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# **Audience-Driven Variation of AAVE Features and Its Relationship to Gender and Socioeconomic Background**

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Name: Tommy Pieterse

Supervisor: Dr. J.G. Geenen

Second reader: Dr. L.G.M. Visser-Maessen

BA Thesis American Studies

Radboud University

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Teacher who will receive this document: Dr. J. G. Geenen

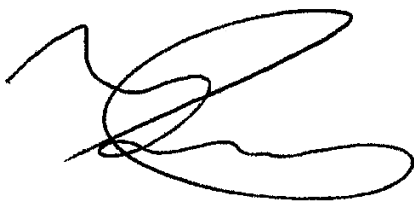
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Tommy Pieterse', written in a cursive style with several loops and a long horizontal stroke at the bottom.

Name of student: Tommy Pieterse

Student number: s1010521

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# Abstract

This study is concerned with the speech patterns of African Americans dependent on target audience of certain speech contexts. African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is gaining in cultural capital, but is simultaneously one of the most stigmatized dialects in the United States. Previous institutional efforts have caused most African Americans to become proficient in both AAVE and Standard American English. The study attempts to answer the question: based on the racial identity of the target audience of the speech context, to what degree do African Americans vary their usage of features associated with AAVE, and to what extent is the answer specific to gender and socioeconomic background of the speaker? Additionally, it seeks to explain the resulting patterns. An empirical data collection protocol was constructed that lead to the creation of a corpus containing transcriptions of 24 participants who were equally distributed according to gender and socioeconomic background. Two speech samples from broadcast contexts were taken per participant, one in an African American-oriented context and one in a white-oriented context. Analysis of the data revealed that African Americans with a working-class background significantly shift the way they speak, while African Americans with a middle-class background do not. There was almost no relationship found between gender and style-shifting practices. The results for individuals with a working-class were interpreted to be caused by symbolic identity maintenance and the results for the individuals with a middle-class background were interpreted to be due to either them being socialized not to use AAVE in certain contexts, or a conscious choice to either emphasize middle-class identity or to change the indexical associations of Standard American English.

Keywords: *AAVE, sociolinguistics, style-shifting, language and identity, corpus*

# Introduction

Few dialects of English find themselves in a position as peculiar as that of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). While one of the most widely recognized and ubiquitous dialects in the United States, it is simultaneously one of the country's most negatively regarded dialects (Rickford, 1999; Tamasi & Antieau, 2014). Despite these negative associations, African American<sup>1</sup> culture is finding its way into mainstream American culture through forms of expression like the musical genre of hip-hop (Tamasi & Antieau, 2014). This has increased the cultural capital associated with AAVE in a wide range of cultural groups. AAVE figures continuously in contemporary media and is becoming increasingly prominent in certain forms of entertainment (Tamasi and Antieau, 2014).

While the linguistic origins of AAVE are still contested, it is agreed upon that AAVE possibly derives some of its distinctive features from creole languages, while being mostly based on older dialects of British English (Rickford, 1999; Van Herk, 2015). The academic consensus is that it has always been stigmatized in one form or another (Rickford, 1999). For example, a case study of the treatment of AAVE in formal education reveals that AAVE has been subjected to deliberate elimination campaigns by the US government, in part brought on by the influence of Standard Language Ideology. This may have been one of the factors causing the largely negative perception of AAVE by the United States public. A shift in US educational policy toward teaching Standard American English to African American students has given rise to a sizeable portion of African Americans who are proficient in both AAVE and Standard American English (Rickford, 1999). Different types of language shifting speakers exist, with the majority of AAVE speakers belonging to the group that is proficient in both AAVE and Standard American English (Hecht et al., 2013).

There have also been institutional efforts to improve the status of AAVE relative to that of Standard American English, with one such example being the Oakland Ebonics Controversy, where the decision to recognize AAVE as a legitimate language was met with fierce public backlash (Rickford, 1999). While these efforts to teach AAVE along the standard acknowledge AAVE as a valid dialect, they also implicitly reinforce the widely-held belief that AAVE is only appropriate in certain contexts, relegating it to a position subordinated to the standard. This raises questions concerning how African Americans shift their usage of AAVE, and how this relates to cultural identity and language perception. This study attempts to provide insights into

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<sup>1</sup> Following Tamasi and Antieau (2014), African American will not be hyphenated, even in adjectival form.

these issues and was designed to answer the question: based on the racial identity of the target audience of the speech context, to what degree do African Americans vary their usage of features associated with AAVE, and to what extent is the answer specific to gender and socioeconomic background of the speaker? This study also seeks to explain these patterns.

An empirical protocol was constructed to generate a corpus of the speech of 24 African American participants, who were equally distributed based on gender and socioeconomic background. A sample of speech for each participant in an African American-oriented and a white-oriented broadcast context was transcribed. These samples were analyzed using a taxonomy of grammatical features of AAVE, generated mostly from Rickford (1999). The “AAVE-ness” of each transcript was then calculated.

The results of this analysis reveal that there is a significant difference between the speech of the participants in African American-oriented and white-oriented contexts based on the concentration of AAVE-related grammatical features. When accounting for class background, there was a significant relationship for participants with a working-class background, preferring to use AAVE-heavier styles in African American-oriented contexts. However, no correlation between racial target audience and the “AAVE-ness” of the speech of participants of middle-class background was found. Gender did not seem to be a significant factor, except within the group of middle-class participants: the difference in style-shifting patterns *between* men and women of middle-class origins was found to be statistically significant.

The linguistic behavior of the participants with a working-class background are explained as a form of symbolic identity maintenance, while the behavior of participants with a middle-class background is theorized to be due either to their being socialized not to use AAVE in certain contexts (which include broadcast contexts), them prioritizing their middle-class identity over their African American identity, or because they seek to redefine the indexical associations of SAE by claiming it as a way to express their African American identity. The findings of this study were largely determined to be applicable to African Americans as a whole.

# Literature Review

Before outlining an empirical procedure to explore how African Americans vary their usage of features associated with AAVE, a number of concepts and frameworks require clarification. Firstly, AAVE will be defined and placed within its historical context. The second section will delve into how language and the concept of identity influence and constitute each other. Lastly, a section is devoted to elucidating how AAVE is spoken and how it is influenced by identity.

## Definition and Historical Context of AAVE

Before discussing AAVE and the way it is spoken, it must first be defined. African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is the distinct dialect of English that currently has mostly African American speakers and has developed from varieties of English spoken by Black people in slavery who lived in what is now the United States (Rickford, 1999; Tamasi & Antieau, 2014). Tamasi and Antieau (2014) emphasize that not all speakers of AAVE are African American, but they do argue that “[t]he history of a linguistic system is the history of its speakers and, as such, the story of African American English reflects a shared African American experience” (p. 147). In other words, they argue that while AAVE is not an “exclusively African American,” it *is* the product of the historical and cultural experiences of African Americans and, as a consequence, should be handled as such.

As Tamasi and Antieau (2014) put it, “a holistic investigation of any linguistic system must also include the social and historical context in which the system developed” (p. 144). The first arrival of African slaves in British North America occurred in 1619 (Wright, 2017), and according to Winford (2015), it is a matter of consensus that the development of AAVE began shortly after this point—first in Virginia, with the proto-variety of AAVE then spreading to Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia soon thereafter.

The debate on the linguistic origins of AAVE began in the 1970s (Steward, 1970) and is still ongoing, with there being two main camps. The first camp, the *Creolists*, do not view AAVE as merely another dialect of English—instead, they believe that a sizeable portion of the distinctive features of AAVE find their origin in creole languages (Rickford 1999, 2015; Wolfram & Schilling, 2015). It should be noted Creolists no longer believe that a widespread creole was once spoken in the American South and that this language developed directly into AAVE (cf. Stewart, 1970)—rather, they maintain that many of the features that make AAVE a distinctive dialect have creole origins.

The *Anglicists*, the second camp, believe that the features that make AAVE distinctive were most likely directly carried over from older non-standard varieties of English (Van Herk, 2015; Wolfram & Schilling, 2015). Nevertheless, as is the case with most Creolists, most supporters of the Anglicist hypothesis do not completely rule out the other side's arguments. Van Herk (2015), for example, does not exclude any creole influence categorically, but he does believe that creole influence was minimal. The academic consensus is that AAVE, as a dialect of English, likely derives *some* of its distinctive features from a creole language, but the degree to which it has done this remains the topic of current academic discourse.

Throughout its history, AAVE has gone by many different names. Scholars have variably referred to it as “Ebonics,” “Negro English,” “Spoken Soul,” “African American Language,” and “Black Vernacular English,” among other names (Tamasi & Antieau, 2014, pp. 146–147). For present purposes, the historically prevalent and academically preferred term AAVE will be used, following Hazen (2001), Rickford (1999, 2015), and Winwood (2015). The term emphasizes the role of AAVE as a vernacular language vis-à-vis the standard, and the centrality of this relationship in the ways in which African Americans speak English is further elucidated later in this chapter. Direct quotes will retain whatever term the original author chose to describe AAVE, regardless of whether this term is currently still in use or not.

Another component of the history of AAVE is the manner in which it has been treated in the past and, by extension, how it is treated today. As a case study, the treatment of AAVE within formal educational settings will be outlined specifically: it reflects the attitudes of both the government and individual teachers. These specific attitudes might have had a direct influence on the way African American students speak AAVE and how they conceive of the language in general.

For much of history of AAVE, the United States government paid no special attention to the education of African Americans. During slavery, slave literacy was discouraged and even criminalized (Danns & Purdy, 2015). Danns and Purdy (2015) report that, after slavery, many African American communities founded their own schools—likely due to lack of government support and active discouragement from participating in white educational institutions—indicating they possessed a degree of control over the education of their children. The vast majority of African Americans remained in segregated schools until the desegregation that occurred in the 1960s.

While most African American students remained segregated for decades, the US government did not refrain from attempting to eliminate AAVE. According to O’Neil (1971), the primary educational policy during much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the complete elimination



of AAVE in favor of the standard. A shift occurred after the end of segregation—the eradication policy was replaced by *institutional bidialectalism*.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this policy was to allow African American students to retain their own dialect but also to train them to use Standard American English (SAE) (O’Neil, 1971; Rickford, 1999).

The key to explaining why the US education system has focused on eliminating AAVE for a large part of its history is so-called *language ideology*. In essence, language ideologies are the attitudes, opinions, beliefs, or theories that we all have about language . . . Language ideologies can be about language in general . . . particular languages . . . particular linguistic structures . . . language use . . . or about the people who employ specific languages or usages. (Ahearn, 2017, p. 23)

It is these ideologies that are at the core of the rationale behind the suppression of AAVE.

While there are multiple language ideologies, *Standard Language Ideology* (SLI) is the most relevant to this particular case. SLI refers to the widely held belief that the standard language is inherently superior to non-standard varieties and dialects (Ahearn, 2017; Lippi-Green, 2012). SLI has had a noticeable effect on the treatment of AAVE. As Ahearn (2017) puts it, “much of the stigma of AAE is based on a standard language ideology: the grammar and vocabulary of AAE are looked down upon as linguistically inferior to a standard American English” (p. 161). In other words, SLI is instrumental to the institutional and societal hostility toward AAVE.

One instance where SLI played a central role is the Oakland Ebonics Controversy. In 1996, the School Board of Oakland, California officially recognized “Ebonics” (i.e. AAVE) as the “primary language” of African American students (Rickford 1999). The decision elicited a storm of negative comments: “Ebonics was described as ‘lazy English,’ ‘bastardized English,’ ‘poor grammar,’ and ‘fractured slang’” (Rickford, 1999, p. 320). The driving force behind these reactions is SLI—people are unwilling to recognize AAVE is a system that is equally functional and complex as Standard American English.

While the comments mentioned by Rickford (1999) might be interpreted as racist, the persons who originally uttered them could very well have claimed that they were not racist at all. This is where the impact of language ideologies like SLI presents itself: “[S]tructures (both linguistic and social) at the same time constrain and give rise to human actions, which in turn create, recreate, or reconfigure those same structures” (Ahearn, 2017, p. 25). In essence, SLI

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<sup>2</sup> Most works refer to the policy simply as “bidialectalism.” However, the adjective “institutional” was apposed in order to differentiate the policy of bidialectalism from linguistic bidialectalism (i.e., when a person speaks two dialects of one language).

gives rise to sentiments and efforts directed against AAVE, giving rise to institutional and societal disadvantages for AAVE speakers. Combined, these series of consequences provide a justification for SLI-related beliefs and structures, reinforcing SLI and giving rise to the same set of consequences. The cycle perpetually reinforces itself: even though the actors in this cycle likely do not conceive of themselves as racist, they *do* perpetuate the societal structures directed against African Americans, and it is this perpetual cycle that characterizes the historical and societal context of AAVE.

## Language and Identity

An investigation of AAVE-related language use cannot be carried out unless special attention is paid to the social aspect of the language. As Ahearn (2017) puts it, “[l]anguage is not a neutral medium for communication but rather a set of socially embedded practices” (p. 3). One of these practices is the use of language to construct and express an identity (Holmes, 2013). This section details the ways in which identity and language affect each other.

Before proceeding, it is important to define concept of identity, or, more specifically, *cultural identity*. Hecht, Jackson, and Ribeau (2003) define cultural identity as

perceived membership in culture that is enacted in the appropriate and effective use of symbols and cultural narratives, similar interpretations and meanings, and common ancestry and traditions. Identity implies a sense of self or personhood, and cultural identity is the subjective sense of belonging to or membership in culture. (p. 41)

It is this definition of (cultural) identity that will be employed henceforth. *Culture*, here, is defined as system of norms, values, and meanings that is transmitted generationally and historically (Hecht et al., 2003).

Related to cultural identity is the process of *sense-making*. Essentially, people observe the social world, interpret it and learn from it (Hecht et al., 2003). Hecht et al. (2003) maintain that identity determines how one sees oneself, and how one wants to be seen and treated by others. This sense-making process is directly linked to another concept: *identity negotiation*. If, for example, a person constructs his or her identity around interaction with a certain group, but this group then refuses to interact with him or her, that person is forced to negotiate (i.e. reconsider) their identity and, as a consequence, how they make sense of the world (Hecht et al., 2003). While this is example might be considered extreme, identity negotiation is an essential component of human interactions, meaning identity is not something static but rather a dynamic system that that is shaped by human interactions.

Negotiation is not the only process that constructs identity through interaction. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) describe three pairs of opposite functions that create identity. The first pair is *adequation* and *distinction*. Through the process of adequation, a person's identity is reinforced based on a positively perceived similarity to other individuals (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Conversely, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) describe distinction as the process that affects one identity based on the urge (conscious or unconscious) to distance oneself from another group of people. Secondly, identity is constructed through *authentication* and *denaturalization*. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), authentication refers to the perceived "genuineness" of someone's identity based how they culturally express themselves (e.g. through language). Denaturalization, contrariwise, describes the process by which some identities are conceived of as being artificial, either consciously or unconsciously (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Finally, the pair of *authorization* and *illegitimation* refers to the process of how some identities are legitimized through institutions or other forms of authority (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), a process linked to SLI, which essentially authorizes and illegitimizes language varieties instead of the identities themselves directly.

A key component of these three pairs of identity construction processes is perception. According to Saville-Troike (2003), interaction (and the identity construction process that goes with it) requires the perception of cultural and linguistic differences and similarities. The specific impact of language perception on AAVE will be discussed in the section on how AAVE is spoken. The rest of this section will focus on the ways in which identity shapes language and vice versa.

There are two relevant concepts for understanding the relationship between language and identity. The first of these is *indexicality*. A linguistic feature can function as an *index*, i.e. a sign that refers to something "because it is in dynamical . . . connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand" (Ahearn, 2017, p. 29). In simpler terms, an *indexical* linguistic feature is linked to another object not by virtue of any inherent similarity, but because the two are connected through association. An example of this is [h]-dropping in the United Kingdom, where the phenomenon often indexes working-class speakers (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). The second term is *markedness*. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), markedness is "the process whereby some social categories gain a special, default status that contrasts with the identities of other groups, which are usually highly recognizable" (p. 372). Returning to the [h]-dropping example, [h]-dropping not only indexes a working-class identity, but both [h]-

dropping and the identity itself are conceived of as standing out, i.e. indexing a non-standard identity.

While identity has heretofore been referred to in its singular form, this practice does not reflect that people do not have one single cultural identity: one person can (and does) have multiple overlapping identities (Hecht et al., 2003). According to Hecht et al. (2003), one person might be enacting identities related to gender, ethnicity, class, and other attributes at the same time. Because language is tied to the creation and expression of cultural identity, the way a person uses language can change based on which identities are being enacted, and how they are enacted (Hecht et al., 2003). The concepts of *style*, *linguistic repertoire*, and *style-shifting*<sup>3</sup> are important factors in identity-related language usage. *Styles* refer to the different ways that speakers alter their speech (in terms of grammar, phonology, vocabulary, etc.) depending on the context they are speaking in (Coupland, 2007). These styles combined form “a kind of repertoire of available options” (Holmes, 2013, p. 8), the *linguistic repertoire*. A speaker can style-shift between the styles in his or her repertoire based on how he or she expresses their multiple identities in relation to the properties of the conversation and the interlocutors (Hecht et al., 2003).

There are multiple theoretical frameworks that attempt to explain *how* and *why* people shift styles in this way. One of these is *Communication Accommodation Theory* (CAT). According to Coupland (2007), CAT foregrounds the possible motivational factors behind style-shifting, i.e. considering what benefits shifting might provide to a speaker. CAT focuses on style *convergence* and *divergence*, which are seen as two types of accommodation—a speaker might converge their style to indicate solidarity with the other interlocutor, or diverge their style to indicate the opposite (Coupland, 2007). However, CAT focuses exclusively on style-shifting in terms of accommodation and disregards the importance of *specific* social categories like race, gender, and socioeconomic class outside of how they directly factor into the need to converge or diverge.

Another framework is *Audience Design*, a model outlined by Bell (2001). Audience Design as a model assumes that much (if not all) of style-shifting can be explained by speakers *designing* their speech based on their audience (Coupland, 2007). Bell (2001) has applied this model to a case where New Zealand radio newsreaders who worked for a single company with two stations varied their speech based on which of the two news stations they were being broadcast on, with them utilizing more regional speech patterns when speaking on the locally

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<sup>3</sup> Following Rickford (1999) and Hecht et al. (2003), the term *code-shifting* or *code-switching* is reserved for multilingual situations, while *style-shifting* is used for multidialectal situations.

oriented radio channel (Bell, 2001). Bell (2001) argues that because all other relevant factors are constant (location, the newsreaders themselves, etc.), audience must be a decisive factor in the convergence and divergence of their speech. Audience Design as a model, therefore, has some empirical support.

Perception also seems to play a role in how people shift styles. According to Britt and Weldon (2015), speech styles can have prestige in both the *overt* and *covert* sense. Overt prestige refers to the prestige gained from speaking an institutionally and societally preferred standard form like Standard American English (Britt & Weldon, 2015). Conversely, covert prestige refers to the prestige of “certain vernacular and/or ethnically marked phonological features, for the purpose of racial/ethnic identity and solidarity building” (Britt & Weldon, 2015, p. 806). A style can be perceived as having overt or covert prestige (or neither), highlighting the importance of perception of the properties of style itself, as opposed to focusing solely on accommodation.

Another component of language perception is the perceived *authenticity* of a variety. Coupland (2003) differentiates between two types of authenticity: “authenticity” as a concept employed by sociolinguists to attempt to determine whether or not a variety is “legitimate” and worthy of study, and “authenticity” as the perception of language by speakers themselves. The latter definition is of importance for present purposes. Similar to how Bucholtz and Hall (2004) describe the effect of *authentication* and *denaturalization* on the formation of identities, the same concept can be applied to language styles. *Vernacular authenticity*, specifically, is the authenticity ascribed to the use of vernacular styles as opposed to standard language, and indexes perceived “authentic cultural membership” (Coupland, 2003, p. 421).

