

Welcome: Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) in Canada

J. K. Chambers

University of Toronto

Almost a century ago, Edward Sapir, chief anthropologist at the Canadian National Museum in Ottawa, taught us that "no language is tyrannically consistent. All grammars leak" (1921). We have now spent several decades giving substance to his insight, enlightened by the Labovian refinement that the heterogeneity of language is orderly, systematic and measurable. We are proud to host this annual conclave, and we welcome our partners from all over the world.

Pursuing symmetry by eradicating variability

Shana Poplack

University of Ottawa

Because the doctrine of form-function symmetry is so firmly entrenched in linguistic thought, contemporary sociolinguistic analyses of variability beyond the phonological are often dismissed. In this talk I present the results of a large-scale project that examines the response to morphosyntactic variability over time by tracking its treatment in a massive corpus of prescriptive grammars

dating from the 16th century through the present, and relating it to current formal approaches. Analysis shows that although variant forms have been recognized since the earliest times, only rarely have they been acknowledged as variant expressions of the same meaning or grammatical function. Instead three major strategies are marshaled to factor variability out, when it isn't ignored altogether: assigning each variant a specific linguistic context, matching each variant with a dedicated meaning, and when all else fails, associating each variant with a different type of speaker or register. Remarkably, however, results reveal little consensus, whether over time or across authors, over which elements to associate with which variant. This suggests that the aim of these strategies is not so much to describe or prescribe, but to imbue each form with a privative context of occurrence, whatever it may be, so long as it is distinct from that of its counterpart(s). Attributing distinct roles to each variant restores the desired isomorphic relation between function and form, while implicitly rejecting the possibility of bona fide grammatical variation. In contrast, systematic confrontation with the data of spontaneous speech fails to validate virtually all of these treatments, revealing robust variability subject to regular conditioning instead. I explore how the enduring legacy of this position, encapsulated in the doctrine of form-function symmetry, continues to mold prescriptive -- and many formal linguistic -- treatments of variability, contributing to the growing gulf between usage, prescription and much linguistic description.

Formal Theory**Structure versus use in morphosyntactic variation**

David Adger

Queen Mary University of London

Classical accounts of morphosyntactic variation appeal to rules that embed probabilities into the realization of morphemes combining aspects of structure with aspects of use. More recently, this same basic intuition has been developed within construction grammar approaches to syntax where constructions are learned linkages between form and meaning, but the notion of attached probabilities is replaced by the interaction of various use-related properties, such as entrenchment, preemption, processing ease etc (Goldberg 2006; Hudson 2007). An alternative is to take morphosyntactic variation to be a side effect of the availability of multiple morphosyntactic ways of achieving the same syntactic/semantic goal (Kroch 94; Yang 2002; Adger 2006), and to separate distinctly the systems that generate structure from those that make use of structure. This talk evaluates these two ways of understanding morphosyntactic variability, bringing to bear evidence from acquisition of variation, the emergence of new dialect forms, language change across generations and language death. I argue that in each case the evidence supports the second approach, and that that approach can actually provide ways of constraining how morphosyntactic variation can be affected by the systems of use. The conclusion is that the usage-based construction grammar approach has it exactly backwards: routinization of structures are indeed important in use, but the acquisition of the structures, and the

linguistic representation of the structures, is severely constrained by the speaker's linguistic system.

References

- Adger, D. 2006. Combinatorial variability. *Journal of Linguistics*, 42, 503-530.
- Goldberg, A. 2006. *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hudson, R. 2007. Inherent variability and modularity: A comment on Adger's 'combinatorial variability'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 43, 683-694.
- Kroch, A. 1994. Morphosyntactic variation. In Beals, K., J. Denton, R. Knippen, L. Melnar, H. Suzuki and E. Zeinfeld (eds.), *Papers from the 30th regional meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, volume 2: The parasession on variation in linguistic theory*, 180-201. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Yang, C. 2002. *Knowledge and learning in natural language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

David Adger is a Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics at Queen Mary, University of London. He is primarily interested in syntax, the cognitive system that underlies the patterns found in the grammar of human languages. However, one of his central interests is how theories of syntax can be used to describe and predict the variable use of different syntactic patterns by a single individual, and whether these theories have anything to contribute to explaining probabilistic patterns we see in the use of different syntactic forms.

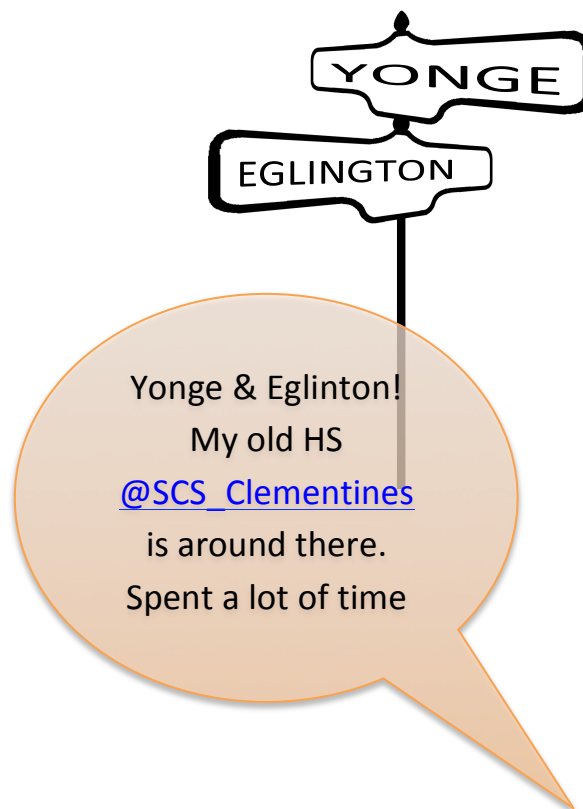
Child Language Acquisition

The intersection of child language acquisition and sociolinguistics

Elizabeth Johnson
University of Toronto

Traditionally, developmental speech perception research has paid little attention to the role of linguistic variation in the development of language abilities. However, in the past 10 years, developmental speech perception researchers have become increasingly interested in variation in the linguistic input. One could even argue that, as a field, we have realized that understanding how children deal with variation is just about the most interesting question we can address. This has resulted in an explosion of research in this domain. My own work addresses this question by studying how monolingual children exposed to only one or to multiple accents/dialects/variants of English on a daily basis perceive the speech signal. This work involves the acquisition of both Dutch and English, and examines both monolinguals and bilinguals. The results I will discuss point to the importance of considering variation in the input when examining the development of early speech processing abilities. Although developmental speech perception researchers are now very interested in the sort of variation that sociolinguists have been studying for ages, there has been little interaction between the two fields. Increasing interaction between these two fields has great promise for moving both fields forward and unlocking some of the mysteries of early language development.

Elizabeth Johnson is an Associate Professor at the University of Toronto (Mississauga). Her research on infant language acquisition is innovative in its inclusion of the study of toddlers' comprehension of unfamiliar regional accents, cross-gender word recognition, and perception of other types of non-contrastive variation. It explores the issue of stochastic processing in infants, paralleling much work on adult speakers in the field of sociolinguistics. Her lab's research contributes to our understanding of early word recognition and the development of comprehension in infants and toddlers.



Endangered Language Documentation

Keeping your foot in the door: Variation research and language documentation

Miriam Meyerhoff

Victoria University of Wellington

Typically, a study of variation starts from the known and works its way into the unknown; the general structure of the language/dialect is pretty well-established and the analysis of variation embellishes the structural description. But what happens when you are analysing variation at the same time as you are grappling with the fundamental structure of the language? How realistic is it to situate your work at the intersection of language description and language variation? In principle, this is what a child does when learning a language so it should be possible, but in practice, combining documentation and variationist goals can be challenging. This talk looks at how documentation of Nkep (a Central Eastern Oceanic language spoken in northern Vanuatu) has progressed when guided by a focus on internal and social variation. I will use three variables (subject agreement, complementiser reduction and lexical borrowing) to highlight the rewards and challenges associated with propping open the door between two disciplines that have not traditionally had much to say to each other.

Miriam Meyerhoff is a Professor of Linguistics at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. She has spent two decades studying the sociolinguistics of lesser-studied languages, especially the creoles of the Caribbean and the southwestern Pacific Ocean. She is keenly interested in sociolinguistically constrained variation and how it informs our understanding of both linguistic structure and the construction of social - particularly gendered - identities.

Historical Linguistics

The interaction of information structure and syntactic change

Susan Pintzuk
University of York

In this talk I demonstrate that for at least one syntactic change in the history of English, information structure plays a synchronic role in influencing word order but does not at all affect the progress of the change over time. For the case of OV vs. VO word order, I show that the Given Before New Principle of Gundel 1988 influenced the position of objects, pre-verbal vs. post-verbal, but that this cross-linguistic generalization did not interact with the gradual change from OV to VO that occurred during the Old and Middle English periods.

Susan Pintzuk is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of York, England. Her research combines formal syntactic analysis, statistical methodology and techniques of corpus linguistics. However, she applies quantitative techniques to the structural analysis of historical data. Her studies of annotated corpora have produced ground-breaking new insights into the role of information structure in syntactic change in the history of English.

Corpus Linguistics

About corpus linguistics, variation, and the variationist method

Benedikt Szmrecsanyi
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Corpus linguistics is often defined as a methodology that bases claims about language usage on collections of naturalistic, authentic speech or texts. Because this is precisely what is done in most LVC work, it may be claimed that LVC analysts are by definition corpus linguists, though of course the reverse is not true: the variationist method entails more than merely analyzing usage data, and not all corpus linguists are interested in variation. But that being said, a considerable and arguably increasing number of corpus-based researchers are explicitly concerned with variation and use the variationist method without necessarily identifying as LVC practitioners. The complication is that there seem to be certain styles and practices that set apart corpus-based variationist work from LVC work. The talk will discuss such differences, and identify research fields where LVC researchers may draw inspiration from work in corpus-based variationist linguistics.

Benedikt Szmrecsanyi holds a research professorship in the Department of Linguistics at the KU Leuven. His research interests fall within the remit of variationist sociolinguistics, with a particular focus on grammatical variation. However, he employs corpus linguistic methods. His large-scales studies of morphosyntactic persistence and variation in British dialects have employed advanced techniques for establishing underlying patterns of variation and similarities and differences across varieties.

A non-technical introduction to mixed-effects models for the statistically hesitant linguistic researcher

David Eddington
Brigham Young University

Mixed-effects statistical analysis has become more and more common in recent years. Because linguistic data often includes multiple responses from a single person (e.g. tokens in sociolinguistic interviews, responses in psycholinguistic experiments), mixed effects are ideal for accounting for such repeated measures. Unfortunately, mixed-effects models have only become feasible in recent years and as a result, many linguists, even those with a background in statistics, may not be familiar with them. For the statistically uninitiated, they may be particularly ominous, especially since they are often presented as something that must be carried out in R, which is a command-line, programming type language without a graphical interface that has a steep learning curve. My presentation, on the other hand, will show how such analysis can be carried out in SPSS, which is a much more user-friendly program. Time permitting, the use of R for the same tasks will also be demonstrated. The purpose of my presentation is to explain in non-technical terms why mixed-effects models are ideally suited to language data. Using examples from sociolinguistic studies, I will demonstrate the concepts of random intercept and random slope, which are the basic components of a mixed-effects model.

Acoustic editing and speech synthesis with Praat

Chris Koops
University of New Mexico) &
Nancy Niedzielski, Rice University

This workshop aims to familiarize participants with key acoustic editing and synthesis/resynthesis functions of the free acoustics software Praat (Boersma and Weenink 1992-2015). The focus will be on parameters and procedures relevant to producing stimulus items for sociolinguistic perception experiments. We start with acoustic parameters that are more easily manipulated - duration, amplitude, and pitch - and go on to the more-complex issues of formant frequencies and, time permitting, voice quality. Sample sound files, Praat scripts, and a hand-out with step-by-step instructions will be provided. Participants are encouraged to bring a laptop to work through the examples together. The workshop is aimed primarily at those less familiar with the topic; no detailed knowledge of Praat and no scripting skills are required. We still encourage those with more extensive experience to attend as well, as there will be time to share experiences and have a broader discussion of the pros and cons of different methods.

Analyzing and mapping sociolinguistic data with Geographic Information Systems

Lisa Jeon, Rice University

Patricia Cukor-Avila & Chetan Tiwari,
University of North Texas

Since the '80s, geographers have achieved major advances in two areas: the development of powerful Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software and the development of statistical models for analysis of geographical patterns of data. Modern GIS and its incorporated spatial analysis tools allow sophisticated and efficient analysis of spatial data (ESRI 2015). Although the spatial variation of language has long been of interest to linguists, researchers have made little use of the power of GIS to address hypotheses regarding spatial variation and correlated physical and social variables. Linguists have applied GIS technology in constructing language atlases; but the steps of analyzing and aggregating the data are seldom discussed in detail. In addition, many linguistic studies that incorporate GIS maps treat them only as graphics, omitting spatial aspects of the data. Consequently, they neglect space and spatiality (i.e., characteristics of geographical space and the way people inhabit it), factors important in language variation and change (Britain 2010).

GIS has been applied to perceptual dialectology studies in Evans (2011), Jeon (2012), Cukor-Avila et al. (2012), Montgomery (2012), Montgomery and Stoeckle (2013), and Jeon and Cukor-Avila (*forthcoming*, 2015). In this workshop, we discuss the advantages of GIS for: (1) aggregating and visualizing complex data sets and their geographic distribution; (2) exploring and analyzing subsets of data; and (3) transforming linguistic data into user-friendly resources such as maps for online presentation. This approach integrates the geographical distribution of linguistic variation with the influence of social factors, and simultaneously provides a way to assess trends and relationships across variables. This

workshop will provide tools to enable researchers using various types of sociolinguistic data (perceptual dialectology, sociophonetic, morphosyntactic, etc.) to validate empirical evidence, improve mapping of dialects and study differences in the geographical distributions of linguistic variables. Participants will experiment with methods by applying them to provided datasets. We will show how to install and use open source GIS software, including a step-by-step demo of how to digitize and aggregate map data, explore and stratify results by linguistic variables and other subsets, perform statistical queries, and create composite maps.

References

- Britain, D. 2010. *Conceptualisations of geographic space in linguistics*. In Lameli, A, Kehreign, R. & Rabanus, S. (eds.), *Language and space: An international handbook of linguistic variation, volume2: Language mapping*, 69-97. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cukor-Avila, P et al. 2011. *Texas - it's like a whole nuther country: Mapping Texans' perceptions of dialect variation in the Lone Star State*. In Lawrence, A. et al. (eds.), *Texas Linguistic Forum 55:10-19*. Austin, TX: Dept. of Linguistics, U Texas- Austin.
- Evans, B. E. 2011. 'Seattletonian' to 'Faux Hick': *Perceptions of English in Washington State*. *American Speech 86:383-414*.
- ESRI. 2015. *What is GIS? GIS.com*.
- Jeon, L. 2011. *Drawing boundaries and revealing language attitudes: Mapping perceptions of dialects in Korea*. MA thesis, U. North Texas.
- & Cukor-Avila, P. *fc. Urbanicity and language variation and change: Mapping dialect perceptions in and of Seoul*. In Cramer, J. & Montgomery, C. (eds.), *Cityscapes and perceptual dialectology: Global perspectives on non-linguists' knowledge of the dialect landscape*. Berlin: Mouton.
- . 2015. 'One country, one language?': *Mapping perceptions of dialects in South Korea*. In Parea, M.-P. & Aurrekoetxea, G. (eds.), *Dialectologia 14:17-46*.
- Montgomery, C. 2012. *The effect of proximity in perceptual dialectology*. *J. Sociolinguistics*, 16.5:638-668.
- & Stoeckle, P. 2013. *Geographic Information Systems and perceptual dialectology: A method for processing draw-a-map data*. *J. Linguistic Geography 1:52-85*.

