In this paper we investigate whether and how Oregonians perceive the California Vowel Shift (CVS). The CVS is a chain shift of the short front vowels KIT, DRESS, TRAP and LOT that has been documented in California for decades (Kennedy and Grama 2012) but only more recently in Oregon (Becker et al. in press). One CVS feature that Oregonians produce is backed TRAP (backed productions of the /æ/ vowel in words like “bat” and “cap”). Younger speakers lead in TRAP-backing, an indication of change in progress and possibly due to its associations with California personae (D’Onofrio 2015). Our project asked whether or not Oregonians perceive backed TRAP in addition to producing it, and if so, what social meanings they attach to this putatively CVS vowel. We developed two perceptual tasks: 1) A continuum task that asked listeners to categorize vowels that were synthesized on a continuum from TRAP to LOT, and 2) A social priming task, in which listeners evaluated a short speech sample with backed TRAP in which the speaker was described as a “Californian,” a “Valley Girl,” an “Oregonian,” or no label. Our data indicate that Oregonians are less likely than Californians to perceive an ambiguous vowel as TRAP, but that they do link backed TRAP to the California personae. These results provide insight into the links between perception and early-stage production of the CVS in Oregon, as well as the interaction between automatic perception and more overt social awareness.

L2, Heritage, and Native Spanish Speaker’s Attitudes to Mexican-Accented and English-Accented Spanish: A Matched-Guise Study

By means of a matched-guise study, we examine the attitudes of L2, native, and heritage Spanish speakers in the State of Washington towards two particular varieties of Spanish: Mexican-accented Spanish and English-accented Spanish. We consider our findings in wake of previous research about attitudes towards Spanish (e.g. Beckstead & Toribio 2003, Carranza & Ryan 1975) and English-accented Spanish (e.g. Hosoda, Nguyen & Stone-Romero 2011) in the United States.

The data for this study was collected through an online questionnaire in which 95 Spanish-speaking participants residing in the State of Washington listened to four guises (2 Mexican-accented voices and 2 English-accented voices). The guises were produced by two Spanish-English bilinguals (1 male and 1 female). In addition to providing demographic information,
respondents rated each voice using six-point semantic differential scales along several dimensions similar to those found in Zahn and Hopper (1985), i.e. superiority, solidarity, dynamism, and physical characteristics.

Our central hypothesis was that there would be attitudinal differences among the different groups of Spanish-speakers towards the aforementioned varieties. In particular, we hypothesized that L2, native, and heritage speakers of Spanish would rate the English-accented guises higher than the Mexican-accented guises in the dimension of superiority. We reasoned this would be a manifestation of the ideological dominance of English over Spanish in the United States (Fuller 2013) and the fact that Spanish-speakers tend to view English as more important than Spanish for socioeconomic mobility (Beckstead and Toribio 2003). Contrary to this prediction, preliminary analysis shows that the Mexican-accented voices were rated higher along the dimensions of superiority, solidarity, and dynamism. However, further analysis is being conducted to determine if these attitudinal differences are statistically significant and, if so, to investigate which demographic factors (e.g. length of residence in the US, level of bilingualism, ethnicity) condition these differences.

A comparative diachrony of utterance-final tags in Canadian English
Derek Denis and Alex D’Arcy (University of Victoria)

Utterance-final tags (UFTs) are frequent, multifunctional discourse features that establish common-ground between interlocutors.

(1) a. We used to go hay-riding, sleigh-riding, you know. (EOE/f/1879)
   b. It only cost you ten, fifteen cents to go in, you see. (EOE/m/1891)
   c. Nothing like that, eh. (DCVE/m/1876)

We used to go hay-riding, sleigh-riding, you know. (EOE/f/1879)

A growing body of literature has examined the synchronic reality of these forms (e.g. Columbus 2010; Denis & Tagliamonte 2016), yet comparatively little work has examined them in diachronic speech materials. Although it is clear that the repertoire is undergoing change in contemporary Canadian English (CanE) (i.e., right is increasing in apparent time), the more distal state of affairs remains murky.