The power of perception and perceived authenticity is also evident in how identities are maintained. According to Hecht et al. (2003), identity can also be maintained without having actual contact with the group that identity centers around. “Symbolic identities require the individual to enact rituals and performances, but they may be maintained without actual interaction with reference groups/networks” (Hecht et al., 2003). As long as the identity is perceived to be authentic through the use of rituals and performances (e.g. through specific styles), the symbolic identity is maintained.

While the ways in which language and identity are constructed and enacted are manifold, scholars have also sought to explain whether these actions are voluntary or not. The concept of *habitus*, defined in its modern sense by Bourdieu (1991), implies that the application of certain linguistic forms is not wholly conscious. Coupland (2007) explicates the concept, saying that

habitus implies that we cannot easily (if at all) shake off the ideological associations of our own ingrained ways of speaking, because they result from a slow process of being socialised into normative and acceptable ways of speaking for our social groups. (p. 90)

Bourdieu (1991) and Coupland (2007) support the idea that much of style-shifting is caused not by a fully conscious decision, but, rather, that it is the effect of a process language socialization that has taken place over the course of a person's life.

## AAVE and Identity

Now that a number of concepts and theoretical frameworks have been elucidated, the exploration of how AAVE is spoken based on identity factors can commence. The spoken language of most African Americans lies on a spectrum between SAE and AAVE (Hecht et al., 2003; Rickford, 1999). Hecht et al. (2003) identify three types of African American style-shifters:

1. A group that did not have access to a large part of formal education, and resultingly is not fully aware of the grammatical rules of SAE;
2. A group that is formally educated and fluent in SAE. However, they have trouble expressing themselves in AAVE;
3. A group that is fluent in both AAVE and SAE, likely forming the majority of African Americans.

While the majority of African Americans is likely able to style-shift, the contexts in which they do so depend on a wide range of factors. For example, according to Hecht et al. (2003), African Americans are more likely to shift to a more AAVE-intense style when in casual settings as opposed to formal ones.

Speaker-specific identity factors (as opposed to properties of the conversation itself) contribute as well. "Race, gender, and class each are significant dimensions of African American identity" (Hecht et al., 2003, p. 181). The role of gender and class in how AAVE is spoken warrants specific attention. According to Britt and Weldon (2015), middle-class African Americans exhibit relatively uniform usage of SAE styles, although women show a greater tendency to do so than men. In other words, middle-class African Americans, and specifically middle-class African American women, seem to prefer the overtly prestigious form (SAE) over the covertly prestigious form (AAVE), while the opposite seems to be true for working-class African Americans (Rickford, 1999). This does not necessarily mean that middle-class African Americans are not able to speak AAVE-heavier styles: for example, DeBose (1992) describes middle-class African American women as "balanced bilingual speakers of B[lack] E[nglish]

and [SAE]” (p. 161). Furthermore, Britt and Weldon (2015) argue that AAVE forms a tool for middle-class African Americans to connect to and express their African American identity.

Whether gender as a separate category plays a major role is currently disputed. According to Britt and Weldon (2015), African American women in general are more likely to lean toward using styles closer to SAE. However, Fought (2006) contradicts this notion by asserting that the effects of gender on AAVE are contingent on so many different factors that one cannot make a claim about AAVE usage based solely on gender. Therefore, the effect of gender is less evident than the role of socioeconomic class.

As previously mentioned, perception plays an important role in the construction of cultural identity. Previous perception studies of AAVE have yielded diverging results. Doss and Gross (1994) report that African Americans rate SAE both as more likeable and more professionally desirable. According to Koch and Gross (1997), adult African Americans indeed prefer SAE over AAVE, rating middle-class speakers more likeable and competent if they speak SAE. However, Koch and Gross (1997) also report that the opposite is true for African American children: junior high students rate AAVE more positively than SAE. Speicher and McMahon (1992) report that a sample of African American university students and staff preferred SAE over AAVE in professional settings, but showed a slight tendency to favor AAVE in more informal social settings. According to White et al. (1998), African American undergraduate students are more likely to give AAVE a more positive general rating if they strongly identify with the label “Black,” but African American students *overall* still rate SAE as equally positive or more positive. Larimer, Beatty, and Broadus (1988) report that whites rate both middle-class African Americans and white speakers of SAE higher than working-class speakers of AAVE, while African Americans rate all equally. Finally, Johnson and Buttny (1982) show that white participants are more likely to rate AAVE negatively if the conversation topic is more abstract than experiential. While the results differ, the general trend seems to be that both African Americans and white Americans rate SAE more positively in formal and professional settings, while African Americans *tend* to rate AAVE more positively in informal social settings according to *some* (but not all) studies, while this is not the case for whites.

# Methodology

In order to determine how African Americans vary their usage of features associated with AAVE based on the racial identity of the target audience, a corpus of 24 participants in African American-oriented and white-oriented broadcast speech contexts was generated. The participants were selected for cultural prominence and were equally distributed based on gender and socioeconomic background. The transcripts were analyzed for AAVE grammatical features based mostly on a taxonomy by Rickford (1999), after which the “AAVE-ness” of each transcript was calculated based on the number of occurred features and word length.

## Participants

24 culturally prominent African American participants were selected. The first methodological reason for selecting culturally prominent participants was the availability of biographical literature to facilitate the categorization process. Secondly, due to their prominence, there was expected to be a higher abundance of possible speech recordings available online. In order to ensure only the desired factors had a possible influence on the results, a set of participants was generated that contained only African Americans of roughly the same cultural prominence relative to the average population of African Americans: only participants who appeared on one of the covers of *Ebony* magazine between 2005 and 2008 were selected. Barnett and Flynn (2014) describe *Ebony* as a magazine “for Black people, by Black people,” with a circulation “that peaked at nearly two million” (p. 30). The publication’s popularity and cultural importance within African American culture meant that any person appearing on its cover would need to be significantly culturally relevant. An equal number of male and female participants were selected, and biographical research was carried out to ensure an equal distribution of participants with a working-class background and participants with a middle-class background (see Appendix 1). Class background was determined using living condition during the participant’s childhood and his or her parents’ occupations as main factors. This resulted in the following participant composition:

<b>Table 1: Participants</b>	Female	Male
Working-class background	Angela Bassett Jennifer Hudson Kelly Rowland Queen Latifah Taraji P. Henson Tasha Smith	Bow Wow LL Cool J Pharrell Williams Smokey Robinson Steve Harvey Tyler Perry



Middle-class background	Holly Robinson Peete Mo’Nique Raven-Symoné Serena Williams Tyra Banks Vivica A. Fox	Cedric the Entertainer Don Cheadle Forest Whitaker Spike Lee Taye Diggs Will Smith
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Several variables—such as religion, sexual orientation, and occupation—were not accounted for because it would have been disproportionately time-consuming to determine and categorize them appropriately. For instance, in many cases, there was no singular answer to the question of what a participant’s occupation was—he or she could be both an actor and a musician. When attempting to categorize such an individual, a choice would have had to been made to categorize him or her with either the other actors or the other musicians. This would hinder the analysis of the data to such a degree the choice was made to only account for gender and socioeconomic background.

## Contexts

Speech contexts were selected ad hoc based on a number of criteria. Firstly, the interaction was required to have been broadcast to a larger long-distance audience in order to ensure the existence of a larger target audience. Secondly, the contexts were required to contain a naturalistic (i.e. non-scripted, natural) interview between a host or a group of hosts and an interviewee. Lastly, the interviewee was required to be one of the 24 selected participants.

The speech contexts were categorized based on their target racial group. Because most broadcast programs do not publicly state what their racial target group is, they were categorized based on the following criteria:

1. The majority of the hosts is African American
2. The majority of the physical audience (if present) is African American
3. The guests that normally appear are mostly African American
4. The program usually deals with African American cultural topics

Any context that met *all* points was categorized as African American-oriented, while any show that met none was categorized as white-oriented.<sup>4</sup> Any context that could not be categorized was discarded. This categorization procedure filtered out any shows that were racially

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<sup>4</sup> These contexts are explicitly referred to as “white” (instead of “general” or “mainstream”) in order emphasize the whiteness inherent in its target audience. Whiteness functions “[a]s the unmarked category against which difference is constructed . . . [W]hiteness never has to speak its name [and] never has to acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations” (Lipsitz, 2018, p. 1). The term “Caucasian” is also avoided because of its origins now-discredited white-supremacist racial theories (Mukhopadhyay, 2017).

ambiguous—for example, Steve Harvey’s *Steve TV Show* had an African American host and commonly dealt with African American cultural topics, but the audience was not majority-African American.

The selection of broadcast shows was not without its issues: one could question the ecological validity of selecting a pre-arranged interaction. While it is true the effect of the somewhat rigid form of the broadcast interview could not be *completely* accounted for, any alternative empirical setup involving the same participants would require empirical manipulation to such a degree that any results from that research would have likely been less reliable than the study as it was currently set up. While the contexts are indeed not completely “natural,” they are still forms of naturalistic discourse.

## Corpus

The resultingly generated corpus consisted of a collection of 48 transcriptions, two for each participant, with one transcription being from a white show, and one from an African American show (see Appendix 2). The original recording dates were ensured to diverge no more than 5 years to minimize the chances of a significant shift in idiolect. In order to ensure all transcripts constituted approximately equally representative sections of speech, their length was constrained to 300 to 450 words. The participants were transcribed verbatim, but prosodic and rhythmic contours did not figure in the transcription process. Laughter, when transcribed, was rendered as “[Laughs],” but did not contribute to the total word count. Unintelligible words were transcribed as “[unintelligible],” and were weighted at the value of one word. If a certain word was only partly intelligible, “[?]” was affixed to the end of the word. For each transcript, the name of the show it was taken from was noted, as well as the name(s) of the host(s), the title of the recording, the approximate date of recording (based on the upload date in the cases where it was uploaded to the internet by the show itself), the timestamp, and the URL that lead to the original media resource.

## Analytical method

The corpus was analyzed for the presence of AAVE-related grammatical features. The reason for focusing solely on grammatical features is twofold. Firstly, determining the presence of grammatical features requires no specialized software, which is not the case for phonological features. Secondly, Rickford and Rickford (2000) report that African Americans are identifiable by their phonological features in 80-90% of cases by untrained ears, which implies that phonological variation is much less prominent than grammatical variation in AAVE.

The analysis was carried out with the help of a taxonomy of features, generated primarily from Rickford (1999, pp. 6–9):

1. Absence of copula/auxiliary *to be*
2. Use of invariant *be*
3. Use of *steady* as an intensified continuative marker
4. Use of stressed *been* to mark remote phase
5. Use of *done* to emphasize the completed nature of an action
6. Use of *be done*
7. Use of *finna/fitna*
8. Use of *come* to express the speaker's indignation about an action or event
9. Use of double modals
10. Use of quasi modals *liketa* and *poseta*
11. Absence of third person singular present tense *-s*
12. Generalization of *is* and *was* to use with plural and second person subjects
13. Use of past tense form as past participle
14. Deletion of auxiliary *to have*<sup>5</sup>
15. Use of verb stem as past tense form
16. Double tense marking of a past tense or past participle form
17. Absence of possessive *-s*
18. Absence of plural *-s*
19. Use of *and them* or *'nem* to mark associative plurals
20. Appositive or pleonastic pronouns
21. Use of *y'all* and *they* as plural possessives
22. Use of object pronouns after a verb as personal datives
23. Absence of relative pronouns (*who, which, what, that*)
24. Use of *ain't* as a general preverbal negator
25. Negative concord
26. Negative inversion (inversion of auxiliary and indefinite pronoun subject)
27. Use of *ain't but* and *don't but*

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<sup>5</sup> Rickford (1999) mentions three separate rules, namely (a) the use of the past participle form as past tense, (b) the use of unstressed *been* instead of *have/has been*, and (c) the use of existential *they got*. However, Dillard (1972), Luelsdorff (1975), Tagliamonte (1996), and Green (2002) all mention the more general rule of auxiliary *to have* deletion. This broader definition is useful due to the fact that it captures certain phenomena that Rickford (1999) has failed to mention, like (a) the use of existential *got* outside of *they got* (e.g., “*You got all sorts of things in here*”), (b) the use of *got* that implies present tense (e.g., “*I got an uncle that be singing*”), and (c) the use of modal *got(ta)* (e.g., “*You gotta go!*”).

28. Formation of direct questions without inversion (excluding interjections)
29. Auxiliary verb inversion in embedded questions (without *if* or *whether*)
30. Use of existential *it* (instead of *there*)
31. Use of *here go* as a static locative or presentational form
32. Use of *say* to introduce a quotation or a verb complement
33. Use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun<sup>6</sup>

Whenever one of these 33 features occurred in the transcripts, they were marked in bold print and colored red. The number of the corresponding entry in the taxonomy was placed next to the marked section of text in superscript. If a feature involved the absence of an entire word (e.g. feature 1), a null symbol ( $\emptyset$ ) was inserted into the text to mark the feature, but this symbol did not add to the word count of a text. If an entire multi-word section of text was repeated by a participant, any feature occurring in that section was marked as many times as it occurred. However, if a *single* word that constituted a feature was repeated immediately, it was marked as one feature.

Once all features were counted, a number was generated for each transcript: the number of features divided by the total word count, multiplied by 100. This yielded the *features per 100 words* (henceforth referred to as the *F100*), which constitutes the measure of “AAVE-ness” of a person’s speech used in the forthcoming sections.

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<sup>6</sup> This rule is not mentioned by Rickford (1999). However, Cukor-Avila (2001), Poplack, Van Herk, and Harvie (2002), and Wolfram (2004) all mention it as a component of AAVE, which is why it has been included in this list.

# Results

The F100 values for all participants are as follows (rounded to four digits):

<b>Table 2</b>	African American-oriented	White-oriented
Angela Bassett	0.880	0.000
Bow Wow	2.105	0.000
Cedric the Entertainer	2.083	1.190
Don Cheadle	0.262	0.000
Forest Whitaker	0.279	0.796
Holly Robinson Peete	0.000	0.254
Jennifer Hudson	1.013	0.000
Kelly Rowland	1.295	0.262
LL Cool J	0.482	0.000
Mo'Nique	0.875	0.885
Pharrell Williams	0.271	0.265
Queen Latifah	1.511	1.397
Raven-Symoné	0.235	0.000
Serena Williams	0.242	0.551
Smokey Robinson	0.291	0.249
Spike Lee	1.471	1.194
Steve Harvey	5.093	3.235
Taraji P. Henson	0.280	0.000
Tasha Smith	1.848	0.000
Taye Diggs	0.234	0.000
Tyler Perry	1.818	0.000
Tyra Banks	0.261	0.000
Vivica A. Fox	0.252	0.000
Will Smith	0.732	0.557
<b>Mean</b>	<b>0.992</b>	<b>0.451</b>

The F100 values were submitted to a paired t-test, determining that  $p < 0.001$ . Overall, on average, participants employed approximately 2.2 times more AAVE features in an African American-oriented speech context than in a white-oriented speech context.

## Gender comparison

Both genders were submitted to two separate t-tests. From this point onward, only the means are shown in order to not repeat previously stated F100 values.

<b>Table 3</b>	African American-oriented	White-oriented	dF100
Female (mean)	0.724	0.279	<b>0.445</b>
Male (mean)	1.260	0.624	<b>0.636</b>

For both female and male participants, it was determined that the difference between speech contexts was significant ( $p < 0.05$  for both). When the two groups were compared to each other using an unpaired t-test (using values resulting from subtracting the F100 in the white-oriented context from the F100 in the African American-oriented context, referred to as *dF100* from hereon out), a significant difference could not be determined ( $p > 0.5$ ).

## Class background comparison

Both socioeconomic groups were submitted to two separate t-tests.

<b>Table 4</b>	African American-oriented	White-oriented	dF100
Working-class b.gr. (mean)	1.407	0.451	<b>0.125</b>
Middle-class b.gr. (mean)	0.577	0.452	<b>0.957</b>

For participants with a working-class background, the difference between contexts was found to be significant ( $p < 0.01$ ). For participants with a middle-class background, the difference in F100 between contexts was found to be not significant ( $p > 0.25$ ). When the dF100 for the groups was submitted to an unpaired t-test, a significant difference was found ( $p < 0.01$ ).

## Further comparisons

Further comparisons were made within the four combined gender/background groups.

<b>Table 5</b>	African American-oriented	White-oriented	dF100
Female, working-class b.gr. (mean)	1.138	0.276	<b>0.861</b>

Male, working-class b.gr. (mean)	1.677	0.625	<b>1.052</b>
Female, middle-class b.gr. (mean)	0.311	0.282	<b>0.029</b>
Male, middle-class b.gr. (mean)	0.843	0.623	<b>0.221</b>

For female and male participants with a working-class background, two separate paired t-tests found that the difference between speech contexts was significant ( $p < 0.05$  for both). For female and male participants, two separate paired t-tests found that there was no significant difference between contexts ( $p > 0.75$  and  $p > 0.25$  respectively).

The comparison of males of working-class origin and middle-class origin using dF100 values in an unpaired t-test approaches statistical significance ( $p < 0.1$ ), while a comparison of female participants with a working-class background and female participants with a middle-class background of the same sort revealed a significant difference ( $p < 0.05$ ). A comparison of women of working-class origin and men of working-class origin using an unpaired t-test revealed no significant difference ( $p > 0.5$ ). A comparison between women with a middle-class background and men with a middle-class background revealed a significant difference ( $p < 0.05$ ).

# Discussion

The first relationship that can be discerned from the results is the fact that participants with a working-class background do seem to style-shift to a significant degree based on context, while for middle-class participants there is no significant shifting between contexts. Participants with a working-class background speak in a more “AAVE-heavy” style when speaking in an African American-oriented context while speaking in a less AAVE-heavy style when speaking in a white-oriented speech context. Participants with a middle-class background tend to always speak in a less AAVE-heavy style.

Before exploring the factors that might have influenced this result, it is necessary to establish which factors did not. In his study on Audience Design in New Zealand radio stations, Bell (2001) outlines three factors other than audience and speaker-specific factors that could have influenced the results but that were determined to have no influence. These factors are speaker (not attributes of the speaker, but whether the speaker was the same person), setting, and genre (Bell, 2001). These factors were held constant for all participants and context, and, therefore, cannot have influenced the outcome.

If the Audience Design framework is employed, the logical extrapolation of these results would be that participants with a working-class background accommodate their speech both to African American and white audiences, while participants with a middle-class background only accommodate their speech to white audiences. However, beyond the assumption that convergence indicates (an attempt at) solidarity, Audience Design does not provide a further explanation as to what factors cause the convergence.

The perception studies previously discussed seem to point in the direction that African Americans prefer SAE over AAVE in formal settings, while sometimes showing a slight preference to AAVE in informal settings. Because all speech contexts were broadcast shows, this would seem to indicate that speakers were speaking in a somewhat formal setting. The perception studies make sense for the group with a middle-class background, but this does not explain why those with a working-class background would not have the same inclination. Therefore, there needs to be another dimension to the speech patterns of working-class African Americans in order to explain this difference.

While Rickford (1999) holds that AAVE is more prevalent under working-class speakers, this does not resolve the issue: the participants are from working-class and middle-class *backgrounds*, but, as culturally relevant African Americans, at the time of the recordings,



they were most certainly part of at least the upper middle class, if not higher. Therefore, there must be something that drives individuals with a working-class background to maintain a style-shifting pattern.

The concept of symbolic identity maintenance has the ability to explain this pattern. While the participants with a working-class background are no longer part of their “original” working-class African American community, they can still construct this part of their identity through symbolic actions, and in this case, that symbolic action seems to be speaking AAVE-heavy styles. They employ AAVE as a way to authenticate their symbolic identity, maintaining membership in the group even though they are no longer a tangible part of it. This possibility is supported by the fact that, when they appear in white-oriented contexts, their speech style differs—they are no longer inclined to use AAVE. Because their symbolic community is not part of the target audience, there is no use to employing AAVE-heavy styles—in fact, doing so could be construed as a deliberate act of linguistic divergence, indicating the will to create distance between the speaker and the audience. This might be seen as something undesirable—after all, their “actual” upper middle class identity is also something they might want to reinforce through language. The style-shifting patterns of the participants with a working-class background, then, can be seen as the result of the use of symbolic-identity maintenance in African American-oriented speech contexts and the avoidance of linguistic divergence and the attitudes it is associated with.

