Some Linguistic Correlations in the Demographic Distributions of the Italians in the Near West Side Community of Chicago

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SOME LINGUISTIC CORRELATIONS in the DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS of the
ITALIANS in the NEAR WEST SIDE COMMUNITY
of CHICAGO
BY
SANDRA LOUISE LAZARZ

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Social linguistics, often called ethnolinguistics, involves in its synchronic aspect a whole series of significant problems regarding correlations between population groupings as determined by linguistic criteria and those based on biologic, economic, political, geographical, and other non-linguistic factors (Greenberg: 1964, p. 30)." This respective study of the population group speaking the Italian language in the geographic area designated the Near West Side community in the city of Chicago entails a synchronic approach.

The Italian speaking people, during their residence in this area, have been exposed to and in communication with non-Italian speaking peoples due to their mutual geographic proximity. Even at this point, it is safe to assume that this linguistically and topographically defined population's spoken Italian must have undergone a noticeable transformation. Whatever linguistic forces have affected this transformation it would appear that the proximate ones are expected to lend the strongest, if not the most lasting, influences; ergo, those languages spoken by ethnic groups most immediate to the Italian speaking people.

It is the purpose of this investigation to determine to what extent some of the spoken Italian has been modified; the forms the modifications have taken; and the possibility of demographic proximity to other ethnic groups as a source for the introduction of some linguistic changes.
The organization of this presentation is arranged so that each section is prerequisite and related to the next. Chapter one begins with a statement of the problem and scope of organization of the study, and proceeds to a definition and clarification of terminology to be used. The introductory chapter investigates the theoretical basis, methodological procedure, and reviews literature of related interest. Chapter two focuses on the linguistic groups' historical, geographical, social and cultural background, probing all facets which assist in elucidating its degree of preservation. Chapter three concentrates on presenting the social and linguistic modifications of their articulate speech. The actual structural description of empirical data including phonology, blendings, and isolates, constitutes chapter four. The concluding chapter attempts to synthesize and interpret the linguistic correlates resultant from the acculturative process which is operative on the Italian language group in the Near West Side community.

Imperative to an intelligible comprehension of any inquiry is a clarification of dubious inherent jargon. When the Italian or Italian immigrant is referred to, it is inclusive of the Italian born in Italy who have immigrated to America, and of the children of parents both of which are Italian. Whereas, an ethnic group, when alluded to concerns "an all-embracing constellation, limited in its contacts with the outside world, limited in its consciousness of self, limited in the internal differentiation or specialization that it recognizes or permits (Fishman: 1965, p. 70)." Ethnicity denotes an environment in which are preserved
an approximation of the linguistic, occupational, attitudinal, and social milieu of the country of origin.

The terminologies variety and sociolect have been adapted from Joshua Fishman. "Variety is to be used to designate the articulate speech of a linguistically uniform group (Fishman: 1971, p. 22)." This, he feels, is a more objective term than language because it does not imply any social connotations. "When a regional variety becomes more refined as to be used by a designated social group, it then becomes a social variety or sociolect (Fishman: 1971, pp. 22-24)."

In the context of this presentation the term WASP, white anglo-saxon protestant, will refer to the Italians' profile of the typical, white, English speaking, middle class, American.

Beals and Hoijer explain acculturation as a "cultural change occurring under conditions of close and prolonged contact between two cultures (Beals: 1971, p. 674)." This process of acculturation is affected on many levels, one of which is the linguistic level. But this linguistic change cannot be isolated and studied alone; "the process of sound change is not an autonomous movement within the confines of a linguistic system, but is rather a complex response to many aspects of human behavior (Labov: 1965, p. 95)."

As well as being a response to human behavior, it also must be understood in the perspective of "the social life of the community in which it occurs. Social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living present . . . as no change takes place in a social vacuum (Labov: 1963, pp. 274-75)."

Therefore a faction of this ethnolinguistic investigation is fo-
cused on de Saussure's la langue or Chomsky's surface structure and the changes instigated by the immediate social forces.

The direct object of the social forces is the sociolect of the speech community. The "speech community is one, all of whose denizens share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use (Fishman: 1971, p. 28)." In this instance, the denizens are the Near West Side community Italians speaking a mutually acceptable Italian variety.

In the event that linguistic and cultural contact is established between the Italian speech community and a non-Italian group, the possibility of an innovation of a sound correlates with the degree of acceptability of the contending group.

Presuming acceptable rapport is established, there exists the possibility of some phonological reciprocity, among other features.

Given that some linguistic change takes place as a result of acculturation, it is necessary to detect the nature of the manifested change. "A number of earlier theories proposed general psychological, physiological or even climatic determinants" to explain manifested changes, but these "have been discarded for some time (Labov: 1963, p. 274)."

"Sound changes usually originate with a restricted subgroup of the speech community (Labov: 1965, p. 110)," but can "commence within an individual idiolect (Capell: 1966, p. 64)."

When a change does take place within a sound system, the alien form is not incorporated without modifications. There is always at work "a readjusting tendency which aims to preserve or restore the fundamental phonetic pattern of the language (Sapir: 1921, p. 186)." This trend is referred to
as leveling, and this leveling is geared towards facilitation of pronunciation. "There is a tendency for a language to develop towards ease in articulation (Lehman: 1962, p. 168)."

There exists numerous forms in which a change may manifest itself. The most frequent of which are: 1) a phonetic change, 2) a phonemic change, 3) analogic change, 4) borrowing. A phonetic change may best be described as a changing of the quality of a particular sound. For example:

Consider a language in which there is the phoneme /d/ which is lenis. A lenis stop is one in which the contact of the lower articulator (here the tongue) against the upper articulator is weak. Now, suppose some unknown factor causes some of the speakers in the community to average slightly more lenis in their pronunciation of /d/. If this continues /d/ may become so lenis that it is frequently incompletely closed, that is, a fricative /d/ instead of a stop /d/. The shift may continue until /d/ is much the commoner pronunciation (Gleason: 1955, pp.394-95).

A phonemic change usually originates in, and is triggered by a simple phonological change; only the change would result in a sound that was not originally indigenous to the group. For example, the original phoneme /d/, which was spoken of in the previous section would have both the lenis and fortis version of /d/ and /d/. These two forms would then occur as allophonic variations, /d/ being the base form and /d/ the allophonic variation. Taking this one step further, let us suppose that the /d/ form became very productive and is found to occur in complimentary distribution with the base form. Then, there will have taken place a split in a phoneme with the consequence of both the old form existing and a new phoneme not indigenous to the original group being created. Such an occurrence generated a new sound, and a phonemic change has taken place.