In this talk we tackle UFTs in two sets of diachronic materials: The Earlier Ontario English
Corpus and the Diachronic Corpus of Victoria English. These collections—recorded in the 1960s–1980s with speakers born 1871–1936—provide a view to CanE as spoken around the turn of the 19th century. Our approach is comparative (Tagliamonte 2002); we consider 3675 tokens from more than 80 speakers.

Our results indicate robust dialectal variegation in earlier CanE. The most enduring claim about this variety concerns homogeneity of urban centers. We provide empirical diachronic evidence for this: the strongest split in our data distinguishes urban Victoria and Belleville from rural Niagara and Eastern Ontario. This split is driven by you see, infrequent in rural locales but vigorous in the urban centers, where it competes with you know. At the same time, there is suggestive evidence that eh was not historically robust in the west: it is exceptional in the DCVE, used by few speakers, but in EOE it is attested across the sample with multiple uses per speaker. Contra expectations from the literature (e.g. Trudgill 2004), these findings suggest that regional dialect variation is a historical reality of CanE.

**Traditional dialects, global trends and stuff: General extenders in St. John’s**

Ildara Enríquéz (*University of Victoria*)

General Extenders (GEs) such as and stuff or or something are set marking constructions that anaphorically refer to a wider category stated in the referent. Recent research on English GEs has noted the increasing frequency of and stuff (like that). Although many findings refer to North American dialects (Tagliamonte & Denis 2010; Denis 2015), a gradual increase of and stuff has also been reported for English varieties (e.g. Cheshire 2007; Palacios Martínez 2011). In the specific case of Canada, only research on the variety of Toronto is currently published, raising the question whether traditional or peripheral varieties follow the trends of General Canadian English. Here I study the use of GEs in St. John’s, Newfoundland, a region that is rooted in some of the most traditional varieties of English and has remained isolated, to assess whether the GE system in St. John’s English (SJE) resembles that of Toronto (and North America), or whether it follows a diverging trend akin to what has been reported for Ireland.

The data come from the speech of 16 adolescent and pre-adolescent women, divided into groups of local and non-local parents, to account for the effects of age and parental origin on the development of youth speech (Labov 1998; Eckert 1980) and regional varieties (D’Arcy 2005). A total of 172 tokens are analyzed.
The main results align with previous research: and stuff is the up-coming form. However, the co-occurrence of and stuff with the traditional variant and that, also present in Irish English, seems to place SJE in a somewhat conservative position. The use of and stuff both by local and non-local parent speakers of both age groups raises the possibility that and stuff is part of a wider universal change, rather than the effect of diffusion from mainland English.

**Evaluative gon in Memphis African American English**
Charlie Farrington and Shelby Arson (*University of Oregon*)

Despite the massive amount of research on African American English (AAE) (Wolfram & Schilling 2016), there are many aspects of varieties of AAE that remain under-examined, including camouflaged forms, which bear surface resemblance to Mainstream American English constructions (Spears 1982; Wolfram 1994). Evaluative gon is one such camouflaged form (Moody 2011; Spears 1982). In narratives that refer to events that have already occurred (i.e. perfective events), gon (which can be realized as [gɔ̃] or [ɔ̃]) may be used to mark a surprising or unexpected event with an evaluative meaning, as in example (1), which comes from a 19 year old Memphis female.

(1) “He was like, ‘yes ma'am.' She gon give him the right directions. I was so mad at her.”

Moody (2011) suggests that gon can be translated as ‘had the nerve to’. Evaluative gon shares a surface form with reduced future gonna/gon, but these constructions exhibit different syntactic and semantic properties (Moody 2011).