Whether these language practices are conscious and/or deliberate will be explored further. The application of the concept of habitus would indicate that the process is at least partly subconscious. Having grown up in the working-class African American community, they would have been socialized according to its sociolinguistic norms. Therefore, this habitus could have permanently imparted the tendency to speak AAVE to African Americans and SAE to white Americans, whether this practice constructs different identities or not. This means that participants with a working-class background might not be fully aware of their style-shifting pattern and the reason for its existence.

If this were the case, the same concept of habitus would have had an effect on the way participants with a middle-class background speak. Before further analyzing the possible causes of their speech patterns, they first need to be categorized according to the style-shifting typology outlined by Hecht et al. (2013), which has been duplicated in a rephrased manner:

1. They did not have access to SAE when growing up and therefore only speak AAVE-heavy styles
2. They are formally educated and have access to both AAVE and SAE

3. They are formally educated and only have access to SAE. They have trouble expressing themselves in AAVE.

While the participants of this study with a working-class background fall firmly under category 2, the categorization process of participants with a middle-class background is less straightforward. In relation to habitus, there are three possible scenarios.

In the first scenario, the middle-class participants fall into category 3 (monodialectal SAE speakers). If this were true, this would challenge the assertion by Hecht et al. (2003) that middle-class African Americans are skilled style-shifters. This implies that the middle-class participants of this study did not have access to AAVE during their youth, which would have rendered their acquisition of AAVE impossible, whether habitus had an influence or not. In the second scenario, habitus has had an effect and the speakers fall into category 2 (bidialectal speakers). In this case, the participants would have had access to AAVE-heavier styles, but, for whatever reason, they were socialized to not use it in both types of speech context. The perception studies by Speicher and McMahon (1992) and White et al. (1998) show that African American university students and staff *tend* to prefer AAVE in informal social settings, while *clearly* preferring SAE in more formal and professional contexts. If the second scenario is true, the most logical reason for not employing AAVE features is that the context is simply not appropriate—they have been socialized to only use AAVE in informal social settings and therefore do not use it in the speech contexts that were part of this study (i.e. broadcast interviews). In the third and final scenario, habitus does *not* have an effect and the participants with a middle-class background still fall into category 2. In this scenario, the participants have made a conscious choice to use SAE over AAVE in both speech contexts. This implies a number of possibilities. Firstly, the participants with a middle-class background could have chosen to express their middle-class identity in a more robust manner than their African American identity, in essence prioritizing their class identity over their racial identity. Secondly, the participants could be redefining what it means to speak SAE: Britt and Weldon (2015) describe a participant who deliberately used SAE as a way to redefine how African American identity is constructed. By speaking SAE as an African American person, the participants could be actively trying to change what identity SAE indexes—by consistently using it, they could be changing how SAE indexes racial and ethnic identity.

The first of the three scenarios seems improbable: Britt and Weldon (2015), Hecht et al. (2003), and Rickford (1999) all indicate that middle-class African Americans are competent multidialectal speakers of both AAVE and SAE. This leaves either the conscious or subconscious avoidance of AAVE in broadcast speech contexts. The two are not completely

mutually exclusive, however. Therefore, whether one bears scrutiny and one does not, or whether both bear scrutiny cannot be concluded from these results alone.

The effect of gender has turned out to be largely insignificant. The only place that gender plays a role is within the group with a middle-class background, where the difference between style-shifting patterns between men and women is statistically significant, with men varying their features more than women. This same relationship for men and women with a working-class background is far from significant. The possible reasons for middle-class men seem to exhibit more shifting-like patterns than middle-class women will be explained further. As Britt and Weldon (2015) state, middle-class women *especially* show a greater tendency to use SAE. While the results would seem to support this, this does not explain *why* this behavior occurs. The answer might lie in overt and covert prestige: while participants with a middle-class background generally do not exhibit significant style-shifting behavior, this small group-internal difference in speaking can be explained by the possibility that African American middle-class men are slightly more inclined toward the covert prestige of AAVE than women of the same class background. While the men are part of the middle class, they, as celebrities, have a wider African American target audience than just the middle class. Therefore, they might subconsciously be attempting to slightly mirror the speech patterns of their wider target audience. The female target audience of females with a middle-class background is less likely to ascribe value to the covert prestige of AAVE. However, it should be noted that the current data set only has 6 men of middle-class background and 6 women of middle-class background. In order to establish a more clear and significant relationship, more data will have to be collected. Furthermore, the style-shifting differences of these men of middle-class backgrounds are not significant *by themselves*—there is only a significant difference *between* men and women of a middle-class background. Until clearer results are produced, only explanations with relatively little empirical support can be provided.

Can the results of this study be generalized to the entire African American population? When accounted for gender and socioeconomic background, it turns out that participants with a working-class background do switch significantly style-shift in this manner, while that same relationship does not persist for participants with a middle-class background. There is no reason to assume this is not the case for African Americans who are less prominent—the only difference is that culturally prominent African Americans of working-class backgrounds might use AAVE as a way of symbolically maintaining their identity, but someone who is still part of the African American working class would not need to do so symbolically, but would use AAVE as a way to construct identity *in general*. Any further differences have to do with

variation within the middle class—the middle-class participants of this study have not transitioned classes to the same degree as the participants with a working-class background. Therefore, their results can be seen as being representative of other middle-class African Americans as well. The slight difference between men of middle-class origins and women of middle-class origins is based mostly on the need of the men to appeal to their audience with covert prestige—while the African American does not have a large-scale audience, they do still interact with other African Americans. Therefore, those results, too could be generalized to the general African American population. However, because the correlation was so weak, further research is required to support more solid conclusions.

The research question can now be answered: based on the racial identity of the target audience of the speech context, to what degree do African Americans vary their usage of grammatical features associated with AAVE, and to what extent is the answer specific to the gender and socioeconomic background of the speaker? How can a possible pattern be explained? Based on this study, African Americans of a working-class background do vary the amount of AAVE features they use based on the racial (target) audience of the context they speak in, while this is not true for African Americans of a middle-class background. The behavior of the participants with a working-class background can be interpreted as a way of identity maintenance: as a part of the African American working class, they maintain its identity through style-shifting. As far as the lack of significant style-shifting among African Americans with a middle-class background is concerned, the two most plausible explanations are that they either do it subconsciously because they have been socialized not to use AAVE-heavier styles in certain formal contexts (including broadcast programs), or that they do it to either prioritize their middle-class identity over their African American identity or to alter the way SAE indexes identity, by claiming it with an African American identity. The effects of gender are minimal: the effect of gender in the group of African Americans with a middle-class background is statistically significant in that there is a difference in the degree of the use of AAVE features *between* men and women, with this possibly being due to the influence of covert prestige norms on the male population, which does not affect female African Americans to the same degree.

## Evaluation

The empirical setup was not without its limitations. Firstly, the reason that some results *approached* statistical significance is related to the sample size: while the total number of participants is 24, there are only 6 participants per combined gender/class background category. A larger study—perhaps with 48 or more participants—might be able to generate clearer results.

Secondly, speech contexts, while sufficiently naturalistic, did not consist of *completely* natural speech—the participant knew the interaction was taking place well before its recording. Future studies could focus on acquire more spontaneous source material. Thirdly, this study focuses on a very small section of the African American population, namely celebrities. Because of their socioeconomic status, the generalization of the results remains difficult—the degree to which these results can be seen as a reflection of the linguistic practices of the African American community as a whole is not *completely* clear. Lastly, this study focuses only on grammatical features, meaning phonological and discursive variation was not taken into account.

This study has also opened multiple new avenues of questioning. Firstly, further research might delve deeper into the nature of the relationship between style-shifting and conscious, voluntary action. Especially the explanation behind the speech patterns of participants with a middle-class background has produced two viable options, with habitus playing either a major role or no role at all. Secondly, studies might be conducted to ascertain the effects of symbolic identity maintenance within culturally prominent persons outside of the African American community in order to assess if they, too, might use some sort of working-class vernacular to maintain a working-class identity. Finally, more perception studies of AAVE with both working-class and middle-class African Americans as participants need to be conducted—currently, the results of those are inconclusive and even contradictory in certain aspects. Further perception studies also have the opportunity to expose part of the relationship between socioeconomic class, gender and race in speaking AAVE.

# Conclusion

Based on the racial identity of the target audience of a speech context, to what degree do African Americans vary their usage of features associated with AAVE, and to what extent is the answer specific to the gender and socioeconomic background of the speaker? Based on the results of the conducted study, taking the entire participant group, there is a significant difference in the way African Americans speak in African American-oriented and white-oriented contexts, preferring a style that is heavier in AAVE features in African American-oriented contexts. If one takes socioeconomic background into account, the results show that there is a significant difference in how they speak in different contexts for participants with a working-class background, but also that there is no significant difference for speakers from a middle-class background. Gender was determined to have no significant influence, except within the participant group with a middle-class background, where the difference between men and women in terms of whether they style-shift or not approached statistical significance.

How can possible patterns be explained? The language use of the participant group with a working-class background seems to indicate symbolic identity maintenance (i.e. the maintenance of an identity without having contact with that group), which can be generalized to the practice of identity construction in general for working-class African Americans in general. They seemed to express African American working-class identity in African American-oriented contexts by using AAVE. Because working-class African Americans are not part of the target group of the white-oriented contexts, the need to use AAVE to maintain their symbolic identity disappeared. The lack of style-shifting behaviors in African Americans with a middle-class background seem to be due either to them being socialized to not use AAVE in certain contexts (including the contexts of this study), or due to them consciously choosing not to use it, the most likely reasons behind this choice being either a prioritization of middle-class identity over their African American identity, or an act of “claiming” Standard American English by associating it with an African American identity. The small difference between men and women in the middle-class group are more difficult to explain. However, a likely explanation is that the men of this group deviate from the women belonging to this group due to the effects of the covert prestige of AAVE, which do not affect women to the same degree. These explanations can be mostly generalized to the entire African American population, with the minor exception that most working-class African Americans do not *symbolically* maintain

their identity, but *actually* do so. More research is required to accurately assess the effect of gender within the group of middle-class speakers.

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# Appendix 1: Participants

This table contains all 24 participants and their categorization. “Cl. bgr.” stands for class background, “W” stands for working class, and “M” stands for middle class.

Name	Gender	Cl. bgr.	Class background source
Angela Bassett	F	W	She describes growing up poor and on welfare (Bassett et al., 2007).
Bow Wow	M	W	Bankston (2004) on Bow Wow’s single mother: “Raising her son without any help wasn’t easy. For a while, Theresa worked three jobs” (p. 7).
Cedric the Entertainer	M	M	Describes growing up in the suburbs, and how people used to think that his family was rich (Cedric the Entertainer, 2002).
Don Cheadle	M	M	His father was a psychologist and his mother a schoolteacher (Kalfatovic, 1999).
Forest Whitaker	M	M	He was the son of an insurance salesman and a special education teacher (Kram et al., 2008).
Holly Robinson Peete	F	M	She is the daughter of a well-known TV actor (McCutcheon, 2013).
Jennifer Hudson	F	W	She was raised by a single mother, and says that “times were tough [and] money was short in our home” (Hudson, 2012, p. 4).
Kelly Rowland	F	W	“My mother . . . and I were not at all well-to-do” (Rowland, 2007, p. 40).
LL Cool J	M	W	Grew up in Queens, where his mother worked two jobs at the same time (Juzwiak, 2006).
Mo’Nique	F	M	Her father was a hospital supervisor (Manheim, 2003).
Pharrell Williams	M	W	His father was a handyman (“Pharrell Williams,” 2003).



Queen Latifah	F	W	Grew up in the industrial city of Newark, New Jersey (Allen, 2012).
Raven-Symoné	F	M	Was a child actress who featured on big productions like (Dougherty, 2008).
Serena Williams	F	M	Her father owned various businesses (Edmondson, 2005).
Smokey Robinson	M	W	Was born and raised in a Detroit ghetto (Johnson & Winters, 2005).
Spike Lee	M	M	Grew up in “a well-kept town house . . . in . . . one of Brooklyn’s cleanest, prettiest neighborhoods” (Patterson, 1992, p. 13).
Steve Harvey	M	W	His father was a coal miner (Clark, 2018).
Taraji P. Henson	F	W	Her father was “homeless and broke” (Henson & Millner, 2016, p. 1).
Tasha Smith	F	W	Grew up in a “hardscrabble” neighborhood in Camden, New Jersey (Ortiz, 2007).
Taye Diggs	M	M	His mother was an actor and a teacher (Hannaham, 2015).
Tyler Perry	M	W	“[T]he family was barely able to afford a home in a run-down section of New Orleans” (Uschan, 2010, p. 14).
Tyra Banks	F	M	Her father was a computer consultant and her mother a medical photographer at NASA (Chase, 2006).
Vivica A. Fox	F	M	Daughter of a private school administrator and a pharmaceutical technician (McCann, 2009).
Will Smith	M	M	Grew up in Wynnefield, a middle-class suburb of Philadelphia (Anderson, 2003).

## Appendix 2: Transcripts

The transcripts are sorted alphabetically based on the name of the participant. Transcripts begin the next page (p. 42) and continue until page 138.

# Angela Bassett

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Angela Bassett Talks Her Iconic Roles, Oscars + More”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2020
<i>Section</i>	8:35-11:32
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/UfbgtqBYjik">https://youtu.be/UfbgtqBYjik</a>

### Transcript

8:35-9:05	I enjoy directing because I enjoy celebrating and pushing and, you know, wakening other’s gifts, and all of us collaborating and working together, so I appreciate, y... You know, what each individual brings to the... puts in the pot, you know. Uhm, but it’s... It’s time-consuming, much more time-consuming than acting. And, with uhh... In doing a, you know, weekly one-hour drama, I can’t... can’t get... aw... Well, like, right now. This would be my time to direct something. This hiatus.
9:10-9:38	Well, fortunately, I get to film at home, even though sometimes you film in twelve or fourteen, sixteen hours a day, and you can be in the same house and don’t see them, except maybe take them to school and that’s it. But uhm, you know, weekends or during hiatus, I’ll try to... Last year, take the sun and take him somewhere to something he enjoys. Like, uhm, you know, concert or show or festival. Take the daughter, some... You know. Take her... Take her out of town, right? Yeah.
9:42-9:54	She is. They both are. [Laughs] Me and the dog, we $\emptyset^1$ the shortest ones in the house. But, to just break it up, you know, with each individual member. Just time spent. That’s my love language.
10:08-10:27	Well, no... No, don’t... I think people sort of... Think they know what I do, so... The last time I auditioned... It $\emptyset^{14}$ probably been like... Pirates of the

	Caribbean. Didn't get it. [Laughs] Yeah, some voodoo queen or some sort. Yes.
10:39-10:50	Yeah, I think I remember trying to come up with some, uhm... My... My best "French" accent. [Laughs] Which I hadn't been called upon to... to do, so I prob... probably wasn't that good.
11:08-11:12	[Laughs] No, you $\emptyset^1$ from the South, so you [unintelligible] heard about it too, you know.
11:17-11:32	Truly it was, uhm, directing. I'm very excited about that, so we'll see. Uhh, the stage. Every time I come to New York, like last night, it was... No, yesterday I was in the theater, what it was... Wednesday? So I got [swallows] check out two shows, you know?

## Results

<i>Words</i>	341
<i>AAVE features</i>	3
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.867</b>

# Angela Bassett

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Hosts</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Angela Bassett Describes The Waterfall Scenes In 'Black Panther'”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	3:10-6:03
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/nzPcwk6O1Ks">https://youtu.be/nzPcwk6O1Ks</a>

### Transcript

3:10-3:21	Yes, that’s it, that’s at Warrior Falls, which was one of our set pieces by the incredible Hannah Beachler, who, who came up with that. We had falls, you know, they would say “Turn on the falls!” and water would come down...
3:23-3:50	Atlanta. [Laughs] Should I not have said? Yeah, yeah. [Laughs] But it was blazing hot, we were under... We did ten hour... ten hour days, which they call “French Hours,” which really means “Get your lunch when you can because you’re not going. We’re gonna just continuously shoot.” And we were out in the open, under the... Under the sky. Hot sun, and they had lights like these beaming down on us.
3:55-5:08	Blasting light, and he’s... he’s fighting on the falls, on the water. So, we didn’t know, you know, the first day is ten hours, is great. The second day, okay, you’re sorta blinking a little bit, and we’re thinking, you know... Hmm... They need... they put too much chlorine in this water, you know, because they’re fighting, falling, swallowing, whatever. And, the third day, I’m looking at Daniel Kaluuya and Lupita, and their eyes are getting really, really red. Especially Daniel’s. They were bloodshot red. So, the next morning, you come to set, and you just... You cannot open your eyes. So, they’re testing pH balances. “No, we know we... We were, you know, ‘safety first!’” But what they didn’t think, you know, in Wakanda, because, maybe there’s no snow down under, in the inlands. But, we were getting

	sunburned. Our eyes got sunburned. The... the light was reflecting and back up to us. So... [Laughs] But, by way of Uganda. And it was... It was awful, I think. His IT had to go to emergency room, there was a little, you know, blood on the pillow. I mean, it was just the worst. And, so, after that we all got sun... You know, shades. So, it was like “Cut!” You know, “Cut! Shades!” You know.
5:18-5:31	I hid mine under my dress. I hid my lunch under my dress, the umbrella under my dress, my cellphone. Everything. I was... pretty happy to have that dress. Because I get... Couldn't get across that water.
5:49-6:03	I was, uhh, well, about fifteen when I got interested in it. But, about first, I think, that first snow of sophomore year in college when I've really decided “Well, it'd be easier to do this than being a molecular biophysicist, I suppose.”

## Results

<i>Words</i>	407
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	0

# Bow Wow

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Bow Wow Talks #BowWowChallenge And Addresses Rumors In His Last Radio Interview”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	26:30 – 29:37
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/aCAhbjLKkt4">https://youtu.be/aCAhbjLKkt4</a>

### Transcript

26:36-26:57	Oh, like, just in life? Nah, because, uhm, uhm... No, because I think uhm... I mean that, but also, these pages, like, if, if, if a girl has a hundred followers and she's following three thousand people. Like, come on, don't fall for that. Like, that's obviously a fake page. But no, I never got caught with <b>no... no</b> <sup>25</sup> situation like that where she wasn't who she was, no shit like that.
27:02-27:39	Yeah, I <b>Ø</b> <sup>14</sup> seen that, I <b>Ø</b> <sup>14</sup> seen that. That's the discussion. Fuck no man, I <b>ain't</b> <sup>24</sup> ... Hell no, no. But I <b>ain't</b> <sup>24</sup> gon' lie though, uhm, from a... from a hip-hop stand... like, point of view to me, uh, TIP was the first person that I heard. Yeah, like, I was in the “Rubber Band Man” video, like, he was the first one there who popped the... Like, he, to me... No, absolutely, so, TIP to me... I'm, you know, I'm saying, I know, when I first heard the word “trap,” I heard... I heard it come from TIP.
28:30-28:46	I have, but y'all... everytime I come, like... It's been 6 years though, but you... you fucked me up the last time, when you, when you said a name, and I was like “Oh shit,” like, “How'd you find out?” Exactly. But this is like, yeah. I... I wouldn't say we dated, it was just a cool person. At that time, we hung out. And uhm, and, and, that was that.

