

A community divided: co-occurrence in retreat from local features

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Background: TRAP in Philadelphia

- TRAP is undergoing a phonological restructuring in Philadelphia (see, e.g. Labov et al. 2015, Fisher et al. 2014 for TRAP details)
 - From “Philly System” to “Nasal System”
- Due to contact with non-Philadelphians during college (Prichard and Tamminga 2012, Prichard 2014)
- Or type of middle and high school (Labov et al. 2015)
- There is a **division in the community** between two types of speakers: Nasal TRAP and Philly TRAP speakers

How deep does this division run?

- Dialect shift**
 - Nasal TRAP speakers losing local features
- Social correction** of stigmatized forms
 - Nasal TRAP speakers only “correct” overtly stigmatized features
- Change in **TRAP only**
 - TRAP system not correlated with other features

Methods

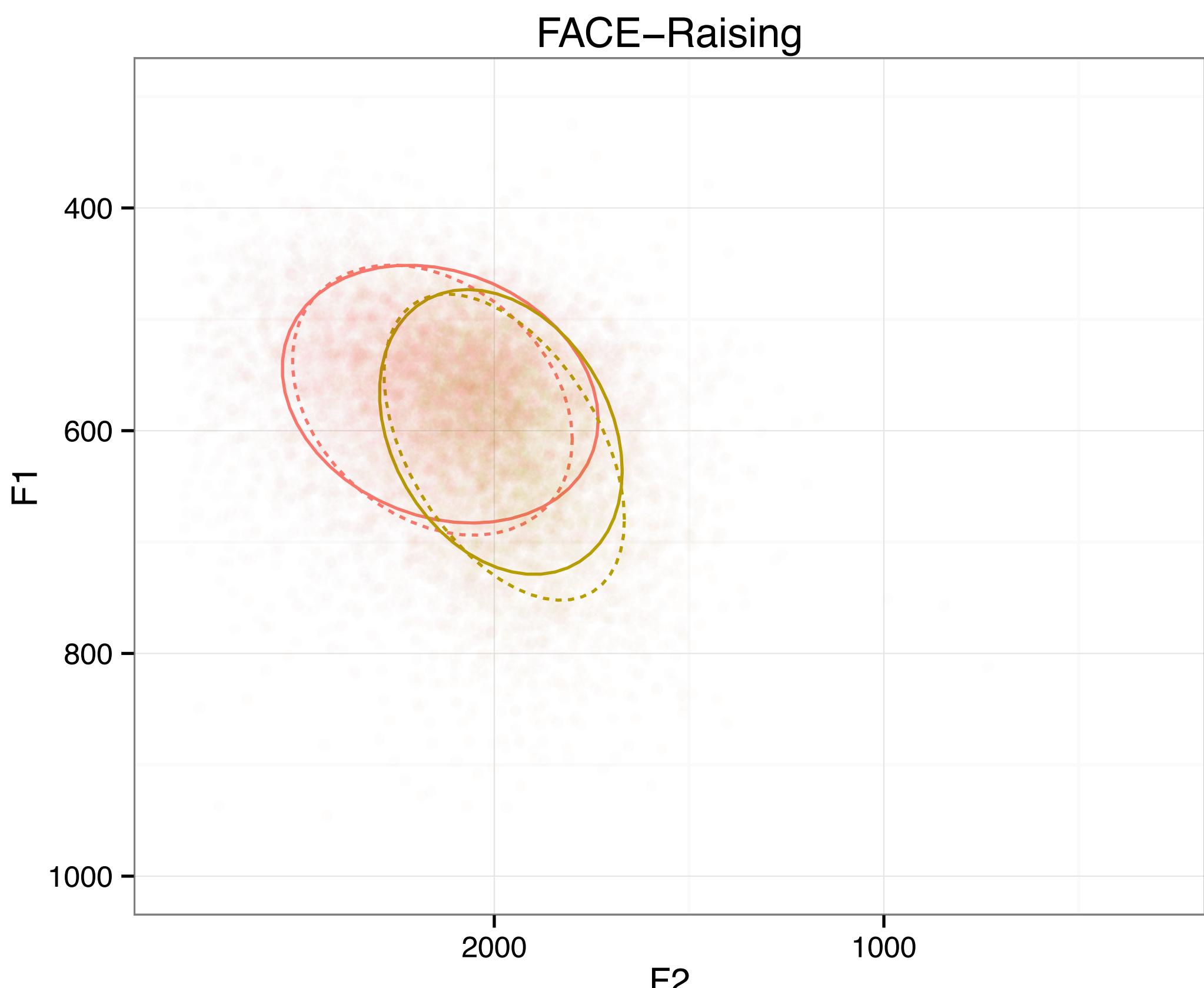
- Identified 8 additional Philadelphian features with varying levels of salience (following Labov et al. 2013, Kroch 1995)
- Measured salience by proportion of mentions in interviews
- 76 interviews measured with FAVE
- Mixed effects model on relevant dimension:
 $\text{lmer}(\text{F1} \sim \text{System} * \text{Sex} + (1|\text{Speaker}))$

