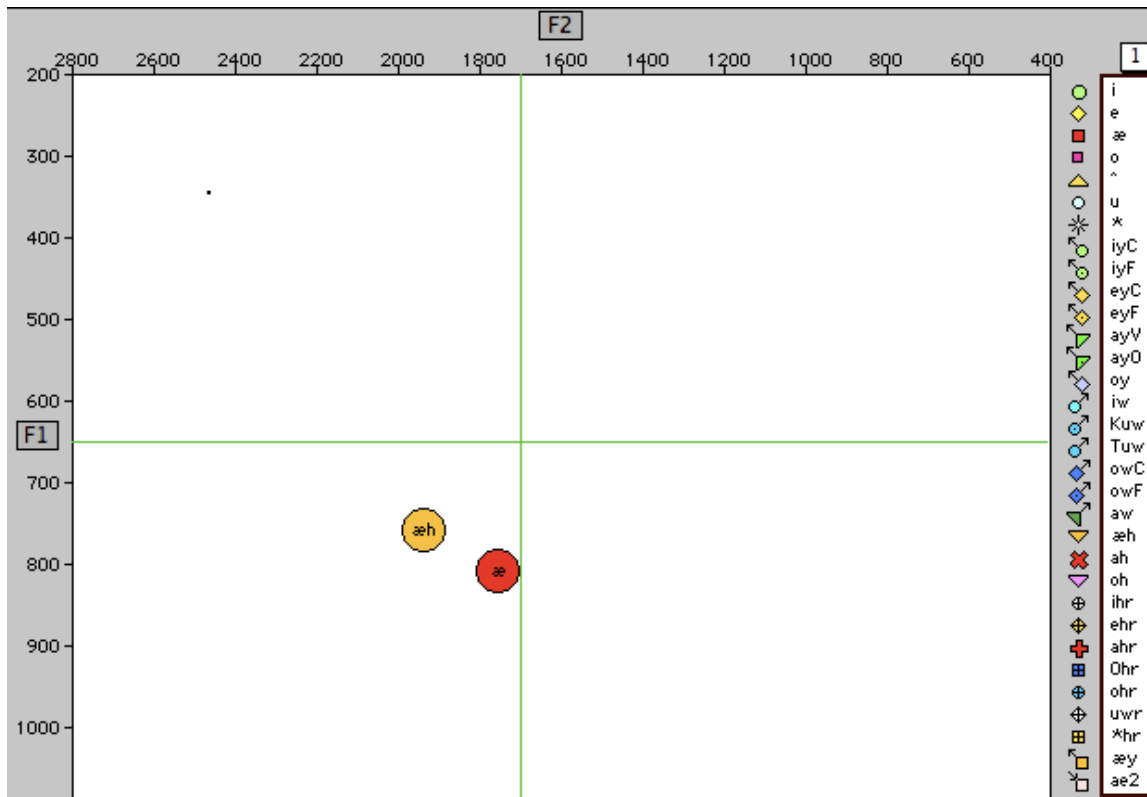
Figure 7.31. Short-a means for Michael, M20
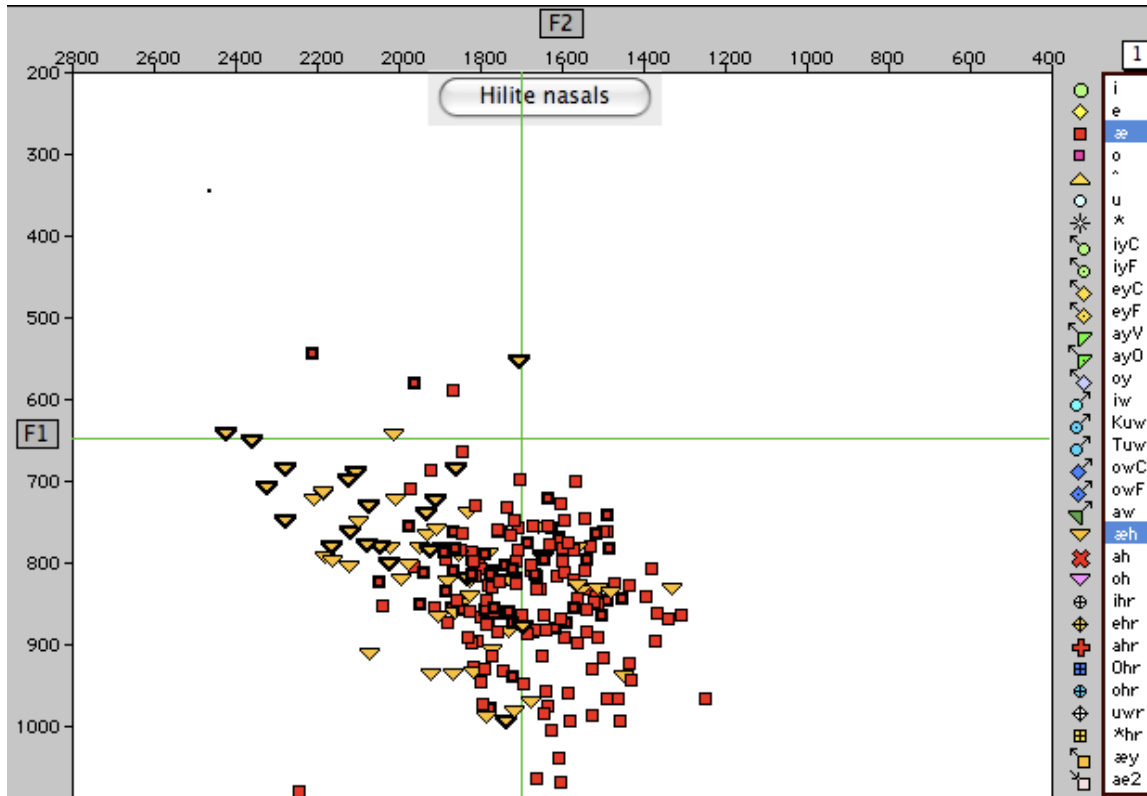
Figure 7.32. Short-a tokens for Nicole, F30 (pre-nasal tokens highlighted)
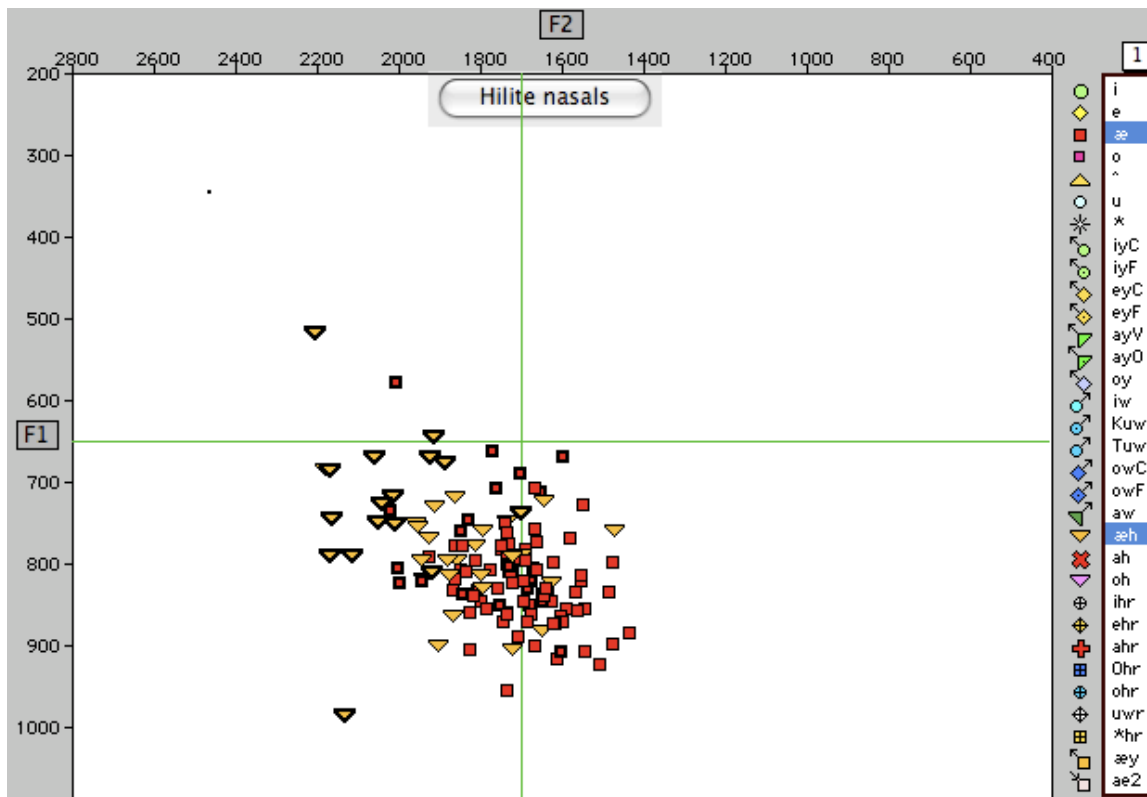
Figure 7.33. Short-a tokens for Michael, M20 (pre-nasal tokens highlighted)
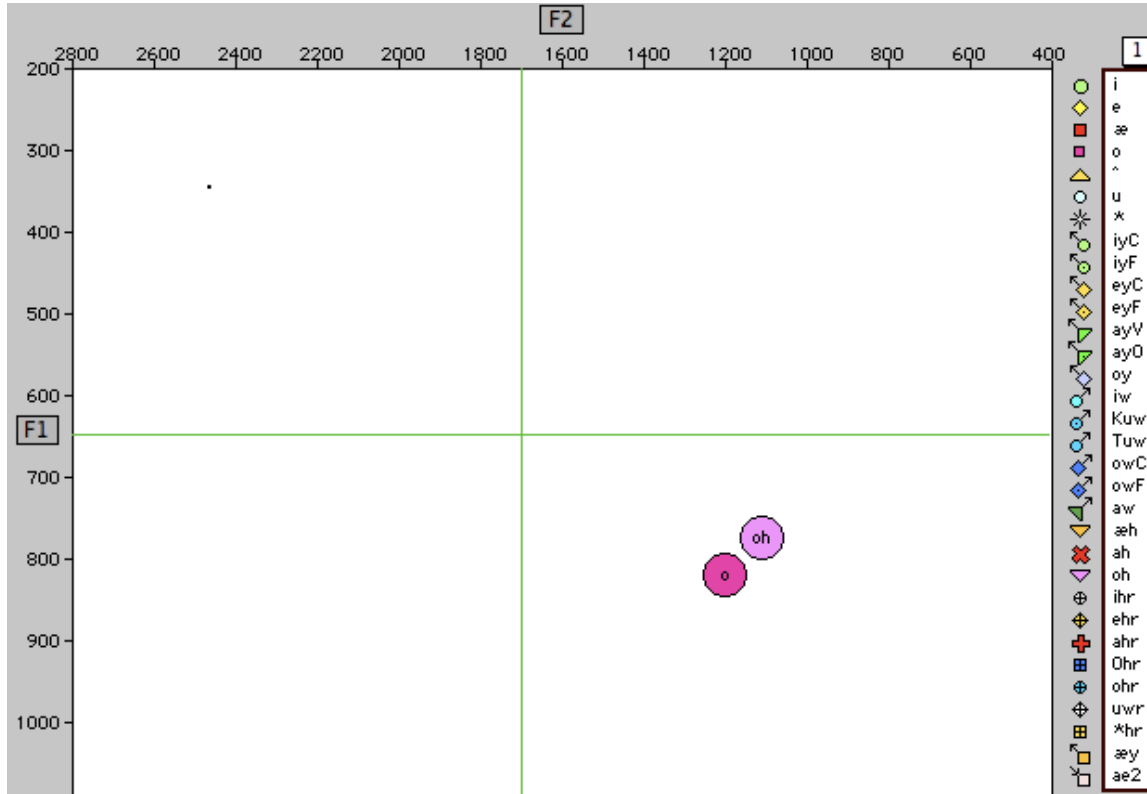
Figure 7.34. Low back means for Nicole, F30
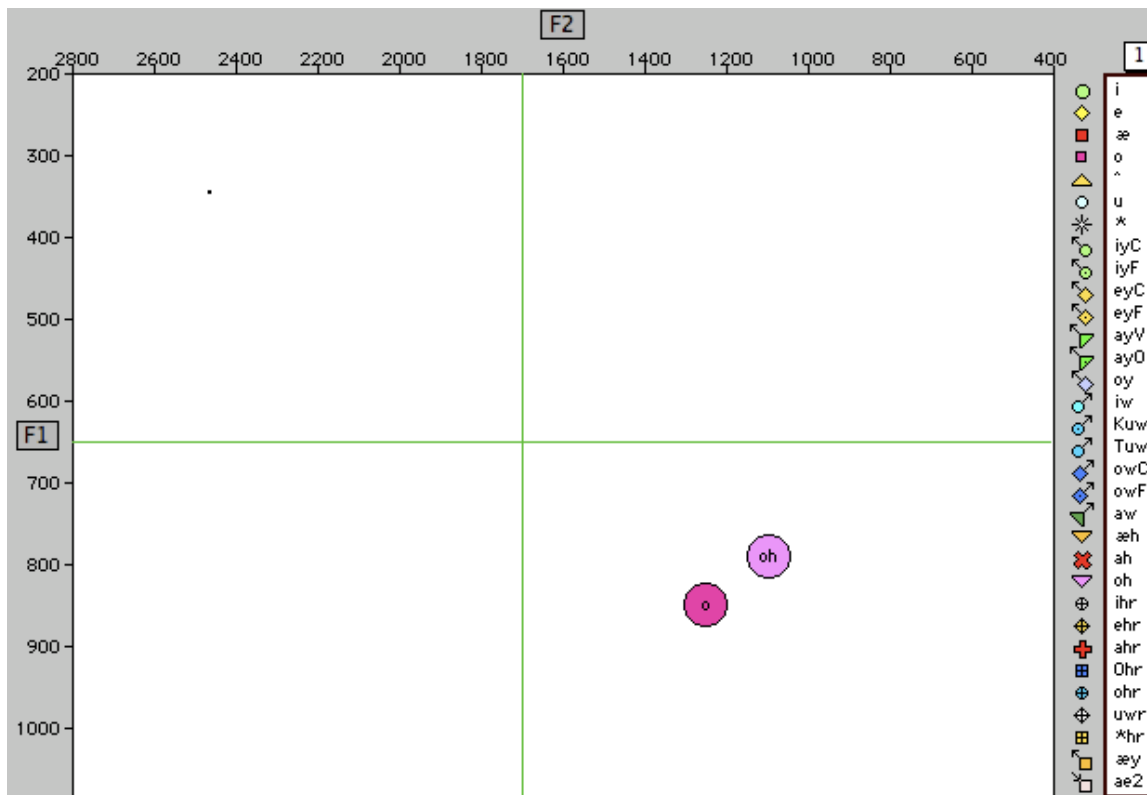