Towards best practices in sociophonetics

Marianna Di Paolo
University of Utah

This workshop continues the discussion of best practices in sociophonetics that was begun at NWAV33. The ever-expanding range of knowledge necessary to do high-quality work in the interdisciplinary field of sociophonetics demands that we provide quick access to the best methodological, technical, and procedural information to all researchers.

Now that it is relatively easy to construct large corpora of digital speech and that sociolinguistic studies from the most prestigious labs quite often report on token sizes in the thousands, how can researchers without a lot of funding or working on less studied varieties take part in this data analysis explosion? We will focus on emerging language-technology systems that very soon will help to close this gap. The key is that linguists engaged in sociolinguistics and language documentation experience similar problems when it comes to efficiently processing large corpora of recorded speech, and may share solutions. The two workshop segments are as follows:

Segment 1: Automatic speech recognition in sociophonetics: Using DARLA for completely automated measurements

Sravana Reddy & James N. Stanford
Dartmouth College

In recent years, sociolinguists have begun extracting vowel formants using semi-automated methods, such as Forced Alignment Vowel Extraction (FAVE - Rosenfelder et al. 2011). With FAVE, human annotators must first take the time to create sentence-level transcriptions, and then the vowels can be extracted by the system. But sociolinguistics may be on the brink of another transformative technology: large-scale, completely automated extraction without any human transcription. With such technology, it would be possible to quickly and automatically analyze vowels and

other features from virtually limitless hours of recordings.

This workshop segment introduces the completely automated tool DARLA ("Dartmouth Linguistic Automation"), which uses Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) and FAVE. The best ASR technology still cannot transcribe as accurately as humans at the word- or sentence-level. However, for stressed vowels, it may be reliable enough for certain sociophonetic purposes. We examine these possibilities and invite participants to try DARLA with their own recordings. Participants should bring their own laptops and, if possible, sample recordings from their own (English) data.

Segment 2: Training Prosodylab-Aligner for sociophonetic research on uncommonly-studied language varieties

Lisa M. Johnson, Marianna Di Paolo,
Carter Holt & Adrian Bell
University of Utah

Prosodylab-Aligner (Gorman et al. 2011) is a software suite with the potential of providing automatic phonemic/phonetic alignment for any variety of English, no matter how phonologically different from "general" North American English, and for any language, even relatively understudied languages. As such, it (and other such digital tools like it currently under development) could revolutionize sociophonetic research.

In this workshop segment, we report on the process of training Prosodylab-Aligner on recorded data from Tongan and Tongan English with the ultimate goal of studying variation associated with vowel devoicing in a large corpus. We will also address the questions of validity and of efficiency of the automated process in comparison to manual time alignment. Time permitting, we will include results of using Prosodylab-Aligner for Shoshoni, another language that exhibits variable vowel-devoicing.

Contrast and comparison in linguistic analysis:

Cross-disciplinarity in practise

Sali A. Tagliamonte

University of Toronto

Analytic methods in linguistics are notoriously discipline-specific and difficult to reconcile across sub-domains of intellectual inquiry due to varying ideas, assumptions and ideology (Cheshire, 1987; Cornips & Corrigan, 2005; Mufwene, 1994). However, there is a growing consensus in formal theory that optionality in linguistic data is relevant and must be taken into account (e.g. Adger & Trousdale, 2007; Biberauer & Richards, 2006). This workshop will confront this issue directly by challenging four analysts to address the same research question - what explains alternation between *was/is* and *were/are* in existential constructions, as in (1)?

(1) There were. Because we didn't belong to the school board. There was only a handful of parents. So there was no buses, no transportation for our children. And they did that for years until we got under the jurisdiction of the school board 'til there were more towns. (John Regan, 84)

Participants

Graeme Trousdale, University of Edinburgh - construction grammar

Diane Massam, University of Toronto - theoretical syntax

Jenny Cheshire, Queen Mary University of London - variation and discourse

Rosalind Temple, Oxford University - sociophonetics

These scholars were selected because their recent research specifically addresses variation, but their intellectual interests take them to varying degrees outside the variationist paradigm. Each scholar (along with the convenor) will demonstrate his or her methods and analysis by taking the audience through the steps of their research practise with the phenomenon of optional existential agreement as a case study. Scrutiny of the

same feature from different analytic traditions will provide the ultimate opportunity for contrast. Further, the novelty of a consistent data set will create the ideal test for discerning the pros and cons of each method's argumentation and interpretation. The data comes from two small communities in a peripheral location in Ontario where there is robust variation in these constructions and a contrastive sociolinguistic typology - mining town vs. farming community; hierarchical social structure versus co-operative economy; mixed ethnic groups vs. British founders. What insights will one approach offer that the others do not and what will a synthesis of the results reveal? Each scholar will address one of the most compelling issues for cross-disciplinary research in linguistics - the dialectic between grammar vs. usage and/or structure vs. practise. Both presenters and participants will go away with enhanced knowledge of the phenomena in (1), but most importantly greater knowledge of different ways of approaching data as well as an increased understanding of the practicalities of cross-disciplinary concerns and prospects. Due to the fact that these linguistic phenomena are ubiquitous across varieties of English, it is hoped that the workshop will generate future research (potentially collaborative) on the same topic by attendees, participants and presenters.

References

- Adger, D. & Trousdale, G. 2007. Variation in English syntax: theoretical implications. *English Language and Linguistics* 11(2): 261-278.
- Biberauer, T. & Richards, M. 2006. True optionality: When the grammar doesn't mind. In Boeckx, C. (ed.), *Minimalist essays*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 35-67.
- Cheshire, Jenny 1987. Syntactic variation, the linguistic variable, and sociolinguistic theory. *Linguistics* 25: 257-282.
- Cornips, L. & Corrigan, K., eds. 2005. *Syntax and variation: Reconciling the biological and the social*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1994. Theoretical linguistics and variation analysis: Strange bedfellows? In Beals, K., Denton, J., Knippen, R., Melnar, L., Suzuki, H. & Zeinfeld, E. (eds.), *Papers from the parasession on language variation and linguistic theory*. Chicago Linguistics Society. 202-217.

Wikipedia editathon

Gretchen McCulloch
Mental Floss

Help improve linguistics-related articles on Wikipedia! Wikipedia is the seventh most visited site on the internet, but many of its linguistics articles are incomplete, out of date, or in need of attention from actual linguists. Editing Wikipedia has a tremendous impact on the perception of our field and is useful practice in explaining linguistics in a neutral and accessible manner. This workshop, led by Gretchen McCulloch, will provide training in editing Wikipedia for complete beginners, plus time and support for independent or small-group editing by beginners and more experienced editors. We'll be focusing on three main areas: linguistics stubs (too-short articles), under-documented languages, and biographic articles of female linguists, linguists of colour, and other under-represented linguists.

What's next: Linguistics training and professional paths

Anastasia Nylund
Georgetown University

This workshop is designed for linguistics students and faculty who are curious about the professional application of linguistics training beyond the traditional faculty path. The workshop will offer hands-on practice and resources that can form the foundation of your individual career exploration. We will begin by reflecting on the transferrable skills that students acquire through linguistics training, and move on to creating authentic, portable examples that can be used to demonstrate various aspects of your professional abilities. Finally, we will discuss some example of real job listings where linguists can distinguish themselves, and strategies for applying.

Anastasia's bio at the MLC website:
<https://mlc.linguistics.georgetown.edu/people/directors/>

Going cross-cultural in sociolinguistics

Aria Adli #296

In this paper we will lay out essential methodological steps for developing a cross-cultural sociolinguistic approach, and put forward essential questions based on the analyses of fieldwork data from Paris, Barcelona, and Tehran.

In spite of the great advances in variationist sociolinguistics in the last decades, a major limitation is the fact that the great majority of studies are done on English, some on Spanish and French, but very few on other languages. Likewise, studies on non-Western societies are massively underrepresented. My claim is that we do not only need more studies on other languages and societies, but also a framework to compare different languages and different societies. This framework would not only allow us to better address cultural and linguistic contact in metropolises around the world but to compare linguistic behavior across societies. An essential question is how we can disentangle general principles of sociolinguistic variation from community-specific ones.

In a first step, we will discuss the challenges in *defining cross-culturally valid social variables*. A major criterion is how to ensure conceptual, operational, and implementational *equivalence* (van de Vijver & Leung, 2010). In our study, which is based on a total of 255 speakers from the above mentioned metropolises, the comparison of socio-demographic indicators are least problematic (but not fully unproblematic). The comparison of socio-economic indicators is challenging but to some extent possible due to different proven classifications from the UN. However, the comparison of the subjective side of social structure, namely lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1979), is (expectedly) a core issue, requiring genuine interdisciplinary work between sociolinguistics and sociology. Our approach builds on the identification of four lifestyle dimensions assumed to be valid in all three metropolises, namely leisure, media, appearance, values, which are operationalized partly by a common set of items and partly by

culture-specific ones. Then, lifestyle groups are calculated using principle component analysis and cluster analysis.

In a second step, we will discuss the challenges in *defining cross-linguistic variables*, i.e. linguistic variables that are comparable across (several) languages. We use insight from Greenberg (1963) and Haspelmath (2010), and argue that for each investigated language, a *descriptive category* with optional forms has to be defined such that it can be captured by a single *comparative concept*. This is illustrated with optional subject pronouns (in French the variation between subject doubling such as *moi je* 'I_{strong} I_{weak}' and simple subjects such as *je* 'I_{weak}', in Spanish and Persian the variation between overt subjects such as Spanish *yo* 'I' and null).

In a third step, we conduct a cross-cultural study on lifestyle and optional subject pronouns. We find a significant effect for French ($p < 0.036$), a significant effect for Spanish (0.038), but no effect for Persian. We will show that this variation has a different social meaning in the French sample as compared to the Spanish one. Finally, we will put forth what we think are a series of essential questions on our way towards cross-cultural sociolinguistics, for example: What is the range of indexicalities across cultures? Or, are there linguistic constraints that are encountered more often across languages and communities (such as markedness or information structure)?

Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Greenberg, J. H. (1963). Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Greenberg, J. H. (ed.), *Universals of Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 73–112.

Haspelmath, M. (2010). The interplay between comparative concepts and descriptive categories (Reply to Newmeyer). *Language* 86(3): 696–699.

van de Vijver, Fons J. R. & Leung, K (2010). Equivalence and Bias: A Review of Concepts, Models, and Data Analytic Procedures. In Matsumoto, D. & van de Vijver, F. J. R. (eds.), *Cross-Cultural Research Methods in Psychology*. New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 17–45.

Productive much?: The Evolution of X Much? Constructions

Meghan Armstrong, Katie Carmichael #328

Speakers use the X much? construction to make an evaluative comment about an event in the immediate surroundings (e.g. Walk much?). Here we examine both acceptability and perceived use of X much through an online questionnaire, in turn helping us to better understand the evolution of the categories (i.e. nouns, adjectives, etc.) that fill the X slot in the construction, as well as its social meaning. Results show age-related differences in acceptability for X slot categories. The acceptability judgments suggest that the construction developed from elliptical questions featuring neutral verbs (?walk much??), becoming more productive in terms of the categories appearing in the X slot. Women and gay men are perceived to use more innovative X slot categories. In addition to documenting actual use of linguistic variables, gathering information about perceived use could also provide an important indicator of how language change is proceeding, and who the innovators are.

The role of duration in perception of vowel merger

Lacey Arnold #340

This study examines the effects of duration on perception of /u/, /ʊ/, and /o/ in pre-lateral contexts in Youngstown, an Ohio community that exhibits multiple patterns of merger/distinction among these phonemes, in order to determine 1) whether Youngstown participants utilize duration when discriminating between vowel classes and 2) whether stimuli ambiguity or participants' merged production/perception influences the degree to which duration is utilized.

Participants ($N=41$) were administered a forced-choice discrimination task with stimuli consisting of base tokens ($N=26$) from the participants' production data; each base token was manipulated in Praat to produce four new

stimuli with durations of 99.5ms, 194ms, 288.5ms, and 383ms, yielding 104 total target stimuli; 46 distractors were also included.

Results suggest that participants consistently use duration in discriminating between the /u/-/ʊ/ and /u/-/o/ pairs regardless of the ambiguity of the stimuli or the merged/distinct production/perception of speaker.

Looking at contemporary Picard from different angles: the relevance of variationist methods for European language policy

Julie Auger, Anne-Jose Villeneuve #

In this paper, we argue that an evaluation of morphosyntactic convergence between Picard and French must consider multiple dependent variables, comparing rates of (co-)occurrence of Picard-like and French-like variants and linguistic factors that condition variation across the two varieties.

Contemporary spoken data from interviews with Picard–French bilinguals and French monolinguals were analyzed. While the use of the inflected or periphrastic future shows convergence based on frequency, linguistic conditioning in Picard differs from that in French. Subject doubling, negative ne deletion, and auxiliary selection display significant differences between the two varieties.

While our Picard corpus does not always provide sufficient token counts for multivariate analysis the intersection of variables reveals that the differences between Picard and French are qualitative and not purely quantitative.

In the context of the debate over the status of Northern France's obsolescent varieties, our data provide empirical evidence for a mental grammar in Picard distinct from that of French.

Perceptions of raised BOUGHT and TH-stopping: Varying indexicalities of New York City English features

Soubeika Bahri, Marie-Eve Bouchard, Daniel Duncan, Natalie Povilonis de Vilchez [#299](#)

This perception study assesses whether NYC-area natives equally evaluate a raised BOUGHT vowel and TH-stopping, both historically NYCE features. Online participants heard five short clips from young, white, female YouTube vloggers: four New Yorkers, and one Midwesterner as a control. Participants then answered several types of questions about the speakers: affective traits using a Likert scale, occupation, education level, and place of origin. Results indicate that raised BOUGHT and TH-stopping continue to index NYC, but not necessarily with the same negative weight. We suggest that varying indexical fields explain the varied evaluations: as NYCE features, both index the mean, aloof, white ethnic New Yorker; but TH-stopping is additionally indexed as working class. While raised BOUGHT is evaluated negatively as a NYCE feature, this may be overcome by content. However, TH-stopping is always negatively evaluated regardless of content, as it indexes both a New Yorker persona and a working-class one.

Automatic detection of sociolinguistic variation in forced-alignment

George Bailey [#130](#)

The emergence of forced alignment and automatic vowel extraction is arguably one of the most important methodological advances in modern-day sociolinguistics, particularly with the current trend of employing ‘big data’ on an unprecedented scale (Fruehwald 2015). This study investigates the possibility of using forced alignment, namely FAVE-align, to fully automate the coding of three sociolinguistic variables in British English: (th)-fronting, (td)-deletion, and (h)-dropping. This involved the expansion of pronouncing dictionaries to reflect the surface output of these variable rules; FAVE then compares the fit of competing acoustic

models with the speech signal to determine the surface variant. It does so with an impressive degree of accuracy, comparable to inter-transcriber agreement for all variables; however, the pattern of its mistakes, which are largely false positives, suggests a difficulty in identifying the voiceless segments of (td) and (th).

The sociolinguistics of an incipient sound change: a parallel shift of the front-upgliding vowels in Manchester English

Maciej Baranowski [#301](#)

This paper discusses a previously unreported change in progress in Manchester involving the entire sub-system of front-upgliding vowels, i.e. CHOICE, PRICE, FACE, and FLEECE. The study is based on a sample of 123 informants stratified by age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and neighbourhood. Formant measurements are obtained in Praat—by hand for 25 speakers and in FAVE for 98 speakers—and are subjected to mixed-effects modelling. All four vowels are undergoing fronting in apparent time, showing a moderate but significant effect of age on F2 in the same direction. FACE and FLEECE also share the effect of position in the word, suggesting a structural connection. In addition, all four vowels display similar social conditioning, with the lower classes leading the fronting in each case. These results suggest that a parallel shift affecting a whole natural class, i.e. the sub-system of front-upgliding vowels, is in progress in Manchester English.