This study focuses on the use of evaluative gon in Memphis, TN. The data for this study come from interviews conducted by in-group members of the local African American community in 2001 (see Fridland 2003). This resulted in rich vernacular spoken data that is quite different from traditional sociolinguistic datasets, which often involve out-group fieldworkers. While mood and aspect constructions, especially camouflage constructions, such as gon, are rare in sociolinguistic interviews, this rich dataset provides a source to find such constructions. We take a primarily descriptive approach, using qualitative and discourse methods to explore the understudied camouflaged syntactic construction. Initial findings confirm Moody’s suggested meaning, but add new insight into this discoursal use of the feature - such that it occurs as a narrative closing construction.
Ande mozotros: A sociolinguistic skept of the Seattle Ladino speech community
Molly FitzMorris (University of Washington)

This talk will provide a brief sketch of three of the most salient sociolinguistic phenomena in an endangered speech community of the Pacific Northwest. Seattle, home to two Sephardic Jewish synagogues and a weekly Ladino conversation group, is one of the few cities left in the world with a Ladino-speaking community. Ladino is the language that developed due to contact between Spanish and Turkish (and several other languages) in the Ottoman Empire after the Alhambra Decree and subsequent Jewish diaspora of 1492. The first speakers arrived in Seattle around the turn of the twentieth century, but due to a quickly progressing language shift, many of these immigrants' children are or were passive bilinguals at best and most grandchildren of immigrants never learned Ladino.

This talk analyzes data from interviews and surveys conducted in late 2013 and early 2014 with fifteen speakers of Seattle Ladino. The sample, selected from a “community of practice” (Eckert 2000) within the speech community, consists of five women and ten men between the ages of 74 and 93 and contains speakers of two dialects of Ladino. My discussion focuses on passive bilingualism and code-shifting, the vowel raising seen in the Rhodes dialect of Seattle Ladino, and what I deem “the paradox of linguistic security” among the speakers. Applying Silva-Corvalán’s (1983) analysis of code-shifting, I present examples from Seattle Ladino as well as relevant metalinguistic commentary from the speakers. I then briefly discuss the progression of vowel raising in Ladino, considering Quintana’s (2014) Portuguese contact analysis of its origins, and using illustrative examples from Seattle speakers. Lastly, I present contradictory expressions of linguistic security from several speakers and discuss the implications of these evaluations for language shift.

The discussion concludes with a brief summary of ongoing and future research questions and goals.

What is normal?
Wendy Kempsell Jacinto (University of Washington)

This study explores the category of ‘normal’ in content analysis performed on comments submitted to an online survey of language attitudes regarding the use of German-Turkish code-mixing in popular media. The survey contained two parts: 1) demographic and language background questions, and 2) a series of short video clips followed by questions about the
characters in the clips. The survey gathered subjects’ reactions to characters in films on a variety of attitudinal scales as well as their responses to open-ended questions regarding the clips.

The survey was administered to 20 native German speakers, 26 native Turkish speakers, and 12 native German-Turkish bilinguals. A group of 41 native speakers of American English were included as a control.

This talk will discuss the open-ended responses to the survey which contained evaluative comments regarding language use. Content analysis of the comments began with categorization of the evaluation according to polarity: positive, negative, and neutral. Turkish-German bilinguals submitted far more negative evaluations of code-mixing than any other group. However, an interesting category emerged within the neutral evaluations which was labeled ‘normal’. The categorization of Turkish-German code-mixing as ‘normal’ could itself be indicative of covert prestige.

As seen in work by Preston (e.g. 2010), speakers with high linguistic security often describe their own variety as “normal”. While the “normal” evaluations came from all groups of respondents, those from native bilinguals fit a different pattern in expressing the sentiment that mixing is ‘normal’, often identifying themselves as code-mixers. The implications of the category ‘normal’ and its distribution among participant groups will be explored, and the presentation will include a discussion of how the submission of 'normal' comments compare to sentiments about code-mixing as expressed in each group's negative and positive comments.