Figure 7.35. Low back means for Michael, M20
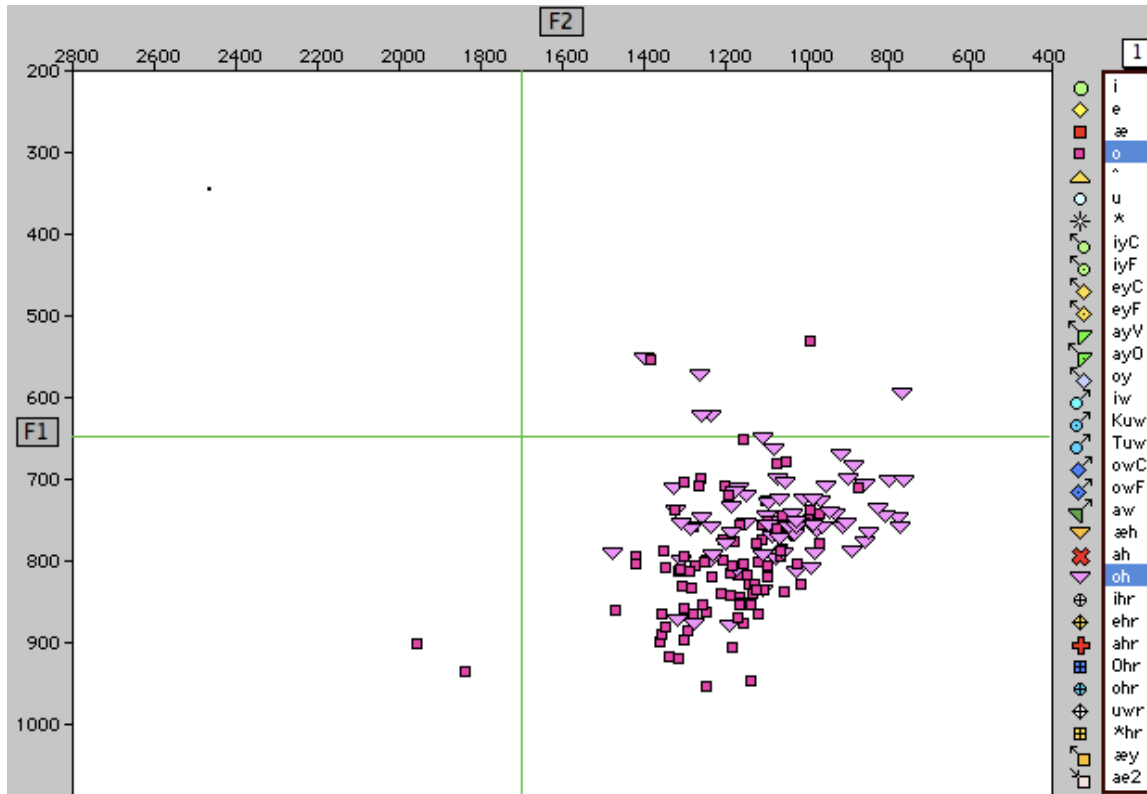
Figure 7.36. Low back tokens for Nicole, F30
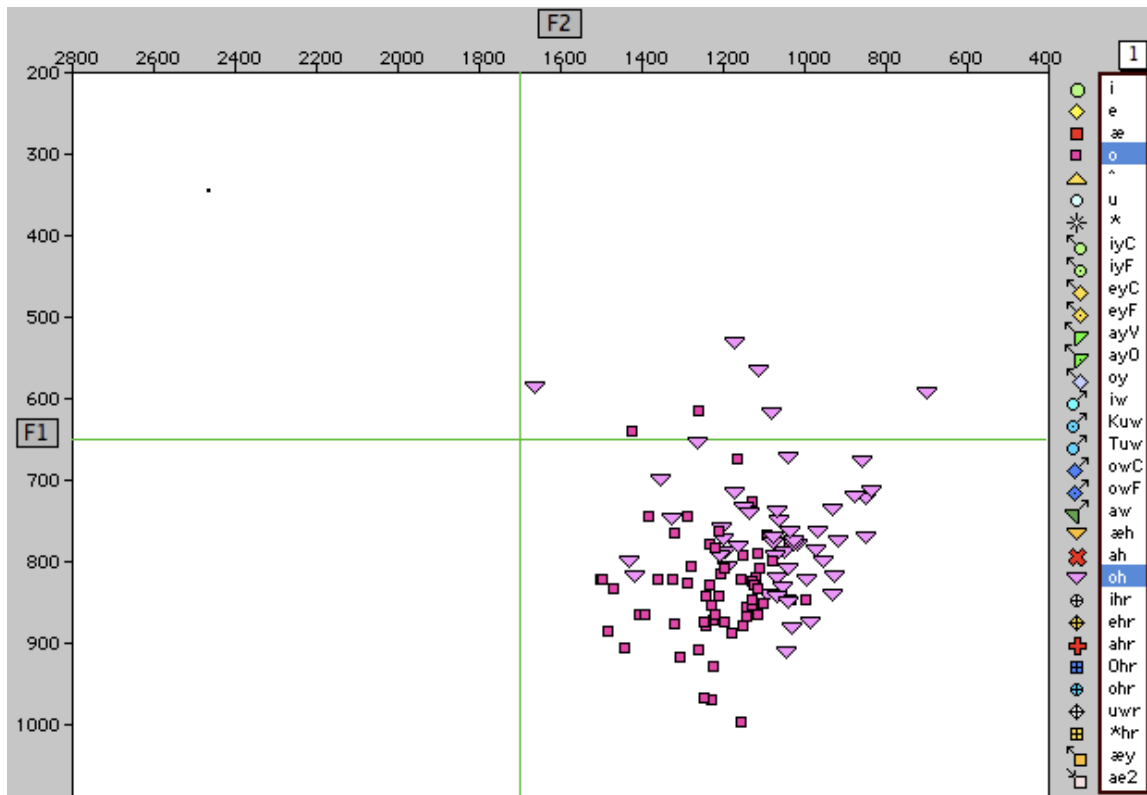
Figure 7.37. Low back tokens for Michael, M20
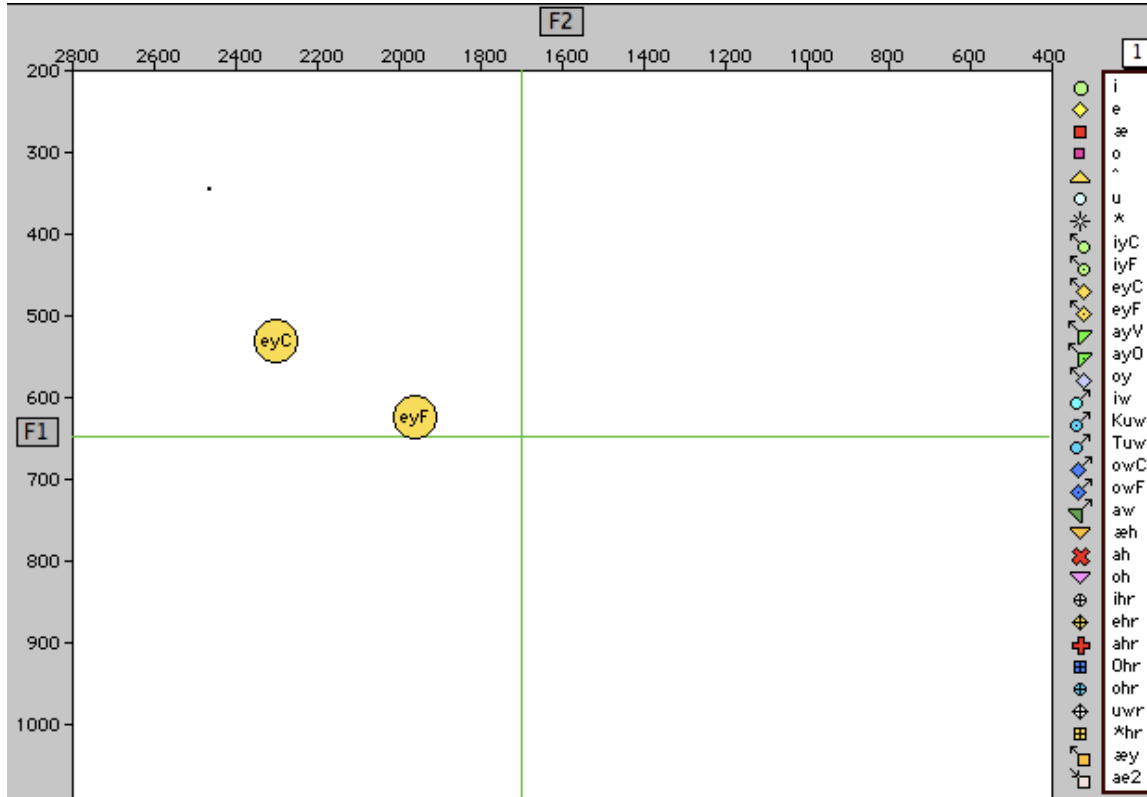
Figure 7.38. Checked and free /ey/ means for Nicole, F30
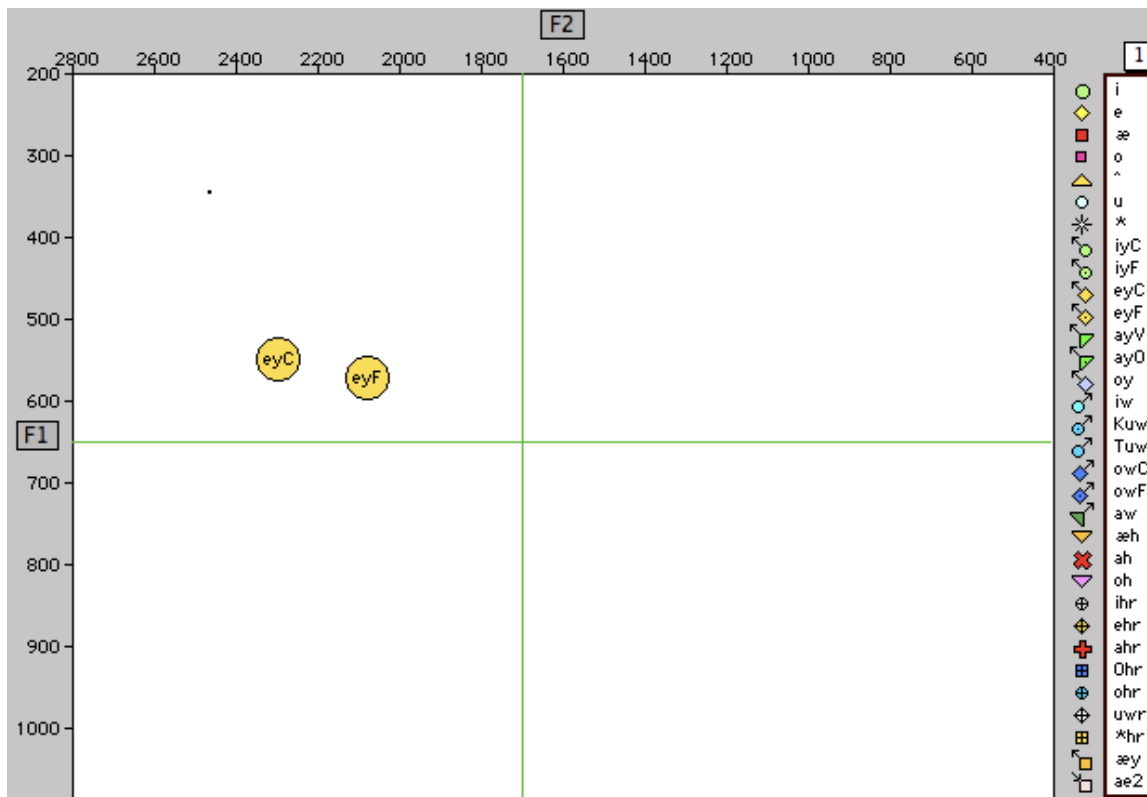
Figure 7.39. Checked and free /ey/ means for Michael, M20
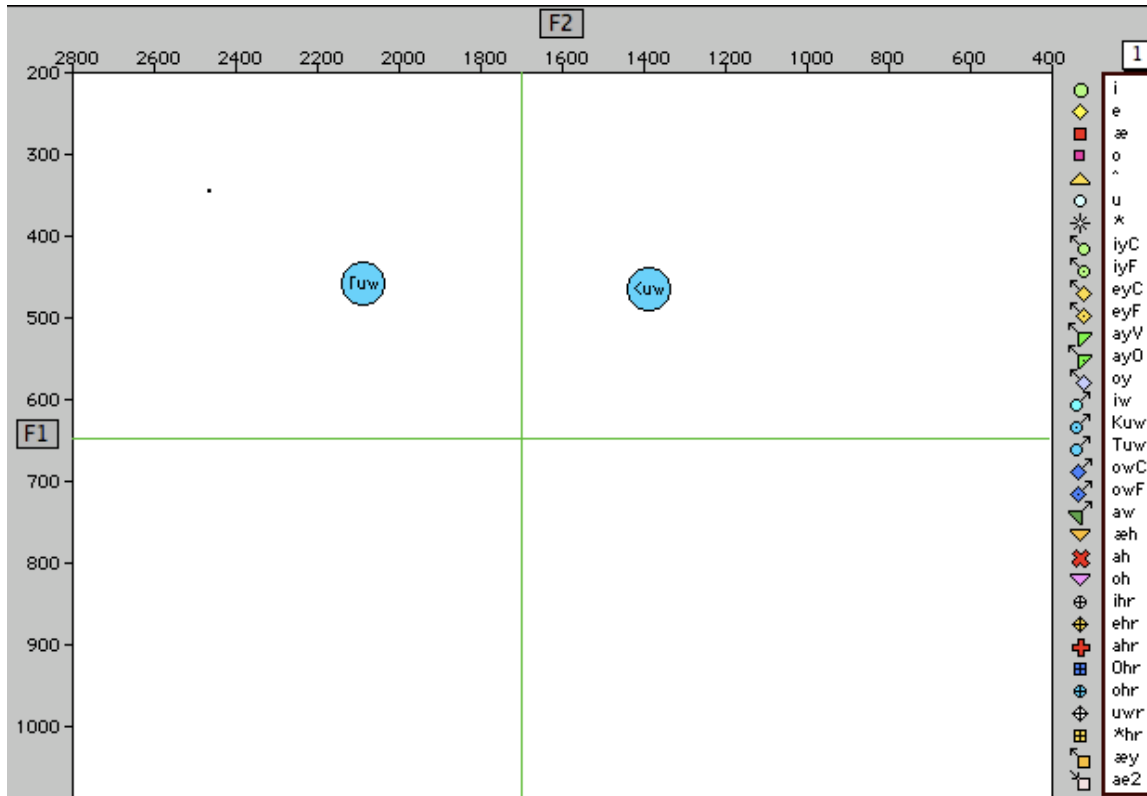
Figure 7.40. Fronting of /uw/ means for Nicole, F30