T/D-deletion in British English revisited: Evidence for the long-lost morphological effect

Maciej Baranowski, Danielle Turton [#307](#)

Although many studies of American English have replicated the effect that monomorphemes (e.g. mist) delete t/d more frequently than past-tense forms (e.g. missed),

this effect has not been found in previous studies of British English.

This study is based on a sample of 95 speakers of Manchester English, stratified by age, gender, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. The interviews are transcribed in ELAN and forced-aligned in FAVE. The data are subjected to mixed-effects modelling in R.

The results show the existence of a robust morphological effect between monomorphemes and past-tense forms, which remains when preceding segment is introduced into the model. Voicing, following and preceding segment are also significant. The effect of frequency is not significant, in both Zipfian log-scaled frequencies from SUBTLEX and the BNC.

We conclude that previous studies have been premature in their dismissal of the morphological effect, and that the effect may come out with large enough datasets representing a coherent speech community.

Attentive speech and clear speech in Quebec French diphthongization

Liam Bassford, Peter Milne & Morgan Sonderegger [#224](#)

The sociolinguistic “attention to speech” and the acoustic-phonetic “clear speech” continua refer to two intuitively similar forms of phonetic style-shifting. Clearer speech and more attentive speech are slower and less reduced; additionally, socially stigmatized variants *usually* require less articulatory effort. We studied the diphthongization of the long /ɛ:/ vowel in Québec French, where the nonstandard diphthongized variant was hypothesized to be suppressed in *more* formal speech, and *less* clear speech. If so, then formal speech is not necessarily clear speech and vice versa.

We measured tokens from prepared and spontaneous speech for diphthongization and speech clarity. *Slower* speaking rates and *more* spontaneous speech were associated with greater diphthongization, suggesting that the

intuitive correlation between formal speech and clear speech can be reversed. Female speakers showed a lower binary *perceptual* rate of diphthongization, but a higher *acoustic* rate of diphthongization, suggesting that they diphthongize less frequently but more radically.

Prosodic rhythm in Asian American English

Carina Bauman [#313](#)

This paper discusses prosodic rhythm in the English of a group of Asian American college women. Previous research has shown that ethnic varieties such as Hispanic English and American Indian English are more syllable-timed than standard English, a difference attributed to a substrate effect from a syllable-timed L1. Given that many Asian Americans also speak syllable-timed L1s, it is hypothesized that their English will show a similar rhythmic tendency.

The data come from sociolinguistic interviews with 19 speakers of Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Filipina descent. Following previous research, a Pairwise Variability Index [PVI] score was calculated for each speaker. On average, the Asian American speakers have a PVI of .46, lower than that reported by Thomas & Carter (2006) for European American (.52) and African American (.53) speakers, and comparable to other syllable-timed ethnolects. These findings support the hypothesis that syllable-timing is a feature of Asian American English.

Deep in the Hear(t) of Texas: Coronal Stop Deletion in a Rural South Texas Community

Robert Bayley, Dan Villarreal [#257](#)

This paper examines the well-studied variable of coronal stop deletion (CSD) by residents of “North Town” (a pseudonym), a rural community in south Texas where Mexican Americans comprise more than 85% of the population, while Anglos comprise only 10%. Multivariate analysis of more than 3300 tokens

extracted from sociolinguistic interviews with 31 Mexican Americans and 13 Anglos reveals a number of differences between constraint effects on CSD in North Town vs. other North American English varieties. As in other studies of Latin@ English, the surrounding phonological environment has the greatest effect on CSD, including among Anglos. Unlike other varieties, CSD occurs following /r/, a result that may reflect the influence of the Spanish substrate among Latin@ speakers. In contrast to Anglo varieties, past participles, regular past tense forms, and participial adjectives differ in their effects.

Creaky voice in a diverse gender sample: Challenging ideologies about sex, gender, and creak in American English

Kara Becker, Sameer Ud Dowla Khan, Lal Zimman [#285](#)

This study investigates creaky voice in a sample of 15 speakers of American English evenly distributed for three variables related to sex and gender: sex assigned at birth, current hormonal sex, and self-reported gender identity. Vowels from two styles were auditorily coded for voice quality. A logistic regression found no main effect of self-identification as female or male on use of creaky voice; speakers on each side of the binary use creak. However, the interaction of gender identity and sex assigned at birth are significant predictors of creaky voice; transgender men use the most creak (31% of vowels), while cisgender men use the least (6%), problematizing any simplistic connection between masculinity or femininity and creak. The results illustrate that creak's indexical potential extends beyond the traditional gendered categories of woman and man, challenging the dominant ideologies about who uses creaky voice in American English.

Diverging social perceptions: coda (-r) and variable number agreement in São Paulo Portuguese

Ronald Beline Mendes, Livia Oushiro [#371](#)

The social stratification of coda (-r) and NP number agreement in São Paulo Portuguese is very similar (both correlate with sex/gender, education and social class), but the variables diverge in terms of their social perceptions. This paper compares the results of two matched-guise experiments, focusing on percepts of intelligence and effeminacy, which are relevant for NP agreement, but not for coda (-r). In both experiments, participants listened to digitally manipulated stimuli controlling for these linguistic variables and filled out a questionnaire containing differential semantic scales of how educated, masculine/feminine, intelligent, formal etc. speakers sounded. Data were analyzed in mixed-effects models in R. The results show that correlations found in production analyses cannot be readily interpreted as indices of social identities. Percepts of education are ideologically linked to intelligence and effeminacy for NP agreement, but not for coda (-r), for which education is more closely attached to notions of class.

Totally tall sounds totally younger. A socio-semantic study

Andrea Beltrama [#341](#)

Intensifiers have been investigated from both a sociolinguistic and a semantic/pragmatic perspective. Yet, the relationship between these two components has not been systematically explored. This paper addresses this question by showing that *totally's* social meaning is indeed affected by the type of *semantic scale* targeted by the intensifier. Based on a social perception study, I show that where an attitude scale is targeted, the social meaning of *totally* is systematically more prominent than when a lexical scale is available. With *really* instead, which always targets a lexical scale regardless of boundedness, the social meaning is not sensitive to the Adjective

type. This result provides further evidence that the social meaning of a variable is conditioned by its semantic/pragmatic properties, consistent with recent findings in the literature (Acton and Potts 2014, Glass 2015).

Processing Across Language Varieties: The Misinterpretation of African American English BIN by Adult Speakers of Standard American English

Tim Beyer, Karly Edwards, Caitlin Fuller
#113

Many linguistic differences between African American English (AAE) and Standard American English (SAE) appear as false cognates - forms that are similar in phonology, but different in function. This may cause AAE-speakers to underperform on tests that require SAE knowledge. But do SAE-speakers underperform when AAE knowledge is required? We tested this question by examining how AAE- and SAE-speakers perceive, produce, and interpret *stressed BIN*, a tense/aspectual marker that indicates the remote past in AAE, and is likely a false cognate for SAE-speakers. We found that while both groups perceive and produce the phonetic characteristics that differentiate *stressed BIN* from *unstressed been*, only AAE-speakers correctly assigned sentences containing *stressed BIN* to the remote past in a comprehension task; the SAE-speakers did not. This demonstrates that the ability to perceive and produce meaningful grammatical cues in another variety of English does not automatically lead to successful interpretation in that variety.

Intersecting Words, Intersecting Languages: Liaison in Cajun French Between 1940 and 2010

Darcie Blainey #351

In French liaison, a linking consonant appears between two words in particular contexts. Crucially, when said in isolation, neither word includes this consonant: mes ([me] 'my') + amis

([ami] 'friends') → mes amis ([mezami] 'my friends'). This study examines data from 1939, 1977 and 2010. Two hours of phonemic transcriptions from 38 Louisiana Regional ('Cajun') French speakers produce 3,186 word pairs for analysis. The function of liaison /z/ contracts between 1939 and 1977, becoming almost exclusively a morphological plural marker. Also, the rate of liaison increases between 1940 (23%) and 1977 (28%), decreasing again in 2010 careful (25%) and less careful (23%) speech. Regression analyses examine sociolinguistic and linguistic variables to scrutinize the changing dynamics of liaison in the absence of a written code, language contact with English, and language variation in a tightknit community over 70 years. The discussion explores how findings intersect with theoretical models of French liaison.

Internal relations among the short vowels of Canadian English

Charles Boberg #289

This paper examines the theory of vocalic chain shifts, which predicts that the positions of shifting vowels will be correlated, by measuring correlations among the vowels involved in the Canadian Vowel Shift (CVS). Productions of 100 words by each of 61 speakers of Canadian English were analyzed acoustically. Mean formant measures for each vowel were compared with Pearson correlation coefficients. The positions of the three front vowels involved in the CVS are indeed correlated in a classic chain shift, with r values over 0.5 ($p < 0.005$). The position of TRAP, however, is not correlated with that of LOT/THOUGHT ($r = .09$; n.s.), which has been proposed as the initiating condition for the shift. This, together with other evidence discussed in the paper, suggests that the CVS may be a socially motivated set of parallel retractions rather than a true pull shift.

Gay Identity and /s/ Variation in French and German L2 English Speakers

Zachary Boyd [#196](#)

Previous studies of the interaction between language, gender, and sexual orientation have shown /s/ variation to be a robust correlate for indexing gayness and non-normative masculinity. Expanding on previous sociophonetic work, the present study explores the potential to which /s/ may index gay identity in bilingual French and German men. Drawing on L1 and L2 (English) speech data, results show gay speakers to produce /s/ with higher spectral peak, higher center of gravity, and more negative skew than straight speakers. These results are consistent with previous findings showing /s/ variation to index sexual orientation in monolingual gay men’s speech. The marked distinctions between the gay and straight speakers’ /s/ production are maintained in both the L1 and L2. These preliminary results indicate that /s/ variation may be a socially conditioned feature for these speakers providing preliminary evidence of this feature’s cross-culturally salient indexical meaning.

When phonological variation tells us about prosody

Natália Brambatti Guzzo, Guilherme Garcia [#276](#)

This paper shows that pronominal and non-pronominal clitics in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) differ with regard to frequency of vowel reduction. We argue that this fact as well as differences in morphosyntactic behaviour suggest that these clitics belong to separate prosodic domains. We examined sociolinguistic data (32 speakers, equally distributed across two genders, four age groups, and two areas of residence) from the Italian Immigration Area in southern Brazil, a region in which vowel reduction in clitic position is still variable (it is categorical in standard BP). We analyzed clitic *se*, which can be both pronominal (3SG/PL. REFL; passive marker; indefinite pronoun) and

non-pronominal (conditional). We found that non-pronominal clitics are significantly more likely to reduce than pronominal clitics ($\beta = -0.94, p < 0.00001$). We also found that the rate of vowel reduction gradually increases as speakers’ age range decreases, which indicates change in progress.

Ness-less-ness: Zero-derived adjectival nominals in Internet forum data

Marisa Brook, Emily Blamire [#377](#)

We examine the variable deletion of suffixes indicating nominalized adjectives, e.g. made of awesome \emptyset versus made of awesomeness – the zero form being stylistic and colloquial. Preliminary data come from 9,000,000 words of Internet language from the forums of the popular webcomic xkcd. Results show a staggered onset of the zero form across nominalized adjectives, with awesome \emptyset , crazy \emptyset , and happy \emptyset catching on earlier and stupid and smug \emptyset being more recent. We also propose that the variation is governed by psycholinguistic parsing effects on top of syntactic factors. Prepositional phrases are particularly conducive to nominal suffix deletion (e.g. [made [PP of awesome \emptyset]]). Similar is the finding that zero forms are only very seldom found in subject position. We suggest that the suffixes –ness and –ity become deletable only when the morphosyntactic context makes the word-class of the nominal overwhelmingly obvious – and when they are unlikely to trigger garden-path ambiguities.

A redo of a previous sound change? The effect of frequency in favorable contexts on /f/ reduction in Modern Spanish

Earl Brown, Matthew Alba [#14](#)

An analysis is performed of the acoustic energy of 1,081 tokens of word-initial /f/ in the speech of 38 speakers of Mexican Spanish. The results suggest that the frequency with which words occur in phonological contexts favorable to reduction (FRC) conditions the reduction of /f/,

even after taking into account the phonological context of the moment. Despite this, it is also found that the conditioning effect of FRC is less robust than the influence of the phonological context of the moment, thus confirming the preeminence in these data of the online articulatory factors in comparison to the usage-based frequency factors.

Phonological and phonetic variation in list intonation in Jewish English

Rachel Steindel Burdin [#272](#)

Some variation in the American Jewish English repertoire is closely linked with generational distance from immigration and contact with Yiddish. This study examines list intonation, which has found to vary phonologically within Jewish English, by comparing Jewish English with co-territorial varieties of English, and examining phonetic variation in list intonation, using a semi-spontaneous elicitation task. Phonological and phonetic differences were found based both on religion (Jewish or not) and language background (Yiddish-speaking or not): on list items, Yiddish speakers were significantly less likely to use rises, and more likely to use plateaus, on certain types of lists compared to non-Yiddish speakers. In addition, Jewish speakers used larger fundamental frequency ranges than non-Jewish speakers, and Yiddish speakers produced larger rise-falls than non-Yiddish speakers (both Jewish and not). These results suggest that distinctive intonation is a part of the Jewish English repertoire, and variation in that repertoire based on contact with Yiddish.

Probabilistic Minimalist Grammars for the Analysis of Syntactic Variation

Heather Burnett [#114](#)

In recent years, there has been growing interest in the grammatical modelling of intra-speaker syntactic variation. For example, probabilistic grammatical treatments of the shape and conditioning factors of variable

phenomena such as voice alternations (Bresnan et al., 2001) (ex. *You see the man vs The man is seen by you*), argument structure alternations (Bresnan and Hay 2008) (ex. *John gave a book to Mary vs John gave Mary a book*), and variable negative concord (de Swart 2010) (*I (don't) see no one*) have been developed for constraint-based frameworks, and, within derivational frameworks, both probabilistic (Nevins and Parrot 2008) and non-probabilistic (Adger 2006, Adger and Smith 2010, a.o.) analyses of the variable realization of certain kinds of agreement morphology have been proposed. However, derivational treatments of the kinds of syntactic alternations cited above have yet to be developed. This paper aims to provide a general probabilistic derivational framework for the analysis of variable syntactic phenomena, and, in doing so, contribute to cross-disciplinary communication between the fields of formal syntax and language variation and change. More precisely, we give a probabilistic extension of Stabler's *Minimalist Grammars* (MGs) (Stabler 1997, a.o.), which formalize the key aspects of Chomsky's *Minimalist Program*.

MGs adopt a very strong version of the *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture*: variation between grammars reduces to variation in feature specifications of lexical items. Thus, every MG can be given as a list of lexical items with their appropriate features.

Since MGs are given by listing the lexicon, the probability distribution over the rules that generate the lexicon defines a probability distribution over the MGs themselves. Thus, the formalism captures the intuition that syntactic variation is a kind of 'switching' between grammars made available by UG (Kroch 1989), while avoiding the proliferation of grammars inside the speaker's head. Finally, we give a short illustration of the utility of this framework through a grammatical analysis of person hierarchy effects in English voice alternations (Bresnan et al. 2001).

Multiple Realizations of Creaky Voice: Evidence for Phonetic and Sociolinguistic Change in Phonation

Patrick Callier, Robert Podesva

Although recent work in phonetics has established multiple articulatory bases for creaky phonation (Slifka 2006), with distinct acoustic reflexes (Garellek and Keating 2015), sociolinguists have not considered how the multiple realizations of creak are socially distributed. This paper reports on a large-scale acoustic investigation of conversational data, demonstrating that creaky voice exhibits distinct acoustic properties depending on phrase position and that positional effects are weakening over time, as younger speakers expand the range of prosodic environments in which they creak.

Sociolinguistic interviews with 93 white speakers from California's Central Valley were transcribed and force-aligned. Measures of spectral tilt ($H1^*-H2^*$, Di Canio 2009) and periodicity (cepstral peak prominence, or CPP) were made for all vowels, each of which was also coded by a neural network classifier trained to detect creaky voice (Kane et al. 2013).