An analogic change is one that is copied from any given model.
Given *lice*, /layz/, as a singular noun form and *louse*, /laws/, the plural noun form, following the guidelines for analogic change the singular noun form *dice*, /days/, in its plural noun form would become *douse*, /daws/.

Borrowing, as it implies, is the adaptation of one or more morphemes from any given variety or regional variety to another. There are various types of borrowing which:

... we may classify by the type of reproduction of entities from a second language. Borrowings known as loanwords, mirror the phonemes of the foreign language. In the English poet, for example, the French phonemes were reproduced almost exactly like in English. Borrowings of a different type known as loan-shifts, loan translations, or as calques, reproduce the morphemes of a foreign language, using native material. An example is gospel 'good story' in which Greek components eu and aggelion are reproduced by translation. In a further type of borrowing, known as extensions, only the meaning of a linguistic entity may be changed. Old English *eor* 'earl' meant 'brave warrior': the present meaning was taken over from Old Norse (Lehman: 1962, p. 213)."

Regardless of the form of the borrowed morpheme, Sapir consistently emphasized that "the borrowing of foreign words always entails their phonetic modification. There are sure to be foreign sounds or accentual peculiarities that do not fit the native phonetic habits. They are then so changed as to do as little violence as possible to these habits which frequently produces a phonetic compromise (Sapir: 1921, p. 197)."

As it is evident, the methodological model of the procedural sequence of the succeeding study has been adapted and modified from Labov's investigation of a similar nature on the island of Martha's Vineyards, Massachusetts (Labov: 1963, pp. 275-309).

The designated area, the Near West Side community (see Illustration 4) has been selected because it has exhibited a high degree of cultural
preservation, to be considered an ethnic community, yet has not been impervious to the forces of linguistic acculturation.

"We have sought to use census data to construct a composite index of language maintenance" among adjacent ethnic groups (Fishman: 1966, p. 34)."

The selection of the linguistic variable has been such that it is "an item that is frequent, which occurs so often in the course of undirected natural conversation that its behavior can be charted from unstructured contexts and brief interviews (Labov: 1963, p. 274)." Consequently the linguistic phenomena elected for observation is the structure and distribution of segmental and suprasegmental phonemes as well as higher constructions which are a product of blending.

The interview itself is structured to elicit a phonetically productive sequence with a minimum of artificial distortion. The selected informants are allowed a maximum degree of freedom in choosing the topic for articulation, with identification and occupation being the only pre-determined points of extrication.

Upon transcriptions of tape recorded interviews, the phonemes and morphemes are segregated into those which are Italian and non-Italian. This is determined through profiles of selected phonemic models. Non-Italian features are then further divided into those which are possibly resultants of Anglo-Italian blendings, and those which are suspicious isolates of undetermined origin. It is then tested to see if by following the lines in the density of communication among the Italian speech community and non-Italian adjacent speech communities, this would direct us to the origin of the sus-
The results are then studied, and appropriate conclusions drawn.

Two contemporary studies exist which closely approximate the scope of investigation of the present one. These two works will be commented upon in detail. Joshua Fishman did an extensive study of Language Loyalty in the United States in 1966. Like the present study, he "used census data to construct a composite index of language maintenance potential and related this index to indices of other relevant social characteristics (Fishman: 1966, p. 34)." The most relevant aspect of this investigation is the theoretical perspective dealing with his comparison of "Groups that differed with respect to mother tongue, either in terms of social dialect, regional variant, or language (Fishman: 1965, p. 19)." He found that there was linguistic reciprocity when they experienced extensive interaction. The amount of linguistic absorption, it was found, depended on many factors. "Language maintenance, (among immigrant groups) is strongest among those who have maintained greatest psychological, social, and cultural distance from the institutions, processes, and values of American core society (Fishman: 1965, p. 32)."

Labov's study in organization and scope bears a semblance to the present investigation. The work entails a:

... direct observation of a sound change in the context of the community life from which it stems. The change is a shift in the phonetic position of the first elements of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. The community is the island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts. By comparing linguistic patterns with parallel differences in social structure, it is possible to isolate the social factors which bear directly upon the linguistic process (Labov: 1963, p. 273).

The isolation of this particular phenomena and pursuit of it's source led to
interesting insights and speculations as to the causality of observable linguistic shifts and accompanying social forces of instigation.

Additional related studies with annotations by the author may be found in the related investigations section of the bibliography.
CHAPTER II.

IMMIGRANT HISTORY AND MOBILITY

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and on into the twentieth, there has been an influx of Italian immigrants to the United States. In the Midwest, Illinois has them concentrated in Chicago. The immigrants coming to the United States were primarily from southern Italy. "The United States census classifies all regions of Italy, exclusive of Piemont, Lombardy, and Venetia, as southern Italian (Schiavo: 1928, p. 24)." This distinction appears to be made on the basis of subsistence and economy (see Illustration 1). Whereas the northern Italian provinces are primarily industrial, the others are agricultural. The Italians themselves envision a different, triparte division into northern, central and southern Italy (see Illustration 2). Unless otherwise designated, in this paper the criteria used to distinguish northern from southern Italians will be that of the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

The emigration pattern "first started as groups of people from a few towns rather than from a whole region; emigrants followed relatives and friends (Schiavo: 1928, p. 3)." Later migrations became geared to regions.

The exodus from Italy may be viewed in two perspectives: the conditions that effected emigration from Italy; and the subsequent choice of the United States as a destination for settlement.

The Waldensian Protestants, in the twelfth century, "emigrated to find religious freedom (Nelli: 1970, p. 3)." The Waldensians were a sect of puritan dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church who were persecuted and excommunicated in 1184. The Italian group that fled to escape persecution
were primarily from the region of Piemont. Schiavo comments that in later years the Italians were not motivated to emigrate for religious reasons, as they had all the religious freedom they wanted at home.

A scantling number of criminals departed to escape punishment, but Schiavo envisions the number in this category as few.

Although Italians romanticized their departure as being attributed to the spirit of adventure, the most fundamental reason was economic.