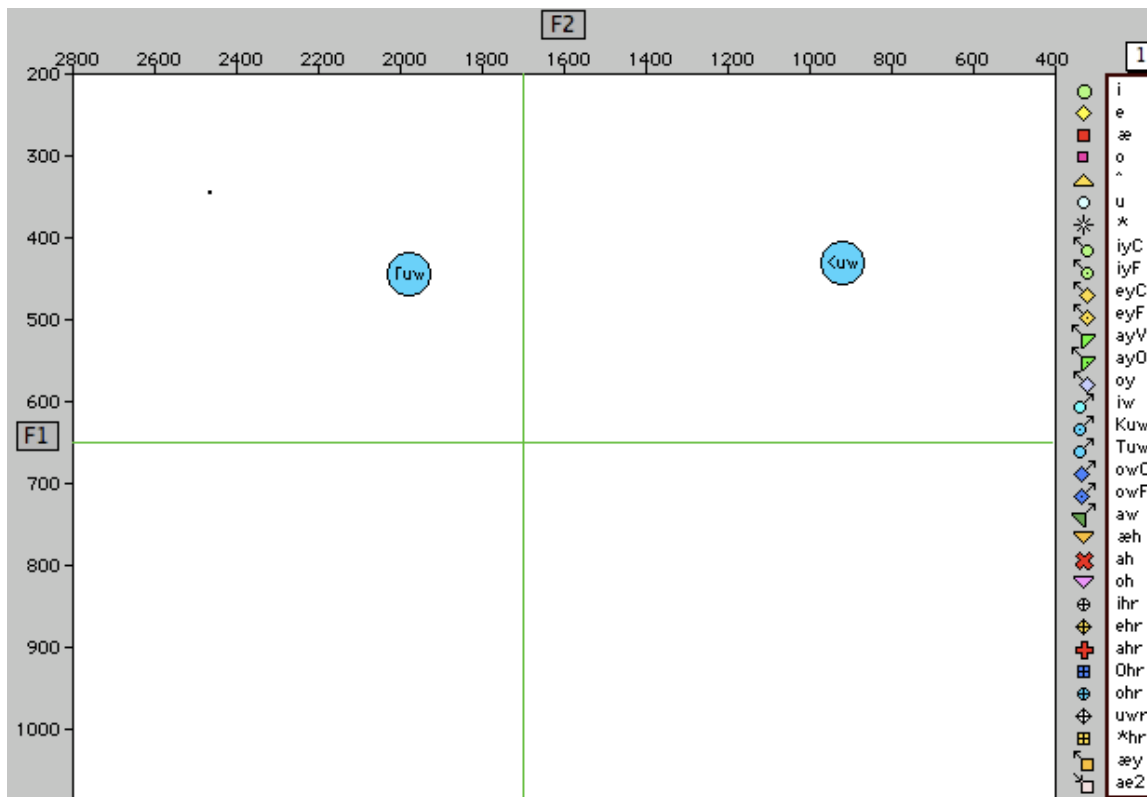
Figure 7.41. Fronting of /uw/ means for Michael, M20
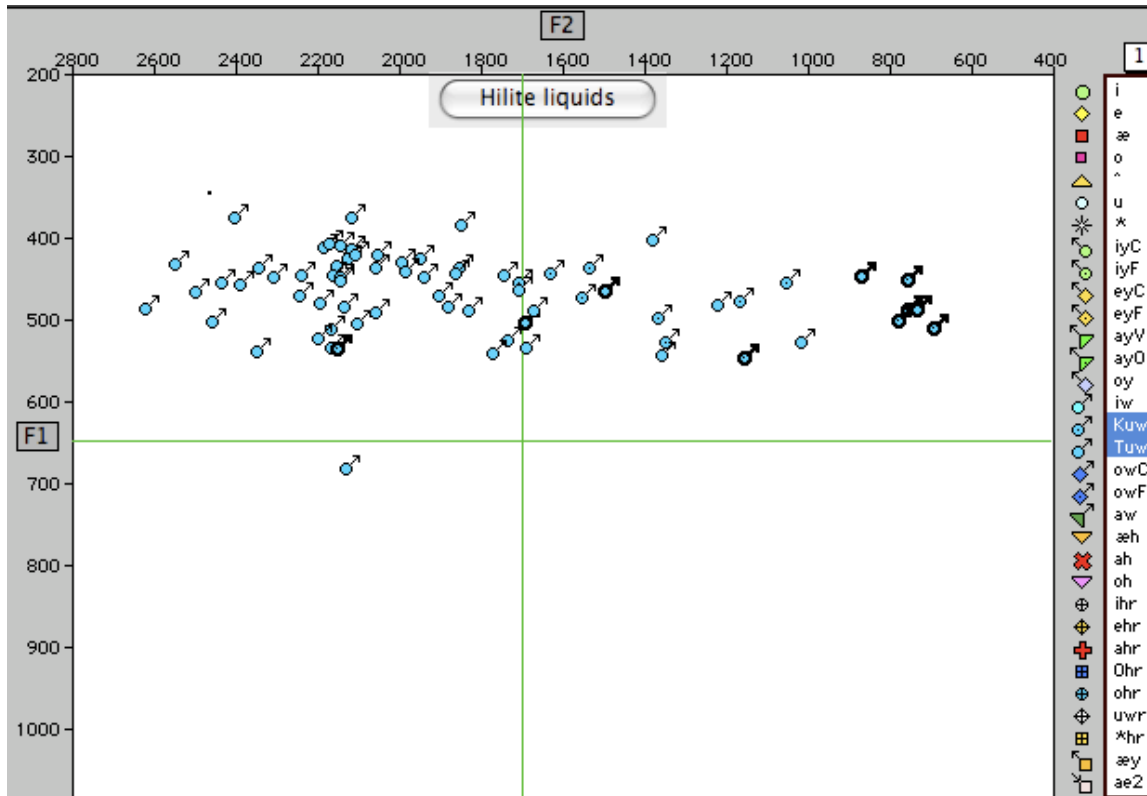
Figure 7.42. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Nicole, F30 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)
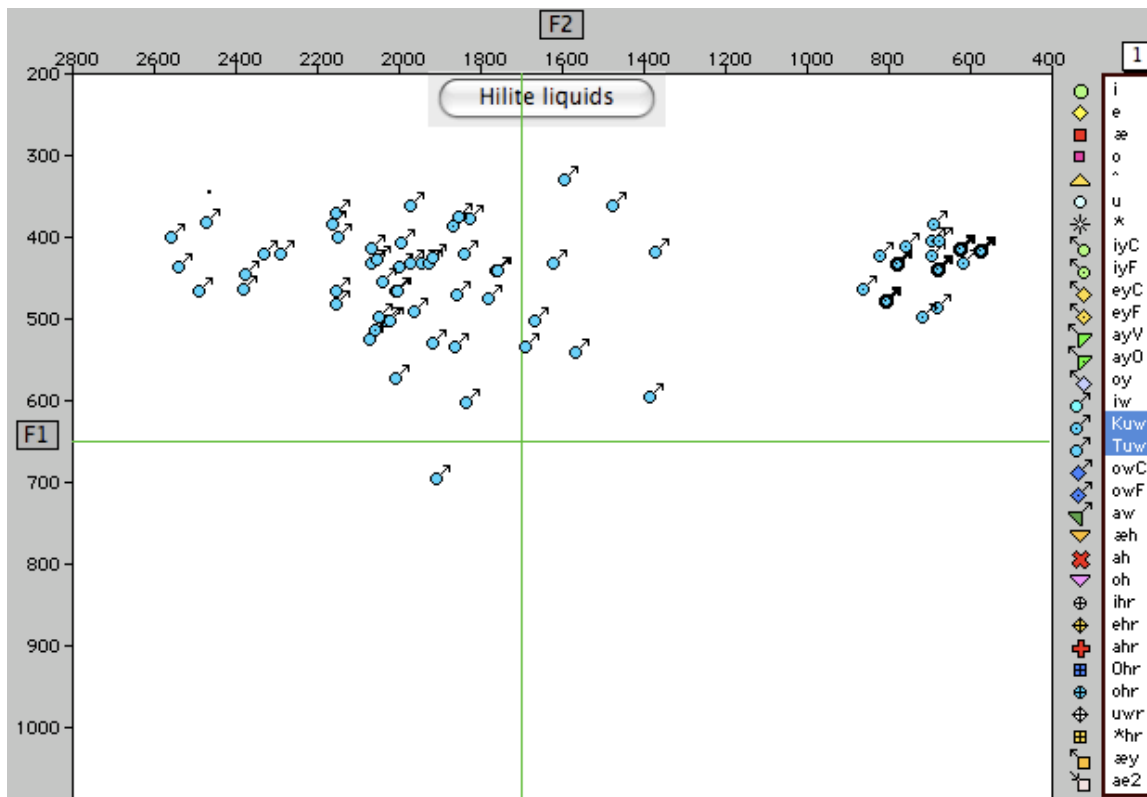
Figure 7.43. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Michael, M20 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)

