The Social Networks of Minority Ethnicity Group Members in Washington State

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## **Research Questions**

# RQ 1. What does localness of social network look like for mobile, non-white speakers?

- "No matter how frequently [non-whites] are exposed to the local vernacular, the new speech patterns of regional sound change do not surface in their speech." (Labov, 2001, p. 506)
- Interethnic contact investigated: (Edwards, 1992; Ash & Myhill 1986; Rampton, 1999)
- RQ 2. To what communities (ethnicities) are speakers linked via ties of close friendship?
- Network homophily is a latent notion in Sociolinguistics
- Homophily (Def.): "The tendency for individuals to form positive ties with people who are similar to them in socially significant ways (for 'birds of a feather flock together')." (Byrne 1971; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook 2001)"

# Background: Sociolinguistic Applications of SNA

"Local Team":

- ethnically homogeneous neighborhood (Milroy and Milroy, 1978)
- adolescent peer network (Cheshire, 1987; Eckert, 1988)
- mixed-ethnicity friendship group (Ash and Myhill, 1986)

Community-specific index:

- kin, workplace contacts, voluntary association
- local cultural norms: fighting, stealing
- lovers or schoolmates of "other" ethnicity

Cheshire et al. (2008: 1): "[nonwhite] speakers who are part of multi-ethnic friendship groups make greater use of certain linguistic features" Extensibility to networks of mobile people?

# The problem: Urban Life and the Study of Network structure

- How to apply notion of "speech community?"
- shared perceptions of group identity: "In complex societies some networks are... 'referential' [and] may not exist in a physical sense and the verbal repertoires referentially acquired are implemented by force of symbolic integration." Fishman (1972: 80)
- network range: extent of connectedness to a variety of types of individuals. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985: 119)
  - both referential and experiential networks are enlarged
  - ties were formed with a greater proportion of people who are not like ego (e.g., less ethnically insular)
  - dwell both physically and psychologically in the city (symbolic integration)

Common cultural history, shared experiences have the power to affect behavior.

## Social Network Analysis

- Mitchell (1973): For modern urbanites, life often takes place in separate, unconnected groups with specialized functions: find jobs, arrange for childcare, seek financial assistance.
- BUT.... even modern urban people tend to find strongest sense of social connectedness in close networks (of limited size)...

# THE NEW YORKER

#### THE LIMITS OF FRIENDSHIP

BY MARIA KONNIKOVA



"Dunbar Number": 5 intimates  $\rightarrow$  15 closest friends  $\rightarrow$  150 named friends  $\rightarrow$  500 acquaintances  $\rightarrow$  1500 "known" in name only (Konnikova, 2015)

PHOTOGRAPH BY NICK HANNES/HOLLANDSE HOOGTE/REDUX

## Methods

#### 5 Ethnic groupings present in the State of Washington since mid 1800s:

n=91	Female	Male
African-American	5	1
Caucasian-American	35	16
Mexican-American	9	2
Yakama	4	4
Japanese-American	9	6

#### Sociolinguistic Interviews (2006-2014)

Word List	Unscripted Conversation
Reading Passage	Network Questionnaire
Lexical Tasks	

#### **Vowel Analysis Procedures:**

22,214 tokens F1, F2, F3, duration measures (Nearey-2 normalized; Nearey 1977) Plotting in phonR (McCloy 2015)

## Linguistic Variables

#### 1. (a~oh) COT CAUGHT merger

- dependent variable: VOIS3D spectral overlap fraction, Ω (continuous value, ranging from 0=no overlap – 1=complete overlap)
- (Wassink 2006)

#### 2. /uw/-fronting

- dependent variable: Nearey-2 normalized mean F2 (continuous)
- 3. Pre-voiced velar raising /æg, εg, eyg/ BAG, BEG, BAGEL
- dependent variable: Advancement Scores (Riebold 2015; Wassink 2015, in press)

3 linear models constructed: Ethnicity, PctHomophily, NLS as social predictors in R (R Core Team, 2016)

## Advancement Score (raising of /æg~ɛg~eyg/)



# Network Localness Score (NLS)

- Adapted from network strength score (L. Milroy, 1987)
- 21-item questionnaire, covering local embedding in traditional subsectors:
- 13 possible points (converted to proportion from 0=low to 1=high)
- 1) <u>Kinship</u>:
  - mother, father and spouse born locally (1 pt each, if local, 3 possible)
  - extended family localness (1 pt if most relatives reside locally)
- 2) Occupation:
  - local school(s) attended (1 pt)
  - only local jobs worked (1 pt)
  - no tourists encountered at work (1 pt) [Lippi-Green, 1989]
- 3) Voluntary association:
  - Mother, Father, Grandmother, Grandfather involved in local activities (1 pt each, 4 possible)
  - local friends (1 pt)
  - respondent involved in local activities (1 pt)

#### Results

# RQ 1. What does localness of social network look like for mobile, non-white speakers?

Highest NLS scorers in each ethnic group...