As the end of the nineteenth century approached, Italy was undergoing a breakdown of its feudal system, which had been the organizing foundation of the economy. As the feudal system disintegrated leaving no satisfactory replacement, the family unit was left to fend for itself. Intensifying its ethos of "amoral familism," ergo, "maximize the material shortrun advantage of the nuclear family; and assume that all others will do likewise," the Italians began to depart from Italy as a family unit, seeking a means of subsistence (Banfield: 1958, p. 85).

Coupled with the breakdown of the feudal system was a series of crop failures. Just as the agricultural provinces were launching their recovery from the 1904 crop failures, the Italian government lodged:

... a series of tariff wars with France. While stimulating the manufacturing interests of Piedmont and Lombardy, the tariff wars had lost for the agricultural south its chief market in France. In addition, the agricultural provinces were burdened by the increase in price of the manufactured goods they had to purchase (Lord, Trenor, and Barrows: 1917, p. 42).

A final menacing irritation was "the burden of taxation was justified on the basis of the necessity for Italy to maintain military armaments on land and sea (Lord, Trenor, and Barrows: 1917, p. 43)."
"As projects were built with an eye toward the promotion of strategic military advantages, northern Italy profited while the south, most heavily taxed and in need of government aid, suffered (Santoro; 1911, p. 436).

On the threshold of the 1880's the conditions in southern Italy were so catastrophic that the exodus began. "In the years previous to 1880 the immigration was principally to Latin America. In Illinois alone there were only 43 Italians, in 1850, 100 Italians, in 1860, and 552 Italians in 1870 (Schiavo: 1928, p. 21)." But as the nineteenth century draws to a close it became more economical to come to the United States. The passage was less than to Latin America because of the development of large ocean steamers, and competition among companies reduced fares. Here, wages although meager, were higher than in Latin America, and the social system was not rigidly stratified, thus allowing for upward social mobility.

"The first influx of Italians, specifically to Chicago, came with the building of the railroads and the opening of the mines in Illinois (Schiavo: 1928, p. 32)" With the later establishment of factories, the padroni system, ergo, middleman system, directed the flow of Italian immigrants to the Chicago area. According to the Bureau of the Census the Italians that were actually in the city of Chicago numbered 3,663 in 1900; 23,025 in 1910; 59, 215 in 1920; 73, 960 in 1930; 66, 472 in 1940; 54, 954 in 1950; 43, 188 in 1960; and Suttles estimates 34, 993 for 1969.

Once in Chicago, the Italians established their ethnic communities; but with technological changes and urbanizations, the original settlements relocated and modified themselves.

By 1870 the Italians had established three core areas of settlement:
"Immediately north of the Chicago River, where they clustered around Clark Street; south of the river is what became the central business district, or Loop; and west across the south branch of the river to Halsted Street, between Kedzie and Van Buren streets (Nelli: 1970, p. 23)."

With the approach of the late 1880's and early 1890's, movement had already begun (see Illustration 3):

The settlement north of the Chicago River around Clark Street, which was known as 'Little Sicily', pushed farther north into the 22nd ward by the large number of incoming Germans and Irish. The Italian colony west of the south branch of the Chicago River to Halsted between Kedzie and Van Buren moved farther northwest in the vicinity of Grand Avenue. This movement resulted from independent retail business enterprises, small factories, and warehouses selecting the district for operation and expansion. The migration began as a slow process, but by the end of the century it had pushed out nearly all Italian residents (Nelli: 1970, pp. 23-24).

The third Italian neighborhood that was located on the southern periphery of the central business district:

... moved west from the edge of the first ward, across the Chicago River north of 12th Street into the 19th ward. This Italian area moved geographically while noticeably increasing its population. The geographic relocation came as a result of the increase in real estate prices in the Loop. An increase in population resulted from the fact that the principal railroad depot for incoming trains from the Atlantic coast was situated in the area south of Van Buren Street. Most Italians entering Chicago came and remained at least for a short time in that general section of the city (Nelli: 1970, p. 24).

Immigration had reached its peak in the years between 1900 and 1914. The first World War, producing an increase of nationalism in Italy, as well as the strict immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 helped curtail immigration. With the flow of newcomers stifled, there were few reserves to replenish the Italian settlements.
Prior to 1920, the trend of Italian mobility was primarily a movement from one Italian neighborhood to another. But as the forces of acculturation began to work on the immigrants, their attitudes toward the American culture divided into two alliances. Some viewed themselves as Americans, desiring not to be identified as part of an ethnic minority. This faction moved to the suburbs where with their increased post-war incomes and education, they were readily assimilated by the suburban populace.

There remained the other faction who identified even more strongly with the Italians and remained in the city, consolidating themselves primarily in the Near West Side community, whose natural boundaries are "at the Eisenhower (see Illustration 4) on the north, Circle Campus and the Dan Ryan on the East, the Medical Center at Ashland Ave. on the west and Roosevelt Road on the south (Mabley: 1971, p. 4)." Although the community still functions as a staging area for newcomers from the old country, this alone does not justify its maintenance. The ethnic solidarity appears to afford a degree of security that can only be derived from the proximity of a familiar face, language, and culture. "Places of business are decorated to constantly remind one of their ethnicity (Suttles: 1968, p. 105)." And observed Jack Mabley on a recent visit to the Near West Side community:

Workmen were rolling huge wooden barrels off a truck and into the Chiarugi hardware store on Taylor Street. 'How about that,' observed Rev. Gino Dalpiaz of the neighborhood church, 'Where else would you see them still using wooden barrels for sine?' (Mabley: 1971, p. 4).

A certain degree of respect for the elders and in-group pressures operates as a preservative against the forces of acculturation. "It
would be ill mannered to parade one's Americanism in front of the 'old timers' in the neighborhood, and within neighborhood bounds, one who plays at being American runs the risk of being classed a snob (Lopreato: 1970, p. 105)."

A vital force sustaining cohesion is that part of the Italian weltanschauung which shuns all public sources of social control, as a result of the general distrust of any out-group member. Parental as well as peer pressure proves effective in maintaining social order. This inherent adherence to a retention of social order is part of the Italian culture of the parent, which has been transmitted to the second generation Italians. It is apparent, following Gorers' model, that "societies continue, though their personnel changes only because we can assume that the present generation adults will be replaced in due course by the present generation of children who will have habits very similar to their parents." After all, "the parent acts as the passive agent of his culture (Cohen: 1971, pp. 409-10)."