Matt and Michelle

Matt and Michelle are friends who share very similar vowel systems that fall in between the modified and traditional systems we've just seen. Michelle makes a good contrast to Michael because she is his sister and is only two years older than him, yet linguistically behaves somewhat differently.

Matt and Michelle both have moderately overlapping distributions for both the short-a and low back vowels. Although the overlap is greater than Dan and Victor had for short-a, they don't have the closely-approximated means that Nicole and Michael showed for either class.

Matt and Michelle resemble Raymond in having free /ey/ means around the midline. For Matt, there is little height distinction between the checked and free /ey/ classes, suggesting that his participation in this change is fairly minimal. Michelle, on the other hand, has a raised checked /ey/ comparable to Barbara's and Nicole's.

On a similar note, Michelle is more advanced than Matt in her fronting of /uw/, resembling Nicole and Barbara. Matt looks more like Raymond with a post-coronal /uw/ mean just over 1800 Hz. Gender appears to be a particularly relevant predictor of this change.

Matt and Michelle's vowels can be seen in figures 7.44 through 7.57.
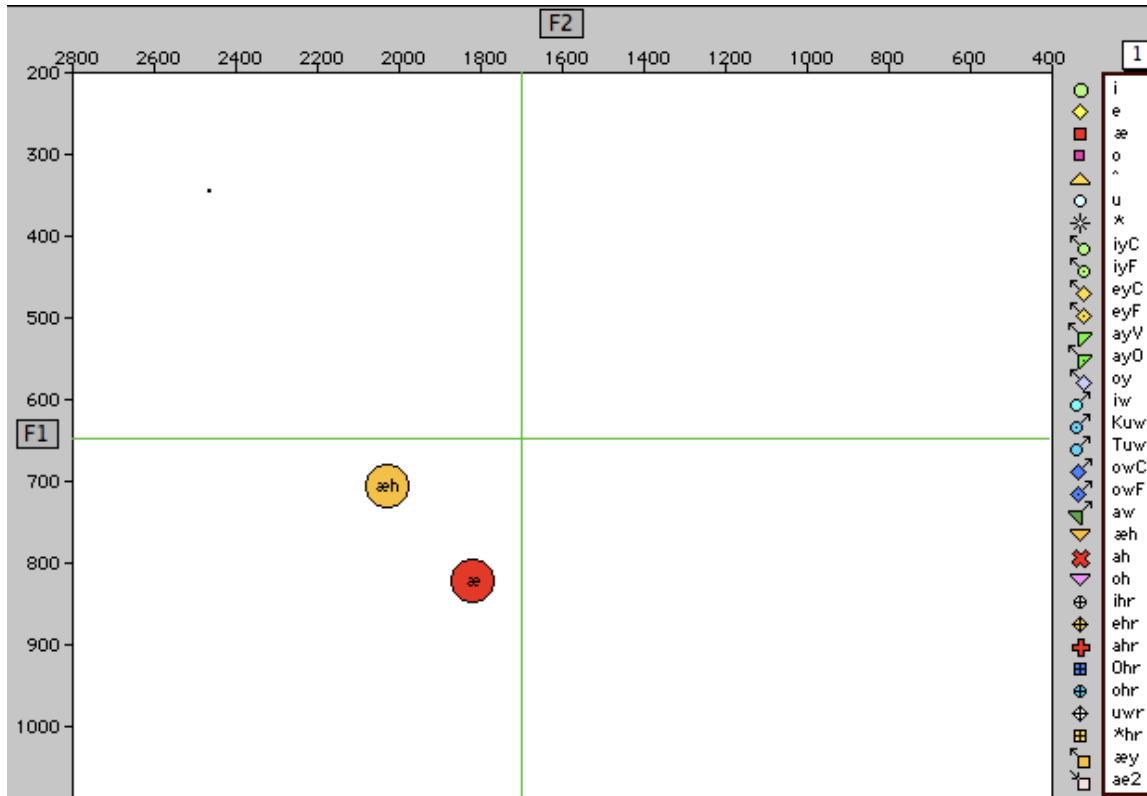
Figure 7.44. Short-a means for Matt, M22
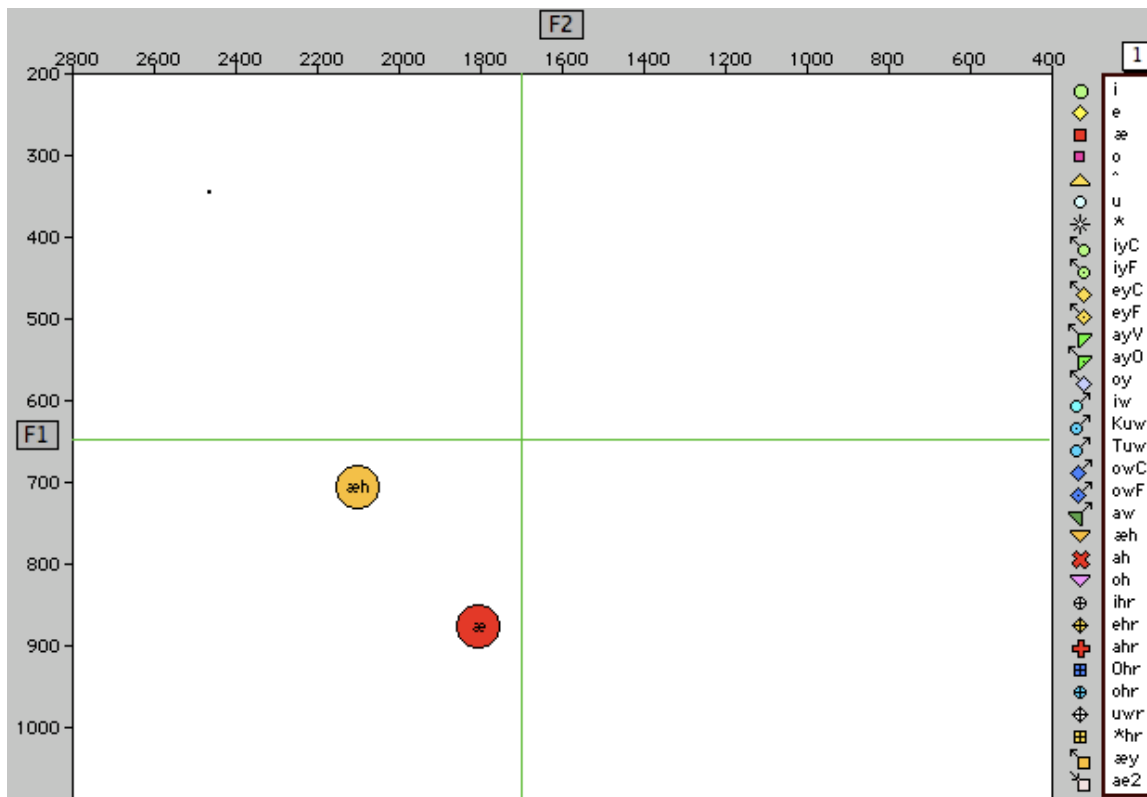
Figure 7.45. Short-a means for Michelle, F22
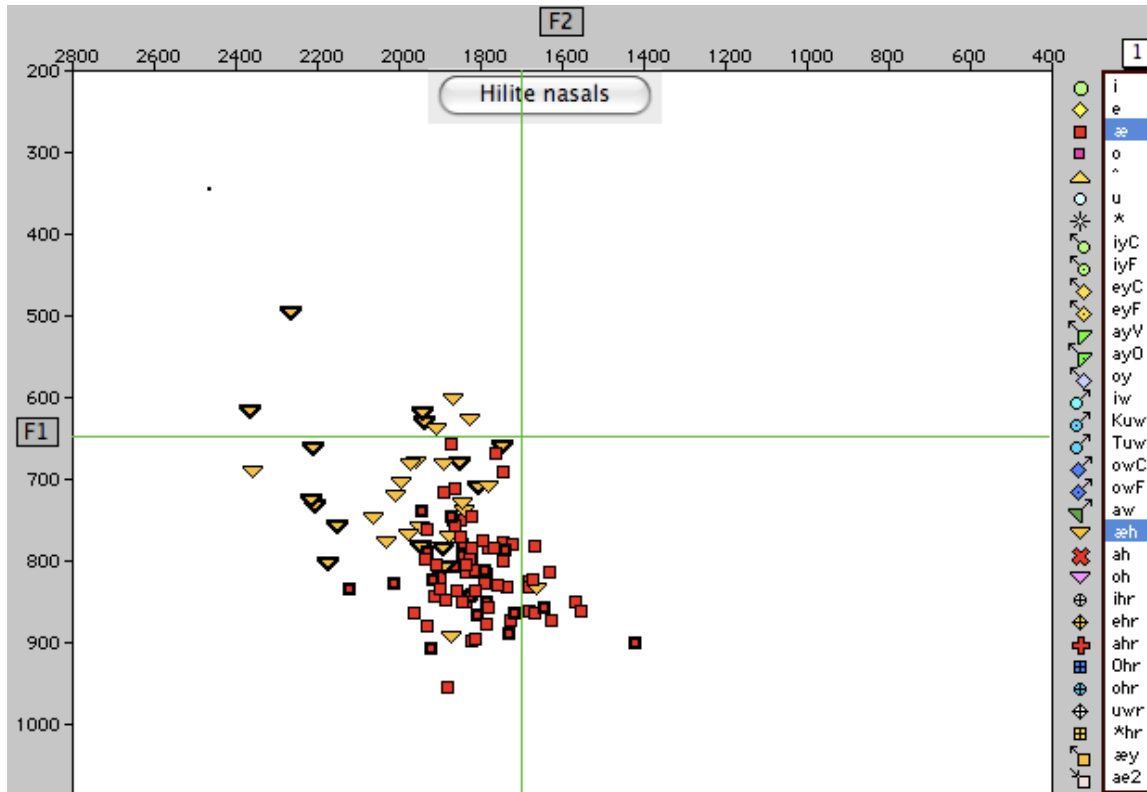
Figure 7.46. Short-a tokens for Matt, M22 (pre-nasal tokens highlighted)
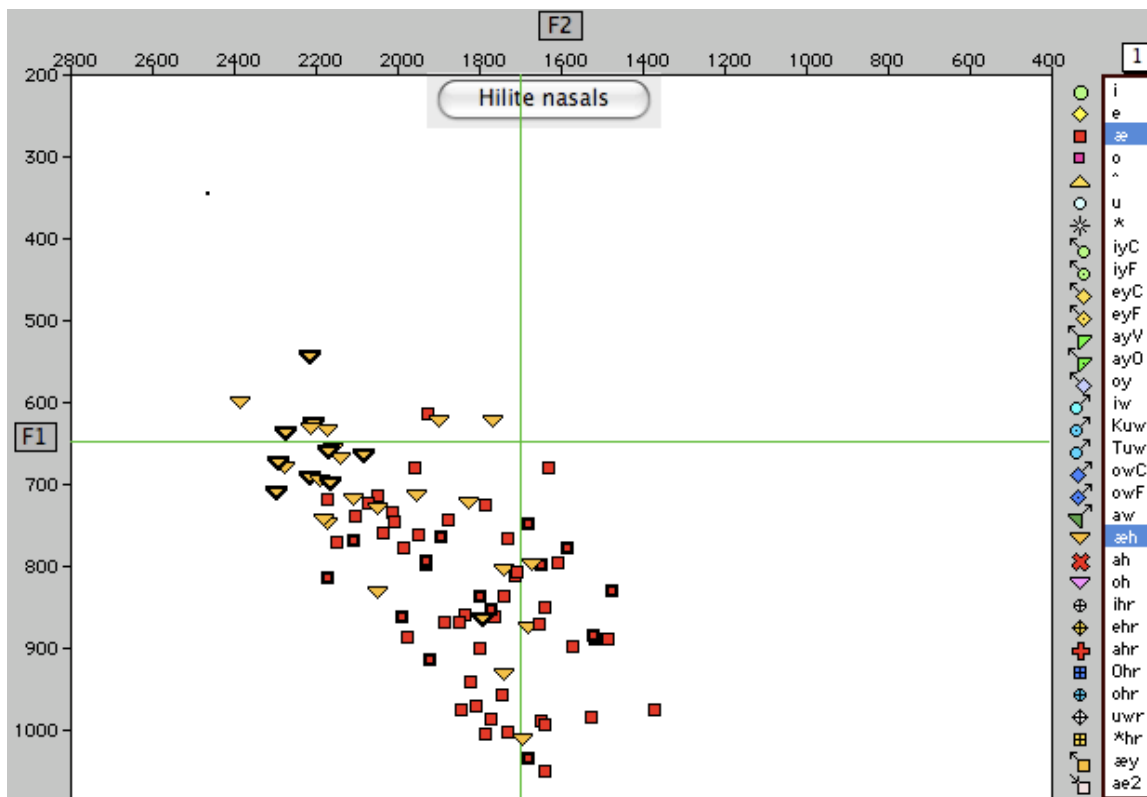
Figure 7.47. Short-a tokens for Michelle, F22 (pre-nasal tokens highlighted)
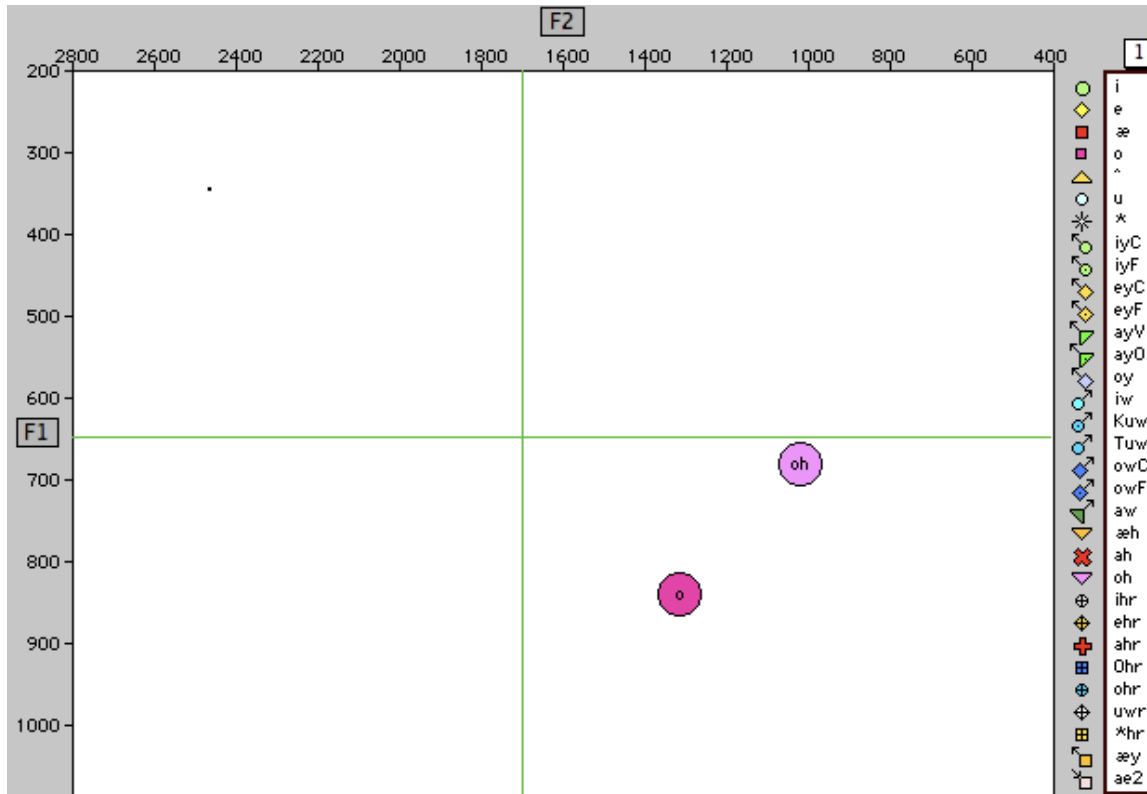
Figure 7.48. Low back means for Matt, M22
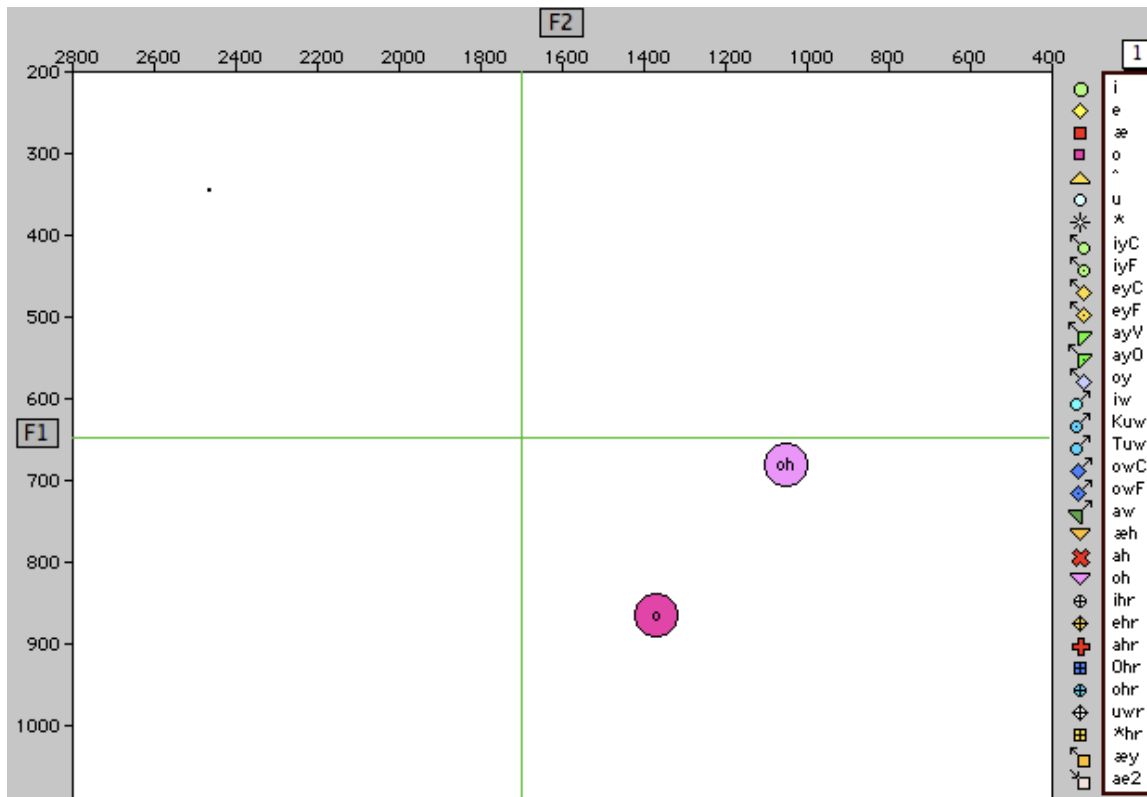
Figure 7.49. Low back means for Michelle, F22
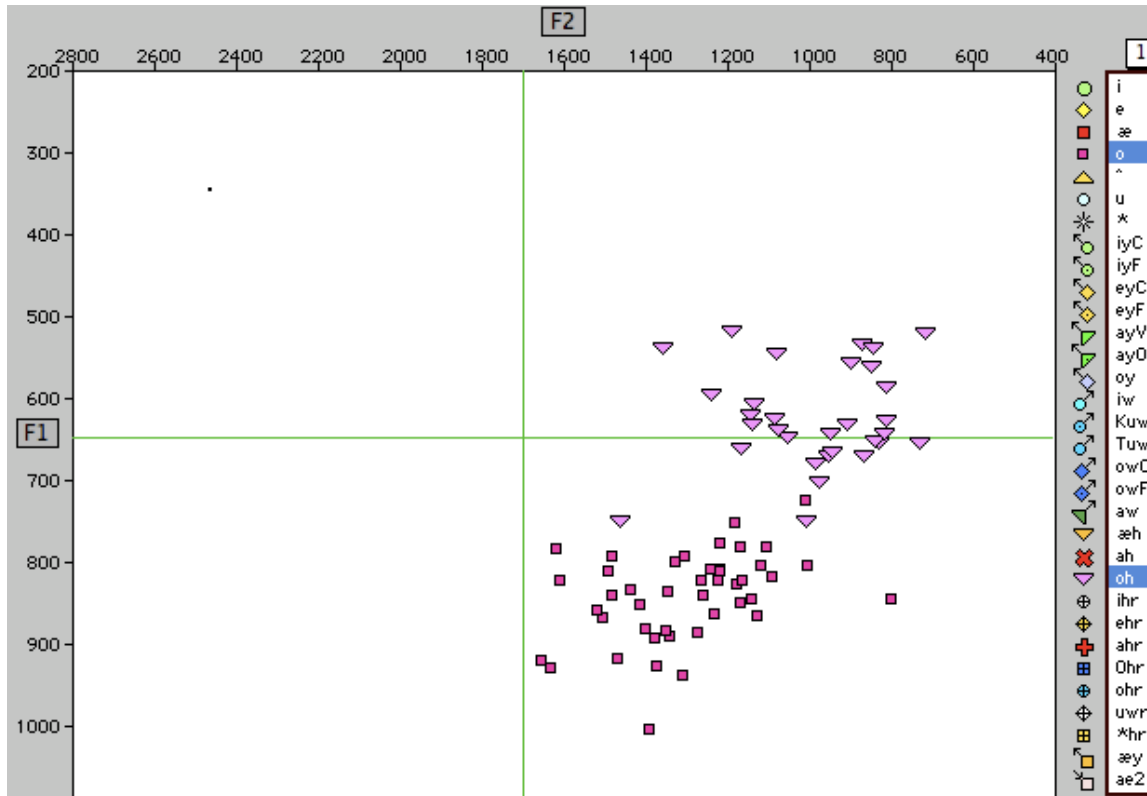
Figure 7.50. Low back tokens for Matt, M22
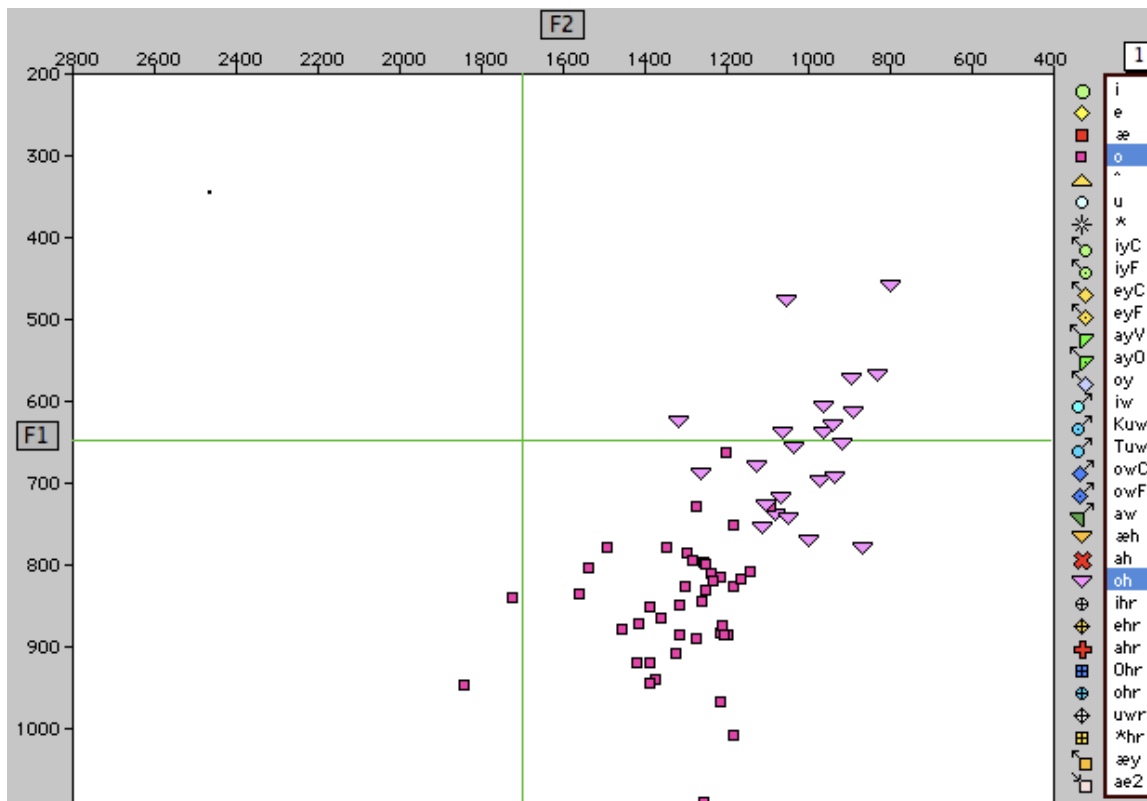
Figure 7.51. Low back tokens for Michelle, F22
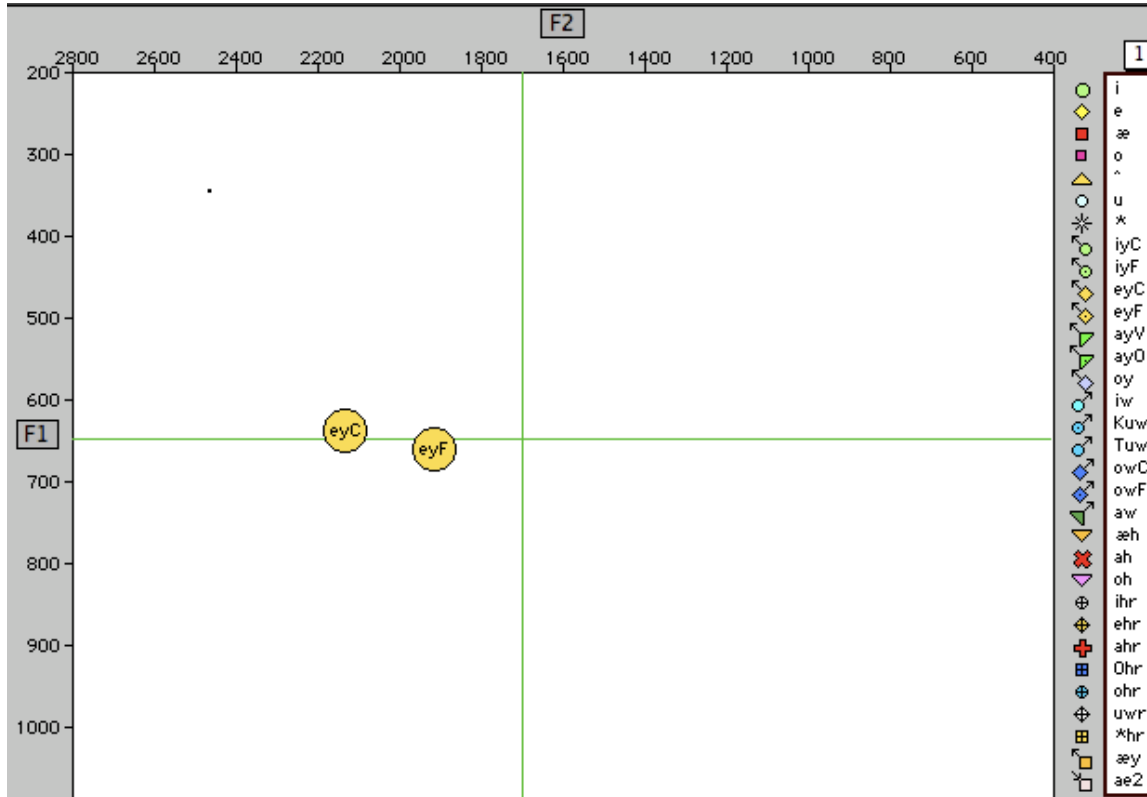
Figure 7.52. Checked and free /ey/ means for Matt, M22