28:49-29:37 | Uhh, no. ‘Cause it’s hard for me to trust. It... it’s hard for me to... Like, I don’t have girlfriends like that, like... I don’t... What? W...? Which one? I only  $\emptyset^{14}$  been to like one... Yo, that’s what I’m saying, I  $\emptyset^{14}$  been to one in Jersey. Nah, ay, I... And, what’s so bad was... To me, I’m like, “I don’t care,” like, “Yeah, I can go anywhere I w... I’m going anywhere I want,” like, “I’m just gonna go.” I’m like, “Shit.” I’m like, “We go to the, uhh... We go to the Blue Flame on the West Side in Atlanta, that’s banking[?], so we  $\emptyset^1$  going now.” I’m like, “Shit, this... is whatever,” but, nah, I went to one Jersey strip club, though. For sure, for sure. And I didn’t know it was that bad, so I left.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	380
<i>AAVE features</i>	8
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~2.105</b>



# Bow Wow

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Larry King Now  
*Host* Larry King  
*Title* “Shad ‘Bow Wow’ Moss”  
*Date* Ca. 2016  
*Section* 11:55-14:20  
*URL* <https://dai.ly/x44flk2>

### Transcript

Bow Wow 11:59-12:25	<p>Lot of action. Lot of action, there’s a lot of, uhm, fighting, kicking down doors, busting through walls—there’s still that, that CSI core, mixed with cyberness, so you get a lot of everything. It is definitely action-packed. [Laughs] You’ll see him itch to get back. Yes, he, he, you’ll, you’ll see him... Oh yeah. Yeah yeah, yeah yeah yeah. For sure.</p>
12:42-13:21	<p>It was not different for me because, you know, I look at everything... All of it, all of it is a form of entertainment. And to me, at heart, I feel like I’m a pure entertainer. So always, it’s on my mind that I can do anything as long as I put my mind to it. So, it was pretty simple. Yeah, well, just... The reason why <i>106</i> went off is just the era that we’re in now, you know? Uhm, when, when, when music is concerned with TV... Like I said, these kids, they’re like “Why do I have to watch television when I can go online and see my favorite artist’s video like this?” [Snaps fingers] So, it, it became a demand thing, and kids being able to have access to things that they want in a second. There you go. They control it. They control it.</p>
13:30-13:52	<p>What makes a good rapper is lyricis... lyrics. Are you making sense? What are you telling us? Uhm, your cadence, your pockets, your time, your swag. Uh, everything makes a good rapper. Even from your clothes, to... it boils to... there’s some guys, Larry, who can’t rap at all, but can dress well and,</p>

	because they've... they're appealing, they can just capture a fanbase, just because of that.
13:55-14:20	Nowadays, there is singing involved in rap. We're starting to... We're entering an era where music is crossing into... Yeah, you can. Yeah, you can, actually. [Laughs] I do still like to go and perform, I really do. I get a kick out of performing in front of a live audience, uhh, having the control and... and telling twenty thousand people to put your hands up and they do it, uhh, i... I love it. I wouldn't trade it for the world.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	354
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Cedric the Entertainer

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Host</i>	Sway Calloway, Heather B. Gardner
<i>Title</i>	"Cedric The Entertainer on New Show 'The Neighborhood' and Comedians Beefing"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	6:46-8:56
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/F7c-i5dj_24">https://youtu.be/F7c-i5dj_24</a>

### Transcript

6:46-7:47	<p>Definitely, definitely. I mean, I think it's important... You'll see people that do really great on... On Instagram. And then turn themselves into, you know, a career. I would think, like... And then they, you know... And they build it up... You know, Kountry Wayne and Jess Hilarious, like, uhh... <b>It's</b><sup>30</sup> a few of them that's like... They, they're, they... They work hard. DC. DC Young Fly. They work hard at being stand-ups, though. They, like, they go at it, like... they... But they started and they got <b>they</b><sup>21</sup> fame like, from, you know, like, the internet, and... and doing that, but then... but though... <b>them</b><sup>E1</sup>... <b>them</b><sup>E1</sup> people that, for sure, they work hard at trying to be stand-ups. They go out, do shows, and it's important because that's when the audience <b>come</b><sup>12</sup>, that's the people that you <b>Ø</b><sup>1</sup> gonna be able to show up into a city and make... make a living if nothing else is popping, you know what I mean? I don't know exactly... I've never been able to do the... the internet way, so I don't even know how people make money like that—I know you get, like, deals, or whatever, but... Yeah, uhh, yes... But you know, I... I mean... I never... I've never been able to turn that into like... "Oh wow, I'm doing sketches and everybody <b>Ø</b><sup>1</sup>, like, writing me checks..." I just go get deals.</p>
8:36-8:56	<p>That was for GQ, like... GQ, they, uhh... they'll do these series, and so, uhh, you uhh... You go up to GQ magazine, and they'll do these series</p>

where you, like, just do different foods, so I was making a sandwich and just having a good time, man. So, then I posted that and everybody's like, "C, you need to do a cooking show," but I don't... I don't cook for real, man. I make sandwiches, though. That... Sandwiches.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	336
<i>AAVE features</i>	7
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~2.083</b>

# Cedric the Entertainer

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Host</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Cedric The Entertainer Was Once Cedric The Insurance Adjuster”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	1:42-4:44
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/KXoQL7Sqdys">https://youtu.be/KXoQL7Sqdys</a>

### Transcript

1:42-1:45	I was... I was a little nervous about that. Did you...you did it, the, like, uhh...
1:49-2:31	Oh, ‘cause, you know, Barbara Bush, <b>she</b> <sup>20</sup> went hard on... on George W. That was... and I had to follow her, she was killing it. So I just switched all my stuff and went with Condoleezza. I just did a whole Condoleezza one. That was funny. I did a whole thing about the difference between Condi and “Doleezza.” It was, like, two different people. ‘Cause you $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> got Condi, then you $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> got Doleezza, the Black girl that’s up in the White House. Condi, and then it’s Doleezza... Like, what’s that? You knew she had to be like that too, sometimes. When Doleezza <b>come</b> <sup>11</sup> out... Ah, what’s that? Who did what? Hold my purse!
2:33-2:36	Oh, very nice. This was this summer, man. This was like, yeah, uhh...
2:57-3:14	I want people to walk around it, like... walk, look at, ‘cause it’s a long name, so don’t walk on it like, like, cut me off and be “Ed the Entertainer,” you... like, you cut my “C” off or something like that... And then, if they leave anything... Hats. Like, little small hats. Little small, little cute hats. ...be <sup>7</sup> like, put it right on top of that. That’s kinda cute, man.
3:26-3:45	On planes, that’s what people always go... “You’re Cedric, do something.” I’m like, “Well, you know, we’re buckled in... Right now, it’s not... It’s

<sup>7</sup> Incomplete sentence, invariant *be* could not be accurately determined.

	not a thing. I can't do a dance number right now, you know. I would... But I, I, I... Because I'm not like a real, like a... I'm not like a joke comedian. I'm like a... I'm more like a performance, you have to, like, be there...you gotta sit, so..."
3:48-3:52	Do the... Do the thing. Push the button and make me laugh. I don't have those. You have... you, you...
4:23-4:44	I worked for State Farm. [...] I was... I was... I was a specialist. I was then... I was there because I spoke "Regular English" and "Angry Negro," that's what is was like then.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	336
<i>AAVE features</i>	4
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.190</b>

# Don Cheadle

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway, DB
<i>Title</i>	"Don Cheadle Exclusively Speaks on Iron Man 3 with Sway in the Morning"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2013
<i>Section</i>	1:19-3:49
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/U6_55CFR330">https://youtu.be/U6_55CFR330</a>

### Transcript

1:19-1:54	You know, I would love to take credit for it, but I can't. This was something that was, uhh, David Nevin's, he was the president of Showtime. Uhh, this was they were developing before I got there. And, he just said, you know, Marty Caan, I think Don Cheadle is the one to play this. Which is a, you know... I don't think many people would've seen me in that part before I took it, so... All credit to him, and we were just very fortunate to have a great script written by Matthew Carnahan and to pull together the cast that we have, with Kristen Bell, and Ben Schwartz, and Josh, and Glynn Turman. And everybody... It's just a... a great opportunity to do something very different for me, but something that I just took to real quick.
2:06-2:19	Well, you know what's amazing is that, this is the second time that I've played Lorenzo's brother. In <i>Crash</i> , he was my little brother too, so... We've come back to... to reprise it, and yeah, he's a... he's a very good friend. He's a close friend, th... for a long time has been. And h... the whole family has been.
2:28-2:48	Yeah, he's a... he's about to be, like, 6 feet. I know he's just... he's going through a growth spurt, and... We're gonna... I... I can't wait to see Marty and... and... and, you know, his son go at it. We're gonna be on the court because he talks a lot of trash right now. <b>It's</b> <sup>30</sup> nothing that he's... he's just

	talking trash, like, “I can’t wait to dunk on you like LeBron.” I’m like, “Okay. I’m gonna... I’m gonna fail you like Laimbeer.”
3:25-3:49	Well, you know, it was great, in this one to have Sir Ben Kingsley to come in and, you know, be the new villain, and he is, I mean, his... his resume, and his pedigree, all the way from Gandhi to N... it’s just amazing, so, you know, just to have him come on the set and bring everything that he brought. I couldn’t have imagined this portrayal when I first saw the trailer, they showed it at Comic Con, and I was like, “Damn, this dude is scary.” He was really, you know, he just really brings it.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	382
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.262</b>



# Don Cheadle

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	TODAY
<i>Hosts</i>	Matt Lauer
<i>Title</i>	“Don Cheadle Talks 'House Of Lies' And Lack Of Diversity In Hollywood”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2015
<i>Section</i>	0:39-3:30
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/9uGJzK-VB4g">https://youtu.be/9uGJzK-VB4g</a>

### Transcript

0:39-0:55	Because I just think it takes uhh... time for us to, you know, to, everything, to sort of congeal, you know what I mean? We find our characters a little better, the writers are now understanding our voice, and incorporating our voice. I think it's just kinda how long it takes shows to... to find their... their groove.
1:04-1:16	Yeah, it's not a situation where we're clamoring for ratings, and that we have to beat whatever came out against this, you know, if... if the subscriber's base is strong and, you know, the uhh, president has faith in this show, then we get to stay on.
1:37-1:56	Yeah, well, uhh, basically, a scorpion wants to cross a river, he asks the frog if he would help him, and the frog says, “You're a scorpion.” And he goes, “But, doesn't make... I wouldn't sting you, 'cause we'd both drown.” He goes, “Okay, hop on my back,” and then, halfway across, he stings him, and the frog, as he's drowning, says, “Why did you do that?” He goes, “Because I'm a scorpion.” You know? That's basically it, you know, I'm... What did you think was gonna happen?
2:04-	I... I think he's always trying to find what that is, and he's sort of fighting against his own best interest, and it's great, the dichotomy with his family and his business, because you see who he wants to be, with his f... with his

	son, his father, and you see who he feels he has to be in this business, and the two don't true and that's what gets him.
2:34-2:43	Is it an honor? Or is it more of a dishonor? No I... Uhh, you know, I had fun. It... it... it was great. George is obviously a... a good friend, so it was nice to be able to honor him in that way.
2:55-3:30	Well, I think it's more about the... the diversity in the business as a whole, and I think this is just a microcosm of... of the macrocosm, and, you know, when the... the... the base of the academy is, uhh, I think the mean age is sixty-two years old, and they're mostly white men. It's not surprising what... what comes out, so I don't think it's really about, uhh, who gets nominated, that's not the thing. Although there is an attendant, you know, uhh, number to, uhh, what happens for movies that do get nominated, so it's a shame if you're not in that category, because it could mean a certain financial hit for your project. But it's really more about the business than, I think, than the academy

## Results

<i>Words</i>	437
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	0

# Forest Whitaker

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Forest Whitaker On Bumpy Johnson Portrayal In 'Godfather Of Harlem', Malcolm X Relationship + More”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	19:04-20:48
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/hChLe0yrUWI">https://youtu.be/hChLe0yrUWI</a>

### Transcript

19:04-20:25 | I did... I did reach out to him, to speak to him... and I... see if you... be... see if you would be willing to commit to something like this. Yeah, he... he really stepped up big-time, I mean... Did so many amazing songs, put together this writing lab and had everybody together, and bringing different artists in, so this... You know, most... great portions of the songs were written for the film itself. For the show. I did get a chance to go up and watch, uhh, a lot... I was up there quite a bit. Uhm... I did see Rick, I did see Rick. You know, Buddy, you know, uhh, uhh, Jidenna, yeah, a number of people, yeah. It was great. There **was**<sup>12</sup>... am... amazing artists that worked on the sides, like... They really help make the show. I think, every week on the show, probably s... two new songs that come out, uhh... that are used. And it was... it was important for me, like, as a producer, like, that the show got to keep y... make you... be authentic and true, but that the music itself, like... There was exterior, there was surrounding, that would allow you to realize those feelings today. You know, so it has, like... It has three levels of music in it. It's got the... Got the, uhh, score, you know what I mean? It's got the music from the time that... that... the needledrops from the time, that are playing inside the scenes, and then you have this... this commentary in a way, of how that relates to our lives, and that's... done by

	the... the artists that, uhh, the Switch[?] was able to pull together to be able to do an amazing soundtrack.
20:31-20:48	I... I was ma... I loved doing it. I shot that in New York, it was... was really... it was a lot of n... most of the actors were news, like ninety-something percent of them, and never acted before... Yeah, yeah. And then... and there was a lot of, like... busting. Lotta different artists too, music artists that were playing different parts in the show.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	358
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.279</b>

# Forest Whitaker

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Jimmy Kimmel Live

*Hosts* Jimmy Kimmel

*Title* “Forest Whitaker on Playing a Gangster, Working with Sean Penn & Winning an Oscar”

*Date* Ca. 2019

*Section* 1:31-3:35

*URL* <https://youtu.be/xK9E2K437SI>

### Transcript

1:31-2:17 | I mean, Bumpy Johnson was, uhh, he ran the mob in Harlem. Uhh... That is true. Yeah. And, well, he comes out of... he comes out of Alcatraz, out of the prison, and he's trying to re-establish himself, back in Harlem, as the head of Harlem, as the godfather of Harlem, against the Italian mob. And when we it... we see him, like, meeting and intersecting, you know, the c... the... the civil rights movement and the criminal world, because his best friend in... in that time is... is, uhh, Malcom X, and so he **start**<sup>11</sup> to try to understand the movement of the community, where he can move is... where he can move his business, different things like that. Through his family, how he protects his family. He was... s... it's actually quite... a great exploration of, of like, trying to understand what it, like... what it's like to try to achieve the American dream by any means necessary.

2:30-3:35 | I knew about him for years because I **Ø**<sup>14</sup> seen him in the films but... I... I... didn't understand the depth of... of his personality. No. I couldn't find, you know, he was very secretive, so I could only find, like maybe, wait... four or five photographs of him. I couldn't find anything to listen to. I... I was, like, going by what people told me, by interviews what I was doing... I talked to some of the guys who worked with him, uhh, some of **them**<sup>E1</sup> mobsters. Yeah, uhh... I talked to... I talked to... No, I talked... Old gangsters. OGs. Yeah. The real OGs. Yeah, like, it was, Chism, Junebug...

They are like, both were advising me. And then there was a man named Professor Smalls who took over the mosque when Malcolm left, and he was advising me. I had... a lot of different people helping me, and it... it all started, really, from this guy, Marquan Smith, who... who, like, uhh, really had been a... so to the family, and had tried to push this project forward for eighteen years, and... and I... I sort of got inside of that and started to push the story forward, with him, these great writers like Chris McConnell, and... it just... it just started to find itself.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	377
<i>AAVE features</i>	3
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.796</b>

# Holly Robinson Peete

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Holly Robinson Peete & Rick Fox Talk New Show & Insight on Magic Johnson Resigning from Lakers"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2019
<i>Section</i>	4:32-5:45; 7:17-8:07
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/qCh45XQuJcI">https://youtu.be/qCh45XQuJcI</a>

### Transcript

4:32-5:09	So, <i>Morning Show Mysteries</i> are based on novels written by Al Roker. He wrote three novels called <i>Morning Show Murders</i> , and they were loosely based on him, it's about a talk show host slash chef, and there's a murder that happens in this morning show environment, and so when he initially was gonna pitch this to Hallmark Channel, he... uhh.. it was a... based on a guy named Billy Blessing. So Hallmark says, "Would you mind changing it to a woman," and so the "y" became an "i e," and then Billie Blessings became me, and then they brought Rick in... Now, Rick plays Ian Jackson, he's a detective who is trying to solve murders, but Billie keeps getting in his way.
5:16-5:45	This guy, he's making moves, so... I... he surprises me with all the things he's got going, but the cool thing about <i>Morning Show Mysteries</i> is... it's a murder mystery wheel. So this is basically our sic... urr... our... Wouldn't that... This is our fifth one, and, uhm, we're gonna do three of them are gonna air in April, so every Sunday in April starting this Sunday, "Must Solve Sundays," and, uhh, Halmark Movies and Mysteries has this thing going, and we... we love working together, so this is a lot of fun for us.
7:17-7:48	Rick is so prepared, you guys... You know, people think, "Oh, he's an ex-athlete, he's that jock, he just comes in and he's cute and he just talk... does

	<p>the lines...” He knows all the lines. He knows my lines, he knows everyone... And he knows everybody’s lines because after we do these fifteen-hour days, he’ll go home and work with a... a coach. An acting coach. I go home and have a glass of wine. Yes! And run around my apartment with no kids, ‘cause, we... We shoot in Vancouver, British Columbia, so it’s like three hard weeks up in Canada, and, uhh..</p>
7:59-8:07	<p>I mean, not that late night work ethic, you know. Come off of work, and you work that long day, I just wanna get in the bath and drink a glass of wine. That’s all I wanna do.</p>

## Results

<i>Words</i>	359
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>



# Holly Robinson Peete

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	KTLA 5 News
<i>Hosts</i>	Sam Rubin (and three more who could not be identified)
<i>Title</i>	“Holly Robinson Peete Gushes about Rick Fox in New Hallmark Movie”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	1:11-3:23
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/eywHPiVq0Tc">https://youtu.be/eywHPiVq0Tc</a>

### Transcript

1:11-1:31	He’s a multi-tasking mogul. You know, but then just do the weather. Yeah, so this... But it was so much fun to be able to do this, I’ve been wanting to do a murder mystery series ‘cause I’m obsessed with... with the ones on Hallmark Movies and Mysteries, and I was like, “I wanna do one!” Lot of my friends were doing it, Lori Loughlin, and, uhh, Ali Sweeney, so I was like, “Hey, what about me?” So, here it is. <i>Morning Show Mysteries</i> .
1:37-2:18	Well, you know, working in... with Rick Fox was really a tragedy. Just looking at him... No. He... i... na... He’s very... He’s drop-dead gorgeous, but he also has... Yeah, he... he’s also a nice guy, and I love the... the character description of him, he’s a... he’s a detective with eyes even criminals love. So, I kept saying, “Give me some of <b>them</b> <sup>E1</sup> criminal loving eyes,” uhh, but he’s a generous actor who studies his craft, he came prepared, and it was a dream to work with. Everything in Vancouver, British Columbia, which is my old <i>21 Jump Street</i> stomping grounds, that was fun being back up there again. And, uhh, everything’s so beautiful. The whole movie is pic... just such a like a post card, the whole movie.
2:24-2:52	Yeah. They came up. We took them on the <i>21 Jump Street</i> tour, which was basically all the high schools that we shot at. And... You know, they weren’t alive, or around, or being... or thought of then. Uhh, so they came up as a part of a cross-over episode of <i>Meet the Peetes</i> , which is also gonna

	be on Hallmark Channel, a reality show with our family. They came up to visit their working mom, and it was fun. We went on the Capilano Bridge, and up Grouse Mountain, and they went sturgeon fishing, the boys. Didn't catch a thing.
3:00-3:23	These are... This is less conflict-driven reality. There... There're no wine glasses being thrown... That you see... No, just kidding. Just kidding. Uhh, no, it's ver... it's very aspiration... We have a special needs kid. I really wanted to show what it was like to sort of have this kid, and... and build this team around him as a family. Uhm, and, and, you know... It's... It's aspirational, inspirational, positive reality. Reality can be positive and entertaining, why not?