And finally, by keeping alive many of the old world traditions, the Near West Side community is able to "perpetuate its ethnic identity and maintain themselves as a cohesive social unit (Suttles: 1968, p. 105)." In the neighborhood there is "the annual paesani dances and picnics; there are parades and feste; on Columbus Day there is a great parade in the Loop; during Lent there are several special religious events; and weddings, communions, funerals, and wakes maintain some of their communal nature (Suttles: 1968, p. 106)."

Although the Near West Side community Italians suffered a substantial degree of numerical and geographic dissipation, (see Table 1) it is still presently active as an ethnic neighborhood unit. It faced its greatest
challenge to survival when it was affected by "an urban renewal program which began in 1959. The immediate result was the clearing of the eastern one-third of the area and the removal of about the same fraction of its population. Of the 30,000 people who lived in the area during the fifties, only about 20,000 were left (Suttles: 1968, pp. 21-22)." The neighborhood's reaction to all this was "the residents refused to lie down and die or move away (Mabley: 1971, p. 4)." "There's a special folksy feeling to this neighborhood, called 'Little Italy' that's difficult to explain. We have hope and confidence in its' future. Residents are buying, not renting, and they are keeping up their property. Nobody is fleeing to better neighborhoods or suburbs (Pesmen: 1971, p. 21)." So the aura of Italian attitudes, ideas, and ways of life is sustained.
CHAPTER III.
SOCIAL ATTITUDES

The social attitudes of the Near West Side Italians operate in the realm of in-group or Italian-Italian relationships and out-group or Italian-non-Italian relationships in the community.

Prior to and during immigration one could detect a degree of animosity between various Italian neighborhood groups. There existed an initial "deep cultural cleavage between northerners and southerners (Lopreato: 1970, p. 100)."

The Italians had a class system which placed the northerner over the southerner and gave preeminence to the Tuscan while relegating the Sicilian to the lowest ranks. Neapolitans who scorned the condescending attitudes and actions directed against them by their northern brethren were just as quick in denigrating their countrymen farther south. Even in America, the Sicilians were ostracized by other Italians, who believe them to be of non-Italian and even savage origins. The Northern Italians considered themselves superior because of their higher standard of education, their quicker contact with the industrial revolution, their greater accumulation of capital wealth, and their misconception that the southerners were gay and shiftless (Iorizzo: 1971, p. 4).

"The peoples of Italy constituted a cultural mosaic in their own right," so the Northern - Southern schism was not the only one that exists; "the Italians were also divided, and remained so for some time along village lines, or at best on the basis of provincial (county) and regional (state) identification (Lopreato: 1970, pp. 103-105)." Banfield observes some going so far as to extend confidence and trust only to the immediate family, "they act as if they were following the rule: Maximize the material, short-run advantage of the family; and assume that all others will do likewise (Banfield: 1958, p. 85)." This preliminary segmentation was based on
suspicion and distrust. "When the Italians came to the United States they imported a pitiful tendency to mistrust and avoid all those who did not share their peculiar dialect and customs. As a result, collective approaches to the problems created uprooting and the necessity of adjusting to the new society tended to be organized along sectional lines (Lopreato: 1970, p. 104)."

Although segregated in the past, the present Near West Side community Italians view themselves as a united cohesive unit. "The provincial differences naturally were strongest during the initial period of settlement but in time they lost their relevance or bite. Today they are hardly more than a memory among the few surviving oldtimes (Lopreato: 1970, p. 105)."

Nelli also has observed of these Chicago Italians that "their narrow perspective (of suspicion and distrust) broke down in American cities, where new patterns and institutions influenced habits and outlooks. They have come to regard themselves as members of the Italian group (Nelli: 1971, p. 13)."

A multitude of factors affected this transition to consideration of all Italians as an unalloyed people.

As noted earlier, the onset of World War I and strict immigration laws curtailed the flow of newcomers. With less newcomers present to enhance recollections of sectional heterogeneity, their differences began to wane.

Cohabitation, ergo, living next to another Italian family group, lent to eventual interaction. "Sheer physical contact or proximity, made inevitable by the nature of the community, forced a certain mutual adaptation
among the inhabitants however great may have been the initial cultural dis-
tance. After all, they were now on the same block, often in the same build-
ing, and they had to learn to live with one another and practice a degree of
give and take of one another (Lopreato: 1970, p. 105)."

The language situation also encouraged coherence. Although
one's dialect may have had some variation from one's neighbors, communication
was feasible. Whereas with any non-Italian group it was improbable, if not
impossible, to render oneself intelligible.

It was observed on data gathering trips to the neighborhood
that although some dialectal variations and English interjections prevailed,
the Italian that was spoken approximated the Florentine rendition, which is
now the standardized Italian language.

To the second generation Italians, parental differences were not
of paramount importance. They saw themselves mirrored in the eyes of non-
Italians as 'the Italian group' and came to think of themselves as such.

To the children, American born or very young immigrants, the old
world differences, suspicions, and animosities usually became ir-
relevant. They were concerned with the conditions that confronted
them in school or on the job as second-generation Italian-Americans
rather than as Neopolitans, Sicilians, Genoese, and the like. On
the street corner, the Irish gang engaged them in a fight as Ital-
ians not as individuals from particular regions of Italy (Lopreato:

Also, the new environment provided for new communal interests
which took precedence over old forces of segregation. It was necessary to
form new Italian associates for social activities. The progeny had to be
married off, preferably to a nice Italian boy or girl. Women and men formed
mutual interest alliances along religious lines. As long as they went to the
same parish and lived on the same block, it was only logical that they con- gregated for the saying of the novena, and the celebration of other religious occasions. Ideas were collaborated and gossip exchanged on the novel object of suspicion, the non-Italian. All previous inter-group skepticism was transferred to this new object of distrust.

The confines of the Near West Side community is shared with diverse ethnic assemblages. Predominant neighborhood groups include: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, a few Greeks, and infiltrating WASPs. Although recent urban renewal has claimed 10,000 of the previous 30,000 area residents, "the racial and ethnic composition of the remnant has not changed dramatically: approximately one-third are Italians, a quarter Mexicans, 17 per cent are Negro and 8 per cent or less are Puerto Rican. A few isolated Greek families round out these figures (Suttles: 1968, p. 22)."