Figure 7.53. Checked and free /ey/ means for Michelle, F22
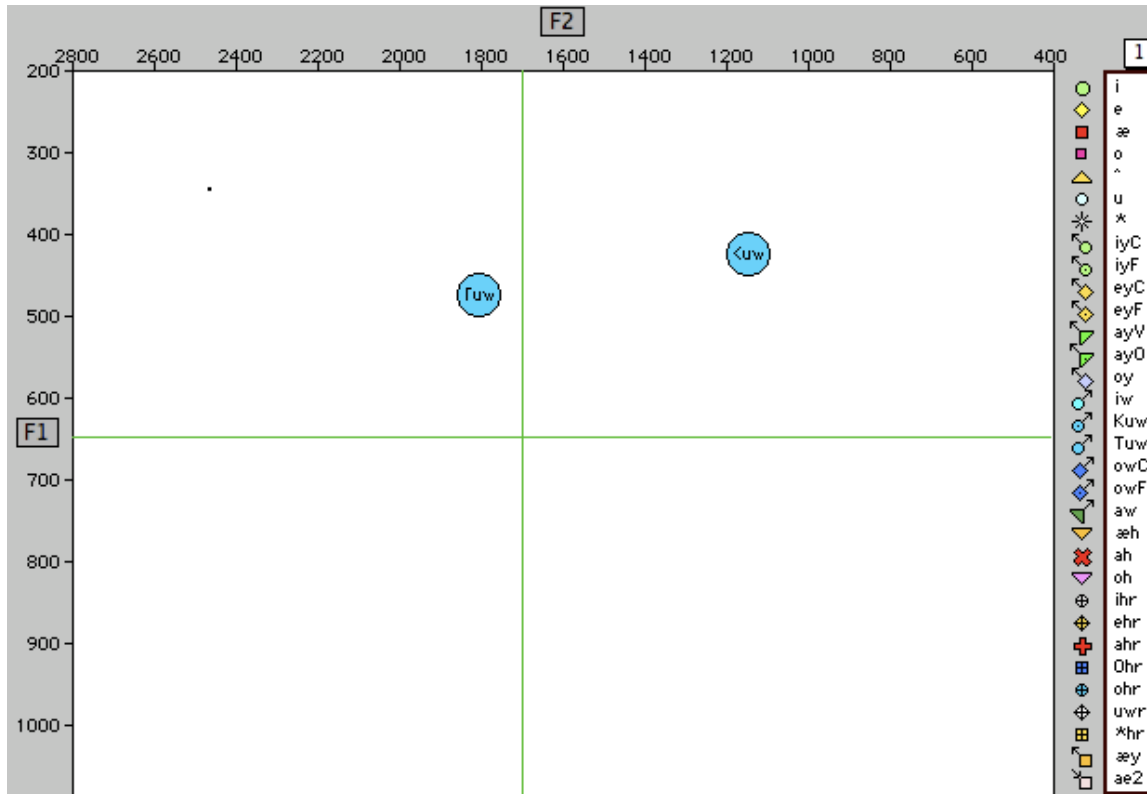
Figure 7.54. Fronting of /uw/ means for Matt, M22
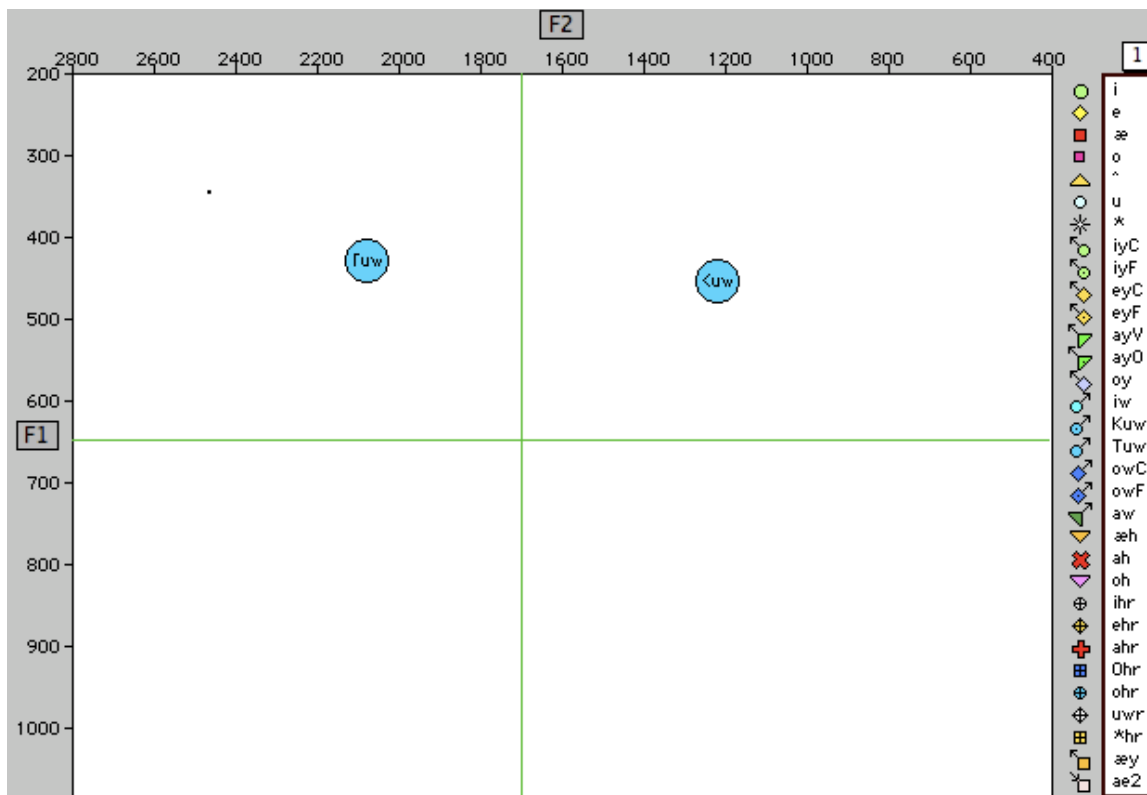
Figure 7.55. Fronting of /uw/ means for Michelle, F22
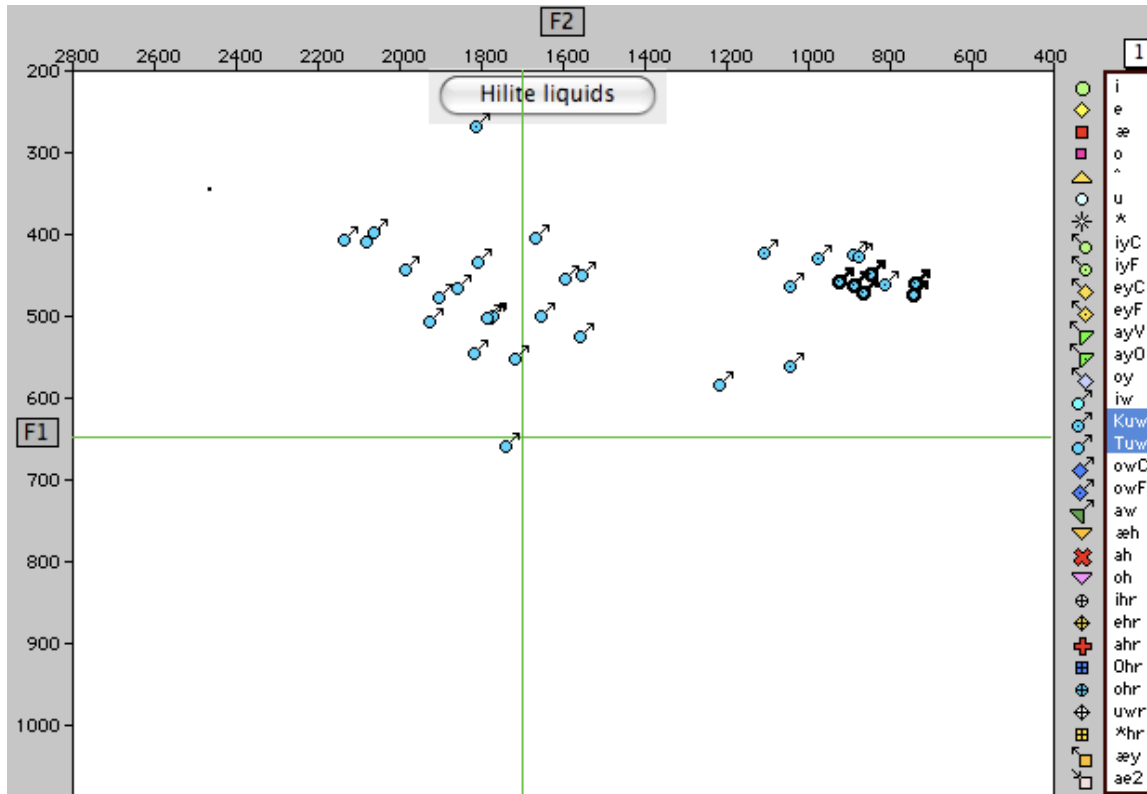
Figure 7.56. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Matt, M22 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)
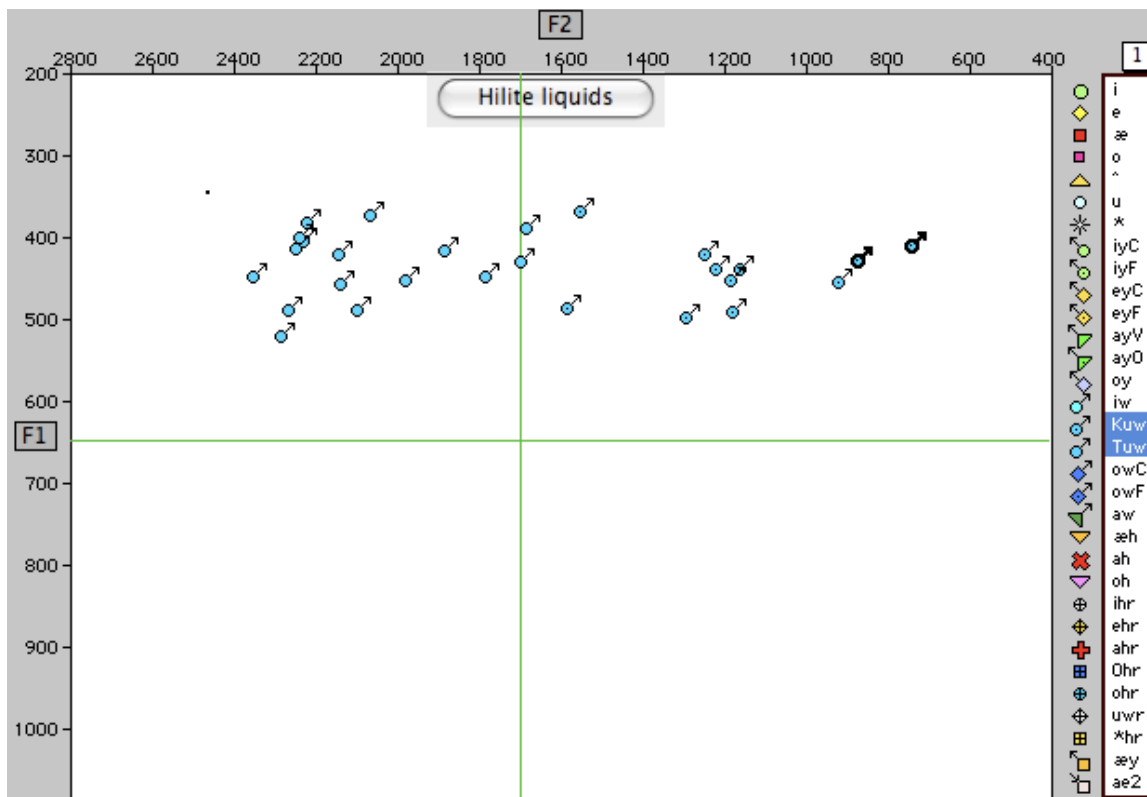
Figure 7.57. Fronting of /uw/ tokens for Michelle, F22 (pre-/l/ tokens highlighted)