Mixed effects regression models reveal that, in addition to the expected linguistic factors, several social factors condition the realization of creaky voice: women are creakier than men overall; like younger women, older women exhibit high levels of creak; and younger men, who are creakier than older men, creak almost as much as young women. Results also show a weakening in apparent time of positional constraints on creaky voice. All age cohorts exhibit the well established (e.g., Henton and Bladon 1988) preference for creak in phrase-final position, but as speaker age decreases, creak is increasingly licensed at earlier phrase positions. We infer that the increased incidence of creaky voice among younger speakers may be due to its spreading into previously disfavored prosodic contexts.

We further observe distinctive acoustic properties of creak appearing in (previously disfavored) non-final position, suggesting different articulatory configurations in different environments. In a hand-coded subset of 500 randomly selected phrases, we compared phrases exhibiting creak on or after the nuclear phrase accent (final creak) and those with one or more syllables of creak before the nuclear accent (extensive non-final creak). Phrases with final creak decrease in periodicity (CPP) across the phrase, for both men and women, but men's $H1^*-H2^*$ increases across the phrase in such contexts, whereas women's decreases. This divergence indicates that men and women implement final creak using different articulatory mechanisms, both of which result in irregular phonation but which may diverge in their level of overall glottal tension (cf. Slifka 2006). This sex-class difference does not hold in contexts of extensive non-final creak, which is uniformly characterized by low or dipping periodicity (CPP) and increased glottal tension (lower $H1^*-H2^*$).

We conclude that non-final creak's differing acoustic profile among younger speakers reflects a different articulation, and potentially distinctive perceptual quality, compared to the final creak of all age cohorts. This may offer a partial explanation for creaky voice's recent appearance in public discourse and points to the importance of attention to phonetic detail in the analysis of multidimensional variables like phonation. Although a single acoustic measurement may not always be available as a proxy for a phenomenon of interest, this paper offers a strategy for incorporating multiple measures into a single analysis.

On the difficulty of ignoring irrelevant sociolinguistic information

Kathryn Campbell-Kibler, Elizabeth McCullough #[38](#)

The third wave has raised questions about the conscious control speakers exercise over their behavior, including over sociolinguistic perception. Two experiments tested listeners' ability to suppress audio or visual information in assessments of accentedness (N = 449) or good-lookingness (N = 442) of 15 targets. In the "speaker" condition, the face and voice were presented as a unified talker. In the "face" condition, listeners were told that the face and voice were different people and asked to rate only the face, with the converse for the "voice" condition.

Results show that instructions to ignore a modality led to substantial but incomplete reduction. Only the "voice" condition for accentedness completely eliminated irrelevant input. Perceived face-voice match mediated influence of irrelevant info in some conditions. The contribution of a given cue to perception depends on multiple factors, including explicitly accessible relevance, conceptual relevance, and perceived congruence with other cues.

Study of the Inuktitut Transitive Alternation in the Multidialectal Community of Resolute Bay

Julien Carrier #[132](#)

This study analyses a case of new dialect-formation resulting from the High Arctic relocation by examining the variation between the three transitive constructions in Inuktitut (i.e. the ergative, the antipassive and the passive), using a variationist sociolinguistic approach. In the 1950's, the Canadian government relocated several Inuit families from Nunavik and North Baffin into two uninhabited areas in the High Arctic, which are now the communities of Resolute Bay and Grise Fiord. Although mutually intelligible, the dialects spoken by those two groups have

different properties. As for the three transitive constructions, their alternation is still not well understood and many factors are involved (e.g. Bittner 1987, Manga 1996, Carrier 2012). Interestingly, data collected in Resolute Bay in 2014 shows that the younger generation has been influenced more by the group from Nunavik since both of them present gradual signs of 'fading ergativity', whereas the group from North Baffin does not.

Looks like change, dunnit? Negative polarity tags in three varieties of British English

Claire Childs #[34](#)

Negative tags belong to one of three groups depending on the extent of their phonological reduction: (1) full (e.g. isn't it?); (2) reduced (e.g. int it?); (3) coalesced (e.g. innit?). These types represent three consecutive stages of reduction characteristic of grammaticalisation (Andersen 2001). My analysis of c.1,000 tokens of negative tags from speech corpora (1997-2012) explores whether this process is advancing consistently in three communities – Glasgow (Scotland), Tyneside (NE England) and Salford (NW England).

Consistent social trends in usage show that the communities are undergoing the same change, but the magnitude of these effects and the overall frequencies reveal each locality's stage along the trajectory, Tyneside being the least advanced. While functional correlates of discourse-pragmatic variables are often constant cross-dialectally (Tagliamonte & Denis 2014), correlations between tag form and function in my data have variety-specific nuances, reflecting speakers' 'continual negotiation of meaning' (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 98) during grammaticalisation.

Indexing racial and local identities: A preliminary examination of phonological variation in two New Orleans neighborhoods

Lauren Colomb #[343](#)

New Orleans' linguistic complexity is understudied. Most treatments of New Orleans English focus on working-class Whites ("Yats"), but discussions addressing African American speech in New Orleans make essentializing references to AAE. Similar folk discussions, however, embrace the variation found across the city. Yat is understood as uniquely authentic, which is problematic because it suggests that authenticity is limited to working-class Whites. Nevertheless, there are a striking number of linguistic similarities across racial lines. This paper explores these similarities by examining interviews from speakers from two socioculturally comparable neighborhoods, the Lower Ninth Ward, which is primarily African American, and St. Bernard Parish, primarily White. This paper explores the ways that speakers index locally salient identities through phonological variation across these neighborhood (and correspondingly racial) boundaries. Some features are uniquely shared, some are associated with generalized AAE, and some index a specifically African American New Orleanian identity, distinct from the aforementioned categories.

The Future's Path in Three Acadian French Varieties

Philip Comeau, Ruth King, Carmen Leblanc #[162](#)

In recent years, there has been an explosion of variationist studies of future temporal reference in French on both sides of the Atlantic. The present study focuses on older speakers for Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia; Îles de la Madeleine, Quebec; and L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland, communities which differ considerably in their settlement patterns and contact histories across time. The comparison reveals different stages of the

grammaticalization of the periphrastic future: 1) the results for BSM, the community with the least contact, show vestiges of the earliest stage of grammaticalization of this variant, since it functions to mark imminence more so than general proximity; 2) both BSM and AC results mirror those of earlier Acadian research in that temporal distance but not polarity is selected as significant; and 3) for IM, we see a system which shares aspects of both Acadian and Laurentian systems with significant effects for both temporal distance and polarity.

The Gap Effect in Quantitative Sociolinguistics

Patricia Cukor-Avila, Guy Bailey #[300](#)

This paper identifies an issue unique to longitudinal studies that can create significant problems when interpreting results – the GAP EFFECT. The GAP EFFECT refers to the linguistic consequences of breaks in contact between fieldworker and informant. These gaps often result in a diminution of the familiarity between fieldworker and informant and a consequent reduction in the use of stigmatized forms in the first interview after a gap; during subsequent interviews their use increases approaching levels before gaps. Zero copula and zero 3rd singular data from the Springville panel study illustrate how the GAP EFFECT can lead to erroneous inferences about changes in linguistic behavior. The data suggest gaps of over two years lead to a decline in zero. It would be easy to attribute the decline to changes in linguistic behavior, but as subsequent interviews show, what appears to be a change in linguistic behavior is only the GAP EFFECT.

Variation in the signal: Remnants of social correlation in a completed sound change

Meg Cychosz #[159](#)

This study examines perceived masculinity associated with palatal devoicing in Buenos Aires Spanish (see 1). Perceived masculinity is

defined as how listeners perceive speech and assign speaker masculinity. Two populations of L1 Spanish speakers, Buenos Aires Spanish and peninsular Spanish, completed two perception tasks: 1) AXB discrimination and 2) matched-guise in which participants ranked the variant along a masculinity scale. For the stimuli, three variants were utilized: [j], [ʒ], and an acoustically synthesized variant between the two. Results show that the listener groups did not significantly differ on the AXB discrimination task. Concerning the social task, differences between groups suggest that even a completed sound change may demonstrate social stratification. Finally, these results show the importance of expanding binary [+/- voiced] variants for a more fine-grained acoustic analysis. With such methodology, this work looks to contribute to acoustic approaches to sociophonetics and variationist sociolinguistics.

1. lei[ʒ]ure to lea[j]es
“leisure” “leashes”

Variation patterns in bilingual speech: adversative words in South Tyrolean

Silvia Dal Negro, Simone Ciccolone [#117](#)

The hypothesis that different categories of adversative words are treated differently in situations of language contact is tested against a corpus of German dialect collected in South Tyrol, an officially bilingual region in Northern Italy where different degrees of individual and community bilingualism coexist. In data analysis we consider distributional patterns of Italian *ma* and Tyrolean German *obâr* ‘but’ taking into account both linguistic factors, such as function of adversative particles, occurrence in recurrent word combinations, activation of code-switching, and external factors, such as geographical area within the region, degree of bilingualism, situational variation.

The analysis confirms that distributional patterns of *ma* and *obâr* do not overlap, in that borrowed *ma* tends to crystallize in very frequent fixed formulas, whereas *obâr* occurs in a much greater variety of word combinations.

However, a broadening in the uses of *ma* is correlated with a more extensive activation of bilingual mode.

Vous vous prenez pour qui_hhh?: Speaker identity and style in the realization of French final vowel devoicing

Amanda Dalola [#64](#)

Phrase-final vowel devoicing (PFVD), e.g. *mais oui_hhh*, is a phenomenon in Metropolitan French (MF) in which utterance-final vowels devoice and produce fricative-like whistles. It is often associated with Parisians and females in peripheral age groups. This study tests these claims and determines the effects of register, speech rate and affect. 71 native MF speakers completed a two-part reading/role-playing task targeting phrase-final tokens of /i,y,u/. Each target vowel was coded for the presence of PFVD. Measures of age, gender, self-reported Parisianness, place of longest residency, register, speech rate and affect were fitted to a logistic mixed-model regression. Results indicated no significant effect for gender, Parisianness or longest residency, but did find effects for age (PFVD 1.05 times more likely for every 1-year increase), register, speech rate and affect: apathetic >> familiar, formal >> conversational[ref] >> reading, passionate >> careful. This suggests MF speakers adeptly manipulate PFVD for stylistic and social effect

Phonological markers of neighborhood identity in Anchorage, Alaska

Clare Dannenberg, David Bowie [#264](#)

We report on early results of an ongoing research project in Anchorage, Alaska to document two things: The sociophonetics of the region, and linguistic markers (both quantitative and qualitative) of local identity. To investigate the relationship between these, residents of Anchorage were interviewed, with interviews consisting of an open-ended discussion designed to produce narratives (focusing particularly on local geography and

experiences), questions designed to measure degree of local identity, and a reading passage. Earlier research in Anchorage has found evidence of the Third Dialect Shift. In addition, the researchers have observed possible raising of short-*a* before [g]. Acoustic analysis of interviewees' vowel production verifies that both of these are present in Anchorage. Further, the degree to which these features were exhibited correlates with measures of Alaskan and neighborhood identity, which seems to indicate that these are seen as local, rather than supra-regional features.

Race, Gender, and /u/: Social Perceptions of a Less Conscious Sociolinguistic Feature

Zachary De [#149](#)

The current study examines the meaning of the back vowel /u/ in perception and how it is modulated by perceived speaker gender and race. A matched guise test was conducted with speakers who were equally and orthogonally divided by gender (male and female) and race (Black and White). Sentences containing one digitally-manipulated token of /u/ were played to listeners, who rated each recording on several scales, including how feminine and intelligent each speaker sounds. Results indicate that two-thirds of listeners did not report paying attention to the word with the /u/ vowel, yet speaker race played a large role in how these same listeners evaluated /u/. As such, I argue that meanings assigned to features low in explicit awareness are not fixed or uniform, further supporting the idea that listeners make use of everything in the speech signal to form impressions, including features listeners may not be completely conscious of.

Quantifying the Effects of Ambient Noise on Vowel Formant Measurements

Paul De Decker [#338](#)

Sociophoneticians face two problems when it comes to recording casual speech: choose a natural, acoustically-uncontrolled location and

ignore the potentially deleterious effects of ambient sounds, or avoid noisy, natural environments that give rise to vernacular speech styles (Labov 1984) in order to obtain higher quality audio. This paper presents an experimental test of three noise types at five signal-to-noise levels on common vowel format analyses. Findings suggest that while efforts to reduce loud levels of background noise can be useful, it may not always be necessary to confine speakers to sound attenuated booths to make recordings high-enough in quality to perform common sociophonetic analyses.

Let's stay positive: "Positive" anymore and polarity sensitivity in the Northwest

Amie Dejong [#304](#)

A judgment task administered to 19 speakers from Washington and Idaho in three age cohorts shows that non-polarity-sensitive ("positive") *anymore* has spread to some of these regions from other places where previous studies found it robust (the Midwestern US, Pennsylvania, and Appalachia). Further, syntactic and semantic factors related to its distribution are more nuanced than earlier studies suggest. Novel, statistically significant social results include: Idaho speakers (all ages) and the oldest cohort (across regions) are most accepting of *anymore* for all sentence types. Syntactic and semantic results for acceptance of *anymore* show that clause and subject type correlate with acceptance. Evidence supports a hypothesis for two distinct lexical items and dialects, a "positive" versus a polarity-sensitive *anymore*, and not a continuum of dialects allowing *anymore* in more or less negative contexts as Hindle and Sag (1973) propose.

Leaders and laggards: the intersection of sex and gregariousness in change

Derek Denis [#319](#)

Perhaps the most oft-cited finding of twentieth-century sociolinguistics is that women lead linguistic change. While this generalization

adequately describes data from languages and speech communities worldwide, it remains underexplained: Why are women the leaders and men the laggards? If we begin with the not unreasonable assumption that biology plays no role in this difference, we must seek explanation in other factors. This paper examines the intersecting roles of sex and gregariousness (a social-psychological factor argued to be associated with linguistic innovators) in the context of the ongoing Canadian Vowel Shift in Toronto English. Gregariousness correlates well with linguistic innovativeness; in many cases where sex does not. This is in line with those that argue that the observation that women lead change may be (at least partially) reducible to factors that are not related to biological sex but that relate more to differences in socialization, personality traits, and exposure to innovation.

A real time comparison of the lenition of intervocalic /d/ in Spanish: Examining the changes in the sociolinguistic profile from 1987 to 2004-2010.

Manuel Diaz-Campos, Gibran Delgado Diaz, Olga Scrivner [#111](#)

The present investigation contributes to further our knowledge on the pattern of variation involving intervocalic /d/ deletion by comparing corpora from two points in time. While the common practice has been to analyze data impressionistically, in this investigation the dependent variable is defined as continuous by performing adapted acoustic measurements based on Carrasco, Hualde and Simonet's (2012) investigation. The findings reveal that while this phenomenon has been documented since the 17th century and it can be considered a vernacular variant in the speech community, in the most recent period, the sociolinguistic profile has changed. Variation is widespread across all age groups and socioeconomic classes. However, it seems that lenited variants are associated with male speech.

Discourse-pragmatic variation in the L2 context: A case study of Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin, Ireland

Chloe Diskin [#227](#)

This poster presents results from a mixed methods analysis of discourse-pragmatic variation and language ideologies among native Dubliners and recently-arrived Polish and Chinese migrants. The principal research question is whether factors such as nationality, gender, length of residence, proficiency in English, level of education or reason for migrating have an effect on the acquisition of the discourse-pragmatic markers like, you know and I mean, and the quotative system (like, say, go and zero). Fixed and mixed effects regression models are employed to examine quantitative data from 48 sociolinguistic interviews. The results show that the more markedly Irish and non-standard variables, such as clause-final like, or like as a filler or quotative, are employed less by the non-native speakers, particularly the Polish males. The analysis of language ideologies shows that the migrants tend to view Irish English as unusual and sub-standard, which can explain the avoidance of the more marked variables.