## Results

<i>Words</i>	394
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.254</b>

# Jennifer Hudson

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Jennifer Hudson Sings Along with Sway + Speaks on Her New Album, "Remember Me" & New Netflix Role"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2017
<i>Section</i>	3:34-5:43
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/VtyIk9we8Wg">https://youtu.be/VtyIk9we8Wg</a>

### Transcript

3:34-4:03	Yes, 'cause, to me, this time around, it is. It's more about my experiences and then my perspective. So, it is different. And then also, like, I think people forget—I'm a music lover as well. And that's what this body of work is gonna reflect, if that... you know, that makes any sense. So, that's the approach this time around, and I'm working with, like, musicians that work with singers more so than just producers that say, "Sing a track," where I'm just treated, like, just a vocalist, but this way, I'm treated as an artist, you know?
4:08-4:50	No! And, it's taken me a long time to learn the difference, you know? Like... It's... You're a singer when you're just, like, told to... or vocalist, to say... "Okay, sing this." I can sing you anything, but, does that tap into my artistry? What's my sound? You know what I mean? Like, I come from <i>American Idol</i> . I didn't have a sound. I had a voice, but not a sound. To even say I was an artist, even back then, they would say, "You $\emptyset^{14}$ gotta learn how to sing radio." Oh, like, "Sing for radio," and I was like, "What does that mean?" Exactly. Yeah, I'm still trying to figure it out, you know what I mean? Like... Uhm... But... I... I understand it more now, you know? And that takes time. Some people $\emptyset^1$ born as artists, some people $\emptyset^1$ born as vocalists and singers. I was a singer first.

5:05-5:43

Uhm, ooh, God, it's... It's a fuse of a lot of things, like, this song in particular, "Remember Me," it's like, again, I'm influenced by all music, so, any... it's a bit of... obviously, it's always Soul form. I don't care what I sing, it's still gon' be somewhat inspirational in Soulful, and that's a huge part of me. And then, it... it's, it has a bit of Rock in it, a bit of Dance in it. It's just like a fusion of all styles of music that express my love for music. So, at times, it frustrates me when people **be**<sup>2</sup> like, "That's not you," and it's like, "No, that's because you don't know me," you know what I mean? But, I'm influenced by it all, 'cause I love music. I'm not just the artist, I'm not just the singer, I am a music lover.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	395
<i>AAVE features</i>	4
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.013</b>

# Jennifer Hudson

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* The Late Show  
*Hosts* Stephen Colbert  
*Title* “Jennifer Hudson Takes Stephen To Church”  
*Date* Ca. 2017  
*Section* 4:26-7:17  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/H0Qdz8bSkv0>

### Transcript

4:26-4:41	You know what, at first I thought that. And then I was like, “He’s a bad representation of you guys,” they were very... Yeah... I felt sorry for the Brits, like, they are so gentle, so nice, and just, very sweet people, and I’m like, “What happened to him?”
5:00-5:27	First of all, it feels good to have someone sing to me and not have to sing all the time. I was like, “All I have to do is sit here and listen to people sing to me? Sure, I can do that.” And... you know... [Laughs] And then, I... You know, I know what it’s like being in that position, like, who gets the opportunity, one, to be on a show like that, and then to turn around and be a coach on the other side, which is the... a cool experience, and I had a good time.
5:33-5:44	Well, that they h... First of all, utilize the opportunity, you know what I mean? And take it for what it’s worth, and know that, whether you win or not, you still have the prize, which is your talent, and you can still make it.
6:04-6:11	This is my first comedy. And, it’s with Adam Sandler, who’s a legend, like... i... it’s amazing to just be able to work with him.
6:23-6:43	Yeah, I... and... I was an ugly duckling in an amusement park, and he heard me sing, I guess. Uhh.. it wa... he heard Courtney sing, and he must’ve heard their talent, and it reminds me so much of my life because... uhh... This characters parallels in so many ways because I worked for

	Disney, and I used to greet with the characters. I didn't have on an ugly duckling costume, but I did have to greet with the characters...
6:44-6:54	Disney on the ship, on the cruise ship. Yeah. And my Disney manager... my Disney director became my manager, just like Sandy becomes Courtney's manager in <i>Sandy Wexler</i> .
7:03-7:17	Yes, you do. You always have to be in the Disney way. I still remember the Disney point. Disney way... you know... You know, I forgot now, child, hold on... But you know, you have to have the Disney point and be proper and be dressed a certain way, but it's a great experience.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	379
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Kelly Rowland

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Host</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Kelly Rowland Interview at The Breakfast Club Power 105.1”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2016
<i>Section</i>	15:44-18:17
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/E33bRPBhOXM">https://youtu.be/E33bRPBhOXM</a>

### Transcript

15:44-16:39	Here’s the thing. I think that when you have a group, it’s important to have a sound. I think that if this person has a specific sound, there is nothing wrong with that because it separates you from sounding like the rest of the crowd. And, I think that, at the time, where we were coming up, you know, we had <b>them</b> <sup>E1</sup> southern accents, you know, these really soulful, slangy-type fronts, and it just works for us, and... And, and... it was a time where, like, girl groups were abundant, and we still [unintelligible]. Yeah. Ex... exactly. See, you $\emptyset^1$ thinking about it. [Laughs] Uhm, I loved En Vogue. They were so... They $\emptyset^1$ so fire. Yes, thank... Actually... They’re actually, uhh... come up, uhh, appear on the show. I probably shouldn’t say that, but they appear on the show, and they have, like, these heart-to-hearts with the girls, and it’s awesome. They are incredible women.
16:57-17:05	Ab... They absolutely did. They absolutely did. I love TLC, and they, actually, had us tour with them. So, that was dope.
17:09-17:56	Themselves. Themselves. I think, as any person, any human, your pitfall is usually yourself. You usually talk yourself out of something, or you usually tell yourself enough that, “Oh, I won’t make it.” There were so many girls, who, myself and Frank saw, who were so talented, but they just literally had “Don’t choose me” written across their forehead, you know what I mean? And they kept talking themselves out of it. There’s one girl... Ooh, she sang

her face off. Uhm, she's from Chicago, and she's so talented, and every time myself or Frank, uhh, would talk to her about something, about something for her to, like, you know, make better, or whatever. She's like, "I just know I'm going home. I just know I'm going home." Girl, you  $\emptyset^1$  not going home. We just... Yeah, we're just trying to give you some jams to hang onto, because we really want you to stay. So, it's, yeah, usually yourself.

17:58-18:17 | Oh, yo. There... There were some girls who... We definitely saw that. And, uhm, yeah, not tolerating it, 'cause you  $\emptyset^1$  not doing me a favor, we would actually be working for each other, you know what I mean? I do right by you, you do right by me, we do great together.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	386
<i>AAVE features</i>	5
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.295</b>



# Kelly Rowland

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* TODAY  
*Host* Richard Wilkins  
*Title* “Kelly Rowland confronted over Destiny's Child reunion lie”  
*Date* Ca. 2018  
*Section* 2:07-4:54  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/tDy5KL1uw7w>

### Transcript

2:07-2:47	As you can hear, a lot of deceit. I knew you were gonna pick a bone with me for this one, and... As I sat up there lying, I was like, “Ooh, this is gonna feel bad in a couple of weeks where we’re on the stage at Coachella...” And, we didn’t... Honestly, like, when, when we came out, I remember thinking, “Is everyone gonna be surprised?” And I couldn’t hear anything ‘cause I had my inner monitors on, and, so, when we got off-stage, I was like, “Did they like it?” And my manager’s like, “Did they like it? They loved it!” My sister’s looking at me like, “Have you lost your mind? Like, it was amazing.” So, it’s just awesome that it was felt all around the world, and... Oh, that was a couple after... Y’all $\emptyset^1$ gon’ make me cry ‘cause I missed him.
2:53-3:13	Yes. In between, I was actually going back for rehearsals, I was going back for rehearsals, everything was changing all the time, so I was r... remembering, like, places for vocals, and movement, all of this, like, took r... hours and hours and months of rehearsal, and... It’s just one of the most awesome things that’s happened.
3:42-4:22	I’m not gonna lie this time. Now, that we really have not talked about. See how serious my face is? It’s very serious. We have not talked about it, and... I mean, if... if the situation arises... You see how much fun we had on stage together, but... I mean, it’s not anything we talked about, you

	know, Michelle's getting ready for a wedding, B and J are on tour, and I'm gearing up for a record. And, I'm just... excited for all of us, 'cause we're all doing different things, but extremely close, still. No plans, but never say never.
4:29-4:54	I know. I love it. I'm loving <i>The Voice</i> this year, and, with all due respect to last year, like, I'm just even more in love with this year. I don't know, and I mean, even Delta said—ooh, shoutout to Delta, good morning my love—uhm, but, uhm, you know, even said it was, like, a different line-up and feel this year that was just... something different happened. And, I do agree, I do agree, like, yeah...

## Results

<i>Words</i>	382
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.262</b>

# LL Cool J

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway, Heather B. Gardner
<i>Title</i>	"LL Cool J Breaks Down Business, Battling and Def Jam to The Grammy's   SWAY'S UNIVERSE"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2019
<i>Section</i>	11:50-13:38
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/JV2dVR0UtsI">https://youtu.be/JV2dVR0UtsI</a>

### Transcript

11:50-12:42	Yeah. But you know what? There would be no LL either, right? I think it's a... I think it's a... I think it's a combination, you know? Without a doubt, you know. I... it's like, you know, I went, bought "It's Yours," and "It's Yours" by T La Rock was Def Jam Productions. It was on Party Time Streetwise label, but that was the first production company type of thing that Rick had <b>did</b> <sup>13</sup> , right? I bought that record, but, you know, they really did put me on, but I really was the first artist on Def Jam, the label, for real, right? And, uhm, I remember writing in one of the vinyl... I think it's on "I Need a Beat." I wrote "zero Def Jam zero zero one," like, and if you look at some of the... the masters... on some of the, uhh, albums, you can see, like, where we wrote on the test pressings before they got done, so that, once they got baked, and... and distributed, you can read s... little messages in some of my vinyl and stuff like that. And then, fast forward, I own my masters, right? Like... Oh yeah, yeah yeah, yeah I own...
12:43-13:38	Yeah, I've owned them for twenty-something years. Yeah yeah. Yeah yeah. And that's... that's... another thing... Yes. Yes. All of it. So when you hear "Mama Said Knock You Out" in a movie, and stuff like that, like, I've licensed those songs. Like, so, you know, a lot of people don't know that though, right? So they think, you know, "Oh, L didn't..." No, no, no. I own

all **them**<sup>E1</sup> joints. You know what I'm saying? You know, uhh, I... Writers get their shares, Def Jam gets a little piece for their distributing, it's, you know, it's business, but I own it and I control it. You know what I'm saying? So, uhm, that's... that to me is something that... in this day and age is something we talk about. We didn't really talk about it back then. It wasn't something to talk about back then, you know what I'm saying? Like, if you think about it, when Mo D[?] would... When one of the insults that he put on a diss record about me was, "Used to be a rapper, turned into a businessman." That's the difference in Hip Hop today and then. Can you image that? You imagine trying to insult somebody by calling them a businessman today. That's the difference.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	415
<i>AAVE features</i>	2
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.482</b>

# LL Cool J

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* CBS News  
*Hosts* Vladimir Duthiers (and one other unidentified female host)  
*Title* “LL Cool J on music career, first acting gig”  
*Date* Ca. 2017  
*Section* 1:12-2:40  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/NN9mXu6S-cw>

### Transcript

1:12-2:00 | You know, it’s been a lot of fun, you know. I get to portray a real life hero, uhm, you know, like, I got to go to Camp Pendleton and meet with special ops guys, and navy seals, and sailors, and marines, and uhh... talk about what it means to be in the military, what it means to have that kind of an experience, and then take that experience into law enforcement, and, you know, this character puts his life on the line everyday fo... for innocent people, so... and for not so innocent people, just because he believes in certain values and principles and... You know, when those NCIS agents come to ou... our show and visit us, uhm, I... I can see it in their eyes that they take pride in what we do, so, you know... It’s cool to be a part of something that kinda markets the right messages for America around the world, you know... And, uhh... obviously, everybody has their own opinion about those messages, but, feels good to be a part of it. It’s cool.

2:08-2:40 | You know what, I... Honestly, you know, the way it went was uhh, you know, I... I signed on, you know, with CBS, to do the show, and I, you know, I figured it... it’d go a couple of years, and then we’d be... You know, I’d be back on tour. It didn’t quite work out that way, and, uhh, I had to make a decision in terms of priorities, and I said, “You know what?” My grandmother always told me, “If a test is once begun, never leave it till it’s done, be thou labor great or small, do well or not at all,” so... Yeah... She

told me that growing up, that was all I ever heard growing up, so I just said, “You know what, I’m gonna focus, commit, and do the best job I can,” and uhh... You know, I do music on the weekends.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	331
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Mo’Nique

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Host</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Mo’Nique Speaks On Racial And Gender Inequality In Hollywood + More”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	20:52-22:02; 23:24-24:14
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/JpvC3j9Qxus">https://youtu.be/JpvC3j9Qxus</a>

### Transcript

20:52-22:02	<p>Wha... bu... bu... let me answer that please, Danny. When you said what happened when we made the counter-offer, this is why, again Leonard[?], you’ve gotta be careful with your words, because you called your sister “Donkey of the Day,” but you didn’t do your research. And you pulled poison out into our community without fully doing your research. And, now, as we sit here, you have to, almost, backtrack your words because... Well, when you ask a question, “Did you counter-offer?” We put all of it out there, we put the information out there. So, you were so ready to do good radio, that you didn’t your homework. And when you have a conversation... <b>You know</b><sup>28</sup> a brother named Gerald Kelly? Would you consider him his friend? See, I was on the road with Gerald Kelly two weeks ago. And he said... “Mo’Nique, I talked to,” uhh, “Charlamagne,” and he said, “Man you know I love Mo’Nique, I wasn’t doing <b>nothing</b><sup>25</sup> but making radio.” Well then... You have to have a conversation with Gerald Kelly, because what, again, when you say, “Did you counter-offer?” See, we did. And they said there <b>was</b><sup>12</sup> no negotiations. You take it or leave it. But, had you done your...</p>
23:24-24:14	<p>Because th... they can bank on people like Charlamagne. They can bank on our brothers and sisters like Charlamagne that will say, “We’ll fight ‘em... We’ll fight them for you. You don’t have to fight...” Well, when you say</p>

ju... When you say... When you say “justify,” imma put my resume on the table. That’s all I’m gonna have to do, as imma put it on the table, when you say, “Justify it,” imma lay it out on the table for you to look at it. So, I don’t have to justify it, you can see it. If given the opportunities, why don’t you answer the question? See, if given those opportunities, you’re answering with a question for yourself. We’re not given the same opportunities, brother. But if you do your homework, you would already know that...

## Results

<i>Words</i>	343
<i>AAVE features</i>	3
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.885</b>



# Mo’Nique

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Rover’s Morning Glory  
*Host* Rover (Shane French)  
*Title* “Mo’Nique - full interview”  
*Date* Ca. 2014  
*Section* 8:37-10:44  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/HIS2HkUeugg>

### Transcript

8:37-9:22 Well, see, for me... Not bizarre, because, it’s family. It’s... it’s... it’s... And... and, I’m very grateful for the relationship that I’ve been able to establish with... what people would call “fans,” they’re not my fans. They’re my family members. They’re my bosses. I work for those people. So, when... I... I’ve... Listen, people’ve bought me pies, okay? People’ve bought my turkey dinners. Now, y’all stop bringing me all this damn food, okay? But I... i... it... it’s just that... that kind of love that they’ve always embraced to me and said, “You know, you  $\emptyset^1$  like family to us.” So I’m very grateful for that. And whoever bought me that slushie, “H-hmm...” It was slushed with something else. H-hmm...

9:35-10:44 Well... There was a time I would not shave my legs... Because, where I’m from, Baltimore, Maryland, that’s not something that women did, because our men find it very attractive. And, it was funny to me when it first hit... The... the news, when, I think... Was I on the Golden Globe carpet? And it became this big deal, I’m like, “Guys, I’ve been in Hollywood for over twenty years, and now, all of a sudden, it’s major news.” It just really made me laugh, because, once the white media got a hold of it, it was, “Oh my god, Mo’Nique’s a bear!” I am, but that’s beside... That’s... That’s beside the point, I didn’t know it was such an issue, so one night—and now that I’m an older woman, I’m forty-six—one night, my husband and I were

standing in the closet, and he said, “Mama, you’re starting to get patches.” I said, “Patches? Where?” He said, “Look down.” And, the hair had **begin**<sup>15</sup> to fall out in just certain pages, so it looked like I had the mangies. Okay? [Laughs] So, that night, we decided we **was**<sup>12</sup> gonna take it off, ‘cause I don’t wanna walk around like I had the mangies. And you go and laught at the ma... I had the mangie on my legs, baby.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	339
<i>AAVE features</i>	3
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.885</b>

# Pharrell Williams

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Host</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Pharrell Talks Politics, What's Wrong in the Music Business & His New Film 'Hidden Figures’”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2016
<i>Section</i>	12:42-15:08
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/qzaxXDZi-YU">https://youtu.be/qzaxXDZi-YU</a>

### Transcript

12:42-13:30	Yeah, Mahershala Ali, uhm, Kevin Costner, like... Real... really talented, you know... actors. Really, really talented. Uhm, and, uhh, I say “actors” ‘cause sometimes, women don’t like to be called actresses. Yeah. But this... it’s such a special time, uhh, for it to come out, because I feel like there’s so much gender bias, and, when you think about it, like... A lot of the female contribution in science and just across the board, uhh... has been largely ignored and... and I... dismissed, and things are changing now. Like, the... it was actually women that discovered the... the way... the metric in... in measuring how far stars are, or what they’re made of. They’re made of hydrogen... those are women.
13:36-15:08	They don’t. They don’t. And, and... y... Think about it, like, these were three African American women, who, in the nineteen-sixties, were savants. Like, Catherine was a savant. The math that she had in her mind... Like, superseded the crazy matrix that she lived in, that male matrix of, like, w... where you only hear great things about men, you know. Somehow, those numbers superseded not only that time, but it went on to help John Glenn, rest in peace, to... to make it out there into orbit, and to make it to the moon, and... They even said... we talk about Mars, rovers, and m... uhm, uhh, being on the planet Mars right now. But, she was very instrumental...

Her math was very instrumental and integral to us making it to Mars in nineteen-seventy-six. Like, it's in... it's insane what she was able to do. And she would... there's a scene in the film where she needs to use the bathroom, but, because of that time, uhh, because it was segregated, her bathroom wasn't on the other side of the building, it was on the other side of the campus. And so, NASA, **they**<sup>20</sup> were civil, they had like... campus bikes. But, that was for men, because, as men, we forget... you couldn't... Well, not only that, riding a bike... Y... no. A woman could not, uhh... wear pants or shorts. She had to wear long dresses and long skirts. So, women... women couldn't ride the bike there.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	369
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Pharrell Williams

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Host</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Pharrell Williams: I Love Space, But I'm Not Trying To Go”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2019
<i>Section</i>	1:21-3:55
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/7icISziXlcg">https://youtu.be/7icISziXlcg</a>

### Transcript

1:21-2:14	Well, when I was a little boy, you know, I grew up in a... in Virginia Beach, Virginia, uhh, in housing projects called Atlantis, uhm, Apartments, and, you know, often times, I would just stare out into the stars at night, just looking out the window, and I... It would always blow me away that, like, stars twinkled. I... I'd... just kinda thought about things a little bit differently as a child. I love the rain, most people hate the rain... But I just loved... I mean, the idea that water comes, like, out of the sky, you know? Most people $\emptyset^1$ like, “Oh, yeah, that’s rain.” And I’m like, “Yeah, but, uhm, it’s water.” You know? For me, I looked at it that way, and I looked at the stars the same way. So, space’s always been, you know, something that, like, is... is... is... was hard to, uhh, answer, when I would ask those questions as a child. It’s like, “Okay, well, how far... What’s on the other side of that? And how far does that go?”
2:42-3:02	Love it, not trying to go. I... what if I... what if you go somewhere you don’t wanna go? Like, what... What if you just end up somewhere else, and it’s just like a complete different thing that what we... we think about, you know, like... We... Like, time travel is a very interesting concept, and we know that it’s possible, it’s just that we live in the three... in the third dimension, right?