7.4 Discussion

It is fortunate that we were able to collect data from such a diverse range of speakers for this project, as it has afforded us a unique view of the ongoing sound changes in Philadelphia, as well as suggesting a potentially new sound change in progress. As our discussion above reveals, the traditional Philadelphia distinctions in short-a and the low back vowels are still robustly maintained by the older speakers, as well as Raymond, who seems to have the most locally-oriented attitude of the young speakers. It is worth noting that this does in fact seem to be a case of *maintenance* rather than continuing change, as none of the younger speakers show more advanced distinctions than the older speakers here.

In regards to the remaining young speakers, it is clear that they are still very much participating in the Philadelphia system, while minimizing somewhat these distinctions which have attained social awareness. Hence Nicole and Michael's short-a split and low back vowels are still *statistically* significantly different (as shown in Figure 7.59 below), but their vowel plots reveal heavy overlap between the categories. This is in accord with the idea that Nicole and Michael, as the highest-ranked on the SAI scale, are more nationally-oriented in their outlook and goals, and as such tend to correct their vowel systems away from the locally-marked Philadelphia phonetic features without changing the Philadelphia phonology. Recall that this pattern holds not only for their vowel systems, but also for stable consonantal variables; the analysis of (ing) revealed that both Michael and Michelle use less than 5% of the alveolar /ɪn/ variant, correcting towards the standard form substantially more than any of our other speakers.

By contrast, a different pattern is seen for /eyC/-raising and /uw/-fronting, changes which are occurring below the level of awareness. The most striking result here is that Nicole, the highest-ranked speaker on both the SAI and SEC scales, has extremely advanced /eyC/-raising, and is among the most advanced in /uw/-fronting. Thus, while her social position is conducive to the correction of socially-marked local features, she is nonetheless a leader when it comes to changes, both local and national, which take place below the level of awareness. As a young, gregarious, and talkative woman, she is the prototypical leader of linguistic innovation. These variables are also decidedly advanced in Michael's system, although not to quite the same extent as in Nicole's system. This further supports the analysis that these two changes from below are female-led.

Finally, Nicole and Michael's checked versus free /ey/ distinction yields another interesting result. Previous studies of this variable have indicated that checked /ey/ is susceptible to raising, but have identified no parallel movement in free /ey/. Our analysis indicates that the raising of /eyF/ may be a new change in process. All of our young speakers show an /eyF/ which is higher than their older counterparts; Matt, Michelle, and Raymond's /eyF/ hovers near the F1 midline, while Michael and Nicole's /eyF/ is raised well past the midline. Figure 7.58 below is a plot of the normalized F1 for /eyF/ plotted by speaker age. The regression line shows a trend towards raising of /eyF/ over time, and age is selected as a significant predictor in the mixed-effects linear regression reported below; based on these results, we think that in future work on this variable, it would be worthwhile to

include data from past results in order to see if this trend holds up over a greater time range and larger data set.
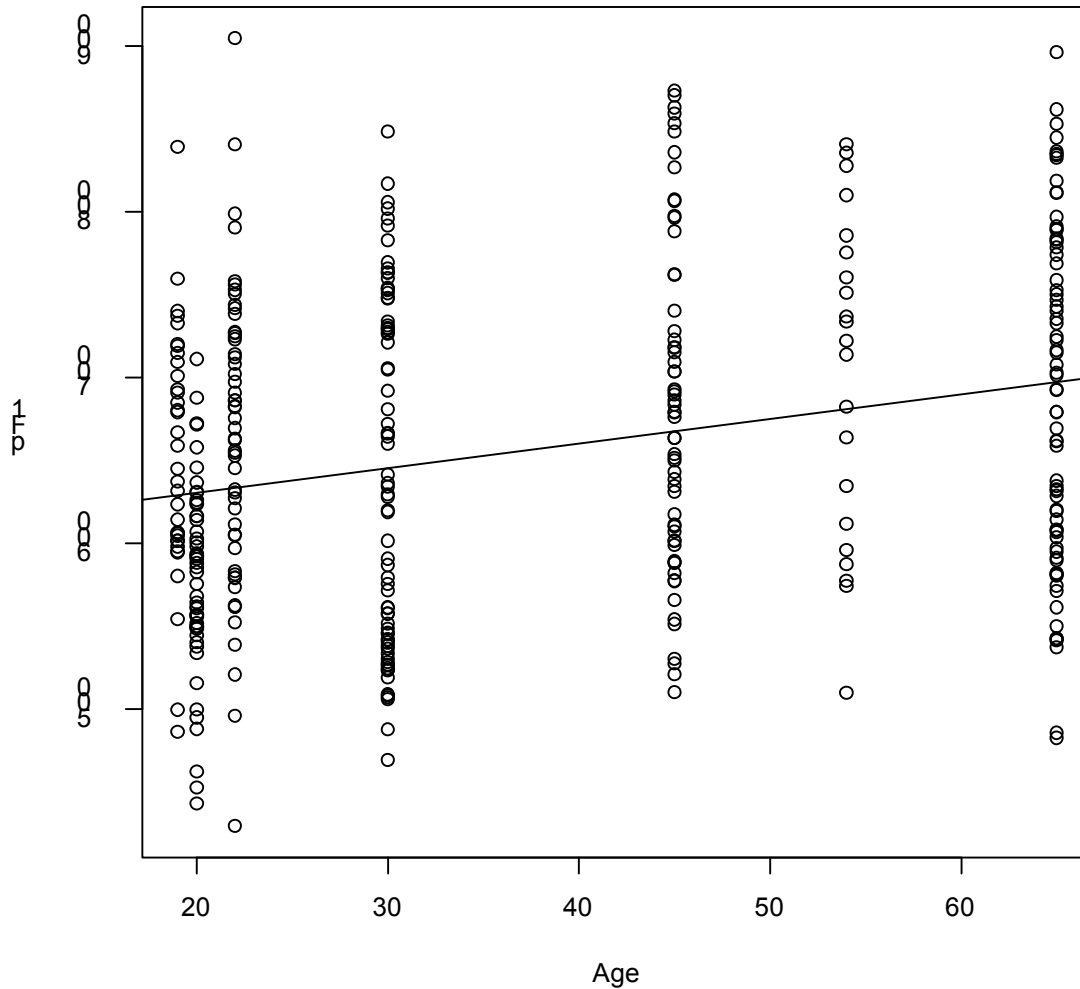
Figure 7.58. Normalized F1 of /eyF/ tokens by speaker age, with simple regression line

Results of the Statistical Analyses

For three of the four variables discussed above, t-tests were performed in order to test the significance of the observed distinctions. These results are presented in Figure 7.59 below. Additionally, the short-a data was analyzed for both the significance of /ae/ versus /aeh/, and all short-a tokens in pre-nasal environments versus in all other environments. This table includes the results of t-tests as well as the descriptive analysis of the state of the variables based on the vowel plots. Note that regardless of the descriptive conclusions, nearly all of these distinctions show some level of statistical significance. The only factor which proved to be completely insignificant was the nasal conditioning of short-a tensing in Michelle's system.

Name	Age	Sex	SAI	short-a		low-back	/ey/
Barbara	42	F	4	*distinct*		*distinct*	*/eyC/ raised*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.05		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Raymond	19	M	2	*distinct*		*distinct*	*C raised, F mid*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.001		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Patricia	65	F	4	*distinct*		*distinct*	*/eyC/ raised*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.001		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Nicole	35	F	1	*approximated*		*approximated*	*both raised*
				F1 p < 0.05 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.001		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Michael	20	M	1	*approximated*		*approximated*	*both raised*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.01
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.001		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Michelle	22	F	2	*approximated?*		*distinct*	*C raised, F mid*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 not sig.		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 not sig.		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Dan	45	M	3	*intermediate*		*distinct*	*/eyC/ raised*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 p < 0.001		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.001		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Matt	22	M	4	*approximated?*		*distinct*	*both mid*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 not sig.		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.05
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.05		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001
Victor	54	M	3	*intermediate*		*distinct*	*/eyC/ raised*
				F1 p < 0.001 nasal F1 not sig.		F1 p < 0.001	F1 p < 0.001
				F2 p < 0.001 nasal F2 p < 0.05		F2 p < 0.001	F2 p < 0.001

Figure 7.59. Results of t-test analysis of three vowel variables. "Approximated" refers to short-a systems in which the tense and lax classes have heavily overlapping distributions.

In addition to the t-tests presented above, we conducted step-up/step-down mixed effects linear regressions on F2 of /Tuw/ and /Kuw/ and F1 of /eyC/ and /eyF/. Only primary stressed tokens were included. For the regressions on /uw/, we excluded pre-/l/ tokens. We included speaker and word identity as random intercepts and age, sex, Social Aspiration Index (SAI), preceding segment, and duration in milliseconds as fixed effects.

Variable	Model selected by the step-up/step-down analysis
/Tuw/	Preceding seg. (p < 0.001) + duration (p < 0.01) + SAI (p < 0.01) + sex (p < 0.01)
/Kuw/	Preceding seg. (p < 0.001) + duration (p < 0.01) + age (p < 0.01) + SAI (p < 0.05)
/eyC/	Preceding seg. (p < 0.001) + duration (p < 0.001) + SAI (p < 0.05)
/eyF/	Duration (p < 0.001) + age (p < 0.01) + preceding seg. (p < 0.01) + SAI (p < 0.05)

Figure 7.60. Results of mixed effects linear regressions on four vowel variables

It appears that while preceding segment, duration, and SAI ranking are significant factors for all of the variables, sex is a significant factor only for /Tuw/, and age is significant only for /Kuw/ and /eyF/. This supports our previous conclusions, although based on our descriptive analysis it is somewhat surprising that sex was not a significant factor for /eyC/ as well. Additionally, these results suggest that young speakers may be leading a change in /Kuw/ in a similar fashion to what we have seen with /eyF/. Changes that have been largely limited to certain conditioning environments are being extended to other environments in those vowel classes, and this innovation is being led by the very same speakers who are retreating from the obvious phonetic aspects of sounding Philadelphian.

8   Conclusion

Our sociolinguistic fieldwork in South Philadelphia this year has proven particularly fruitful for investigating the phonetic correlates of higher education and social mobility. We began with a classic block study, attempting to forge contacts with the local residents to learn about their social networks and interactions. Although this approach had limited success, the extension of our contacts off the block offered a new avenue of enquiry. By expanding our study to younger speakers who have roots in the neighborhood but are well-educated and upwardly mobile, we were able to see what aspects of the Philadelphia dialect are socially marked and vulnerable to correction. In particular, we demonstrated that the most highly-educated, upwardly-mobile, nationally-oriented speakers still participate systematically in the Philadelphia dialect, but attenuate its phonetic quality when they are aware of it, as in tense /aeh/ and /oh/. These same speakers, though, are at the lead of the newest changes taking place below the level of consciousness in Philadelphia, whether they are local or nation-wide changes. These results offer new insights into the nature of sociolinguistic markers and indicators and give us a more detailed understanding of the effects of different levels of higher education.

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Appendix 1: Interview Reports

Tape No | PH10-1-1-Barbara | nterview   10/12/2010

I.V. No. | | Interviewer   Hilary (and Soohyun)

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview   10/12/10   Time   7:30   AM/~~PM~~

2. Subject   Name   Barbara

               Address   2330 Lock Street

        Sex   F   Nightgown

        Age   40s   Plump, Blonde hair
        Ethnic   Italian

    Residence   House at address above

    Occ/Schooling   Secretary of Air Force (has been working for government for 25 yrs, started to work right after graduating from high school)

    Language   English (Italian?)