Variables

FACE	Allophonic split: /ɛr/ in free syllables vs /ɛt/ in checked
NEW	Allo. split: [+COR][u] vs. [-COR][u]
PRICE	Allo. split: [ʌi][-VOICE] vs. [aɪ][+VOICE]
START	Back pre-/r/ chain shift (raised)
NORTH	Back pre-/r/ chain shift (rasied)
GOAT	Fronting
MOUTH	Fronting
THOUGHT	Raised

Indicators

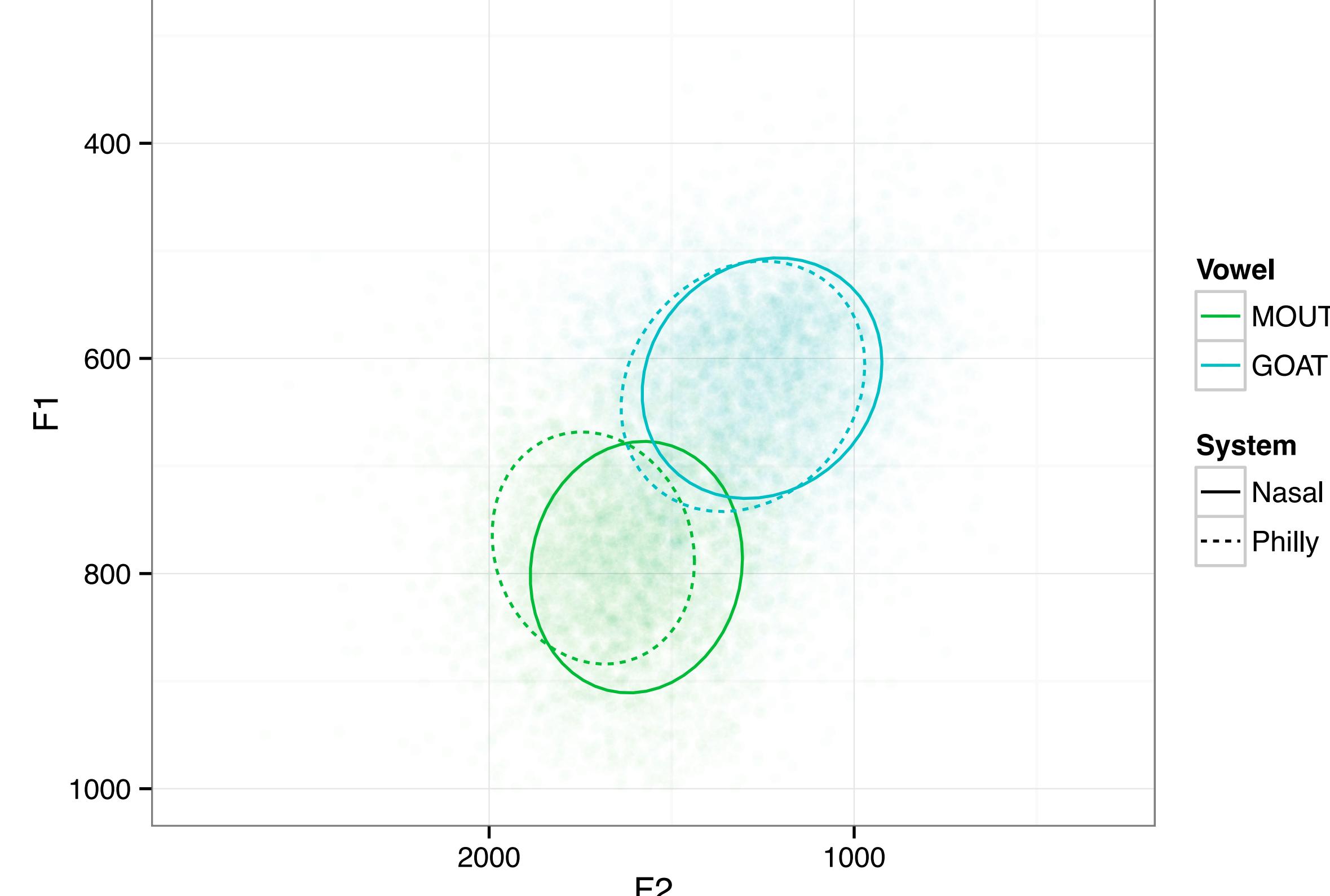
Variable	Mentions	Estimate (Philly)	T-Value
FACE	0%	-10	1.98



Markers

Variable	Mentions	Estimate (Philly)	T-Value
NEW	0%	-48	-1.63
PRICE	0%	6.25	-1.48
START	0%	-7.96	-1.04
NORTH	0%	-31.63	-4.26**
GOAT	17%	102.94	6.39 ***
MOUTH	19%	169.70	11.03 ***