Network analysis of sociolinguistic complex contagions

Robin Dodsworth [#238](#)

Do linguistic variables with complex internal factors spread differently through social networks than simpler variables in dialect contact settings? In Raleigh, NC, the Southern Vowel Shift (SVS) has been reversing since 1950 due to migration from outside the South. The raising and fronting of /ae/ (z2-z1 at the vowel nucleus and midpoint) is conditioned by the manner and voicing of the following sound. Community detection procedures identify sub-communities in a 160-speaker sample of the conversational Raleigh corpus. The network is the one-mode projection of a bipartite network

based on school attendance from elementary school onward. Speakers born before the SVS began to reverse all show the same pattern. However, after about 1980, speakers in network clusters corresponding to the older core neighborhoods retain a slightly simplified hierarchy with respect to the following sound, while speakers in the newer, peripheral neighborhoods have lost the internal conditioning of /æ/ altogether.

Nisei style: Vowel dynamism in a second-generation Japanese-American community

Annette D'Onofrio, Janneke Van Hofwegen #364

This study examines vowel dynamism in a second-generation Japanese-American (*nisei*) community. The English spoken by *nisei* born and raised in World War II-era America has been described as distinct from white mainstream American English, with features perhaps derived from Japanese substrate. We instrumentally assess vowel-intrinsic spectral change in FACE and GOAT vowels among 4 *nisei* (all born before 1930) from Livingston, California, as compared with 4 white speakers from the same county, of the same age cohort. Using two measures of spectral change, we find that the *nisei* show systematic differences from their white counterparts. *Nisei* speakers were significantly more monophthongal than white speakers overall, with *nisei* women showing the greatest degree of monophthongization and white women showing the least. While monophthongization may have originated from substrate influence, this gender pattern suggests that this feature has been taken up as a stylistic resource beyond simply marking *nisei* versus white speech.

'Gimme dat ting': Word initial th-stopping among urban British youth

Rob Drummond, Susan Dray #166

This paper reports on the use of word initial th-stopping (/t/ for /θ/ in words such as *thing*,

three, *thump*) in the process of enacting identities in the context of two inner-city PRU (Pupil Referral Unit) learning centres catering for 14-16 year olds who have been excluded from mainstream education for behaviour/discipline issues. We take an ethnographic, practice-based approach which has included recorded data from unguarded interactions inside and outside the classrooms, peer and self-recording on the part of the young people, informal conversations with the researchers, and discussions about language. We argue that th-stopping, a feature traditionally associated in the UK with West Indian/British Creoles, is being used as an (ethnically) unmarked form in everyday interactions, suggesting that hitherto ethnically loaded features are now doing different identity work, and it is by focussing primarily on practices rather than speakers/ethnicities that we can see the process of change most clearly.

The rapid grammaticalization of the English ish-construction: Syntactic change in apparent time

Daniel Duncan #214

Some speakers of American English use *ish* in an innovative way: following a VP (1) or PP (2), even when no adjective is present.

1. I finished my homework **ish**.
2. I live in Chicago **ish**.

This paper provides results of a grammaticality judgment survey of sentences (1-2), as well as test cases involving clefting and negation. 104 informants were surveyed, balanced for gender and age (under 25, 26-49 and over 50 years) in a Manhattan, New York park. Results suggest that acceptance of *ish* represents a change in progress. Furthermore, *ish* is in the process of grammaticalization, detailed in (3).

3. Deriving Adj→ modifying PP→ modifying VP→ modifying TP/CP

Ish appears to be moving upward and leftward into the main clause. This represents grammaticalization similar to that of English modals and complementizers, albeit much

more rapidly—over the course of a few generations in apparent time.

Representations of Welsh English online: What can tweets tell us about salience and enregisterment?

Mercedes Durham [#270](#)

Twitter allows researchers to gauge which linguistic features are particularly salient or unregistered in cases where the tweets (attempt to) perform or comment on a particular variety (example 1).

(1) the welsh accent though. It's not 'Wales' - it's 'Way-ullls'

This paper will discuss what the main linguistic features used to perform a Welsh accent on twitter are and how closely they can be correlated with actual and stereotypical features of Welsh English, particularly in terms of how phonological features are presented in writing.

On the whole, tweeters' use and 'misuse' of orthographic conventions, alongside more readily replicated, and often more enregistered, lexical and morphosyntactic features, demonstrate that there are a range of linguistic features of the Welsh accent that are salient even if tweeters have no way of producing them completely accurately online.

Even More on the Pragmatics and Variable Distribution of *Anymore* in the US Midland

David Durian [#47](#)

Traditional investigations of positive *anymore* use among US Midlanders analyze positive *anymore* as merely a regionally stigmatized, near-synonym to the temporal adverbial *nowadays*. I challenge this view using a pragmatic analysis of the variable distribution of these items and demonstrate US Midlanders maintain both items to indicate pragmatic contrasts in utterances highly sensitive to the presuppositional inferences triggered by each of these items. Using sociolinguistic interview data from 62 US Midlanders, and based on

these speakers' evaluations of sentences in which the items occur, I demonstrate that positive *anymore* and *nowadays* are presuppositions indicating a change of state, but the difference between their pragmatically acceptable uses centers around the degree of change each conveys. In discourse contexts where change of state is implicitly marked, positive *anymore* triggers a presupposition that a change of state is complete, while *nowadays* triggers an inference that only a partial change of state has occurred.

The Sociolinguistic Significance of Lebanese Liquids: Production of /l/ and /r/ in Lebanese Arabic and English

Amanda Eads [#96](#)

This study considers the production of /l/ and /r/ in Lebanese Arabic and English to determine how emerging varieties of Lebanese English integrate liquids into their English language variety. The study is based on the acoustic measurement of liquids for 10 Lebanese Arabic speakers, 10 first-generation Lebanese immigrant English speakers, and 5 second-generation Lebanese immigrant English speakers. All speakers are of similar education, social class, and language backgrounds. In order to assess what levels of assimilation and/or interference are occurring, I analyzed formant frequency values of Lebanese Arabic and English /l/ and /r/ through Praat and statistically using normalized values in R. The study shows that Arabic interference plays a role in the /l/ and /r/ production in the 'Lebanese English' of these L2 speakers and that this production continues to some extent among second-generation Lebanese immigrant speakers, thus showing the potential for a substrate effect in perpetuating Lebanese English.

Variation and grammaticalization in Central American Spanish possessive constructions

Martin Elsig #[247](#)

This paper departs from the assumption that in Standard Spanish prenominal possessors are D elements just like articles. The observation that in Guatemalan Spanish possessors and (indefinite) articles may co-occur in a construction called the ‘pleonastic possessive’ (as in *una mi hermana* ‘a my sister’) suggests that either the article or the possessor has not yet fully grammaticalized into a D element. A multivariate analysis of possessive-marked noun phrases from the PRESEEA Guatemala corpus provides evidence that the pleonastic possessive is in fact favored by an indefinite article that still functions as a quantifier over a set of concrete and identifiable items. This shows, first, that the grammar of possessives is the same in Standard Spanish and in Guatemalan Spanish and, second, that the pleonastic possessive constitutes a context in which the grammaticalization of the indefinite article is retarded.

The influence of Spanish of Miami English rhythm

Naomi Enzina #[302](#)

This study found that monolingual English speakers from Miami speak a variety of English influenced by Spanish. Read speech from Miami English Monolinguals (MEMs), English Monolinguals not from Miami (IEMs), and Early and Late Spanish-English Bilinguals (EBs, LBs) were collected, and rhythm metrics (Ramus et al., 1999) were compared between groups. MEMs had a greater proportion of vocalic intervals (%V) than IEMs but did not differ from EBs, suggesting that MEMs’ %V is similar to that of EB speech. Surprisingly, results further suggest that MEMs with English-speaking parents and from neighborhoods with a lower Hispanic population—who likely have less direct contact with Spanish than MEMs with Spanish-speaking parents or from

neighborhoods with a higher Hispanic population—may be leading this change. These results support Labov’s (2014) claim that children may reject features of their parent language (in this case, English) when the speech community is highly stratified.

Could the road to schwa be paved by /a/? Filled pauses as sites of variation and barometers of contact induced change in Boston Spanish

Daniel Erker, Joanna Brusco #[118](#)

This study examines 1,600 vocalic hesitation phenomena produced in sociolinguistic interviews with 24 native Spanish speakers in Boston, MA. Tokens were (1) perceptually coded as /e(m)/, /a(m)/, or schwa(m) and (2) measured for midpoint F1 and F2. As speakers’ time spent in the U.S. increases, preference for centralized filled pauses significantly increases: Use of /e(m)/ significantly declines, use /a(m)/ and schwa(m) increases, F1 increases, and F2 decreases. Results indicate that filled pauses constitute a site for contact-induced change and a pathway for schwa, unattested in non-contact varieties of Spanish, to enter the vocalic inventory of speakers in the U.S.

Closing the generation gap: How speaker-level behavior can illuminate contact data

Daniel Erker, Ricardo Otheguy #[120](#)

Though it is standard practice in contact linguistics to group speakers by immigrant generation, the current study suggests that deeper understanding of contact outcomes is achievable by focusing on the behavior of individuals. LOESS regression techniques are used in combination with a continuous parameter *percentage of life in the United States* (PLUS) to analyze subject pronoun variation in 63,500 Spanish verbs produced by 140 speakers in NYC. Results indicate that outcomes of dialectal and language contact – the interaction of different groups of Spanish speakers and the exposure of Spanish speakers

to an English dominant contact setting, respectively –have different timescales. Dialectal contact is more influential for speakers with low PLUS while influence of English increases with PLUS. Findings illustrate how the power of generation-based analyses comes at the expense of resolution and show how local regression, together with metrics sensitive to individual speaker differences, can enrich understanding of contact-induced change.

Quantifying vowel overlap with Bhattacharyya's affinity

Daniel Ezra Johnson #[223](#)

Recent work in sociophonetics has used the Pillai-Bartlett trace (Pillai score, or Pillai) as a measure of the overlap of two vowel distributions. However, Pillai is not designed as a measure of overlap; it is more analogous to an R-squared measure (what proportion of the total variability in the two distributions is accounted for by the difference between them?).

Bhattacharyya's affinity (BA, or the Bhattacharyya coefficient), on the other hand, is a true measure of multivariate overlap. It makes fewer assumptions about the data than Pillai and performs better in several respects. These will be illustrated by comparing the performance of the two measures across speakers ranging from merged to distinct with respect to the low back vowels.

We also consider the behavior of the measures depending on whether they are applied to raw formant values or – as recommended – to the residuals of models incorporating elements of the phonetic context.

Word final stop weakening in African American English

Charlie Farrington #[230](#)

The weakening of word final stops is an understudied phenomenon in African American English (AAE). While /d/ weakening is common

to many varieties of AAE and has been the primary focus in previous investigations, in some varieties, any non-labial word final stop (i.e. /t, d, k, g/) can be weakened to a glottal stop. The current study presents a quantitative analysis of this larger word final stop system of 32 speakers from three locations, Memphis, TN, Durham, NC and Washington DC, investigating the role of linguistic and social effects on stop realization in order to better understand the role that these processes of weakening and neutralization play in the variety, how they interact with regional variation in AAE, and, more generally, the status of these variants in the community.

Qualitative labels and quantitative measures in perceptual dialectology

Marino Fernandes, Michael Routhier, Maya Ravindranath #[330](#)

We present GIS analyses of a perceptual dialectology survey of 46 southern New Hampshire residents aged 16-81. We analyze four types of maps: 'pleasantness', 'correctness', 'degree of difference' (DOD), and maps created from the labels participants assigned to different areas (QLabel maps). We conduct spatial analyses of the maps along with visualizations of QLabels to triangulate perceptual judgments. We find striking similarity in apparent time between the decreasing production of traditional NE variables and changing perceptions of what is 'correct' and 'pleasant'; we argue that differences in social evaluation that are apparent in the labels are integral to the promotion of change among some groups but not among others. In some places we find disagreement between QLabels and the other maps (particularly for Boston), and we discuss the implications of this for analyzing the motivation for ongoing change in ENE (divergence from Boston vs. convergence with a supra-local norm).

The Emergence of Past-tense ain't in AAVE: Support for the Divergence Hypothesis

Sabriya Fisher #[322](#)

This paper provides evidence that use of past-tense *ain't* is a recent innovation among speakers of African American Vernacular English, which supports the Divergence Hypothesis (Bailey and Maynor 1989, Labov and Harris 1986). Analysis of 423 negative past-tense tokens (*ain't* and *didn't*) from 17 Philadelphian speakers collected in the early 1980s confirms an increase in use of past-tense *ain't* in apparent time led by younger speakers. No effect is found for the social factors of gender or contact with the White community. The hypothesis that past-tense *ain't* developed from the phonetic reduction of *didn't* (Fasold and Wolfram 1970, Rickford 1977) is assessed alongside a competing hypothesis that use of *ain't* in the present perfect (where it varies with *haven't*) extended to past-tense contexts.

“Uh, there’s just drag everywhere”: Gendered hesitation markers in drag transition and performance

Karen Fitzgerald, Bethany Thompson, Gerard Van Herk #[82](#)

To investigate the relationship between gendered language and drag performance, as well as the language of performers in and out of drag, we look at how drag queens on six seasons of the reality TV show *RuPaul’s Drag Race* change their speech as they transition from male personae to full drag (N=903).

We investigate gender performance through quantitative analysis of a variable previously shown to be implicated in gender: the use of fillers, discourse hesitation markers like *uh*, *um*, *I mean*, and *like*. We focus on *um*, which Acton (2011) shows is strongly associated with women.

Multivariate analysis reveals a monotonic correlation of *um* use and drag status: lower rates out of drag, slightly increased rates during transition, and greatly increased rates when in

drag. This increase comes partly at the expense of *uh*, as Acton’s research would suggest, but much more so at the expense of discourse *like*.

Sociolinguistic Variation in Practice: The strategic use of Chicano English sh~ch in a political election

Isla Flores-Bayer #[220](#)

Although the sociolinguistic interview remains methodologically and ideologically central for the study of variation and change, its limitations are well-known, especially for revealing the range of speakers’ stylistic variation. This paper draws on a larger ethnographic study involving recordings over a 6-month period while following eight Central Texas Latino/a city council candidates in a wide variety of contexts (e.g. political forums, media interviews, block walking door-to-door, meet and greets with constituents). Specifically, I focus on a Chicana candidate’s substitution of *sh* for *ch* (e.g. *catch* pronounced as *cash*) across contexts as well as micro-variation between them (e.g. between versus during takes of her radio ads). A regression analysis reveals that while internal linguistic constraints are significant, even more important are the varying contexts in which the candidate speaks. This variable is a resource for signaling Chicana identity, familiarity/informality and intimacy, but cannot be reduced to any one of these meanings.

Towards a Sociologically-grounded View of Occupation in Sociolinguistics

Jon Forrest, Robin Dodsworth #[246](#)

In order to improve our operationalization of class in sociolinguistic analysis, this paper draws on sociological theory as the foundation for a new approach to the conception and coding of occupation. The dataset is drawn from the larger corpus of interviews conducted in Raleigh, NC using over 100 speakers; F1 and F2 measurements for the five front vowels (BIT, BEET, BAIT, BET, and BAT) were extracted,

Lobanov-normalized, and included in regression analyses. To operationalize a sociologically-based theory of occupations, we implement a five-way distinction between industrial/occupational sectors (Law and Government, Technology and Finance, Interactive Service Work, Care Work, and Blue Collar) based on historical changes in Raleigh's economy. Initial models run on the sample show no substantial improvement in fit via AIC comparison over traditional occupational codes, but the new coding does indicate significant differences between groups formerly grouped together as White Collar occupations.