Studies in Cascadian English...in the classroom
Tyler Kendall, Nate Severance, Charlie Farrington, Brook Josler, Jason McLarty (University of Oregon)

For several years now, undergraduate students in the upper-level sociolinguistics course at one of our area’s large universities have conducted group projects examining variable features in the Pacific Northwest. This course activity, inspired by projects like Labov’s Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (cf. Labov et al. 2013; which developed massive research materials from student projects at the University of Pennsylvania), couples pedagogical activities in the
Intonation Variation Over Time in the American South

Jason McLarty (University of Oregon)

African American English (AAE) and Southern European American English (EAE) have shared similar geographic and linguistic histories, though the degree of shared linguistic systems is still up for debate (Fasold et al. 1987; Labov 1998). Prior work on intonational variation of these two varieties, though sparse, has demonstrated that AAE shows a higher density of dramatic rises and falls of the pitch contour and a wider pitch range than in EAE, which are seemingly unique to AAE (Tarone 1973; Wolfram and Thomas 2002; Cole et al. 2005; McLarty and Thomas 2010; McLarty 2011, 2013). As of yet, little work has examined how intonation in these varieties has changed over time.

This study analyzes intonational patterns of 12 natives of Raleigh, NC, balanced across sex and ethnicity from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in 2009 (Dodsworth and Kohn 2012). This analysis is supplemented with 12 archival recordings of ex-slave and white Confederate era speakers, also balanced across sex and ethnicity (Library of Congress American Memory; Joseph Hall Tapes) to understand how prosodic patterns may have changed over time. Using the ToBI transcription system, prosody is analyzed at the level of intermediate
phrase boundaries (L- and H-) for type and relative frequency of these two edge tones, as well as the type and relative frequency of pitch accents (H* and L+H*) in conversational speech, allowing for the quantification of differences in intonation between AAE and EAE speaker groups (Beckman et al. 2005).

Results indicate that while AAE speakers remain relatively stable over time in their use of intermediate phrase boundaries and pitch accents, it appears that modern EAE speakers are becoming more like their modern AAE counterparts, demonstrating the complexity of the relationship between these contact varieties.

**Say “æ” BCL Pre-Nasal /æ/ in British Columbia English**

Gloria Mellesmoen (*University of Toronto*)

There are two features of /æ/ in British Columbia (BC) English that are widely attested in the literature: it is undergoing retraction and lowering and it is sensitive to the influence of certain following consonants. Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) posited that the retraction and lowering of /æ/ remains an active change, with older male speakers still lagging a generation behind. Despite this trend toward general lowering, Swan (2015) found /æ/ to be raised in pre-velar conditions while lower than expected before a nasal consonant, contrary to Boberg’s (2008) finding that /æ/ was raised in both contexts. The present research seeks to examine the realization of /æ/ in apparent time to determine whether the pre-nasal /æ/ is in a process of lowering and further if it is descending at a comparable rate to /æ/ in other environments.

In this study, 66 participants (36 female and 30 male) who had spent at least a decade in British Columbia before age eighteen were asked to read a short news article and a word list. The speakers were between the ages of 13 and 62, with a mean age of 31. There is a correlation between speaker age and vowel height for /æ/ generally, as well as before nasal segments. However, this correlation is insignificant for the pre-velar context. The results suggest the pre- nasal /æ/, as suggested by the literature, is lowering with the general phoneme. However, pre- velar /æ/ does not appear to be meaningfully affected by the retraction and lowering of /æ/. The implication of these findings is that pre-velar /æ/ may be a categorically distinct allophone while the pre-nasal variant is likely continuous with the other instances.

**Joint Productions as discourse strategy in alternative medicine sessions**

Emanuela Mileva (*Simon Fraser University*)
Doctor-patient encounters can be positioned in two separate domains – that of mainstream medicine and that of psychotherapy. In the present work I argue that alternative medicine therapy occupies a space between the two - it is focused on mind-body integration in which the psychological state of the patient is a significant contributor to the illness. From linguistic perspective, the talk in alternative medicine therapy borrows linguistic characteristics both from mainstream medical visits and psychotherapy sessions.