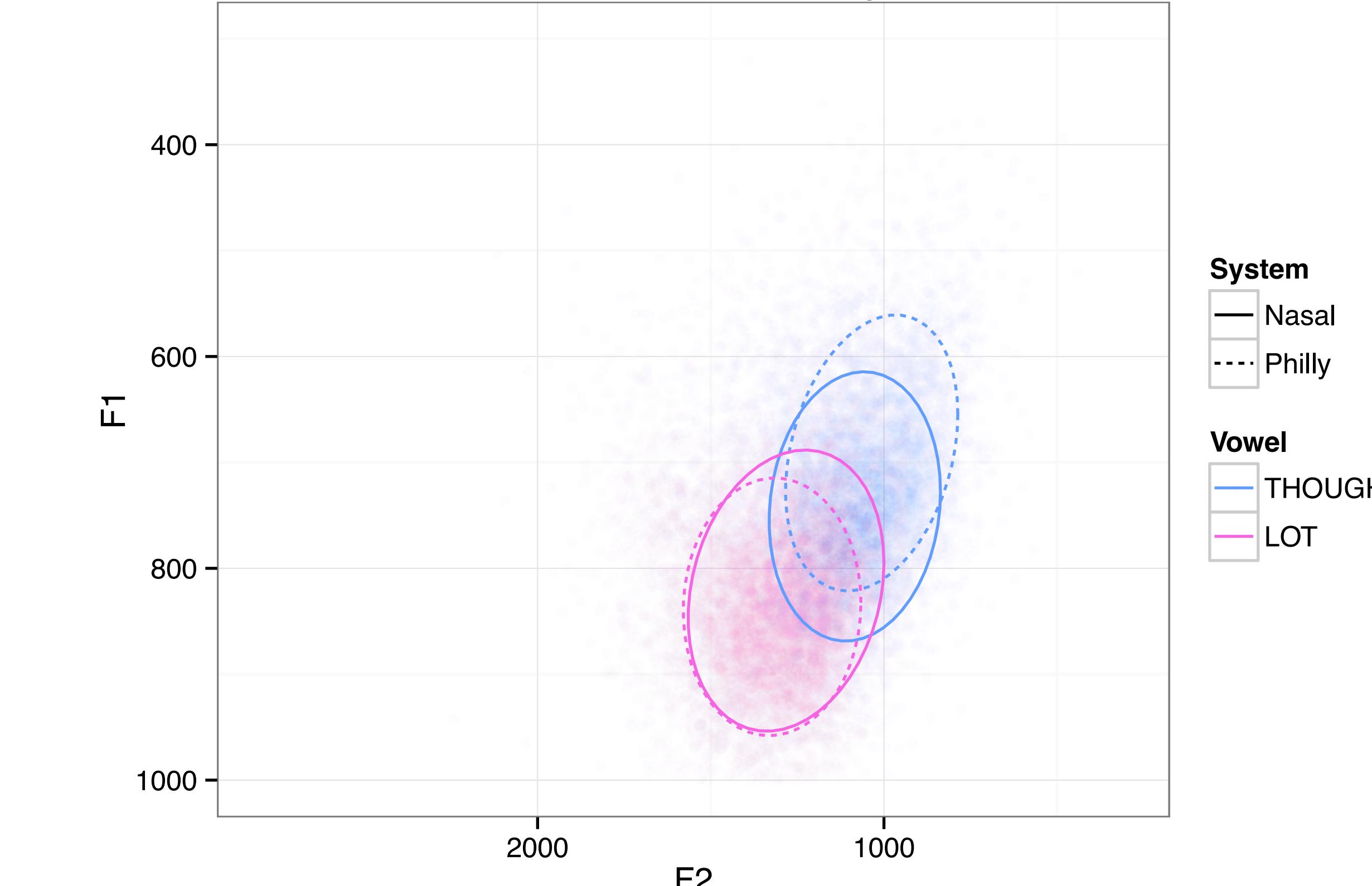
MOUTH and GOAT Fronting



Stereotypes

Variable	Mentions	Estimate (Philly)	T-Value
THOUGHT	69%	-53.6	-8.59 ***

THOUGHT–Lowering



Discussion and Conclusion

- For all significant differences, the Philly TRAP speakers are also more Philadelphian, suggesting a general dialect weakening (cf. Labov et al. 2013)
- Not just social correction of overtly stigmatized forms (THOUGHT and TRAP), suggesting it is not a conscious shift

- Possible result of non-overt negative evaluations? However:
 - Negative evaluation of advanced Philadelphia PRICE, GOAT, MOUTH (Labov 2001)
 - But no difference in PRICE
- Similarity to Kroch (1995): Philadelphia features attenuated in upper class speech
 - Except NORTH and START, which were more extreme in upper class speech
- We find a weakening of local Philadelphia features in Nasal-TRAP speakers
 - Community division runs deeper than one feature
 - Correlation with Special Admissions vs. Open Admissions middle and high school (Labov et al. 2015)
- Is this phonetic attenuation à la the upper class in Kroch (1995)? Or the beginning of a deeper division in the community?