3:11-3:55 | Okay, so, here's the thing... Like, time and space are interlocked, right? Neil DeGrasse Tyson, don't judge me, alright? Uhm... I know man, he's... Immediately, the tweet is gonna go out to like, "By the way, Pharrell." Uhm, but... but... Okay, do you believe that there are two dimensions? Like, there's a t... Yeah, there's multiple dimensions, right? We live in the third dimension, right? So, you know, the thing is, is because we're... we're... we're trapped in the third dimension, uhh, you know, there is a future, there is a past, and we can only really perceive the present. Like, two minutes ago hasn't happened yet, and two minutes from now are gone, and you can't tell me where they are. They're just gone.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	377
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.265</b>

# Queen Latifah

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Host</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Queen Latifah on Maintaining Longevity & Gives Advice to Women Dealing with a Sexist Workplace"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2014
<i>Section</i>	12:06-13:56
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/XWhOEVmbK9g">https://youtu.be/XWhOEVmbK9g</a>

### Transcript

12:06-13:56 | I think what's most natural for me is just being myself. But, I also realize, you know, I... I was raised with respect and... and politeness, you know. Respecting my elders, just from being a little kid, you know? And... and... and how to behave at certain places, and, you know, I wasn't just going... uhh... be allowed to run around the supermarket any kind of way, or... the restaurant. You know, that just wasn't happening, so when you kinda get that at a young age, you realize there's<sup>12</sup> certain things that you can do that you wanna do, and certain times that you  $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> gotta... And then there's certain people that you  $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> gotta shape up, you know, and... Say "Thank you," say, uhh, you know, and there... And have manners with... And this is really... have been mannerable sometimes. Uhh, but, learning those lessons allowed me to feel comfortable going in different types of rooms with different types of people and still being comfortable in my own skin. Uhm, so, you know, everything is not for everybody, you know? The things I can say on this radio station, the music I listening... listen to on Shade 45 is, for me, as an adult, that I enjoy listening to, and hearing the conversations... And sometimes I agree with stuff, sometimes I don't, but I always come back, 'cause I'm a hip-hop head underneath it all, and I  $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> gotta have, you know, what I  $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> gotta have, you know? So, uhm, that's

always fun. But then, I switch over to real jazz when I need to just ride out and just relax my mind, you know what I mean? And then I go to SiriusXMU when I want to get up on some alternative that's... in my zone, that I'm feeling, and then CNN, you know what I mean? So, I wanna know what's going on in the world, I go to CNN or something, you know? So, I'm, you know, those just... I know... I'm... I've always been the kinda switch for different things, I'm interested in different things too, so I have to... I have to have the freedom to step into those worlds and not feel like, "Oh, I  $\emptyset$ <sup>14</sup> gotta stay here, keep this certain persona, be this person." No, I... if I'm... If I want to go visit Thailand, I'm going, you know what I mean?

## Results

<i>Words</i>	397
<i>AAVE features</i>	6
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.511</b>



# Queen Latifah

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* The Late Show  
*Host* Stephen Colbert  
*Title* “Queen Latifah Gives Stephen A Preview Of Her Ursula”  
*Date* Ca. 2019  
*Section* 4:13-7:48  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/HCnakDcDb2U>

### Transcript

4:13-4:39	I figured I'd be doing stuff. I'm gonna... I plan to be doing stuff for a long time. Just continue to be doing things, uhm... No, I mean, I... I thought, everything, the word was my oyster at nineteen, it was like, the record just dropped, people were receiving it well. I was touring, and performing all over the country, around the world... you know, opening up for people. I was still a baby act, so...
5:41-6:31	Just normal things. Just, she w... always be very proud of you, so I can see why Oprah really looked to her as like a mother figure... because she was very loving, very kind, generous, and, you know, she always had... See, me at nineteen, at that age, at that year, people doubted hip-hop. They doubted us. They didn't think we could accomplish the things we were trying to do... Somebody like Maya Angelou would have been like, “Yeah, you keep doing that, that's great! Go for it!” You know? So there are people like that that supported us back then, and just, I just think she... she's always been that kind of person, and she would be that for any kid now, even though you don't know, like, what $\emptyset^1$ they doing, what $\emptyset^1$ they saying? She'd be like, “Don't worry, they know what they $\emptyset^1$ saying.” You know what I mean? “You just let them say what they say,” and you [laughs] know what I mean? So, that's our job. We $\emptyset^{14}$ gotta let the youth do what they do.

6:54-7:05	Well, this is live, you know? They $\emptyset^1$ live, y... You know the feeling when it's live. When it's live, it's live! Raa! Raaa! I didn't get into this game not to be live.
7:20-7:48	That's true. 'Cause I could literally say, shh, I'm not gonna say it. But you could edit that. Uhh, no. You know what? But... is... is... it's terrifying, it's... it's exhilarating, it's exciting. But, there's a part that's missing, when it's when... when you're... when you're not live. See, when you're live, it's... where all in this together. It's not just me. I'm feeding off of them, they're giving me energy.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	358
<i>AAVE features</i>	5
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.397</b>

# Raven-Symoné

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Sway's Universe

*Host* Sway Calloway

*Title* "Raven-Symone Talks New Show and Why She Wouldn't Let Her Kids In The Industry"

*Date* Ca. 2017

*Section* 4:27-6:41

*URL* <https://youtu.be/BezGu6k7ohc>

### Transcript

4:27-5:28 Ooh. Uhh, not, uhm, not as, you know, "Raven, come and talk about it," but, one thing I'm doing now is... for the people that are playing my kids in the... in the... the children in the show. I let them what I learned through Disney Channel and from all the Cosby days, and, every day is like a school set and a work set. I talk to the parents all the time and let them know. Uhh, I do it fair. I do it to who I know will appreciate it and not just take it and, you know, "I learned this!" But then you don't apply it. Like, that's what I don't... uhh... I do not give up information easily, 'cause you wasted my breath, and I don't have time for that. And, uhh... we do that on the set all the time, like, "Are y'all drawing on your script? I'm sorry, do you want me to go home? 'Cause I can. Or you could pay attention. Whatcha wanna do today?" Uhh, but those are my babies, and they listen, and they've... actually put it into motion, and I'm so proud of them, and you're gonna see that as the season continues, they get better and better and better. And, they will get better off-screen as well.

5:33-6:12 Uhm, probably not. I wouldn't let them in the industry until they were over eighteen, or maybe seventeen. Uhh, I also will not be their manager, but I will make sure they will have a wonderful accountant and lawyer and oversee that part. I wouldn't wanna be there because... But I would teach them etiquette. Because etiquette is etiquette no matter what industry you're

	<p>in. Fifteen minutes early is on time. ‘Kay? That’s one. On time is late. On time is late. Uhh, make sure you got <math>\emptyset</math><sup>14</sup> your money invested properly. Uhh, make sure... this is diff... now I’m gon... have to do a whole list.</p>
6:16-6:41	<p>There’s... okay, the next one is: make sure you do your job first and fun later. So that comes from... just because you have followers and Instagram accounts and you’re certis... certified, doesn’t mean you can just post anything. You actually have a pro... have to have a product to give to somebody. No matter how well you smile and... and keykey[?] with people, you have to make sure you give them something to love about you. And, that’s in any business, I’m sorry, and I know I haven’t been in every business in the world, but that just makes sense.</p>

## Results

<i>Words</i>	426
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.235</b>

# Raven-Symoné

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Talk
<i>Host</i>	Sara Gilbert, Sheryl Underwood, Carrie Ann Inaba, Sharon Osbourne, Eve Cooper
<i>Title</i>	“Raven-Symoné on The Talk – Full Interview”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	4:36-6:57
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/ehPzcx0TMLs">https://youtu.be/ehPzcx0TMLs</a>

### Transcript

4:36-5:11	I had a blast working with her. She’s super funny. We actually added one of her ad-libs into the show. Uhm, we have her, we have Jonathan McDaniel, who actually played Raven Baxter’s boyfriend, and uhh... First... [Laughs] He’s now my ex-husband, so he’ll be back. And my dad comes back, Rondell Sheridan. He doesn’t say “Kapowee,” he tried to put it in there, and we were like, “Take that out.” And then, uhh, we have some... we have some more amazing people and they’re flying by in my head, and I’m sorry, but we’re... really, really happy about it.
5:21-6:09	Well, family first, right? That’s... that’s the main overall message. Family first. The second is, you know, in the last season, I don’t know if you guys watched it—if you did, thank you. If you didn’t, uhm, Booker, my son, is psychic, and I’m psychic, but we haven’t told each other. So, one of the first things that we tackle in the new season is keeping secrets from the... in family. And I think that’s something that happens with all families. We have these secrets, it eats at our soul, it breaks up relationships that don’t need to happen. And... with this, we show, “You know what? It’s gonna be difficult to tell your truth, but if you are as tight-knit as you say you are, you shouldn’t be having these secrets.” So, we... we tell each other at the very beginning, and, uhh, we deal with social issues, we deal with things that

	kids go through on an everyday basis. Uhm, and... We have fun doing it. We have a musical episode, you guys.
6:26-6:57	I miss the ladies that I get to sit next to. I miss Whoopie, I miss, uhm... all of... all of my ladies, Sarah. I miss the camaraderie that you have, I miss our impromptu lunches, I miss looking over at someone and being like, "Girl... Just sit there girl." Get out of her camera shot, you know? [Laughs] I... that's what I miss most. But I love being edited, I love having a script, and, uhh, I... I love... Thank you.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	357
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	0

# Serena Williams

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented audience

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Host</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Serena Williams talks Sleep Sheets on #SwayInTheMorning"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2012
<i>Section</i>	0:54-3:49
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/iU4f-B-tTOc">https://youtu.be/iU4f-B-tTOc</a>

### Transcript

0:54-1:20	Uhm, I do it 'cause I love it, like, I love fashion, I went to school for fashion. I was... When I went to college, that was my major, and, uhm, and, actually been <sup>8</sup> sewing since I... as long as I can remember, so... You know, it was kinda... really organic for me just to go into that, and so... I, you know, playing tennis, we... we do... You see us on the court, but we spend a lot of time in our hotel rooms, kinda twiddling our thumbs, and so I thought, maybe, instead of doing so much twiddling, I can just kinda do something else.
1:46-2:08	Uhm, I don't know, honestly, I started making some raw dishes, which is like, more like, vegan stuff. And so, I got a, uhm, dehydrator and then I, you know, like, mixed some[?] nuts, and I made like this really got vegan piz... raw pizza. But I cooked it in the over, so now it's technically a vegan pizza. It was really, really, really good, really good. Uhm... Anything, you know, you name it I make it.
2:40-3:04	Uhm, probably my mom, like... She did all that stuff, like, she, like... Venus's first match that she played professionally, my mom actually made her outfit, and so, uhm, I remember her... We got the pattern, and, you know that was really inspiring, and she just took care of like our whole family, which was five girls, and, you know, so, I mean, to do all that...

<sup>8</sup> Not a complete sentence. Therefore, *have*-deletion cannot be determined.

	Especially, now... now time... nowadays, it's really virtually impossible, so, she's really inspiring for me.
3:12-3:49	<p>Sleep Sheets, yes. Well, they're a dissolvable sh... little sheet that you just put on your tongue, and it... it has... it's all natural, <b>it's</b><sup>30</sup> like melatonin in it and all that other stuff. Uhm, honey, so it gives it a better taste, and...</p> <p>You know, it helps you sleep, naturally, you know. Like, you were saying, Pootr[?] saying earlier, it's important to... for an athlete to get their rest, or really for anybody in this industry, like, you know, you're always up, you always have something to do, you're always amped, amped, amped, and it's go go go. But, at times, you really need to get your rest to take care of your body, so you can elongate your career, and so, we came up with Sleep Sheets, which really enables you to do that, and so it's really cool. I left you a nice gift box.</p>

## Results

<i>Words</i>	414
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.242</b>



# Serena Williams

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Late Show
<i>Host</i>	David Letterman
<i>Title</i>	“Serena Williams interview on David Letterman”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2013
<i>Section</i>	3:29-6:24
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/fHnPQ3bTwJk">https://youtu.be/fHnPQ3bTwJk</a>

### Transcript

3:29-3:55	Packed. Yes, it was enormous, it was packed, you know, it was forty years ago... It... It was forty years ago, and incidentally, forty years ago as well, Billie Jean King started the WTA Tour, which is why people like me and my sister and every female athlete that plays tennis have an opportunity to play tennis and just be powerful, wonderful, amazing, beautiful female athletes, and we all owe thanks to Bill... Billie Jean King for that.
3:56-4:17	Yeah, I love Billie, you know? She... was able to start and open so many doors for me, I know her really well... I had the opportunity to work with her year ago, she was, uhm, captain of her Fed Cup, and I... And she was help... She was coaching the team, so I got so many tips... To this day, I literally use them in some of my matches every day.
4:45-5:34	Oh! Well, actually, it's funny because Andy Murray, <b>he</b> <sup>20</sup> al... he was... been <sup>9</sup> joking about, uhm, myself and him playing a match, and, I'm like, “Andy, seriously? Like, are you kidding me?” ‘Cause, for me, tennis and... men’s tennis and women’s tennis are completely almost two separate sports, so... I’m like, “If I were to play Andy Murray, I would lose six-o six-o in five to six minutes, maybe ten minutes.” Because... No, it’s true, it’s true. It’s a completely... It’s a completely different sport... The men are a lot faster, and me and uhm... they... They get <b>they</b> <sup>21</sup> serve harder, they hit

<sup>9</sup> Not a complete sentence. Therefore, *have*-deletion cannot be determined.

	<p>harder. It's just a different game, and I love to play women's tennis, and I... I only wanna play girls 'cause I don't wanna be embarrassed, I would not do the tour, I wouldn't do Billie Jean, any just a... so Andy, stop it, we're not g... I'm not... gonna let you kill me.</p>
6:09-6:24	<p>But in tennis, it's a little different, at least for me. Uhm, I've... adjusted my game, my dad gave us, me and my sister, wonderful game and a wonderful foundation to build on, so, all our career, we're always just building on our foundation, so... I'm actually serving harder than I ever have in my career.</p>

## Results

<i>Words</i>	363
<i>AAVE features</i>	2
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.551</b>

# Smokey Robinson

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Host</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Smokey Robinson Discusses Motown, Playing Music During Segregation Days and How He Got His Name”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2016
<i>Section</i>	10:54-12:27
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/9WdZ3rQCiwk">https://youtu.be/9WdZ3rQCiwk</a>

### Transcript

10:54-11:31	Well, you what, uhh, I... I... I... I didn't wanna accept that at first, but I agree with that, you know? I agree with that, because, uhh... But, we moved because Berry had the idea that he wanted to get off into some other parts of entertainment, not just be a record company, and, at the time, Los Angeles was the entertainment capital. It'd take... Yeah. Movies, TV, all the stuff. So we move it out there, and he <b>start</b> <sup>15</sup> doing movies, <i>Lady Sings the Blues</i> , and bla bla bla, and we did TV specials and... all those things like that, so... We had access to all that kinda stuff right there, you know? And, Detroit wasn't like that. I mean, we were a record company, but we w- still a record company once we moved out to LA, you know. But, uhm, so that was his... reasoning for moving.
11:37-12:27	No, no it... it was an asset, in fact, you know? Because, you know, see I was v... I was very blessed, man, you know? I... I met Berry Gordy when I was, like, sixteen years old, and, uhh, to meet a man who had integrity and didn't try to take all the money and do all that, that's why he started Motown, 'cause nobody was paying us money. You know, Berry was a record producer and songwriter when I first met him. And he was writing all the stuff for Jackie Wilson and Eddie Davis, people like that, you know. And, that's was... that was his fort�, which was a blessing for us, because

most record companies... When he started Motown, see, we had a music man at the helm. You know what I mean? Uhh, most record companies were being run by attorneys, or some other businessmen who had other businesses. “Well, let me j... get into record business for a toy,” or something like that, you know? But he was a music man, so... So, we... we were very blessed and very fortunate to have a music man at the helm.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	344
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.291</b>

# Smokey Robinson

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Access Hollywood
<i>Host</i>	Natalie Morales, Kit Hoover
<i>Title</i>	“Smokey Robinson: Did He Ever Date Diana Ross?”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2017
<i>Section</i>	1:55-3:41
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/oOGfyKHy4O8">https://youtu.be/oOGfyKHy4O8</a>

### Transcript

1:55-2:14	Uhh, the, m... When the inspiration hits? What're... You know... Whatever it is... I... I'm not one of those writers that I need to, z... say, “Okay, I'm gonna take, uhm... Need three or four months and I'm going to the mountains and isolate myself so that I can write,” you know? It just happens, it just... it just comes... it's just... you know... you might say something to me during this interview, and I'd say, “Ooh, wait a minute!” [Laughs]
2:18-2:45	Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. And then I might give you credit for it, but... No, but it... it... it just... it just happens, I mean, it's, uhm, I... I think that God gives everybody gifts, you know, and everybody h... gets one. Some people never discover theirs, and some people discover it and look over it, you know? But, uhh, I... I think that it's just been a gift for me because, i... it just happens, there... there's no... there's no pattern to it. You know, people ask me many times, “What comes first, the music or the words?” Yeah. [Laughs] So...
2:48-3:41	Uhm, Marvin Gaye was probably my... favorite artists, I'd... I'd... hate to say that wh... there's so many wonderful artists, but as far as me producing records and... and... and... writing songs w... he's probably my favorite artist, because Marvin, <b>he</b> <sup>20</sup> was my brother too, we were together all the time. And, uhh, Marvin was always late. Always late, you know. It got to

the point where it's if I were to have a session with Marvin at eight o'clock in the evening, I would tell him, "This is gonna start at six thirty." He would still be late. He'd... He would get there at nine, okay? And he would come in with some excuse, alt... "Smokah, I had to sort some songs out," but, I didn't mind, because he would come in, I would show Marvin the song, he'd just sit his p- on the show[?]. "I'm gonna show him one more player track," and show it him. And he would proceed to sing the song like he knew it before he got there, like he wrote it, you know? I used to tell him all the time, he Marvinized my songs. Because, he would do stuff with he song I never dared to dream of, vocally, you know what I mean? He was just a... an awesome talent.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	402
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.249</b>

# Spike Lee

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Tyler Perry Responds to Critics for Writing his Own Scripts and Phylicia Rashad Talks Childhood”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2013
<i>Section</i>	9:10-11:32
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/s1bArBAzRmg">https://youtu.be/s1bArBAzRmg</a>

### Transcript

9:10-9:59	<p>But look... Here’s the thing, though. I’m... Me and Tyler Ø<sup>1</sup> cool, so... Let’s not even go that way. Let’s not... No, whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, it’s all... Me and Tyler are mad cool. We Ø<sup>1</sup> got no beef. It’s all love. But... This film Ø<sup>1</sup> about people who are addicted to blood, but they’re not vampires. As human beings, we have many addictions. Sex, drugs, alcohol, Jordans... [Laughs] Jordans, power, money... This is about people who’re addicted to blood. So, I’ve never done a film like this before, but I’m excited. It’s gonna be bloody, sexy, hot... This’n... they’re not vampire.</p>
10:06-10:26	<p>But listen... No, no, listen... Blood is the substance of life. I’m... People Ø<sup>1</sup> got... make... always that bad connotation: blood. But we don’t have blood. I mean, that’s... keeps... gotta have it. So, I wanna look at it as a different way, as the substance of life. These are people who have to drink it in order to keep living.</p>
10:29-11:32	<p>Oh, it <b>ain’t</b><sup>24</sup>... No... My man. Mr. Envy. Let me ask you a question. Let me tell you something. When I was in film school, way back between nineteen seventy-nine and eighty-two... I went to Morehouse undergrad, class seventy-nine, and I was a NYU... Came back to New York to go to NYU film school from nineteen seventy-nine to nineteen eighty-two. Was... When I was in film school, there was only one African American</p>

director working in Hollywood. His name was Michael Schultz. He directed a lot of Richard Pryor films... Richard Pryor was the biggest star in Hollywood. Now, if I would've thought about... There only one... How am I gonna do this... Those are like a million to one odds. I've always, and I... I... I know with the upbringing, uhh, I've never had... have had a... a negative outlook. When I said, "I'm gonna do something," I don... I don't say... I don't think about... "I'm not gonna do it," "I'm not gonna make it." Once I say... Mwa... wah... sai... mind ought to do it... Get it done!