The study focuses on joint productions as a collaborative meaning making discourse strategy used in alternative medicine sessions. Joint productions are analyzed as a syntactical and semantical continuation of speaker A’s utterance (Ferrara 1994). The basis of the analysis is a set of 48 instances of joint productions extracted from four hours speech from session dyads with 9 different patients and 2 practitioners. Four different types are explored based on syntactic form, prosodic signals, received response, and motivation. The analysis shows the ways joint productions demonstrate attuned talk, serve as a device that creates a “collaborative floor” (Eldesky 1981) to which both doctor and patient contribute concurrently, and build meaning in a collaborative fashion.

All these findings suggest first, that the differences in power between doctor and patient in alternative medicine sessions are decreased compared to the differences in mainstream medical visits; second, joint productions tend to appear in order to build good social relations and work toward better understanding and creating trust – something, that is essential for the psychotherapy talk.

**Covert Prestige in middle-class females: A variationist study in a northern region industrial estate in Thailand**

Ko Panyaatisin (*University of Essex*)

This research has attempted to analyze the linguistic variation of rhotic onset (r) in the Northern Thai dialect (NT) by analyzing the glottal fricative variant [h]. [h] is the local form in NT but does not exist in Bangkok Thai (BKK)/ the standard dialect. NT dialect, in Lamphun province, possesses a cultural heritage more than 700 years old, consisting of a unique orthography and grammar which is distinct from that of the BKK Thai dialect. The influx of internal immigrants, who employ BKK dialect, to meet the demands caused by the emergence of the Northern Region Industrial Estate (NRIE), contributed to the radical change
of an agricultural based community into an industrial province. A non-predictive pattern of certain linguistic features was found, especially the [h] variant, by conducting a logistic regression via Rbrul (Bailey 2002, Tagliamonte, 2006, Johnson, 2009). Even though the [h] frequency was not in the majority, in the model it was found that the middle-class female was the main linguistic preserver. A social network strength factor (Hirano, 2011) with adjusted technique showed the dynamic result, that certain groups of people with particular qualities, resisted conforming to BKK Thai pressure. Thus, the [h] variant may receive a social meaning as a covert prestige form (Labov, 2006; Trudgill, 1972) rather than a stigmatized form in this dialect competition.

Also, the finding revealed that this variationist study was predominantly motivated by social factors, especially speech style (Labov, 2006), rather than phonological predictors. Typologically, this might be a unique characteristic of the Tai-Kadai language family’s variation that shows the reverse trend (Preston, 1991, Chand 2010), that internal linguistic factors do not primarily dominate dialect variation.

**Variation in Pacific Northwest English: A phonetic comparison of Vancouver, B.C. and Seattle, WA**

Julia Swan (*University of Chicago*)

Despite the geographic proximity and cultural similarities of Seattle, WA and Vancouver, B.C., few studies have directly compared their speech (Sadlier-Brown 2012). Prior research in Vancouver has focused on /æ/ retraction and participation in raising of /ai/ and /au/ (Chambers 1973, Esling & Warkentyne 1993, Hall 2000, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008, Boberg 2008, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013). In Seattle, on the other hand, research documents pre-velar raising of /æ/ before /g/ (Wassink 2009, Freeman 2013, Riebold 2012, 2014 & 2015). No large-scale studies have compared these features between Vancouver and Seattle speakers. With 29,372 tokens collected via word list reading task from 20 Seattle and 19 Vancouver speakers, the current study analyzes and compares five dialectal features of Pacific Northwest English: pre-velar /æ/ raising, pre-nasal /æ/ raising, /æ/ retraction, and “Canadian” raising of diphthongs /ai/ and /au/. Formant data were extracted at five duration-proportional points and trajectory comparisons were included in linear mixed-effects regression models for each dialect feature.