There appears to exist a good deal of agreement among the Near West Side Italians in their appraisals of and relations with adjacent area ethnic groups. The previous suspicion and distrust which once existed within the group, now, is channeled into the direction of the adjacent non-Italian groups, producing a social barrier. There are several factors contributing to this segregation.

On a general level there is the over all cultural barrier. There are various preserved cultural traits of the Italian heritage which do not approximate those of neighboring groups. The Italians are extremely nationalistic, proud of their forefathers, and proud to be Italian. The center of the Italian social life is the family unit and associations are usually along kinship lines. The fiesta occasions are usually religious ones, cele-
brated within the kin unit. Even many economic endeavors are based on a family co-operative system where one family member purchases a grocery store or other business and everyone from the grandparents to the smallest child does his fair share in maintaining its operation. Games such as briscola and bocha as well as the tarantella dance are exclusively for Italian participants. Consequently, the Italians view with suspicion any group whose cultural traits do not approximate their own.

Kinship and geography also operate to maintain a certain degree of isolationism. "Social relationships are almost entirely limited to other Italians, because much sociability is based on kinship, and because most friendships are made in childhood, and are thus influenced by residential propinquity (Gans: 1962, p. 35)."

The Italians also band together for mutual security and trust, while sometimes openly displaying animosity towards other groups. "The resident's behavior is not merely a result of 'prejudices' or a dislike of other ethnic groups. All the local ethnic groups assume that members within one minority group have exceptional claim on each others' trust, help, association, and understanding (Suttles: 1968, p. 59)."

Interference in inter-ethnic relations may also be a result of the communication system. Since English appears to be the language media between most Italian and non-Italian parties, those who are not competent speakers would most likely avoid situations in which they would be coerced to embarrass themselves in front of an out-group member by use of their poor English. "Thus it is not surprising that those among them (Near West Side community residents) who depend upon broken English either avoid those encounters
Interethnic-group relations range in their attitudinal orientation towards the out-group from positive, to neutral, to negative. It appears, from observations in the neighborhood that outwardly, non-Italian groups are treated with tolerant passivity. But among themselves, they express a negative attitude toward the Negroes. The main factor perpetuating this attitude is the non-standard black English spoken by most of the Negro residents. "The Negroes still preserve a measure of several different southern dialects along with their accompanying vocabulary and syntactic forms. Also, the Negro 'jive' talk is looked on by Italians as flaunting of their emancipation which does not set well with the family oriented Italians (Suttles: 1968, pp. 64-65)." The Italians claim they simply can not understand what the Negroes are saying, and this all but perpetuates a harmonious relationship.

Spanish speaking peoples have been lumped together as one group by the Italians. They are sometimes referred to as the Mexicans, but the term in the Italian perspective is inclusive of both Mexican and Puerto Rican peoples. The Italians and Spanish speaking peoples have improvised a system of communication. "Both the Mexican and Puerto Ricans seem to have learned a dialect of English very similar to that of the Italians (Suttles: 1969, p. 64)." This ability to verbally communicate has functioned to make the Spanish speakers more acceptable. Not equally accepted by any measure but enough to rate a neutral attitude from the Italians.

A positive relationship with a member of another ethnic group is
infrequent, but when it occurs, it is invariably on an individual basis. "Relationships with members of other ethnic groups are infrequent. These groups are characterized by traditional stereotypes to which exceptions are made only in the case of specific individuals (Gans: 1962, p. 36)." It was observed that the majority of these individual relationships were with people of either Spanish or Greek descent.

There was a consensus of response in interviews, that the majority of language contact came from speaking standard English through one's occupation. The commercial establishments in the area are about seventy-five per cent Italian owned and family operated. The recent urban renewal, which established the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, in the neighborhood has produced an influx of English speaking clientele. Other Italians who leave the area to work, we naturally find, are exposed daily to standard English.

Other than commercial encounters, the only other basis for inter-ethnic meetings would be the central recreational area Vernon Park, commonly referred to as "Peanut Park" (see Illustration 5).

Then, too, the religious activity in their lives serves to prevent rather than encourage inter-ethnic encounters. The members of the various congregations are divided along ethnic group lines. This is evident upon visitation to some of the area churches. Our Lady of Pompeii, for instance, is well defined as catering exclusively to neighborhood Italians in that the two resident priests are bilingual, speaking English and Italian. Confessions as well as the mass and novenas can be as frequently heard in Italian as in English. It was expected, prior to investigation, that the parishes would
function as a catalyst to encourage inter-ethnic group relations, but inadvertently it seems to act as an agent preserving ethnic group boundaries. Because of their differences in faith, most of the ethnic groups in the area make up separate congregations. By their location, service, and past usage, the churches go still further toward preserving the divisions between ethnic sections. In all, there are ten separate places of worship in the area. None of them brings together different ethnic groups (Suttles: 1968, p. 42).

The largest, although non-ethnic group, to whom the Near West Side community Italian is exposed to, is the WASP, ergo, the Italians' profile of the typical, white, English speaking, middle class American. While being subjected to WASP company they were barraged with the English language. Any business transaction with any non-Italian group was conducted in English. All legal forms, immigration papers, marriage licenses, birth and death certificates, were all written in English. Traffic signs, billboards, most newspapers, and textbooks again used English. It seemed as though everyone from the neighborhood policeman, to the bus drivers, to the garbage collectors, to the census takers used English as a media of communication. With such constant bombardment, it is not surprising that English words, pidginized and modified, began to take their place in the Italians' linguistic repertoire.
CHAPTER FOUR

LINGUISTIC CORRELATES IN THE ACCULTURATIVE PROCESS: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION

The procedure being followed in this ethnolinguistic investigation is: to elicit corpi from various neighborhood residents; transcribe the corpi; and set up categories: grammatical, morphemic, and phonemic; thus determining to what extent there has been reciprocity of some of the aforementioned categories as evidence in the speech habits of the Near West Side community Italians. From this point, phonemic as well as the morphemic blendings will be treated, enumerating and explaining those features that are believed to have been borrowed from the English and modified along Italian structural lines. In the event that this procedure has not accounted for all transcribed features, then the suspicious remaining isolates will be enumerated, described and their possible source predicted using the intra-ethnic group relations information to determine the most probable source of infiltration (refer to Chapter III).