## Results

<i>Words</i>	340
<i>AAVE features</i>	5
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.471</b>



# Spike Lee

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Hosts</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Spike Lee Talks "Chi-Raq," Gun Control And More”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2015
<i>Section</i>	1:43-4:06
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/RV7MR0t4T0U">https://youtu.be/RV7MR0t4T0U</a>

### Transcript

1:43-2:24	Well, it’s many different things, but I think that one thing I really hope people come out of the film, when they see it, is that we’d had the really... a real... uhh, real discussion about guns in this country, and I’m not talking about taking away <b>anybody</b> <sup>19</sup> second amendment rights, but there’s certain things we can do. Uhh, tougher background checks, we could title guns like cars, I mean, Chicago is a very, very tight... Thank you. And I was saying, many don’t... Many people, members of NRA, agree with this stuff. Chicago’s a very, very tight gun control... law. But, you go to... You get in the car, twenty minutes, half an hour, you’re Indiana.
2:37-3:26	Well, for those who didn’t take English... Greek literature! The play’s about a character named Lysistrata, who... is tired of war in Greece. So, she gets women together and <b>say</b> <sup>33</sup> , “Let’s form a sex strike. Let’s withhold sex from our boyfriends, husbands, our male acquaintances, and make them put this...” Not guns back then. “Put the spears down, knives, whatever, and, uhh...” Yes. And... There’s a woman named, I always forget it, pronoun... mispronounced her last name, Leymah Gbowee, <b>she</b> <sup>20</sup> won a Nobel Peace Prize, early two thousand, because she used that same tactic in Liberia, and it stopped the second Civil War. She won a Nobel Peace Prize for that. So, it can...

3:42-4:06

Well, I'd like to say this... Was was was happening on college campuses today, you know, with the the happene... University of Missouri, where the football players got together and said unless the president **resign**<sup>13</sup> weren't gonna play? I think that that could really... a sex strike could really work on college campuses where there's abundance of sexual harassment and date rapes... That's uhh, college campus university, that'll work, my little... Second semester, it's gonna happen. Once people come back from Christmas, and from stuff jumps off, there's gonna be sex strikes, and universities and callege camp... colleges across this country, I believe it.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	335
<i>AAVE features</i>	4
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.194</b>

# Steve Harvey

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Steve Harvey Speaks on Being Homeless, Being Shot and Learning From Mistakes on #SwayInTheMorning"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2012
<i>Section</i>	0:56-3:31
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/qao0ASGUf0Y">https://youtu.be/qao0ASGUf0Y</a>

### Transcript

0:56-2:11	<p>It's always better... just do your thing. And, you... and I don't care what situation you <b>done</b><sup>5</sup> got your life in—you can turn your life around, 'cause it <b>ain't</b><sup>24</sup> ever too late, see... You <b>Ø</b><sup>1</sup> looking at a cat. Look man... I didn't get into comedy till I was twenty-seven. I was homeless from thirty to thirty-three. I lived in a nineteen-seventy-six Tempo, I lived in a car for three years, man. And, so, people see me today... They don't know... wh... You know man, where I come from, and I tell young cats all the time, man, the key is you can't ever give up. See, if you don't... if you just keep putting one foot in front of the next, and if you can, along the way, man, just tap into your creator, whoever you call him, I'm cool with whatever it is... Just tap into him. Talk to him. I'm telling you, man, you <b>Ø</b><sup>14</sup> got a great life in front of you, you just <b>Ø</b><sup>14</sup> got to go see what it is. But, you <b>Ø</b><sup>14</sup> gotta understand—the real deal, Sway, is God's plan for you is always better than your plan. See, your plan is... is... is... is off, it's always slightly off, and, until I realized that man, then, he started giving me everything he wanted me to have. And then that's what flipped it for me, man. That's how I finally met the right woman and then I finally got on the right track, and then I s... quit doing a lot of stuff I was doing, 'cause I was... out there man, pretty wide.</p>
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2:40-3:31

Because... See, listen, man. No matter what you've done, you have the right to be forgiven. À la Chris Brown, see, people... peop... yous... people still want to hold him to the fire. But, hey man, at one point in time, you  $\emptyset^{14}$  gotta get your nip off this cat's neck. You  $\emptyset^{14}$  gotta let him, you  $\emptyset^{14}$  gotta realise, he **do**<sup>15</sup> make a mistake, but he **ain't**<sup>24</sup> done **nothing**<sup>25</sup> like that since, you  $\emptyset^{14}$  gotta let him move forward. See, I don't let **nobody**<sup>25</sup> hold me to the mistakes I made. Look man, once God **forgive**<sup>11</sup> me, I'm through with you. You can feel how you wanna feel about me, but you can't drive your car looking in the rear-view mirror, see. You  $\emptyset^{14}$  gotta get your eyes off the past and look at where you  $\emptyset^1$  going, and when you  $\emptyset^1$  going through these funky situations where you **ain't**<sup>24</sup> quite right and you know you **ain't**<sup>24</sup> quite right... And that's cool, 'cause God **know**<sup>11</sup> you **ain't**<sup>24</sup> right either.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	432
<i>AAVE features</i>	22
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~5.093</b>

# Steve Harvey

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Late Night
<i>Hosts</i>	Seth Meyers
<i>Title</i>	“Steve Harvey's Favorite Bad Family Feud Answers”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2014
<i>Section</i>	0:18-2:58
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/d4Jw3m2Pa7c">https://youtu.be/d4Jw3m2Pa7c</a>

### Transcript

0:18-1:40	<p>I mean... Ok... it... the first craziest one I heard, ne... lotta people saw it on YouTube, but... The question was, “if someone... if you break... if a robber breaks into the house, what’s the most unexpected thing he would hate to run into?” And you <math>\emptyset^1</math> thinking, you know, an owner with a gun, you <math>\emptyset^1</math> thinking a... a, you know, a dog... This... country dude ju... Brrr... “A naked grandma!” And you just... And you just go, “Well, what i... What is it... What? Why is that your answer?” You know, we <math>\emptyset^1</math> in here... your family <math>\emptyset^1</math> trying to win twenty-thousand dollars. How the hell you think you <math>\emptyset^1</math> gon’ win it with “naked grandma?” Who... What’s<sup>12</sup> the chances of seeing <b>somebody</b><sup>17</sup> grandma naked when you break in the house? And why is that a concern of yours? That was good... And then... I think, the other one they got the most, uhh, was this, uhh... It was a t... family on there from Chicago, and the question was, “Name a word or phrase that begins with ‘pork.’” And, the dude, when I went up to him, he was a dude named Lunatic... He was a rapper, and I... was looking at him, and I said, “So Lunatic, name a word or phrase that begins with ‘pork.’” He <b>say</b><sup>15</sup>, “I <math>\emptyset^14</math> got this, Steve, I <math>\emptyset^14</math> got this all day.” I said, “What is it?” He said, “Alright, ‘cupine.’”</p>
1:50-2:24	<p>Pork-cupine is not a damn word! Pork is not a part of cupine. Now, the part you don’t see is... See, they edit this down for TV. I’m in the floor for</p>

fifteen minutes. I can't breathe, 'cause, what was hurting me was, he actually said Black people back two hundred years, [unintelligible], we didn't need this answer. Not pork-cupine, please brother. Say anything but that.

2:28-2:58 Oh, yeah, man. This, uhh, this year, a lady, uhh, her... her brother or husband came out and uhh... fast money round, **it's**<sup>30</sup> two-hundred points you win, twenty-thousand bucks. This guy comes out and gets a hundred-and-eighty-eight points on his first shot. So... This lady needs twelve points, and they get twenty-thousand dollars. You **Ø**<sup>14</sup> **got** five answers to get twelve points. That's a 'give me.' This lady got five zeroes.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	371
<i>AAVE features</i>	12
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~3.235</b>

# Taraji P. Henson

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Taraji P. Henson & Tracie Jenkins Talk Mental Health, Anxiety and Their Nonprofit Organization”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2018
<i>Section</i>	9:39-11:13
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/ABivxYB6GWw">https://youtu.be/ABivxYB6GWw</a>

### Transcript

9:39-11:13	<p>H-hmm. And, I... I, you know, a lot of times, I feel like, I... I felt... you know, kids have... They have ways to, like, use things, to get stuff from you, uhm, but he kept saying to me, “Abandonment.” And I was like, “Abandonment? Abandonment is leaving you and never coming back. Abandonment is shipping you back to grandma while I... become a star. You were on my hip the whole ride,” you know? As we got older, we talk... you know, a lot of that is outside stuff from friends, you know. Friends will help you manipulate your parents, especially when you go to a very privileged school, you know what I mean? You know. Because I remember one time, he was seven, or eight, or nine, and a friend was trying to get him to sneak out the house and go to a party. “First of all, what party are you going to? And you <math>\emptyset^1</math> in junior high school. Where are you going?” And I could hear him and run. “No, my mom’s crazy, I can’t...” Like, “Forget your ma,” I could hear the kid, “Forget your mom. Just climb out the window.” And he was... looked at me, he said, “I like life. I like breathing.” But, you understand, that’s outside stuff, c... I know what I raised, I know my kid. And I know I was there. I was there for every basket ball game. The only time that I was literally kinda missing in his life was his senior year in college because I booked <i>Person of Interest</i> in New York. Uhm, but, I get it.</p>
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Growing pains, and I get... I blamed a lot of stuff on my mother that I look back, and like, "Why did I blame her for that?" It's just kids reaching and stretching and trying to feel loved, you know? But we're... We got past it, but I c... I could s... I don't... I had to get him that abandonment out because somebody's in your ear whispering that for you to come and tell me, like, abandonment? Do you know what that word means?

## Results

<i>Words</i>	357
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.280</b>



# Taraji P. Henson

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* TODAY

*Hosts* Al Roker, Savannah Guthrie, Kristen Welker

*Title* “Taraji P. Henson Talks About Saying Goodbye To ‘Empire’”

*Date* Ca. 2020

*Section* 0:36-

*URL* <https://youtu.be/z0zxiVbzZOI>

### Transcript

0:36-1:17	<p>Yes! My own hair care line. It didn't... it took, uhm, ten years for me to get it to the right people. You know, the right partners to make my dream come true, but I've and I've been using it for myself for over ten years. But I... When I made it, it was just a solution to a real problem that I had, so it was really for me, and it wasn't until about ten years later... I was on vacation with one of my really good friends and her daughter, and they had protective hairstyles, and, I'm like, “Oh, they kept complaining about their scalp,” and I was like, “Well, use what I use,” so I gave it to them, they went in the bathroom, and they came out, it's like, “Oh my god! My scalp feels amazing, what is this?” And I was like, “Bingo!” [Laughs]</p>
2:10-2:31	<p>Yes, and see, I have always been a champion for healthy hair. That has... I mean, you can ask people who knew me in high school and all the way through college, hair was my thing. I would do twenty dollar hair sets with a lot of body, remember that. Because I had a... I owned a hooded, uhm, dryer, a blow dryer. You know, in college, that's a win! Twenty dollar hair set?</p>
2:49-3:30	<p>That's my passion. Uhm, I'm... I'm the girlfriend that shares everything, so whenever I create a foundation, it's because of s... Maybe it's help, that I'm trying to do with myself, and if I help... work on my self, then I can help others, you understand? My hair care line, like, it's, uhh, like, “Girl, what</p>

did you do to your hair?" "Well, let me tell you," you know, instead of telling, now I've made it affordable, so everyone can afford. So, whenever I do anything, know it's from my heart, you know. I've noticed that our children are killing themsel... are committing suicide. They're taking their lives at such a young age. I can't sit still and not do anything about it. I... I... it... I just... The way I'm wired, it's the way I'm wired.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	359
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	0

# Tasha Smith

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway
<i>Title</i>	"Tasha Smith Tells Why Mayweather Will Knockout Maidana, Reviving Her Faith in God, & STD Education"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2014
<i>Section</i>	1:32-4:07
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/xY_SZKTSnxY">https://youtu.be/xY_SZKTSnxY</a>

### Transcript

1:32-2:31	<p>I know. I know, and you know, sometimes, I'm scared to really talk and really give my opinion because I don't wanna seem so politically incorrect as far as my... You know, everyone's into this... "Free this, free that," you know. Just, everyone should be who they are, and I agree with you, but some things are just, like, ridiculous to me. I mean, Robin Thicke, yes, he's a grown man, but come on, like... Women. The women that would literally subject themselves to that to go to a man's home and get naked and be... It's like a brothel of chicks, I mean, "Let me pick a coochie," you know what I'm saying? I mean, you wanna be a chick where they take... <math>\emptyset^1</math> they just gon' pick a coochie? I mean, it's wrong. I mean, you know, you have a daughter, Sway, you're a great dad, like, I've seen you with your daughter, out, I'm sure... You know, we don't raise our girls to behave that way. What happened to self-respect? We <math>\emptyset^{14}</math> got a black woman in the White House. Come on.</p>
2:36-4:07	<p>Honey, HPV's gone on and on and on, do you know I... I will show my kids... Like, if they <math>\emptyset^1</math> getting out of control, I'll go get a video and be like, "Look, this is what's out there," you know? "This is what HPV will do to your penis. Okay? Oka..." I'm serious, like, they <math>\emptyset^{14}</math> got stuff growing, like, "Look at my cauliflower and broccoli," google it. I mean, seriously. It</p>

ain't<sup>24</sup> wrong, and a... listen. You know, y'all Ø<sup>14</sup> got to be careful, and then I saw a video... This is so disgusting, I don't even know if I can talk about this right here. Uhh, Sway, I saw a video of a woman with bugs in... it was called, "A Bug STD." I think it was on one of these blogs, literally, the doctor was pulling bugs out of her vagina. It was some... It was like a dead vagina. [Laughs] I hate that we're in here talking about sex, but, literally, I want the young children to get it together. I'm serious, like. I have a son here, I remember... I went to do some stuff at Planned Parenthood, and I said, "Give me a bag of condoms, so I..." And I gave him, "Here son, take this bag of condoms. If you're gonna have sex, be safe. I prefer for you to wait till you Ø<sup>1</sup> married," 'cause I am a little old school Christian girl, you know what I'm saying? "But if you Ø<sup>1</sup> gonna do it, protect yourself."

## Results

<i>Words</i>	433
<i>AAVE features</i>	8
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.848</b>

# Tasha Smith

FEMALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Good Day LA  
*Hosts* Steve Edwards, Lisa Breckenridge  
*Title* “Tasha Smith talks playing Cookie's sister on 'Empire'”  
*Date* Ca. 2015  
*Section* 0:51-3:25  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/WpI5T4Mghhc>

### Transcript

0:51-1:16	Yes. I... I'm blaming it on Eileen [unintelligible]... and... [Laughs] And Lee Daniels. Hi guys! How amazing is <i>Empire</i> ? I mean, I... it's like the best thing ever, like, I love the show, I love being able to work with the amazing Taraji P. Henson, Terrence Howard, Jussie Smollett, Lee Daniels, it is the best job I have had in long time.
1:22-1:52	Now, you know I can't answer any questions about what's gonna happen, you know, tomorrow night or what's gonna happen next week. But, one thing I can tell you, if you stay tuned, you're gonna see some real, real, real, real, drama going on. Yes, we do, Miss Vivica Fox. Vivica A. Fox, I forgot. Vivica... 'cause she's a fox. P. Henson, I don't understand. Is there like another Taraji Henson or... It's Tasha J. Smith, but I don't like that. It's just Tasha Smith.
1:58-2:23	No, you know, like, sometime... it... I don't think so, because, if we need to wear, uhh, flats or get an apple box... [Laughs] Apple boxes come in handy, yeah. I've done a lot of apple boxes. Especially with men, you know what I mean? And working with, uhh... with my co-star Michael, a lot of times, I have on those six-inch heels, and he's like, “Tasha, come on, you're killing me, you're killing me.” You know, I'm like, “Get an apple box boo, get an apple box boo.”

2:29-2:59 | Oh, it's been a rough year. But I look good. [Laughs] I mean, you know, this is how rough it's been. I mean, look at me, like, it's been so rough. [Laughs] You know what, I'm gonna say this: it's been a rough year, and it's been one of the best years of my life, because I got a chance to, uhm, uhh, to get truth as far as my relationship is concerned, I'll be in court for the rest of the week, I have a trial that starts tomorrow.

3:07-3:25 | Absolutely. So, it is not a trial for divorce, it is a trial for annulment. So, I'm very excited about it, it's a three-day trial, and, uhh, and then we'll get a chance to just, uhh, talk and give all the evidence that we have, and then I can freely, really, talk about it, when I come back.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	380
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Taye Diggs

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Sway's Universe  
*Hosts* Sway Calloway  
*Title* "Taye Diggs on Sway in the Morning part 1/2"  
*Date* Ca. 2011  
*Section* 2:55-4:18; 5:32-6:56  
*URL* <https://youtu.be/fYLQLmqcJ2o>

### Transcript

2:55-3:37	<p>Oh, right now? Well, him. He's up there, he's up there. I mean, it's... it's... I'm still... I'm still a Denzel Washington f... you know what I'm saying? Still. Still. You know what I mean? Classic. Oh man. Come on. 'Kay. I loved it. L... Yes, yeah. E... I... I... He is man, you know what I mean? Yeah. Stu... studied him, you know what I mean? Yeah, yeah. I mean, you've... that he... as... as far as, for me... that... that's how... that's how it needs to be done, you know what I mean? He... Before him, y... Now P... He is... He is what Sidney Poitier, you know, was to the... the cast when I was younger, so... Yeah, many props.</p>
3:44-4:18	<p>It has. It has. But, there's still... there's still a ways to go. There's still a ways to go. I remember... I... I love this quote. It was... back again... back when I was in w... in... in college, when I was a little more militant, reading the... the Malcolm X autobiography, he said, you know, "If you stab in me in my back with a knife, eight inches, if you pull the knife out two inches, you can't expect me to thank you." You know what I'm saying? It... it... that's kinda deep right? So, I feel, yes, it's... it's g... it's getting better, but I mean, you know, we have a ways to go. We have a ways to go.</p>
5:32-5:57	<p>I think so. I think so. [Laughs] That's specific. That's speci... That's specific. 'Cause we were all young when we did that show, but we had... we had graduated college, you know what I mean? We were... we were</p>

	young and dealt, so... So, for... for... for that actual Broadway production, I... that... that... that... the casting was a little older.
6:19-6:56	Oh, man, we $\emptyset^1$ trying to... me and... me and Shane, we're trying to come up, uhh, with uhh... with an... an ethnic for of Disney. We're trying to... we're trying to, you know... start with <i>Chocolate Me</i> and then branch out. We feel there's a... there's a need, you know. There... there's the need for... for... for, uhh... for children who... who... come up against situations that are kinda difficult to... to deal with and discuss with their parents, situations, you know, that we deal within in <i>Chocolate Me</i> , and we wanna... we wanna make other characters, other stories, uhm, because, uhh, you know, some... I'm... I'm a big fan of Dinsey, but sometimes, they don't... they don't really get it done.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	427
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.234</b>



# Taye Diggs

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Ellen
<i>Hosts</i>	Ellen DeGeneres
<i>Title</i>	“Taye Diggs on Ellen”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2009
<i>Section</i>	1:39-3:40
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/vkGeExfGJgo">https://youtu.be/vkGeExfGJgo</a>

### Transcript

1:39-3:02	Walker. Walker Nathaniel Diggs. Yeah. Thank you. He’s doing everything he’s supposed to... supposed to, on his own schedule, but... but he’s doing his thing. Yeah. He is. He is. He gets up around two thirty and around six, so... for you mothers, you know, that’s... No, not at all. I was at work, uhh, there was... there was some... something going on that morning, so we knew, “Okay... Something’s g... This is gonna be a special day.” She said, “Go off to work, and if I need you, I’ll call you.” So, I went off to work. I got that call, and then, on the drive home... Because, in the movies, on TV, you always hear everybody’s rushing, and... But then, everybody’s telling me, when it actually happens, you know, it’s... it’s... there’s no need to rush, there’s no need to speed. So, on the way home, I was just constantly telling myself, “Just relax, relax, be cool.” I get home, we drive to the hospital. “Just relax, relax, be cool.” And, uhh... She gets in the hospital, and she starts the labor really, really, starts to kick in. And I had in my head that I would be by her for the entire time. Now, we had the... the midwife lady, who is massaging her and, you know, had her in the tub. And when that first pain hit her, and I saw her face... I was like, “Okay, I’m just gonna be in this room.” Just... And I went in, I was like, “Let me just...”
3:06-3:40	No drugs. All natural. Yeah, she’s a warrior. She was a warrior. [Laughs] I... uhh... it was tough. And then I went back in... I went back in. But it...

it was tough. 'Cause I've never seen her... Yeah, yeah. Went back in and then stayed the entire time. But I needed... I needed to take breaks, I needed breaks. So... Lord, uhh, between[?] seven, eight hours, something like that. I don't either. I don't either.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	334
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Tyler Perry

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Sway's Universe

*Hosts* Sway Calloway

*Title* "Tyler Perry Responds to Critics for Writing his Own Scripts and Phylicia Rashad Talks Childhood"

*Date* Ca. 2020

*Section* 2:43-5:22

*URL* <https://youtu.be/95LX5FptSiQ>

### Transcript

2:43-3:12 | When you... When you are a writer, they give you what's called, uhh, combat pay, if you can write something in three months. I write my whole season in two weeks. I... Like, most writers... Yeah, most writers take, like, if... If they Ø<sup>1</sup> gonna go write a... a script or a movie, they get six, seven, eight months to go write it. I write these things in like two weeks, 'cause it's my head, all that stuff is in my head. And my audience loves it. So, I kn... I Ø<sup>14</sup> been doing this for twenty-five years, I'm speaking directly to them. We speak the language. So, I'm not gonna change what I'm doing 'cause people don't like that I write everything, so...