The Frequency of Undershoot in the Diffusion of the Low Back Vowel Merger

Michael J. Fox #[39](#)

The effect of word frequency differs as a function of the type of change with high frequency words being affected by reductive or lenition changes, and low frequency words by regularization. It's been posited that that fact that the most frequent words are being affected by reductive/lenition changes is a consequence of physiological factors. One such universal physiological process with acoustic-phonetic consequences is degree of phonetic undershoot. Thus, if high frequency words are more affected by undershoot we would expect that undershoot is one type of acoustic phonetic process that biases productions towards gradual distributional shift. The Low Back Vowel Merger (LBVM) is one reductive change affected by undershoot, which is expanding rapidly in North American English. This paper asks the question of whether or not undershoot is occurring more prominently in more frequent words, and if so, what this implies for language change.

Exploring task and gender effects on stance-taking in a collaborative conversational corpus

Valerie Freeman #[372](#)

This presentation introduces an audio corpus of task-oriented conversation and some ways it is being used to investigate acoustic and textual signals of stance-taking (attitude/opinion-expression). The corpus contains pairs engaged in collaborative tasks which elicit frequent changes in stance; interactions are annotated for stance strength, polarity, and act type. With the prediction that stance is signaled acoustically, prosodic measures (utterance length, speaking rate, pitch, intensity, vowel duration, etc.) are extracted over a large sample of speakers. General patterns indicate that measures combine to distinguish stance types and features; this presentation focuses on style effects across two tasks and gender effects considering speaker- and interlocutor sex. For example: women speak more slowly in the "inventory" task; within the "budget" task, utterances are longer for speakers with male task-partners; the difference in utterance length between tasks is greater for men; and backchannels may have a reciprocating effect, especially in same-sex groups.

Interaction between education and formality degrees in Brazilian Portuguese first person plural pronouns

Raquel Freitag #[105](#)

Four patterns of combination between first person plural pronouns and concordance-affixed morphemes in Brazilian Portuguese are possible: (1) "nós falamos" ("nós" speak+-mos affixed); (2) "nós fala" ("nós" speak+-0 affixed); (3) "a gente fala" ("a gente" speak+-0 affixed); (4) "a gente falamos" ("a gente" speak+-mos affixed).

Data provided from two groups, one mixed education level and other of the same education level, in more and less careful context, show that a gente first person plural is

predominant, and (3) is the standard pattern in the sample (81.6%). However, multivariate analysis with (1) and (3) patterns reveals that (3) is favored by higher educational level (.74) and more formal context (.67). Non-standard patterns (2) and (4) are concentrated on the speech of individuals who had never studied, which corroborates the hypothesis that the interaction between educational level and degrees of formality has effects in social evaluation of patterns of first person plural in this sample.

Filled Pause Choice as a Sociolinguistic Variable

Josef Fruehwald

It has recently been found that in many Germanic languages, including American and British English, there is a change in progress with respect to filled pause choice (Wieling et al. forthcoming). In all cases examined, the filled pause UM (and its cognates) is increasing in frequency with respect to UH (and its cognates). In this paper, I will investigate this change in Philadelphia English in detail, drawing data from 395 speakers in the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov and Rosenfelder 2011), yielding 19,123 tokens of UH and 6,391 of UM. Specifically, I will establish that this is completely prototypical female led language change in progress spanning the 20th century (Figure 1). Utilizing two dimensional generalized additive models, I will demonstrate that that this change has incremented between generational cohorts, exhibiting virtually no lifespan trends. I will also demonstrate that this change is progressing by one variant (UH) giving way in frequency to the other (UM), rather than one or the other variant changing in frequency independently from the other. Finally, through an investigation of its primary internal conditioning factor (the duration of silence following the filled pause (Clark and Fox Tree 2002)), I will show that the evidence best supports an analysis where speakers are changing their choice of variant within a stable communicative context, rather than a change in

what kind of discourse functions are represented (cf. D’Arcy (2012) on *be like* verb of quotation).

While (UHM) exhibits all of the hallmark properties of a sociolinguistic variable, it raises some challenging questions about how linguistic variation ought to be incorporated into a theory of grammar. Filled pauses’ relationship to speech planning difficulties seems uncontroversial from the psycholinguistic literature. While filled pauses may play an important role in modulating listeners’ expectations about how unpredictable upcoming speech may be (Arnold et al, 2003; Corley et al, 2007), listeners perform relatively poorly when trying to identify them in running speech (Lickley 1995; Lickley and Bard 1996). Moreover, they marginally interact with the broader linguistic context. For example, UH and UM frequently block unstressed vowel reduction in determiners (per Pak (forthcoming)), resulting in [ði:] in “*the um... apple*”, but they never condition the “*an*” indefinite determiner allomorph. That is, an utterance like “*an um. . . apple*” is unattested, but utterances like “*a um. . . an apple*” are frequently attested.

The choice we are left with is to either propose a variable “UM-insertion” grammar, stretching grammar’s scope to include the “vagaries of performance” like speech planning difficulty, or to push the selection of UM or UH out of the grammar proper into what has been variously called a “sociocultural selection device” (Preston 2004), the “sociolinguistic monitor” (Labov et al. 2011) or “p[psychological]-conditioning” (Tamminga et al forthcoming), whereby an extragrammatical component selects filled pause variants from speakers’ lexicon. I argue that this latter option is the theoretically parsimonious one, and that the prototypicality of (UHM) suggests that we consider it more seriously for more variables.

References

- Arnold, Jennifer E., Maria Fagnano, and Michael K. Tanenhaus. 2003. “Disfluencies signal thee, um, new information.” *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 32 (1): 25–36. doi:10.1023/A:1021980931292.

Clark, Herbert H, and Jean E Fox Tree. 2002. "Using uh and um in spontaneous speaking." *Cognition* 84: 73–111.

Corley, Martin, Lucy J. MacGregor, and David I. Donaldson. 2007. "It's the way that you, er, say it: Hesitations in speech affect language comprehension." *Cognition* 105 (3): 658–68. doi:[10.1016/j.cognition.2006.10.010](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2006.10.010).

D'Arcy, Alexandra. 2012. "The diachrony of quotation: Evidence from New Zealand English." *Language Variation and Change* 24 (03): 343–69. doi:[10.1017/S0954394512000166](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394512000166).

Labov, William, and Ingrid Rosenfelder. 2011. "The Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus."

What's Mine is Yours: Stable variation and language change in Ancient Egyptian possessive constructions

Shayna Gardiner #[311](#)

Variation is described as two or more variants competing for finite resources (Kroch, 2001; Kroch, 1989). In this model, two outcomes are possible: language change or specialization. Specialization can be broken down further: specialization for different functions, and partial specialization – stable variation.

In this paper, I analyze the differences between stable variation and language change using one variable: Ancient Egyptian possession.

Observing four Egyptian possessive variants, split into two groups with two variants each – clitic possessor variants and full nominal possessor variants – for a total of 1802 tokens, I compare factors affecting variant choice in each possessive group. Results of distributional and multivariate analyses indicate that a) change over time occurs in clitic possession, while stable variation occurs with noun variants; and b) different kinds of factors govern the two sets: the continuous variable phrase complexity affects variant choice in nominal possession, but does not affect the clitic variants.

Language change and lifespan development in old age: the case of *ne* deletion in French

Annette Gerstenberg #[248](#)

Ne deletion has been shown to be a central sociolinguistic feature with different positions in the varieties of spoken French. The

generational distribution of the *ne* variable has often been studied resulting in a clear picture of generation specific use. I will elaborate on the question of generation specific use on the basis of a corpus of interviews conducted exclusively with older speakers of French in two series (2005/2012), allowing for a closer look at social groupings within one age group or generation and at individual lifespan dynamics of language use in old age. We examined the retention vs. deletion of the *ne* variable.

Overall, we found a trend of lower rates of *ne*-retention in the second series (2012). These results question the meaning of linguistic norms in age grading theory.

Social and phonological dimensions of /l/-vocalization in West Australian English

Simon Gonzalez, Nathaniel Mitchell, Gerard Docherty #[327](#)

/l/-vocalization is a characteristic of varieties of Australian English. A challenge posed by the automatic acoustic analysis of /l/-vocalizations is their intermediate vowel-consonant nature. We report findings from an acoustic analysis of post-vocalic /l/ in conversational speech produced by West Australian English speakers. Results are based on six pairs of same-sex speakers recorded while participating in an unscripted conversation.

Our acoustic analysis classifies /l/ variants along a consonantal-vocalic continuum, based on a statistic cluster analysis of formant trajectories in vowel-/l/ rhymes. We tracked formant trajectories from the onset of preceding vowel to the offset of /l/. A total of 15 equidistant points were extracted for each interval. Our analysis is based on the middle 80% to avoid co-articulatory effects.

Our study is the first to look at coda /l/ variants in spontaneous Australian English. We also attempt to distinguish between consonantal /l/s and vocalic /l/s, based only on acoustic information.

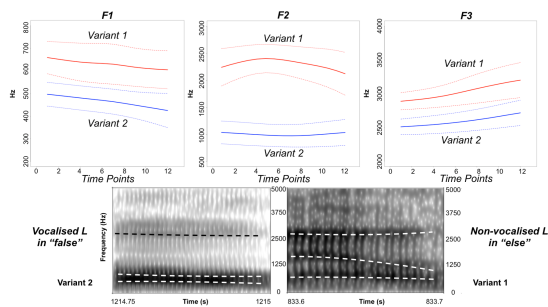


Figure 1. Preliminary results of cluster analysis on the dynamics of formant trajectories of VI sequences in Australian English.

Using a density measure to quantify phonetic variation along the creole continuum

James Grama [#256](#)

This study formulates a continuous metric—the Pidgin Density Measure (PDM)—to quantify how basilectal a speaker’s variety is, using Hawai’i Creole (known locally as Pidgin) as a test example. PDM is then used as a predictor of vowel variation. This paper reports on findings from the analysis of overlapping Pidgin vowel pairs, /ɪ, i/, /u, ʊ/, and /a, ʌ/, from 32 speakers taken from two corpora of sociolinguistic interviews: a 1970s corpus and a 2000s corpus. Analysis reveals that 1970s speakers show near-complete overlap between the vowel pairs, whereas 2000s speakers realize them as more distinct in spectral space. However, 2000s speakers with relatively high PDM scores are more likely to exhibit more overlap between vowel pairs. These findings provide evidence that while the vowel space of Pidgin has changed over time, younger speakers of Pidgin who exhibit more Pidgin morpho-syntactic markers are more resistant to these changes.

Indexin’ Gender: Variable (ING) and the Creation of Non-Binary Trans Identities

Chantal Gratton [#250](#)

Gender diversity and non-conformity have increasingly become areas of interest for

researchers in various sociological fields, fuelling the development of post-structuralist models of gender identity, which are no longer based on the presupposition of a gender binary. Despite growing interest in the speech of transgender individuals in quantitative sociolinguistics (Papp 2011; Zimman 2012, 2013), little attention has been paid to the language of non-binary trans individuals — individuals who transition from the gender they were assigned at birth to a gender outside of the gender binary — and the manners in which they use language in the construction of their gender identities.

This paper sought to examine specific linguistic strategies employed by non-binary trans individuals in a community of practice (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992), located in Waterloo, Canada. Sociolinguistic group interviews and self-recorded interactions were analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative variationist methods, focusing on relevant metalinguistic commentary and speakers’ variable use of (ING), which has received considerable attention in the sociolinguistic literature on indexicality (Campbell-Kibler 2007, 2008).

The metalinguistic data attested to speakers’ conscious efforts to distance themselves from their gender assigned at birth through the active suppression of similarities which could weaken their claim to a non-binary gender identity. To explore this, I examined each individual’s variable use of (ING) across two interactions, which were evaluated by in-group members as being either more or less safe environments to express their gender identity. Occurrences of (ING) were exhaustively extracted, yielding around 1200 tokens.

A preliminary analysis of the (ING) variable revealed that, within less safe environments, speakers made greater use of variants that are not traditionally associated with the gender they were assigned at birth. That is to say, individuals who were assigned female at birth made greater use of [ɪn] in less safe

environments than they did in safer ones, whereas speakers who were assigned male at birth made similar use of [ɪŋ]. I proposed that this non-traditional use of variants produces stances of resistance to cis-normative femininity ([ɪn]) and masculinity ([ɪŋ]). Thus, the variability between interactions represents a need for varying degrees of indexical work. Non-binary individuals made variable use of (ING) in a process of distinction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005), suppressing similarities with their gender assigned at birth to successfully present a non-binary gender identity in a given linguistic interaction.

Unlike other research which presupposes and focuses on a gender binary, even within the literature on trans individuals, this research provides a broader perspective of gender identity and its influence on linguistic interactions. This research is not only beneficial to the domaine of language and gender, by examining the place of language within the growing non-binary culture, but also to the broader field of sociolinguistics. It is only by removing the imposition of a gender binary that the effects it has on speakers adhering to the binary system can be discerned.

Using social media to map double modals in Modern American English

Jack Grieve, Andrea Nini, Diansheng Guo, Alice Kasakoff #[244](#)

This study maps double modals across the United States based on a multi-billion word corpus of geo-coded Tweets collected between 2013 and 2014. Double modals were identified by searching the corpus for every possible combination of two modals or semi-modals. Through this process thousands of tokens of double modals were discovered in the corpus, including over one hundred different double modal combinations. The relative frequencies of each of these double modals were then mapped across the counties of the United States in order to identify regional patterns in double modal usage. Although double modals

are concentrated in the South as one would expect, different double modals were found to exhibit different regional patterns, with some being more common in the Upper South and others being more common in the Lower South.

The apparent decline of the subjunctive mood: The case of minority French in Ontario

Rick Grimm #[56](#)

The present study examines loss of the subjunctive mood with verbal matrices in spoken Ontario French. The data come from francophone adolescents categorized along a five-point scale that captures the speakers' self-reported daily use of French (vs. English) and the local concentration of Francophones in their community. At one end is Hawkesbury (80% Francophone) and on the other is Pembroke (6%). Three intermediate points are established for Cornwall (27%) and North Bay (14%). The results show that use of the subjunctive is in decline outside of French majority Hawkesbury only. This is due to a gradual decrease in *falloir* 'to be necessary' – the most important subjunctive governor. In the minority communities, *falloir* is increasingly displaced by its formal counterpart *devoir* 'must', which selects an infinitive. Additional data suggest that the rise of *devoir* represents a change in progress and that the French-medium school plays a part in this change.

A Cross-Varietal Study of Mood Choice in Acadian French

Rick Grimm, Ruth King #[129](#)

The present study involves use of the subjunctive or indicative with the verb of necessity *falloir*, the most frequent subjunctive governor, in Atlantic Canada Acadian French. We take as a baseline results previously reported for late 20th-century Baie Sainte-Marie, NS, where subjunctive use was found to be categorical with *falloir*. We analyze data from the same time period for three

communities: Saint-Louis and Abram-Village, PEI, and L'Anse-à-Canards, NL. The results show important inter-varietal differences. In the PEI varieties, the subjunctive occurs at very high rates (84%-93%), but only in Saint-Louis do we find the imperfect (along with the present) subjunctive, although the former is not as strongly present as in Baie Sainte-Marie. The L'Anse-à-Canards variety shows infrequent use of the subjunctive overall (37%), surprising given its retention of conservative verbal morphology more generally. To explain the results, we appeal to each community's specific history of relative isolation and dialect contact.

Twitter as a laboratory for investigating the linguistic and the social determinants of ongoing syntactic change

Stefan Grondelaers, Roeland Van Hout [#378](#)

Although Twitter, the micro-blogging platform to which users contribute messages of up to 140 characters, is a relatively recent phenomenon, it has by now become an established data source for (socio)linguistic research. Tweets are conveniently available in large quantities (Tjong Kim Sang 2011), and they include metadata as well as topic tags. Tweets, in addition, feature (informal) written language use with many features of orality, on account of which they are eminently suited as “supplementary data for investigating non-frequent, non-canonical phenomena in spoken language” (Rehbein 2014: 20).