The results suggest that while Seattle and Vancouver speakers participate in many of the same allophonic processes (on the basis of statistically significant differences between
allophonic environments in within city analyses), there are significant and substantial
differences in their extent of participation in these processes. To summarize, both Seattle and
Vancouver speakers are participating in /æŋ/ raising, but Vancouver speakers show a
comparatively greater degree of /æŋ/ raising (relative to /æk/) than Seattle speakers. The same
is true for raising of diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ before voiceless consonants. Seattle speakers
show /æ/ retraction before laterals, but Vancouver speakers retract /æ/ before both laterals
and fricatives, as compared to stops. This research furthers understanding of features that
define Pacific Northwest English while also identifying variation within the region.

## Canadian Shift among Filipino-Canadians in Metro Vancouver

Pocholo (Poco) Umbal (Simon Fraser University)

One of the hallmark features of Canadian English is the Canadian Shift (CS): the lowering and
retracting of the front lax vowel system in response to the low-back vowel merger (Clarke, Elms & Youssef 1995). There have been many studies exploring this on- going change in Canada
(e.g. Boberg 2005, 2008; Labov et al. 2006; Pappas & Jeffrey 2013), but many aspects are still
inconclusive (e.g Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008), namely, the presence of /ɪ/-shifting, and
the overall trajectories of the vowels (i.e. diagonal movement versus parallel retractions). More
importantly, much of the data come from Anglo speakers thereby excluding other prominent
groups in the community.

This presentation reports on an on- going study of CS within the context of second-generation
Filipino-Canadians in Metro Vancouver. We addressed three research questions: (1) do they
participate in CS? (2) If so, how advanced are they relative to Anglo speakers? (3) Finally, is
gender a significant factor?

12 Filipino-Canadians (6 males and 6 females) who are native speakers of English between the
ages of 19 and 30 were recruited. All of them have similar socioeconomic and educational
backgrounds. The data set was constructed from recordings of Boberg’s (2008) word list during
sociolinguistic interviews. F1 and F2 values were extracted and normalized for 248 tokens of
/ɪ/ /ɛ/ /æ/ /o/ and /oh/. Results revealed that at least for this particular age group, CS is
active in Vancouver, with evidence of diagonal movement: lowering and retracting of /ɪ/ /ɛ/
and /æ/. Furthermore, results indicated that compared to Anglo speakers (data taken from
previous studies), Filipino-Canadians are more advanced – demonstrating more lowered and
retracted variants. Finally, we found that women tend to lead the change in some properties of
the shift.

The present study will attempt to explain these patterns by using the Emergent Market Model (Hall-Lew 2009).

**Network Connectedness of Japanese-Americans in Metropolitan Seattle**
Alicia Wassink *(University of Washington)*

This study examines the social networks and referential communities of two Seattle-born Japanese-American sisters. We are interested in how network features might be studied in a highly-mobile urban community, and in how these might be related to speakers’ participation in vowel change. We focus here on so-called prevelar raising: raising /æ/ and /ɛ/ before voiced velar /g/ in words such as "bag" and "beg." We hypothesize that regardless of ethnicity, speakers showing greater integration into regional life than into an ethnic subculture will show higher levels of participation in this regional change (with or without simultaneous use of ethnolect markers). Network data, elicited in a detailed questionnaire, were examined using a set of measures not explicitly used (to our knowledge) in sociolinguistics—the percent homophily score (which registers proportion of same-ethnicity close-tie contacts).

The notion of *speech community* can be quite difficult to apply in large urban networks. Instead, Fishman’s notion of the *referential community* was applied because it appears able to make visible those social groupings, meanings and identity information that are salient to respondents. Together with social network analysis, referential community analysis elucidates the frames of reference of the focal respondents. For both sisters, we found expressions of (dis-)connectedness with Japanese, Japanese-American, and Pacific Northwest communities. Within the larger cohort of Japanese-American speakers, integration into regional PNW life correlated with participation in prevelar raising. Second, we found that a high level of ethnic homophily was inversely correlated with participation in prevelar raising—except for Caucasian speakers. Enlarging the homophily analysis to include the larger sample of ethnic group speakers in the PNWE sample, we found that network homophily analysis appears to be quite powerful in capturing key differences in the integration of each ethnic group into the local PNW community.