3. Place   Place of interview   Living room

             Others present   Daughter (Heather) staying throughout the interview. Son (Brian) staying in the beginning of the interview but told to go upstairs. Husband (Robert) coming into the room a couple of times but not saying anything

        If Subject's house : Type of House   Row house
                Furniture/Books

                Newspaper/ Television   Plain but comfortable furniture (two couches and a chair), Photos of children on the walls, Two TV sets not turned on. Did not notice books or newspapers.

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason   The interview lasted about two hours. Children also engaged in interview and showed a great curiosity about recording and microphone. Barbara was very cooperative and willing to talk.
        Unusually good sections
        Reading: Overall evaluation
        Attitude of Subject

5. Comments:

    Not planning to do the second interview since we've already talked enough to cover almost all the questions in the module. But she introduced some of her neighbours she thinks would be willing to help us.

Tape No   PH10-1-2-Raymond   e of Interview   10/16/2010

I.V. No.   Interviewer   Meredith (and Amy)

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1.   Date of Interview   10/16/10   Time   2.30   AM/~~PM~~

2.   Subject   Name   Raymond Jr

            Address   2312 Lock Street

            Sex   M   white t-shirt, sweatpants

            Age   19   muscular build, short brown hair

            Ethnic   ½ Italian (F), ½ Irish (M)

      Residence   House at address above

      Occ/Schooling   Currently: first year at Community (undecided). Graduated from: GAMP (Girard Academic Music Program) High School, St. Monica's grade school

      Language   English (Italian?)

3.   Place   Place of interview   Lounge

            Others present   Father (Daniel), Mother (Sue), and another man helping with renovations passing room through frequently. Sister (Jane) visited, at doorway briefly (but she lives at the address too, to our knowledge).

      If Subject's house : Type of House   Terraced House

            Furniture/Books   "Fixing up the house." Matching brown sofas (2) and armchair, wooden cabinets / cupboard. Some furniture to be removed: traditional? wooden. Did not notice books or newspapers. Photos of children's' confirmation. Rock music channel on TV.

            Newspaper/ Television

4.   Interview   Incomplete for any reason   Noise of renovations upstairs. Rap music from upstairs for a few minutes. People passing through lounge. Father and Mother also engaged in interview. Short interview: 30 mins. Subject had plans to go out. Subject willing to be interviewed again.
            Unusually good sections
            Reading: Overall evaluation
            Attitude of Subject

5.   Comments:

            Other family members seem willing to be interviewed: mother, father and sister. We haven't met another (younger?) brother yet.

Group 1   May 2011

Tape No | PH10-1-03-Patricia | of Interview   10/26/2010

I.V. No.   Interviewer   Amy and Meishan

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 10/26/10 | Time | 7.20 | AM/PM

2. Subject   Name | Patricia P

           Address | 2339 Lock Street

           Sex | F | Black t-shirt + trousers (casual)

           Age | 65 | pearance   Dark brown hair (medium length), Medium build

           Ethnic | Italian

           Residence | House at address above

           Occ/Schooling | Graduated from high school, and received secretarial training whilst employed. Currently working as assistant manager at a local food and produce market.

           Language | English

3. Place   Place of interview | (We met on the street, and she invited us into her home) Lounge

           Others present | A friend (Joyce) she was walking with. (We met Patricia on the street as she was walking her two pug dogs.)

           If Subject's house : Type of House   Row House
           Furniture/Books

           Newspaper/ Television | Television was on when we arrived, she switched it off. Sofas with colourful blankets. No books or newspapers in sight. Wooden furniture. Dining table in next room (open plan) with a vase of flowers. Yellow walls.

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason
           Unusually good sections
           Reading: Overall evaluation
           Attitude of Subject

| Good sections: Narrative about son's bullying. Narrative about the first time she met her husband (second version) - lots of reported speech.
The subject was happy to talk, but we didn't want to stay too late so wrapped the interview up after about 50 mins. |

5. Comments: | Patricia offered to give us her phone number so we can arrange further interviews. |

Tape No   PH10-1-4-Nicole   Interview   11/22/2010

I.V. No.   Interviewer   Meishan and Amy

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview   11/22/10   Time   5.10   A̶M̶/PM

2. Subject   Name   Nicole

                Address   N/A

               Sex   F   Floral blouse, tailored trousers and heeled boots

               Age   30   Appearance   Brown hair, petite, smart-casual dress

               Ethnic   Italian / Irish

               Residence   N/A

               Occ/Schooling

               Language   English

3. Place   Place of interview   We met on campus, and conducted our interview in a private study room of the biomedical library.

               Others present

               If Subject's house : Type of House

                        Furniture/Books

                      Newspaper/ Television

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason

                      Unusually good sections

                      Reading: Overall evaluation

                      Attitude of Subject

Interview incomplete. First part of the interview - microphone had stopped working.
- 00:00 : engagement
- 15:20 : conflict with French host-family
- 18:25 : boyfriend's uncle / racism

Subject very willing to converse, but perhaps more engaged in more general topics of conversation than personal narratives.

5. Comments:

31:00 onwards: Formal Methods.
Nicole has participated in a Linguistic study before.

Tape No | PH10-1-5A Michael | ~~te~~ of Interview | 12/9/10 |

I.V. No. | | Interviewer | SK & MT |

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 12/9/10 | Time | 5:00 | PM

2. Subject   Name | Michael A |

           Address | 1806 South High Street |

Sex   Dress | M | | Jeans, hoodie, knit cap, masculine bracelets |

Age   Appe~~arance~~ | 20 | | Somewhat short; shaggy hair; overall somewhat alternative/punk in style |

Ethnic | Italian |

Residence | 1806 South High Street |

Occ/Schooling | Elementary – St. Nick's; High – Neumann Goretti; current Penn student; plans to go to grad school |

Language | English |

3. Place   Place of interview | Van Pelt Library (UPenn), Rm. 303 |

        Others present | Michelle (sister, also being interviewed) |

If Subject's house : Type of House

           Furniture/Books

           Newspaper/ Television

Interview   Incomplete for any reason

        Unusually good sections

        Reading: Overall evaluation | Includes formal modules except wordlist. Articulate but inclined to let Michelle take the lead. Interested in the study. |

        Attitude of Subject

4. Comments:

Group 1   May 2011

Tape No | PH10-1-6A Michelle | e of Interview | 12/9/10

I.V. No. | | Interviewer | SK & MT

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 12/9/10 | Time | 5:00 | PM

2. Subject   Name | Michelle |

Address | 1806 South High Street |

Sex   Dress | F | | Medical scrubs |

Age   Appe | 22 | | Highlighted hair, generally average in appearance |

Ethnic | Italian |

Residence | 1806 South High Street |

Occ/Schooling | Since 10th grade, part time work as parish secretary and in medical billing. Ed. same as Michael |

Language | English |

3. Place   Place of interview | Van Pelt Library (UPenn), Rm. 303 |

Others present | Michael (brother, also being interviewed) |

If Subject's house : Type of House

Furniture/Books

Newspaper/ Television

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason | Includes formal modules but not wordlist. Had some trouble reading in min pairs. Talkative and excitable. |

Unusually good sections

Reading: Overall evaluation

Attitude of Subject

5. Comments

Tape No | PH10-1-5B Michael | of Interview | 2/4/11 |

I.V. No. | | Interviewer | MT |

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 2/4/11 | Time | 1:00 | PM

2. Subject   Name | Michael A |
         Address

   Sex   Dress | M |

   Age   Appearance | 20 |

   Ethnicity | Italian |

   Residence

   Occ/Schooling

   Language

3. Place   Place of interview | Van Pelt Library (UPenn), Rm 303 |
         Others present

   If Subject's house : Type of House

             Furniture/Books

             Newspaper/ Television

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason | Includes word list. |
       Unusually good sections
       Reading: Overall evaluation
       Attitude of Subject

5. Comments:

| Second interview with Michael. Said he would be willing to meet with us again if helpful. |

Tape No   PH10-1-6B Michelle   ͤe of Interview   2/7/11

I.V. No.   Interviewer   MT

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1.   Date of Interview   2/7/11   Time   Noon

2.   Subject   Name
         Address   Michelle A

     Sex   ͤ   Zip-up sweatshirt and jeans
                    F

     Age   22   ͣarance

     Ethnic   Italian

         Residence

         Occ/Schooling

     Language

3.   Place   Place of interview   Study room in Drexel library
          Others present

     If Subject's house : Type of House

               Furniture/Books

               Newspaper/ Television

Interview   Incomplete for any reason   Includes word list
         Unusually good sections
         Reading: Overall evaluation
         Attitude of Subject

4.   Comments:

     Second interview with Michelle. She forgot to come at first, so we ended up with very little time for
     the interview by the time she arrived.

Tape No   PH10-1-7-Dan   Date of Interview   01/23/2011

I.V. No.   Interviewer   Amy and Meishan

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1.   Date of Interview   01/23/11   Time   6:00   AM/~~PM~~

2.   Subject   Name   Dan

              Address   1805 South High Street

              Sex   M   Red fleece

              Age   approx 45   Dark hair, Mediterranean complexion

              Ethnic   Italian

              Residence   House at address above

              Occ/Schooling   Completed high school, and went to Pierce College where he studied computing. He worked as an IT manager.

              Language   Native Italian Speaker / Fluent in English

3.   Place   Place of interview   Kitchen

              Others present   Dan's wife (Robyn) was sitting in the living room watching TV. Later on she came to the kitchen and joined our interview. There was a dog walking around the house.

              If Subject's house : Type of House   Row house

              Furniture/Books   Plain but comfortable furniture, Photos of family on the walls, Two TV sets, one was turned on (Robyn was watching), the other is not. Did not notice books or newspapers.

              Newspaper/Television

4.   Interview   Incomplete for any reason   The interview lasted about one hour. Robyn came to sit with us at the end of the interview. Dan was very cooperative and willing to talk. He was happy to talk about the neighbourhood and make generalisations about South Philadelphia, however it was difficult to elicit narratives of personal experience (he seemed uncomfortable talking about himself). Dan appeared nervous and uncomfortable reading the cards as we recorded him, so we didn't push him to slow down or read more carefully. As a result, the 'Formal Methods' modules are rushed and perhaps inadequate for analysis in sections.

              Unusually good sections
              Reading: Overall evaluation
              Attitude of Subject

5.   Comments:

Not planning to do the second interview as we have already covered most of the questions in the module.

Tape No | PH10-1-9-Matt | Date of Interview | 02/27/2011 |

I.V. No. | | Interviewer | Amy (Meishan) |

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 02/27/2011 | Time | 5 | PM

2. Subject   Name | Matt P |

              Address | 1816 South Sun Street |

         Sex | M | | Black hoody, Cargo pants, Sneakers, Baseball cap |

         Age | 22 | pearance | Casual dress, Italian features |
         Ethnic | Italian |

    Residence | Living with parents |

    Occ/Schooling | Grade school, High school, 1 year of college |

         Language | English |

3. Place   Place of interview | His home (address above) |
               Others present | Meishan, 2 friends arrived 7 mins in: Michelle (PH10-1-7) and Melissa (not interviewed) |

       If Subject's house : Type of House | Row house |
              Furniture/Books | Television on when we arrived, magazines on coffee table. |

           Newspaper/ Television

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason | Interview felt informal and relaxed. Subject happy to talk and very welcoming. Interesting discussion of Maloiks (17:30). |
              Unusually good sections
              Reading: Overall evaluation
              Attitude of Subject

5. Comments:

    | Potential follow-up for future interviews with family or friends. We went to dinner with Matt and his friends after the interview so a few potential contacts established. |

Tape No | PH10-1-10-Victor | Date of Interview

I.V. No. | | Interviewer | Amy |

| 03/27/2011 |

I N T E R V I E W   R E P O R T

1. Date of Interview | 03/27/2011 | Time | 5 | PM

2. Subject   Name | Victor P |

                  Address | 1816 South Sun Street |

   Sex | M | | Outdoors-sports fleece, gold necklaces with catholic symbols |

   Age | 54 | Appearance | Casual dress, Italian features |
   Ethnic | Italian |

   Residence | Lives with wife and children |

   Occ/Schooling | Started working at S&L whilst sophomore in High School (Newman). Completed college. Current treasurer of small savings & loan company. |

   Language | English |

3. Place   Place of interview | Kitchen (address above) |
            Others present | His son Matt |

   If Subject's house : Type of House | Row house |
            Furniture/Books | Television on when we arrived, magazines on coffee table. |
            Newspaper/ Television

4. Interview   Incomplete for any reason | Semantic differential task incomplete. Good sections include discussion of games (2:50), and customs relating to marriage (14:00), interesting discussion of the Maloiks (18:44). |
            Unusually good sections
            Reading: Overall evaluation
            Attitude of Subject

5. Comments:

   | Victor was articulate and keen to discuss the neighborhood. |