It is exactly in this capacity that we use Twitter as a data source for the investigation of a publicly stigmatized, but vital ongoing change in Netherlandic Dutch, viz. the rapid spread of the object pronoun *hun* “them” as a subject (as in *Als je zo speelt krijgen hun natuurlijk altijd kansen* “If you will play like that *them* will always get chances”). In earlier work, we have revealed both an internal factor and a prestige motivation for *hun*'s unstoppable dissemination as a subject, respectively the fact that subject-*hun* is preferred for the expression of “engaged negative contrast”, and the fact that the vitality

of subject-*hun* is sustained by dynamic perceptions pertaining to media cool.

While these factors have hitherto been investigated on the basis of different data collection techniques – corpus analysis and socio-psychological experimentation –, we will demonstrate in this talk that Twitter represents a data source which is appropriate for the simultaneous validation of *both* internal factors and prestige motivations. We extracted a corpus of tweets ($n = 11.861$) containing either the standard pronoun *zij* “they” or non-standard *hun* “them” from a subset (selected on the basis of the most frequent hashtags) of the Dutch eScience Centre corpus (Tjong Kim Sang and van den Bosch 2013). Tweets were hand-coded for sentence structure (+/- predicative), for a number of contrast parameters (the presence of intensifiers, interjections, taboo words, non-linguistic signals), and for orthographic correctness.

While regression analysis confirmed previous findings pertaining to *hun*'s linguistic conditioning, the large effect of orthographic correctness enabled us to extract a subset of deliberately misspelt tweets ($n = 919$, *hun* = 760) – in which users consciously stylize themselves as dynamic and anti-authoritarian provocateurs –, and a subset of tweets with standard orthography ($n = 3993$, *hun* = 2722). Separate regression analyses on these subsets revealed that the marked preference for *hun* in the misspelt tweets is not motivated by any strong predictors, whereas *all* coded independent variables show up as strong predictors of *hun*-use in the error-free tweets. These findings not only demonstrate that the dynamic prestige meaning of *hun* is recruited for social work in the misspelt tweets, but also that this conscious stylization purpose completely overrides *hun*'s (subconscious) linguistic conditioning.

The presented data confirm the complimentary but also conflicting role of linguistic factors and social meanings in syntactic change, and they strongly support the idea that Twitter is a prime data source for the simultaneous study of

determinants which normally require very different data collection techniques...

Eliciting young urban Swedish using a map-task procedure

Johan Gross, Julia Forsberg [#71](#)

How can we create a situation where we can control the language production and still keep the attention paid to speech at a minimum? In the corpus Språkbruk i Stockholm och Göteborg (SSG, 'Language Use in Stockholm and Gothenburg') a set of complex map-tasks with unlabeled images were used to elicit dialogue from self-recruited peer pairs. We recorded interviews and map-tasks with 111 students between the ages of 16-19 at 4 schools: one in the centre and suburbs of each city. Results show that each minute of map-task recording gives a mean of 9 usable vowel tokens, while in the interview recordings each minute gives 1-2 usable vowel tokens. Initial acoustic analysis of the two contexts shows higher token quality in the map-tasks as a larger number of vowel tokens are stressed. All results indicate that this is a robust method for eliciting sociophonetic data in spontaneous peer interaction.

Future-time reference in Hexagonal French: Integrating the present indicative in a predictive model of variable use

Aarnes Gudmestad, Amanda Edmonds, Bryan Donaldson, Katie Carmichael [#25](#)

This study contributes to the understanding of variable future-time expression by examining native speakers of Hexagonal French and by expanding quantitative analyses to include a multinomial dependent variable that consists of the inflectional future, periphrastic future, and present indicative. The data come from spontaneous conversations of 12 participants. We identified each use of the inflectional future, periphrastic future, and present indicative in future-time contexts, which served as the dependent variable in a multinomial logistic regression model. Each occurrence was

coded for linguistic factors whose influence on verb-form use in future-time contexts had been documented previously. The findings indicated that temporal distance, the presence/absence of a temporal expression, and verbal negation predicted use, whereas (un)certainty did not. Our analysis suggests that in order to fully capture the variation present in spontaneous speech, researchers should include the present indicative in their models of variation.

Attitudes d'immigrants envers le français oral : France vs Québec, ou juste une question de style?

Monelle Guertin [#125](#)

Les styles plus et moins formels du français québécois et du français européen, et leurs variations sociophonétiques, sont-ils perçus différemment que ces variétés dialectales elles-mêmes par des apprenants de français langue seconde à Montréal? Au moyen de la technique du locuteur masqué, nous avons fait entendre et évaluer par nos participants des locuteurs de France et du Québec que nous avons préalablement enregistrés, produisant exactement le même discours dans deux situations différentes, soit, sous quatre étiquettes-inconnues des participants: Québec formel/informel, France formel/informel. Nos résultats tendent clairement à démontrer que la variation stylistique a, plus fortement que ne l'a fait la variation dialectale, polarisé les jugements de nos participants et qu'ils ont évalué le français québécois formel aussi favorablement que le français hexagonal formel. Mais, parallèlement, les données montrent un amalgame, réalisé entre, d'une part, langue standard et français européen, et, d'autre part, langue non-standard et français québécois.

Coherence, constraints, and quantities

Gregory Guy [#69](#)

The current debate about speech community coherence focuses largely on *rates* of use of

linguistic variables, and studies show that some speakers do diverge from their peers quantitatively. But largely unaddressed is the question of *constraints* on variation: can an individual construct idiosyncratic constraint patterns on variables, or vary them stylistically or purposefully? This paper investigates community coherence in constraint effects on sociolinguistic variables in English and Portuguese, using sociolinguistic interview data. Our results show that speakers display considerable convergence in their values and rankings of constraints on the variable processes examined. Most observed non-convergence is associated with low Ns; speakers with larger Ns consistently show constraint effects increasingly closer to community norms. We conclude it is unlikely that individuals manipulate constraints on linguistic variation for social or idiosyncratic effect. They may control *how much* they use a variable, but not *where*. At the constraint level, linguistic communities are coherent.

Genitive variation and change in Caribbean English: A real-time study of Jamaican and Bahamian news writing

Stephanie Hackert [#267](#)

The proposed paper applies the theoretical and methodological insights of variation analysis to the description and explanation of ongoing grammatical change in two newly emerging Caribbean standard varieties, Jamaican and Bahamian English. I systematically compare two historical newspaper corpora from the 1960s with two contemporary ones. The variable in focus is the choice between s-genitive and of-genitive constructions.

Rosenbach has shown that “the s-genitive is currently increasing” and that “this increase is more advanced in American than in British English” (2002: 3). The proposed paper investigates whether Jamaican and Bahamian English have undergone a shift in norm orientation with regard to the use of genitive constructions, from British-oriented during

colonial times to American-oriented today, which seems plausible in light of the current global dominance of American English.

Northern Arizona: Sound Change and Dialect Contact

Lauren Hall-Lew, Mirjam Eiswirth, Mary-Caitlyn Valentinsson, William Cotter [#41](#)

This paper reports on the English short-a ‘nasal split’ in progress in Northern Arizona. Two subsets of acoustic data from 2002 were analyzed for social predictors of TRAP/BAN split: MALE/FEMALE was tested within an urban sample and URBAN/RURAL was tested among males. TRAP-lowering and BAN-fronting show apparent-time correlations in the urban sample. Women lead in TRAP lowering and favor a backer TRAP and a higher BAN. This evidence suggests that urban Northern Arizona in 2002 was participating in the short-a nasal split, possibly Californian in origin. In contrast, a fronted TRAP vowel and a lack of a nasal split among ranchers is potential evidence that rural Northern Arizona in 2002 was more oriented to a Southern Vowel system than a Californian one. We suggest that Northern Arizona has been a site of dialect contact between these two major US English varieties.

Social and acoustic factors in the perception of creak

Amy Hemmeter [#334](#)

Listeners have been found to associate creak with women, this study seeks to find whether this difference stems from acoustic or social differences. I paired pitch-altered gender-ambiguous voices, unaltered male voices, and unaltered female voices with photos of male or female faces; the gender-ambiguous voices were split between male and female photos. Listeners determined whether an utterance contained creak. I found that listeners were more likely to correctly identify creak when the accompanying photo stimulus was a woman’s face. Reaction time was significantly different in

the gender-ambiguous condition between utterances with male and female photos. Listeners identified creak more easily in female voices than in male voices, likely because creak is more salient acoustically in higher-pitched voices. These results indicate that when primed to expect a female voice, listeners respond more quickly and are more likely to hear creak.

Grammaticalization, or just simple phonetic reduction? I dunno!

Nicole Hildebrand-Edgar #[58](#)

This paper investigates grammaticalization of the construction I DON'T KNOW using data from the Victorian English Archive. Beyond its referential meaning of “lack of knowledge”, I DON'T KNOW is employed as a discourse marker for various pragmatic functions. Further, this form has a high usage frequency and is commonly phonetically reduced; two concomitant processes in grammaticalization. The form-function relationship is investigated using quantitative variationist analysis, revealing similar patterning to that previously reported for other varieties of English. This implies a universal path of grammaticalization. Moreover, the frequency of phonetically reduced pragmatic tokens increases in apparent time, suggesting ongoing change of the discourse marker. I argue that this change is not indicative of an emerging form but of the ongoing phonetic reduction of an already grammaticalized form. Frequency effects continue to drive change restricted to form while the pragmatic functions remain stable.

Nonstandard agreement in Standard English: The social perception of agreement variation under existential there

Katherine Hilton #[359](#)

Nonstandard number agreement under existential *there* is the norm, even in standard varieties of English. Strikingly, non-agreeing

forms comprise roughly two-thirds of all existential *there* tokens.

- (1) AGREEMENT: *There are probably different ways to do it.*
- (2) FULL-VERB NON-AGREEMENT: *There is probably different ways to do it.*
- (3) CLITIC NON-AGREEMENT: *There's probably different ways to do it.*

There is mounting evidence, though, that the two non-agreeing forms (2-3 above) are neither syntactically nor sociolinguistically equivalent. *There is* + NPpl is used mostly by speakers with less formal education, while *there's* + NPpl is used frequently by nearly all speakers, regardless of education, and may be undergoing grammaticalization. In this paper, I investigate whether *there's* + NPpl and *there is* + NPpl constitute distinct sociolinguistic variants by testing how listeners socially evaluate the speakers who use them. These perception studies demonstrate that *there's* + NPpl is much less socially marked than *there is* + NPpl, and its effects on listener perceptions are almost indistinguishable from those of the standard variant *there are* + NPpl.

The study consisted of two surveys in which participants read or listened to one of the sentences from (1-3) above and then answered questions about how they perceived the speaker and speaking context. Participants rated, on a 10-point scale, how educated, articulate, intelligent and laid-back the speaker seemed; how likely he/she was from each of four different regions of the U.S. and three different class backgrounds; how likely the speaker was talking to a friend or interviewing for a job; and how old the speaker was. Participants also answered language attitude and biographical questions about themselves. 900 participants on Amazon Mechanical Turk completed the surveys. The four women and four men who recorded spoken stimuli were all from the same dialect region and evenly divided by two age groups, 18-25 and >80.

Linear mixed effects regressions reveal that *there's* + NPpl is much less socially stigmatized than *there is* + NPpl. Participants rated users of *there is* + NPpl as significantly less educated, less intelligent, less articulate, and less likely to be wealthy or middle-class. However, perception of *there's* + NPpl and *there are* + NPpl did not significantly differ across any of these attributes.

Social evaluations of *there is* + NPpl was also significantly more negative when it occurred in written form than spoken, and the stigmatization of *there is* + NPpl positively correlated with the extent to which survey-takers reported being bothered by other people's grammar mistakes.

Crucially, perceptions of *there's* + NPpl were not negatively impacted by modality or participants' attitudes toward grammar mistakes.

These results demonstrate that, unlike other nonstandard agreement patterns, *there's* + NPpl is remarkably lacking in social stigma. *There's* + NPpl is not perceived as nonstandard, even by those who are least tolerant of nonstandard language use. This raises questions about the range of social meanings beyond standardness that *there's* + NPpl, in particular, and other grammatical variables more generally, can and do convey.

Sibilants and ethnic diversity: A sociophonetic study of palatalized /s/ in STR clusters among Hispanic, White, and African-American speakers of Texas English

Lars Hinrichs, Alexander Bergs, Axel Bohmann, Erica Brozovsky, Brian Hodge, Kirsten Meemann, Patrick Schultz #367

Research on the phonetic realizations of English /str/ clusters reports that a palatalized variant of the initial sibilant (as in “shstraight” for *straight*) is being more frequently used by younger speakers. Popular commentary has

suggested that palatalized STR indexes working class, straight, white male identities. While this proposed indexicality has a racial component, linguistic work has only studied racially homogenous speaker groups. Therefore we present a study of STR backing in a sample of 39 native English speakers from Central Texas English self-identifying as Hispanic, African-American, or white. For all tokens of prevocalic STR, center-of-gravity measurements were logged at the sibilant's midpoint. Measurements were normalized to allow comparisons across speakers. Results suggest that young white and African-American speakers stand together in an unexpected alliance in favor of STR backing. Latinos use the feature less consistently. There was no evidence of the feature being restricted to younger white males.

Dialect leveling, F2 slope and ethnicity: Variation in the Texas English GOOSE vowel

Lars Hinrichs, Kyle Gorman #368

In Texas English, the GOOSE vowel is changing: younger speakers show a backing trajectory, with F2 lowering. We study 89 lifelong residents of Central Texas, born between 1895 and 1995. For tokens of GOOSE, we recorded (i) mean F2 and (ii) slope of the F2 curve, measured by linear regression.

Mean F2 was found to be increasing in apparent time. African-Americans and Latinos both showed significantly lower values than Anglos. More formal styles favored a higher mean F2. - F2 slope showed no significant apparent-time change. There was a significant effect of ethnicity, driven by lower slopes in Latinos compared to Anglos. There were no significant differences between African-Americans and the other two groups. More formal styles predicted greater slopes. The differential uptake of incoming forms, with Latinos preserving traditional variants most strongly, calls for ethnographic research on the role of group/individual identity in this change.

Social networks, oil, and linguistic marketplaces: The Canadian Shift in urban St. John's, NL

Matthias Hofmann #[202](#)

One as yet unresolved question is whether middle-class speakers of the variety in St. John's participate in the Canadian Shift. In my stratified randomly-sampled data (approx. 10,000 vowels, 34 interviewees, stratified as to age, gender, socioeconomic status, and "localness") results from Euclidean Distances, correlation coefficients, and mixed-effects regression show that (1) young speakers participate in the shift; and that (2) age has the strongest and a linear effect.

I suggest three reasons for the presence of in the Canadian Shift in St. John's, NL: 1) Newfoundland's rural-urban divide as a result of its isolation, through which British/Irish features are attributed to rural and lower social class speakers; 2) the development of the oil industry since the 1990's, through which social networks changed according to the perception of social distance/closeness; and 3) the role of the linguistic marketplace.

Intraspeaker Variation in Ethnic Identity Performance: The Role of Suprasegmentals and Peak Delay

Nicole Holliday #[150](#)

This study examines peak delay intervals in declarative clause Intonational Phrases (IPs) with H* and L+H* pitch accents (following the ToBi conventions for Mainstream American of Beckman et. al 2007) in the speech of eight black/biracial identified men, aged 18-32, in the Washington D.C. area. Participants were recorded in two 20-minute icebreaker game conversations with two friends, one session with a black male friend interlocutor and another with a white male friend interlocutor. Results of separate t-tests reveal that the majority of speakers had peak delay intervals in conversations with black friends that were

significantly longer than the intervals in conversations with white friends ($p < .05$). This result demonstrates that suprasegmental features that differ between MUSE and AAE are subject to intra-speaker variation, and forms a basis for future work that examines production as well as perception in ethnolinguistic variation.