The corpi were elicited by using one of two approaches: group recordings and individual interviews. The group recordings provided the least structured sequences whereby the fieldworker went into a social situation, such as the saying of a novena, or gathering for sewing and card playing, and tape recorded the conversations as a participant-observer, but did not direct the topic of conversation or pose any question. In these group interviews the speakers were simply given voice numbers. Some of the individual interviews were prearranged, while others were extemporaneous neighborhood encounters. All individual interviews elicited the speaker's name and occupation.
followed by dialogue which reiterated an incident in the informant's personal history.

Intensive interviews were conducted with forty informants over a four month period of time. Selected excerpts from these interviews supply the data for the linguistic corpora.

The symbols used in the linguistic transcriptions were adapted from the model put forth by the International Phonetic Alphabet or IPA. These basic IPA symbols have been modified by "the use of diacritics (marks added to letters to modify their values)" producing vowel and consonant models better adaptable to reproduction of the English and Italian sound systems.

H. A. Gleason's conception of the Vietor triangle of English vowels as well as his consonant inventory, "classified on the basis of the types of sounds and points of articulation" will be used as the basis of representation for the English phonemic model (Gleason: 1958, p. 24). In no way is this model (see Tables 2 and 3) meant to be inclusive of all possible regional variations of the English language, but is to be accepted as an adequate representation of the mid-western standard English pronunciation inventory.

The Italian phonemic model has been adapted from the model of Italian vowels and consonants put forth by the Carta Dei Dialetti Italiani under the direction of Carlo Battisti. These models were the result of a symposium of the ten regional committees on Italian dialects meeting in Florence at the Instituto di Glottologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia (Battisti: 1965, p. 3). The vowel and consonant models (see Tables 4 and 5)
are constructed so as to delineate expected variations in the Italian phonemic content. The fieldworker, being a native bilingual, is in a position to predict possible variations and modifications which are introduced through the existence of regional varieties.

Two phases of investigation will be executed on the grammatical level. Incorporated into the first phase will be: transpositions of complete structures, verb conjugations, and syntactic hybrids, drawing on both Italian and English grammatical constructions.

The transposition of complete structures from the English exhibits a case of borrowing on the grammatical level in which not only the grammatical structure is maintained, but the phonemic structure as well. For instance, consider:

/wəcakalit/ /may gad/

The grammatical process on the level of models of Italian verb conjugations appears in everyday speech.

/ey mar_iytato/

The above construction illustrates the borrowing of the verb stem /mar_iy/ from the English /tu meriy/ and suffixing the Italian past participle /tato/ with an Italian auxiliary verb /ey/ producing an Italian verb construction based on an English verb stem.

Italian verb endings are frequently suffixed to an English verb rendering a form such as /soppa/. By utilizing the English /tu sap/ and suffixing a third person singular /-are/ marker.

Simple substitution manifests itself in various English units spoken by the native Italian.
The preceding utterance has substituted the Italian correlative /d 3/ in place of the English correlative /fram..tu/.

A more complex syntactic juxtaposition is produced by a phonemic metathesis whose repercussions are grammatical. Consider:

/spageti aen miytlz/
spaghetti and meatballs
/spageti a polpeyi/
spaghetti meatballs
/spageti ed a miytabl/
spaghetti and meatballs

In this construction the /a/ is part of the construction of /spageti/ that implies something is served in addition to the spaghetti. The English unit /aen miytlz/ is then borrowed and /miytlz/ is phonetically modified to /miytabl/. The English /aen/ is replaced by the Italian /ey/. There is a metathesis of the /ey/ and /a/. The /ey/ is phonologically leveled to /ed/ producing the last of the above constructions which is a syntactic hybrid.

Syntactic structures of the English speaking Italian frequently result out of an equivalent analogy from the Italian.

/non sono uomo ateo/
not I am man atheist

becomes:

/ay am nat an eythiyes man/
I am not an atheist man

This analogic transfer also holds true in the use of the superlative.
the most wealthy man that walks
becomes:
the most wealthiest man walking

Hence, the English rendition, by following the Italian structure for forming the superlative, becomes redundant.

The Italian negative construction necessitates the use of a double negative. An analogy of this is found in the English-Italian structures.

I am not not anymore

Loosely translated it would be: I do not have anything to say.

The second phase of investigation concerns intimate borrowing on the grammatical level, which has resulted in the formulation and use of a marginal or pidginized English.

In the Near West Side community there has been intimate borrowing by the Italian from the English.

Intimate borrowing occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. Intimate borrowing is one-sided: we distinguish between the upper or dominant language, spoken by conquering or otherwise more privileged group, and the lower language, spoken by the subject people, or, as in the United States, by humble immigrants. The borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower, and it very often extends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties. We see an extreme type of intimate borrowing in the contact of immigrants' languages with English in the United States (Bloomfield, 1933, p. 461).

As a result of this intimate borrowing, a marginal language has
developed taking the form of a pidginized Italian-English. Reinecke gives recognition to this form of marginal language. "Another form of marginal languages, the broken speech of free immigrants, is of great social significance. It is an amorphous mass of what Schuchardt called 'individual corruptions' attempts varying widely in degree of success, to reach the norm of the native language (Reinecke: 1964, p. 542)." This productive pidgin English necessitates phonological levelings for euphonic reasons. Such levelings usually manifest themselves in progressive and regressive assimilation, which will be dealt with in depth on the phonemic level.

Utterances occur in which the Italian affects a phonological modification of English words. (Heretofore Eng. = English; Mod. = phonetical modification of English; It. = Italian)

/\pas\diy\piy\se\li/  
Eng. Mod. It.

/\nut\e\yy\ri\si\wit\yu\syst\ey\ma/  
Mod. Eng. Mod Mod It.

/\piyu\w ezpens\s\u\s/  
It. Mod. Mod.

/\iyn\iyl\ol\knontr_\iy/  
Mod. It. Mod. Mod.

There are also utterances in which the English dialogue is modified by the presence of Italian morphemes.

/damey\i\l\tuwo\diy\s/  
It. It. It. Mod.
A debased or pidginized effect materializes when there is a literal translation from the Italian to the English without regard for English syntax.