## Selwin (Yakama)

#### "Selwin"

Highest NLS Scorer: Male, aged 59 NLS: .97

Kinship: Local (1.0 pts)

Occupation: 30 year leader of Toppenish longhouse/unemployed (1.0 pts)

<u>Vol Assn</u>: Police Association, Local historian (.90 pts)







• "Selwin" (Yakama)



## "Ben" Japanese-American

#### "Ben"

Highest NLS Scorer: Male, aged 46

NLS: .73

Kinship: Local (1.0 pts)

Occupation: Museum Curator (.5 pts)

\* deduction for travel and meeting tourists at work

<u>Vol Assn</u>: Participates in ethnic festivals; (.7 pts)





• "Ben" (Japanese-American)



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#### JapaneseAm means



## Robert (African-American)

"Robert"

Highest NLS Scorer: Spokane Male, aged 35 NLS: .78 Kinship: Local (0.5 pts) Occupation: Audio-Visual company (1.0 pts) Vol Assn: Track coach (.83 pts)





• "Robert" (African-American)



# Brianne (Caucasian-American)

#### "Brianne"

Highest NLS Scorer: Seattle Female, aged 42

NLS: .97

Kinship: Local (1.0 pts)

Occupation: Clerk at shipping company (1.0 pts)

<u>Vol Assn</u>: Auto racing (.92 pts)





• "Brianne" (Caucasian-American)



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# Lucia (Mexican-American)

#### "Lucia"

Highest NLS Scorer: Seattle Female, aged 42 NLS: .69

<u>Kinship</u>: Local mother, Mexican father (.25 pts)

Occupation: baker (1.0 pts)

Vol Assn: Church, Sun Fair (.92 pts)





• "Lucia" (Mexican-American) YY52HF3I 1 or ellipses



### Advancement Results

#### Table 1b: Highest and lowest NLS scorers, by advancement in prevelar raising

NLS	Kinship	School/Occ.	Vol Assn.	Advancement	Ethnicity	Speaker
LOWEST RANKING:						
0.17	0	0.50	0	0.33	Japanese-Am	SB93SM3D
0.22	0	0.50	0.17	0.69	Mexican-Am	YW43HM3H
0.31	0.25	0.50	0.17	0.29	Mexican-Am	YH48HF3H
0.36	0.25	0.50	0.33	0.47	Caucasian-Am	ECL84CF1Z
0.39	0	1	0.17	0.46	African-Am	STA107AF3N
HIGHEST:						
0.97	1	1	0.9	0.65	Native-Am	"Selwin"
0.97	1	1	0.92	0.71	Caucasian-Am	"Brianne"
0.90	1	1	0.70	0.40	Caucasian-Am	ESV108CF3O
0.92	1	1	0.75	0.63	Caucasian-Am	SK14CM2I
0.73	1	0.5	0.70	0.46	Japanese-Am	"Ben"
0.78	0.5	1	0.83	0.67	African-Am	"Robert"
0.69	0.25	1	0.83	0.61	Mexican-Am	"Lucia"

	predictor	Estimate	t	Pr(> t )
/uw/	Ethnicity-Cauc	0.216	2.253	0.03
Adv. of /æg,ɛg,eg/	PctHomoph	-1.405	-2.508	0.01
	NLS:PctHomoph	1.575	2.415	0.02

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#### Network Localness and Advancement



For all ethnicities, as Network Localness Score increases, Advancement in prevelar raising does, too.

Im(formula = Advancement.3 ~ ethnicity + NLS + PctHomoph, data = network.model.data)

#### RQII. Ethnic Homophily

To what ethnic groups are speakers actually connected via ties of close friendship?

(PctH) Percent homophily = # ethnically homophilous friends total number of friends \* W



• Close-friend network of "Selwin" (Yakama)



Legend: Native-American: Black diamond; Caucasian: upward-pointing triangle.

# Network homophily (closest friends)



• Close-friend network of "Brianne" (Caucasian)



Legend: Caucasian: upward-pointing triangle.



- Close-friend network of "Ben" (Japanese-American)
- NLS: .73



Legend: Caucasian: upward-pointing triangle; Japanese-American: downward-pointing triangle; Mexican-American: Circle-in-box; Two or more races (non-homophilous): Plus-in-box; Two or more 34 races (homophilous): open square.



• Close-friend network of "Robert" (African-American)



Legend: Caucasian: upward-pointing triangle; African-American: Circle; Mexican-American: Circle-inbox.



• Close-friend network of "Lucia" (Mexican-American)



Legend: Caucasian: upward-pointing triangle; Two or more races (non-homophilous): square; Two or more races (homophilous): Plus-in-box; Mexican-American: Circle-in-box.

## Within-ethnicity correlations

Table 3: Within-group correlation analysis examining association between individualHomophily Score and Advancement in prevelar raising pattern

		MinMax.				sig.
Ethnicity	Avg. PCTH	(æg~εg~eyg) Advancement	Pearson <i>r</i>	t	p-value	(*=p<0.05, **=p<0.01)
African-Am	0.37	0.44-0.67	0.27	0.55	0.61	_h<0.01)
Caucasian	0.89	0.37-0.91	-0.11	-0.62	0.54	
Japanese-Am	0.53	0.31-0.82 🛏	-0.73	-3.82	0.00	**
Mexican-Am	0.62	0.38-0.75	0.04	0.11	0.91	
Yakama Nation	0.77	0.35-0.68	-0.72	-2.56	0.04	*

## Conclusions

1. Speakers in each of 5 non-white ethnicities use PNWE forms.

Prevelar raising: Network Localness and Homophily were related to Advancement. /oh~a/ merger: well-established in all groups.

2. When working with an ethnically-diverse sample, we should avoid assigning speakers to ethnolectal groupings without network information.

Deep localness doesn't always mean embedding in a ethnically-homophilous network.

**3.** RQ1: Need to study what "localness" looks like for the ethnicity of interest. *Selwin, Lucia, Ben, Robert: wide network range AND deep local attachments* 

**4.** RQ2: Is a high level of ethnic homophily in close-tie networks inversely correlated with participation in a regional vowel change?

It depends!

Ethnic groups whose vernacular is the supraregional standard may show comparable levels of participation to whites', despite ethnic homophily (e.g., Japanese-Americans in Washington).

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Pacific Northwest English Study



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#### Yakama Nation means