4:06-5:22 | Y... you know what it is? They don't get it. Let me tell you something. My mother, uhh, taught me very, very much about my Blackness, right? She didn't want me to apologize for being Black. She was... they... my... She was raised in a Jim Crow South. You know, I Ø<sup>14</sup> got an uncle with ashy kneecaps, and... uhh... We like watermelons, we like Popeye's chicken biscuits, we like... let... let... And people are always like, "Oh my God, don't tell anybody you like that!" What are you saying to me? This is my experience, and all of these women and... that I grew up with, who were having issues with their man, who were looking for love, who never got to worthy, who never understood themselves... I subconsciously am always

talking to my mother and I'm putting it in these simple little gift-wraps, so that when people see it, it's not something that's so complicated you  $\emptyset^{14}$  got to go on thinking about it. I want it in your face. I'm pr... particular and specific about what I'm doing because I know the people I'm talking to, that I grew up with, it **ain't**<sup>24</sup> for everybody. And that... and if you  $\emptyset^{14}$  been educated a certain way or if you come through a certain thing, God bless you. That **ain't**<sup>24</sup> my experience. My experience is straight up hood shit, right? That's where I come from, and I love that about me, and I... and, it's been those people who... who have put me in this position, who built this studio, and I owe them to keep telling their stories because they are me. So I get it if you don't get my stuff, God bless you, I understand that, that's al... That's completely alright. But... But, there's a lot a stuff I don't get and I wish that people would stop trying to... Uhh... We  $\emptyset^{14}$  got all the ladies coming.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	440
<i>AAVE features</i>	8
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~1.136</b>

# Tyler Perry

MALE / WORKING-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Hosts</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Tyler Perry's New Book Makes Him Feel Good”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2017
<i>Section</i>	4:40-6:49
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/JbTuvZ7NEq0">https://youtu.be/JbTuvZ7NEq0</a>

### Transcript

4:40-5:02	It's not a... It's not about drugs. It's about... No, no... It's... it's a... it's an inspirational book, a spiritual book about, you know, all the things that I've been through in life. It kinda... it's very personal. And as people read it, I want them to realize that “higher” is waiting for everybody. If you wanna go higher in life, if you wanna do better... if you wanna do better in business and love, or whatever... and faith, it... I, uhh, I wanted to put in the book in the things that worked for me, and I think that, it'll inspire a lot of people, that's what I'm looking forward to.
5:18-5:39	Oh, I love a lot of them, but Psalms 91 is the most powerful... powerful song for me. Just... just... uhh... just being under the shadow of the Almighty, and him being there for you, and protecting you, and that... that... and a thousand may fall at your right hand and ten thousand may fall at your side, but they won't come near you. Just hearing God say those things... kinda things in the Word is really encouraging to me, so, I... I... I hope that'll be encouraging to a lot of people.
5:51-6:01	Yeah, for sure. Just, in my life, just even growing up. Hadn't been ten thousand or thousands, but just some of the thing... If you look at the... the statistics from where I come from, I'm not... I was supposed to be, uhh, dead or in jail, just from where I came from in the world.

6:06-6:15	Yeah, so, to make it out, and then have a story, and to be able to put the story in the book, and, maybe, have someone else pick it up, and... know that they can make it too, man. That makes me feel really good.
6:30-6:49	Oh, that was for my son's christening, it's... it's... it looks like I built a church, but it's actually a set piece that we use, and we had... we... I... I wan... I wanted him christened the way that I was, and... way... way my mother was in rural Louisiana, so we built a church that looked like those churches, with hardwood floors and had great singing, and... And his godparents there. And we... we... it was a beautiful moment.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	386
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Tyra Banks

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Tyra Banks Talks ModelLand, Being Rejected Early On, Kobe Bryant, Naomi Campbell + More”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2020
<i>Section</i>	7:07-9:40
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/GHL7fgG38dQ">https://youtu.be/GHL7fgG38dQ</a>

### Transcript

7:07-7:55	Exactly. Yeah, but I think about it like a plan, you know, it’s sustaina... sustainability plan. Uhm, I literally just came out of retirement, yeah, last year. I came out of retirement, uhm, actually from ModelLand because here I am, saying that I’m creating this place where everybody can come: families, all ages, kids, mommas, grand parents, can come to ModelLand, live their fantasy self. But, here I was, I retired from modeling because I was aging and needed to leave. So I was like, “I’m gonna come out of retirement and I’m gonna come out like a big way,” like if... If I was a boxer, I would be coming out, like in... Just, you know, coming in battling, like, the biggest boxer there was out there. And, so, I decided, uhm, to do <i>Sports Illustrated</i> again. And, so, I was on the cover of <i>Sports Illustrated</i> swimsuit edition last year. And it was, so...
8:20-8:31	Literally, my team member Alana, we were getting ready this morning, and I was getting ready, and she’s like, “God dang it, you look twenty-eight!” But, yeah, it’s... little bit of, you know, tricks with make-up and, uhh, hmm, genes.
8:35-8:48	Yeah, you know what, I guess it’s not, yeah, for... for a lot of People of Color, it’s not so much aging out because you’re looking a lot older in the

	fashion industry, it's just, like, "Okay, it's just time. We've had enough, and it's time to move on."
8:57-9:40	Yeah, so, hey, so, a lot of people in my generation, <b>they</b> <sup>20</sup> don't like the whole internet and social media, how it gives everybody access... I love it. This is what I have been fighting for for so long, I remember doing interviews, like, fifteen years ago, in rooms like this, and saying, "To me, when we get to a place where everybody has access to see some version or vision of themselves, when diversity starts to be normal, I want it boring. I don't want it to be 'Ashley Graham is this curvy model,' I want it to be 'Oh yeah, Ashley Graham, she's a model, yeah,' like 'Whatever,' like, it should be normal." And, I feel, like, because of social media and that access to everybody having some version of being a model is actually helping.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	383
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.261</b>



# Tyra Banks

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Hosts</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Tyra Banks, Inventor Of The Smize, Teaches Stephen Colbert How To Nail The Look”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2020
<i>Section</i>	2:13-3:10; 6:46-7:46
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/LrZQc3Oawlk">https://youtu.be/LrZQc3Oawlk</a>

### Transcript

2:13-2:55	I have. Yes. So, when, I was h... I was him for Halloween, and then he saw it and he reached out... His team reached out, and they were like... He was like, “I’ve never looked so beautiful in my life with all that hair in my face,” and, uhm, and then, I ended up going to London and judging an entrepreneurial contest, uhh, that he was doing, with Sara Blakely from SPANX, and then, after we went to dinner with him, and I was like, “I want you to mentor me.” And he was like, “Well, I can get my people to, you know, help you out, uhlalala...” And I was like, “I didn’t say your people. I said you.” And then I called him twice, and I never called back, and then, like, I ran into him somewhere, he’s like, “You are the best mentee, you called twice and you’ve disappeared.”
2:58-3:10	I... I went, like, with friends once. He wasn’t there, but I went, and it was, like, really amazing. I... that’s living... Oh, it’s, that’s where you’re gonna end up when you are retired, like, fifty years from now.
6:46-7:46	ModelLand is a place that I have created that, uhm, is a brick-and-mortar destination for the entire family to come and live the ultimate modeling fantasy. Exactly what you did. It is a place. Twenty-one thousand square feet in Santa Monica, California. You can buy a ticket, and you can come and do photo shoots and be in this immersive theater that I have created, where you are in this revolution to end beauty standards. To say that we are

all fulawesome[?]. And we are all beautiful. So you can come with your family, uhm, there's tips and tricks, there's a posing... Tips and tricks on how to get your "smeyes" right. This is just the beginning, honey. This is Smeyes 101. When you come to ModelLand, it is Smeyes 303, I'm telling you. Yes. And so you leave with a... You take photographs, but it's an immersive journey. Think *Harry Potter's* Hogwarts meets *America's Next Top Model*.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	348
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Vivica A. Fox

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Breakfast Club
<i>Hosts</i>	Charlamagne tha God, Angela Yee, and DJ Envy
<i>Title</i>	“Vivica Fox Brings Male Strippers to The Breakfast Club”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2017
<i>Section</i>	6:22-
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/QzaeoPbWZB8">https://youtu.be/QzaeoPbWZB8</a>

### Transcript

6:22-6:56	That’s the beauty of the show, i... is being the head chick in charge, and then, you get to see... I have a show runner and a show producer that’s also female Sharika[?] and Keana[?], and what we did is that we had a nation-wide search, guys from all over America audition for this show, and... Uhh, we picked an elite eight. And what it is is our journey of getting a residency in Las Vegas. Because when we did go to Las Vegas, uhh, we met Billy Cross from Thunder Foun... from Down Under... They’ve been on the Las Vegas strip for close to twenty years. They are booked internationally and domestically, year-round. Yeah, oh, they... Pay.
6:58-7:06	Exactly. So, that’s what I thought for the sisters—that, you know, we need bachelorette parties, divorce parties, just-because-it’s-Wednesday parties, you know, just ‘cause.
7:09-7:16	Yes, I do. I mean, I just... out of respect. I mean, I... I just didn’t wanna be like “Yeah, stripper number one, two...” You know, like, they... they’ve become my family.
7:32-7:55	The only thing I... Only thing I ask them to do is definitely manscape. You know what I mean? [Laughs] I’m sorry, but, you know, they just, the... you know, they... They like it to be smooth. [Unintelligible] ...this is, it’s... Stay on <b>they</b> <sup>21</sup> body, so, you know. But, you know, my guys, we make sure that they’re in great shape. They work out, which is good. And, like I said,

	you know, for all the guys, like, let your ladies watch the show 'cause you... Trust me, you're gonna reap the benefits after the show.
8:00-8:15	Yeah, well, that's all that's been put out there. For Chippendales, and stuff like that, so, that's why la... You know, when the show came out, we came out on Wednesday night, we were trending, and... And everyone's like "Thank you." Something... Finally, something for us. Yeah, yeah.
8:32-8:51	Right here, bam, there you go. But we're grateful to Lifetime. They gave us eight episodes. Uhh, it was the first pitch that I went out there... Uhh, with, uhh, Propagate, Howard Owens. They literally bought eight episodes. It was the first pitch that I did, and that's rare. I've been in Hollywood for years, and when you pitch shows, it's rare that they buy it just that quick. And, a year later, here we are on the air.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	397
<i>AAVE features</i>	1
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.252</b>

# Vivica A. Fox

FEMALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

*Show* Larry King Now  
*Hosts* Larry King  
*Title* “Vivica A. Fox on ‘Face the Truth’, her next chapter, & Trump”  
*Date* Ca. 2018  
*Section* 5:42-  
*URL* <https://goo.gl/VZwnJR>

### Transcript

5:42-6:20	Oh, tremendously. Especially the last, I would say... five to ten years with reality shows coming into play. I mean, there, for a while, acting was almost becoming, like, non-existent on television. I mean, who would've ever thought they would've cancelled soap operas? Who would've ever thought shows that we... our mothers grew up... that we grew up on, that those would be gone? So, for a while, reality, uhh, really affected acting... uhh... actors tremendously, you know. But now, it's kinda balanced back out, you know. Now, they're doing television shows, and acting, and... You know, everything has... a turn, I believe.
6:23-6:45	Yes! Thank God that now... uhh... programs that you would've never... never been greenlit, or never seen the light of day, or... Yeah, streaming. I mean... Can I tell you? My assistant told me something one time. He said, “In the future, soon, people are gonna be able to look at anything they want on their phone.” I'm like, “Oh, get outta here.” And now it's come to pass. Yeah.
6:52-7:38	I always tell people that want to be actors and the folks that want to get in the show business that it doesn't happen overnight. I know nowadays, everything... swipe this, swipe that, instafame... If you really want to have a career, do the work. Don't take shortcuts, you know? Do... Yeah, there are no shor... shortcuts, you know? And then, you've gotta also have

versatility. I really feel that versatility for myself has equaled the key to my longevity. That I'm an author now, I host, I act, I have my own hair collection. Like, if you're gonna get in show business, realize it's two words. "Show business." Uhm, I have a wonderful business partner that let me know the more that you can find out about the business behind the show, the longer of a career you will have.

8:37-9:15

Wow, well, I'm... I'm grateful that, uhh, this is now going on my third season being on the show and that the sisters are back. This season on *Empire*, Cookie and Lucius are rediscovering their relationship. Their empire has crumbled, and, so, they're now rebuilding their empire together, with the help of the family and the sisters. And for Candace this season, you're going to find out more about her family life, uhm, because Candace always, uhh, is the bougie one who is supposedly together so perfectly. Well, we're gonna find out that it's not so together this season.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	413
<i>AAVE features</i>	0
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>0</b>

# Will Smith

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## African American-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	Sway's Universe
<i>Hosts</i>	Sway Calloway, Heater B. Gardner, Tracy G.
<i>Title</i>	"Will Smith & Martin Lawrence Talk 'Bad Boys for Life' Movie, Life Lessons & Advice"
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2020
<i>Section</i>	5:11-7:39
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/FquqhN6J7kA">https://youtu.be/FquqhN6J7kA</a>

### Transcript

5:11-6:37	<p>Now, you know what, what happened is like... The f... The first two movies, uhm, were... were so iconic, you know? It was like... at a time, really, when Eddie Murphy was like the premier Black star, so, the idea of putting two Black stars in... at the center of a Hollywood movie was a... kind of a... a novel idea. So, we... what we did with that movie was so big, and I just didn't wanna mess it up, but it's like, when we come back for a third time, you know, a lot of times you see when people do... do sequels, you do a cash grab, you know. "People will go, so let's just put it out," and I was like "I... We <math>\emptyset^1</math> not doing that to <i>Bad Boys</i>," and you know, and I felt like I had stumbled with a couple of my sequels in uhh... in the past, and I just... I'm... I was like, "I'm not messing with <i>Bad Boys</i>." And, there, you know... It just has to be a story that's worthy of being told, you know? With ideas, you know, it's an action movie, it's hilarious, you know. You <math>\emptyset^1</math> gon' see Martin funnier than you have ever seen him. And, it... He is ripping scene after scene, and... in this movie, but I just did not want to go out there and deliver something that was... was... less than spectacular, and it had to be, uhh, nostalgic, where it captured the old... the <i>Bad Boys</i> flavor, but also give you something new, you know? People are gonna be really surprised when they go into this movie sc... theater. There's some things happening, and there's that—you are [imitates gasping for air].</p>
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7:03-7:39

So, to... so... You know, to me, I... I... I felt like... uhm... whi... with the *Men in Black* series, uhm, I felt like the first one was blazing, and then they progressively, you know... Went... went down, and I'm... was like "No, *Bad Boys*, the second *Bad Boys* actually stepped up a little bit," you know, from the first one, so I wanted make sure we stepped up, uhh... uhh... again, with... with... with this one. Ehm... Uhh, you know, for me, at the end of the day, I... it's in people's eyes, right? When people go, and... I was just telling Martin, you know, we  $\emptyset^{14}$  been promoting overseas and this is our, actually, our first promotional thing in the States.

## Results

<i>Words</i>	410
<i>AAVE features</i>	3
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.732</b>



# Will Smith

MALE / MIDDLE-CLASS BACKGROUND

## White-oriented context

### Information

<i>Show</i>	The Late Show
<i>Hosts</i>	Stephen Colbert
<i>Title</i>	“Tyler Perry Named A Soundstage After Will Smith”
<i>Date</i>	Ca. 2019
<i>Section</i>	3:38-
<i>URL</i>	<a href="https://youtu.be/PpIWyelRvTE">https://youtu.be/PpIWyelRvTE</a>

### Transcript

3:38-4:06	Yeah, Oprah $\emptyset^{14}$ just got s... And you know what’s interesting about Oprah? Like, Oprah has been famous so long that, whoever’s there, when Oprah’s there, you’re her assistant, right? Like, you just have to help Oprah, like, she’s been, like Oprah will just start walking, and you <b>be</b> <sup>2</sup> like, “Oh, may...Hey, Miss Winfrey, here you go, okay[?], this, you forgot your...” You know, you just feel... you just feel like you have to assist. Happily though, no, you’re very happy, yeah, you know. I’ve seen Barack get Oprah something to eat, yeah.
4:34-5:16	So, yeah... Ang... Ang Lee wha... what he did with this film is really spectacular. He’s trying to, uhh, y... he realized that home systems are, you know, your television, sound, and screen at home are spectacular now. You know, so, he’s trying to create a new reason for people to go to a movie theater, so with the... hundred and twenty frames per second, meaning it’s super clear, the, uhh... the... the cameras are so crystal clear, and he wants you to respond like, you... you see real life, and you’re being immersed into the 3D. You have to see it in 3D, I know you can see it on the regular screens, but you have to see it in... in 3D, ‘cause it’s r... it... it is really... it’s not old school, it’s not your daddy’s 3D.
6:08-6:39	Oh man... No... So thi... thi... this character is, uhh, the first ever one hundred percent digital human. The, uhh, the young Will Smith. So, when

	<p>you... When you see it, it... it isn't de-aging. Right? So, it's not me playing the character, and they just stretch out my face and make me look younger. It actually is a one hundred percent digital character, right? It's the first time ever, and, so, Ang is... y... you know, the technology that he created... I fight myself.</p>
6:47-6:59	<p>Right, so they... so they, uhh, you know, something that there's, uhh, there's, uhh, s... stunt people, so you do it with stunt people, and then they totally replace the, uhh, the... the person there, and then they put in a young Will.</p>

## Results

<i>Words</i>	359
<i>AAVE features</i>	2
<i>Features per 100 words</i>	<b>~0.557</b>