Another instance of this phenomenon would be:

I guess how long they last if last until Saturday they are going to be alright

When articulated by a resident Italian it is rendered:

The morphemic level of analysis is inclusive of: borrowed morphemes with no apparent phonetic modifications; borrowed morphemes that undergo phonological modifications that are self-contained; and borrowed morphemes that undergo inherent phonological modifications as well as effecting modifications on their immediate morphemic environment.

Borrowed morphemes with no apparent phonetic modifications but with semantic equivalence follow:
The majority of the morphemes have phonetic modifications which manifest themselves in the morphemic form, while their content remains unchanged. They are phonemically:

/ˈsɪkəɡo/ /ˈsɪka.ɡU/

The alveopalatal voiceless grooved fricative /ʃ/ → alveopalatal voiceless affricate /ʃ/. The low back /ɔ/ → a lengthened low central /a/. And the mid back /o/ → the lower high /U/.

/aɛnerki/ /ˈnɑːr_ki/

The quality of the low front vowel /æ/ → low back /ɔ/, and the mid front /ɛ/ → a low central /a/. The retroflected /r/ → a trilled /ɾ/ and the primary stress on the first syllable shifts to the penultimate.

/plamer/ /ˈpləmər_

The low central /a/ → a high back /U/ and the retroflected /r/ → a trilled /ɾ/.

/growseri/ /ˈɡroʊsər_i/

The /w/ glide of the initial mid back /o/ is deleted, and the voiceless alveopalatal grooved fricative /s/ → a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative. The mid front /ɛ/ → a high front with a glide /iE/. The retroflected /ɾ/ a trilled /ɾ/ and the final high front /i/ is rendered tenser in the Italian phoneme.

/porʃ/ /ˈpor_ʃ/

The final consonant, the voiceless alveopalatal /c/ → an alveopalatal voiceless grooved fricative.
The initial low central /a/ → a lengthened low central /a./. The retroflected /r/ → a trilled /r/ and the final /y/ glide is deleted.

/sawθ/ → /sawt/

The final dental voiceless slit fricative /θ/ → an alveolar voiceless stop /t/.

/eksrey/ → /eyser_ey/

The consonant cluster /ksr/ → a /VCVC/ sequence. The first vowel being a /y/ glide, the first consonant an alveolar voiceless grooved fricative /s/. The second vowel, the mid front /e/, and the second consonant a trilled /r/.

/eleveytər/ → /eyleveyUr_/

The alveolar voiceless stop /t/ is deleted in the second form and the mid central /a/ → the lower high /U/.

/eyrlayn/ → /ar_alayn/

The initial /VVC/ cluster → /VCV/. The Italian form being a trilled /r/ between two low central /a/ s.

/lser/ → /ls1ser_o/

The initial mid central /ɔ/ → the low back /ɔ/, which when rendered is slightly higher than a low back. The mid central /ɔ/ → a mid front /e/ and a final mid back /o/ is suffixed to the second form.

Phonetic modifications were present in compound as well as singular units.

/supermarkət/ → /super_mer_ka.ti/

The low central /a/ → a mid front /e/, and the mid central /ɔ/ → a lengthened low central /a./. The Italian marker /i/, a high front, is suffixed to
the second form.

/eyr kændisjuner/ → /eyr_akoʊndiʃʊn/

This two unit structure is fused into one unit. The retroflected /r/ → a trilled /r/ and a low central /a/ is infixed after the trilled /r/. The mid central /ɔ/ → a mid back /o/ with a /w/ glide. The high front /i/ → /i/ followed by a /y/ glide and the final /VC/ cluster is deleted.

The changing of the function of a morpheme often effects a change in its form.

/fiɡUr/ → /fiɡUr_/ → /fiɡUr_ʃ/

Eng. noun It. verb It. noun

When functioning as a verb the morpheme undergoes perfect borrowing, but when functioning as a noun, the Italian noun marker, in this case a low back /ș/, is suffixed to the form.

When borrowed, several of the morphemes are modified with the addition of a pre-substantive obligatory marker. For instance:

/ners/ → /lə nawUr_s/

The marker is a voiced alveolar lateral /l/ plus the low central /a/. The mid front /e/ → the vowel cluster: mid central /a/, voiced bilabial semi-vowel /w/ and the lower high /U/.

/haywey/ → /il hayaway/

The marker takes the form of the high front /i/ plus the alveolar voiced lateral /l/. Between the /yw/ semivowel cluster is infixed the low central /a/.

/kowk/ → /Unah kowka/

The marker constitutes the: lower high /U/; alveolar voiced nasal /n/; low central /a/; and the glottal voiceless slit fricative /h/. The low central
/a/ and glottal voiceless slit fricative /h/ is suffixed to the second unit, also for euphony.

The Italians play a linguistic game with their words in that they contract many of the forms for expediency in pronunciation. To contract the form, the last few phonemes of a given morpheme are simply dropped. Examples from the Italian would be /kasa/ which becomes /ka/, and /viyno/ which /viyn/. Applied to English:

/veykeysn/ → /veykey/

In this instance, the final /CVC/ cluster has been deleted.

The pidginized English that developed saw the environment adjacent to an Italian/English linear sequence undergo modification. Two utterances that occur on the grammatical level are:

/pas diy diys/  /pas diy piyzeyli/

The article would normally be rendered /də/, but when conditioned by the high front /iy/ with a glide in the following morpheme, the mid central /ə/ is modified to a high front /i/ with a glide.

There is a different quality of modification in the following pidginized forms:

/andə yu siy/

/helpə yu salv/

/nuteyn ran yu siysteyma/

The mid central /ə/ is suffixed to the first morphemes of the first two examples to level it phonemically along Italian phonological lines. In the second and third examples, there is also phonemic leveling along Italian phonological lines. In these instances, it results in the deletion of the
final voiced alveolar semivowel /r/ of /yur/ rendering it /yu/.

There were present within the transcribed utterances two isolates which are not inclusive of the Italian or English systems (refer to Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5) and do not exhibit the vowel phoneme /ɔ/ as it is rendered by the Italians. To be more specific, its realization in English is illustrated in the word law /lɔw/, whereas the Italian counterpart in /sìser_o/ is rendered as in the Greek /is'hawa/ or /psliytiyah/. Phonetically the English /ɔ/ is lower and lax while the Italian, presumably patterned after the Greek, is higher and tense.

Again, the English /r/ is retroflected as compared to the Italian /r/ which is trilled. However, findings have presented that unlike the single trill which exists in Italian, the /r/s of the Near West Side Italians are invariably exhibiting a feature which can be described as a double trill. The double trill as it exists among these speakers is illustrated in such words as: /sìser_o/, /snar_ki/, /plUmer_/.

When rendered, the aforementioned words are similar to the Spanish /r/ in such words as /per_o/, /fer_okar_i/, and /kar_o/.

As the /ɔ/ is suspected to have been influenced by the adjacent Greeks, so the double trill could have also been borrowed from the neighboring Spanish.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose in the present investigation is to determine the nature of some of the linguistic correlates that are commensurate with the particular character of the demographic distributions of the Near West Side community Italians in the city of Chicago.

A short history of the Italian immigration is traced, outlining their apparent reasons for immigration and the selection of Illinois and ultimately Chicago as one of their areas of settlement. Although at the beginning there was intercity movement, in the early twentieth century the Near West Side community became the primary Italian neighborhood in the city of Chicago. Brought to this community were the various regional dialects, but as Italian was the media of in-group communication, the conversational Italian stabilized to an approximation of the Florentine dialect.

The Italians strove to preserve in this neighborhood their language and culture. Social relationships were limited to, as often as possible, other Italians or kin. The church attended and recreational areas frequented were specifically designated Italian. For a while, such isolationism served to maintain the Italian language in the Near West Side community without corruptions. But this period of linguistic and social isolationism was short lived.

The initial exposure was to the English language. All legal documents, legal officials and signs, outside the immediate area, were written in English. It soon became necessary occupationally, to transgress neighborhood boundaries, outside of which English was the means of commun-
cation. Gradually, English speakers even began coming into the neighborhood area to frequent Italian merchants.

Other ethnic groups, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Greeks began to settle not only adjacent to, but sometimes within, neighborhood boundaries. The non-Italian ethnic groups in the area frequented Italian stores as well as places of recreation. With such ethnic fluidity and geographic proximity some linguistic communication became inevitable.

The social interaction with, and geographic nearness of, non-Italian groups has left permanent evidences in the linguistic habits of the Near West Side community Italians. The greatest assimilation has been of English, and to a much lesser degree, some Spanish and Greek features. The linguistic assimilation appears to be in direct proportion to their estimation of the desirability of the non-Italian groups.

It has been observed that there are three classifications among Italian resident speakers. These divisions are along generational lines. Those immigrants who were over thirty when they originally came and now in the post sixty-five group, seem to have stuck to the Italian language, speaking it with little or no foreign corruption. The children of the over thirty group or those who are now in the thirty-five to sixty-five group, seem to be the most linguistically versatile, speaking both the Italian and a locally developed pidgin English, depending on the social situation. Most of the under thirty-five group understand the Italian but few speak it, with the exception of some of the recent arrivals. They understand but can not speak the pidgin English and exhibit no desire to learn.

The speakers of the pidgin English either Italianize English
words, modifying them along Italian phonetic lines, or intersperse Italian in an English utterance, thereby phonologically affecting the immediate morphemic environment. Some non-Italian, non-English isolates are detected in blended phonemes. Their apparent source is suspected as being Spanish and Greek.

In the ninety-odd years that the Near West Side community has existed as an Italian ethnic neighborhood, it has been in constant flux. There has been an ingress of non-Italian groups within neighborhood boundaries as well as contact with non-Italians, outside neighborhood limits. Such contact has resulted in cross-cultural borrowing. Few social customs attest to this borrowing, but in the linguistic realm of verbal articulation, in the pidgin English of the community Italians today, we have our concrete evidence of the acculturative process at work, the proof for which has been attained through this ethnolinguistic interpretation.
APPENDIXES
TABLE 1

Distribution of Italian Immigrants
by Census Tract

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentages</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Computation: Figures in the percent column represents the percentage of the total population that is of first generation Italians inclusive of children, both of whose parents are Italian immigrants.
TABLE 2

Gleason's Vietor Triangle of English Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower High</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Mid</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ae</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>œ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

**Gleason's Model of English Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
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<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricates</strong></td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slit</strong></td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>ĕ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Groove</strong></td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td><strong>Semivowel</strong></td>
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<td>w</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
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Battisti's Viætor Triangle of Italian Vowels

<table>
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<tr>
<th>(i)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
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<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
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<td>e</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
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</table>

1 This table is inclusive of the entire range of Italian vowels beyond which a phoneme may not vary and still be considered within the Italian group.

2 The diacritic mark /-/- above an open o, /ɔ/, is a modification, the result of Italian borrowing from the Greek, i.e., /ɔ/
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nasali</th>
<th>vibranti</th>
<th>laterali</th>
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</thead>
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<td>occlusive</td>
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<td>d</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pre)palatali</td>
<td>e'</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td>e'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>s</td>
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<td>g'</td>
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<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvulari</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This table is inclusive of the entire range of Italian consonants beyond which a phoneme may not vary and still be considered within the Italian group.

2 The diacritic mark / / after an /r/ is a modification, the result of the Italian borrowing from the Spanish; i.e., /r/. 
ILLUSTRATION 3

Italian Mobility in Chicago

Legend:

X = Chicago's Italian settlements, pre-1890
★ = Chicago's Italian settlements, post-1900
ILLUSTRATION 4

Near West Side Community
ILLUSTRATION 5

Suttles' Vernon Park Communication Lines

- Hangout for It. group
- Playlot for It. children
- Private residences mostly It.
- It. church
- Greek school playlot used only by Greek children
- Mexican families lounge here
- Private housing mostly It.
- It. play
- Vacant lot
- It. play here
- Benches used by old It.
- Negroes lounge here men
- It. hospital
- Public housing
- Hangout for Mexican street group
- Benches used by old It.
- Public housing mostly Negro
- Public housing
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Acculturation of Mexican-Americans in a Midwestern City, by Carolyn Marrhiasson of Cornell University (1968). This study investigates the retention of loss of traditional patterns of culture and language among Mexican-Americans in Milwaukee.

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The thesis submitted by Sandra Louise Lazarz has been read and approved by members of the Department of Anthropology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

January 15, 1972
Date

Signature of Advisor