Ladies first? Adolescent peaks in a male-led change, TH-fronting in southeast England

Sophie Holmes-Elliott #[31](#)

Adolescent peaks have been observed across a range of different types of change (Labov, 2001; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2009). However, while Labov (2001) finds that, for phonetic variables, peaks are only present in the gender leading the change; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009) find no gender asymmetry in morphosyntactic and discourse-pragmatic changes. This paper contributes to this issue through an apparent time investigation of TH-fronting in southeast England. Crucially, this is a male-led change, thus presents an ideal opportunity to further investigate the relationship between gender and incrementation. Results indicate that although both genders exhibited peaks, their exact quality differed: the female peak was steeper than the male. These results provide further support for the claim that an adolescent peak is a 'general requirement of change in progress' (Labov, 2001:455). However, they do not support the suggestion that peaks are a solely a property of the gender leading the change

Dressing down up north: a sociophonetic investigation of DRESS lowering in rural Scotland

Sophie Holmes-Elliott, Jennifer Smith #[30](#)

This paper presents a sociophonetic analysis of DRESS-lowering in 24 speakers from northeast Scotland. Inspection of the conditioning factors revealed an interaction of internal and external

constraints: following-l promoted DRESS lowering in young females as demonstrated by higher F1 ($p < .001$). Might changes in the DRESS vowel correlate with changes in /l/ quality? In order to tackle this question, we further investigated /l/ quality. Traditionally, this dialect has dark /l/ in all syllabic contexts. However, inspection of the acoustic correlates revealed that young females were leading a move towards the more supralocal allophonic distribution. Specifically, they showed clearer /l/ in initial contexts and darker in final with significantly higher F1 in word final /l/ ($p < .001$). As DRESS-lowering is also associated with higher F1, our results indicate that these features are indeed related. Further, that the mechanism behind DRESS-lowering is a gradual shift through phonetic conditioning (cf Hickey, 2013); namely through the adoption of a more supralocal /l/ system.

Not-so-strange bedfellows: Language documentation and sociolinguistics in Gaza

Uri Horesh, William M. Cotter [#11](#)

Arabic is often investigated within dialectological frameworks that emerged in the 19th century, though it exists alongside variationist sociolinguistic research. The latter produces abundant data, recorded at very high quality, lending themselves to being transcribed, described and preserved.

We present quantitative results from recent sociolinguistic studies conducted on the variable (Q) in the speech of Palestinian refugees in Gaza. These results suggest women often opt for the supralocal variant, glottal stop, while men adopt a localized variant, [g]. The indexical field of this variable is used by the refugees to reflect identity formation and maintenance.

Analyses like this can enrich Arabic sociolinguistics by taking investigations of linguistic variables out of the realm of discrete social categories while highlighting the interface between variationist sociolinguistics and anthropological theory.

We discuss a proposal for incorporation of descriptive and documentary techniques into the study of Arabic variation, through use of anthropological theory and methodology.

“She’s one that says ‘warsh’”: Cross-Generational and Within-Family Perceptions of Oklahoma English

Ho'Omana Nathan Horton [#45](#)

No empirical research has investigated inter-generational perceptions of any variety of a language, much less a shared, stigmatized variety (in this study, Oklahoma English). This study investigates these perceptions by asking members of three generations from two families in rural Oklahoma to rate their family members on Likert scales which measure the degree of similarity and dissimilarity across generations for four characteristics: similarity to the rater, degree of local typicality, degree of “correctness” compared to the rater, and “intelligibility,” and provide comments and explanations of these ratings. The results indicate that in the case of Oklahoma English, older speakers believe that that members of younger generations are better speakers, while younger speakers generally describe their older relatives’ typically Southern phonology and lexicon as making their English worse. This study provides insight into inter-generational perceptions about language, and models a methodology for further research into these perceptions.

I got a story for you: The rapid convergence of stative possessives in Cape Breton English

Matt Hunt Gardner [#373](#)

This paper examines variation in stative possessive use (*have*, *have got*, *got*) in two corpora of Cape Breton English. This variable's trajectory of change in Canada and the British Isles differs so it's perfect for testing if Cape Breton English originates more from Scots/Irish/British English, or Loyalist English

like Inland Canada. Contra expectations, older, rural speakers use *have got/got* the most (60% of the time), making them the most dissimilar to conservative Scottish English. Subsequent rapid convergence by young speakers towards Inland Canadian norms (80% *have* use), specifically reflected in linguistic constraint patterns, suggests non-Scottish origins.

Heritage Faetar's Verbs are Good to the Last (Pro-) Drop

Michael Iannozzi #[65](#)

This study examines Faetar: an optionally pro-drop Franco-Provençal language. Previous work provided an overview of pro-drop in Faetar's Heritage (Toronto) and Homeland (Italy) varieties (Nagy & Iannozzi, 2014; Heap & Nagy, 1998). For this study, ~1,000 tokens were extracted from 12 Heritage speakers, and were coded for linguistic (20) and social factors (4). In the best-fitting Rbrul model, the significant factors are: person and number, preceding direct object, realization of previous mention, verb lemma, animacy, and priming distance. Compared with work on Spanish pro-drop that grouped verbs by semantic category (Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Travis, 2007; inter alia), the most common verbs in Heritage Faetar had factor weights ranging from 0.40 to 0.64—showing verb “classes” may mask important distinctions. The findings show a lack of generalizability for significant constraints on pro-drop across, and within varieties of, languages.

Nobody knows everyone: Longitudinal change in cross-community perspective

Bridget Jankowski, Sali Tagliamonte #[174](#)

English pronominal quantifier doublets (*some/any/every/no + one/body*) have been variable since Middle English. No studies to date offer a consistent comparison by community type. We conduct an analysis across thirteen communities in Canada, contrasted by distance from the main urban center,

population size, economic base and social structure. Over 12,000 tokens were coded for social and linguistic predictors and analyzed using mixed effects statistical models. The –*body* variants dominate, but change towards –*one* is progressing in apparent time. The large urban center has the highest proportion of –*one* (44%), while other communities range across the spectrum. Neither geographic proximity to the urban center nor local economy is explanatory. Consistent with Trudgill's cascade model, distant locales of modest size pattern along with the regional epicenter, but rural communities retain conservative forms. Despite great distance and highly varying frequencies, regional parallelism unites all locations, consistent with Labov's (2007) model of generational transmission.

Divergence from local norms - Language change in a peripheral town

Sandra Jansen

Observing language change in non-urban communities can provide us with information about changes that have been completed already in other, often more urban communities. A stock of research in more remote areas of the British Isles already exists (e.g., Smith 2002; Tagliamonte 2012; Maguire 2014). However, these works have not addressed the issue of levelling local and supralocal forms in peripheral, but not necessarily rural, communities in the UK. My paper addresses the complex levelling processes found in the THOUGHT lexical set in Maryport English.

Maryport is a peripheral town of 11,000 on the West Cumbrian coast. While flourishing during the 19th century due to the coalmining and shipping industry, the town has seen a constant decrease in workforce in the 20th and 21st century.

The data for this talk stem from sociolinguistic interviews which were conducted in Maryport in July/August, 2014. Overall, 36 sociolinguistic interviews, including a minimal

pair list, were transcribed and analysed, using an apparent-time approach. Broadly speaking, the following variation for THOUGHT can be observed:

- a) [au], in words which historically contained a velar fricative, e.g., *daughter* and *bought* (cf. Wells 1982: 358f);
- b) [o:], which makes words such as *boat* and *bought* homophones;
- c) [ɔ:], a complete distinction between THOUGHT and GOAT.

In the first step, all THOUGHT tokens were analysed auditorily to investigate the distribution of a) across the sample. In the second step, the tokens that were realized as b) and c) were analysed acoustically to investigate the trajectory of change from [o:] to [ɔ:]. Contour maps are used to visualize the overlap of the two vowel sets.

The data suggest that the merger towards [ɔ:] has not been completed in Maryport English. The existence of the different variants is partly due to the incomplete THOUGHT monophthongization, as seen in a) (Wells 1982: 191) which is fairly restricted to Maryport now and can therefore be deemed as local variant. Variant b) is not explicitly mentioned in historical sources but has been found in other places along the West Cumbrian coast by the author and can be identified as supralocal variant. Variant c) is the supraregional variant which is found in various varieties across England.

While Maryport speakers have managed to maintain local features longer than other varieties along the West Cumbrian coast, we now see a rapid decline in the local as well as the supralocal feature. At the same time, local patriotism for Maryport and identification with the community have decreased. I argue that the declining social conditions lead to a case of resignation, i.e. the speakers no longer associate themselves with their community, which correlates with the decline of local and supralocal variants.

In conclusion, this paper, by closely examining the changes in the THOUGHT vowel in Maryport English, sheds new light on social changes leading to levelling processes in more peripheral towns in the UK.

Grammaticalization of function words in language change in Barunga Kriol, a north Australian creole variety

Caroline Jones, Katherine Demuth #[189](#)

This paper quantifies variation in the phonetic forms of function words across four generations of speakers in Barunga Kriol, a specific local variety of north Australian Kriol. Kriol is the home language of many Indigenous people in northern Australia and is undergoing rapid change. Drawing on new sociolinguistic interview data across four generation of speakers recorded by Indigenous peers, we quantify the patterns of reduction in four function words in terms of the categorical coding of variants, and in terms of continuous measurements of duration and vowel centralization, and explore segmental and prosodic context effects on the distribution of variants. Overall, the results show that the younger the speaker, the more they use reduced variants.

Talmbout: An Overlooked Verb of Quotation in AAE

Taylor Jones #[50](#)

This paper describes an understudied verb of quotation in AAE: *talkin' 'bout* (often *talmbout* on social media). We show that it has been present in AAE for a century. Like *be like*, it can introduce direct speech, reported speech, non-lexical sounds, and unuttered thoughts. Unlike *be like*, however, it is strongly correlated with indignation or mocking, and therefore with third person quotation (e.g., *they come talkin' 'bout they is scared of me!*). We show it is a camouflage construction that is not always understood by non-AAE speakers. Further, we demonstrate that for some AAE speakers, it is

becoming lexicalized and cannot in all instances be interpreted as *be talkin' 'bout* (with possible null copula), but potentially has a full verbal paradigm, including instances of *will talmbout*, *would talmbout*, and *talmbouted*. We argue it is relevant to cross-dialect comprehension and borrowing, camouflage constructions, and the AAE divergence hypothesis controversy.

Chain shift and initial syllable prominence in Seoul Korean

Yoonjung Kang, Tae-Jin Yoon #[355](#)

This paper presents an apparent time study of chain shift-like changes in Seoul Korean back vowels, based on 655,287 tokens of monophthongal vowels in non-functional morphemes in a corpus of read speech produced by 117 speakers (The National Institute of the Korean Language 2003). In particular, the study examines whether and how this non-reductive change affects vowels in word-initial position, a position of phonological and prosodic prominence, differently from vowels in non-initial position. We find that the vowels in initial syllables are overall produced with a more peripheral quality. The only exceptions are the three back vowels undergoing the shift. In an initial syllable, these back vowels are produced more toward the direction of shift; the mid vowel /o/ is produced more raised (unlike other mid vowels) and the back vowels /ɨ/ and /u/ are *fronted* (unlike other back vowels). We conclude that a prominent position *leads* this chain shift.

Word order variation in adverbial clauses

Tanya Karoli Christensen, Torben Juel Jensen #[209](#)

Scandinavian languages distinguish between two word orders (WO): 'Subclause WO' with Adverb > Verb order and 'Main clause WO' with Verb > Adverb order. Traditional terminology notwithstanding, both WOs are found in subclauses. V>Adv WO is an instance of Main Clause Phenomena in subclauses (MCP), and is

argued to signal relatively higher informational importance compared to the main clause. While previous studies have confirmed this semantico-pragmatic explanation for the distribution of WO in Danish complement clauses, the topic for this paper is WO in *adverbial* subclauses.

Based on a socially stratified data set of 3,270 adverbial subclauses from the LANCHART real time corpus of spoken Danish, mixed effects modelling show that linguistic factors explain the larger part of the variation, and that V>Adv WO is particularly prevalent in *because*-clauses. Nonetheless, the social factors of class and location also affect the variation, pointing to a pattern of convergence to Copenhagen speech.

New speakers as agents of social and linguistic change in Franco-Provençal-speaking communities

Jonathan Kasstan #[195](#)

This paper considers emerging 'new' speakers of Franco-Provençal: a highly fragmented variety spoken in France, Switzerland and Italy by < 1% of the total regional population. Through an analysis of data collected in 2012, we examine /l/-palatalisation in obstruent+lateral onset clusters as a linguistic variable in two different Franco-Provençal-speaking regions: les monts du Lyonnais and the Canton of Valais. 57 participants were interviewed, forming three categories of speaker-type: native speakers; late speakers (acquired as adults); and 'new' speakers (acquired in an educational context). The data (n=1359) are assessed against historical atlas data, and tested with χ^2 according to social variables. The findings suggest that bi-directional change is underway: while native and late speaker data evidence convergence with French, we find in the new speaker data emerging variants that might form part of a larger pan-regional new speaker norm.

When variables intersect: The interplay of the expression of the subjunctive mood and necessity in two varieties of French.

Laura Kastronic [#251](#)

This paper consists of the study of two variables in spoken Hexagonal (HF) and Quebec French (QF) using the comparative variationist method. The analysis of the subjunctive mood revealed surprisingly that the only clear difference between the two varieties is that the rate of subjunctive use is lower in HF than in QF, but that this discrepancy is mostly due to circumstantial differences in governor use, in particular a decreased use of *falloir que* in HF. This finding inspired a comparative variationist analysis of the expression of necessity, which revealed that the main variant in HF is, in fact, *falloir* but followed by an infinitive rather than the complementizer *que* and a finite verb. Analysis of variability in the expression of the subjunctive and necessity more generally allows us to locate apparent differences between HF and QF, not in the loss of mood distinctions, but in the cross-variety differences in the expression of necessity.

New Data and Tools for Research on African American English

Tyler Kendall, Minnie Annan, Charlie Farrington, Jason McLarty, Natalie Schilling [#231](#)

This poster details our project to develop the first public corpus of African American English (AAE) spoken language data. The project, containing a core component of sociolinguistic interviews with a cross-section of African Americans from Washington DC, is making available both legacy data from the canon of sociolinguistic research on AAE (e.g. Fasold 1972) as well as a new series of interviews recorded in 2015. The poster (a) explains the relevance of the corpus project, (b) describes the architecture and design of the corpus, (c) exemplifies the use of the corpus in a follow up to Kendall, Bresnan, and Van Herk's (2011) syntactic analysis of the dative alternation, and

(d) importantly, solicits input from the larger sociolinguistic research community on a range of aspects of the project.

The Canadian Vowel Shift in Production and Perception: New Evidence from Montreal

Thomas Kettig, Bodo Winter [#126](#)

The Canadian Shift (CS), a systematic lowering and backing of /i, ε, æ/, has been extensively studied in production, but not in perception. In Experiment One, twenty-eight Anglophones from Montreal were recorded reading words containing stressed /ε, æ, ɔ, ʌ/. Consistent with past research, we find lowering of /ε/ and /æ/; this is most pronounced among young women. In Experiment Two, the same speakers categorized synthetic vowels along an F1/F2 continuum. Here, there seem to be no gender or age effects. Moreover, a speaker's involvement in the CS in production is not found to be predictive of their perceptual behavior. This suggests that in an ongoing change, speakers' productions may differ, but perception may need to accommodate the fact that both new and old variants will be heard. In Montreal's Canadian Shift, at least, it appears that production is changing ahead of perception.

Variation in /æ/ in Montreal and New Brunswick English: With reference to the Canadian Shift

Donghyun Kim, Louisa Bielig, Amanda McDonnell, Ryan Kazma [#133](#)

In this paper, we aim to determine whether the lowering or retraction of /æ/ has spread to the Eastern Canadian region of New Brunswick. We address the question of regional, generational, and phonetic context differences of /æ/ in Montreal and New Brunswick to determine whether /æ/ is currently undergoing sound change associated with the Canadian Shift. Linear mixed models reveal that speakers from Montreal exhibit significantly lower /æ/ than

those from New Brunswick, suggesting that Montreal and New Brunswick are at different stages of the lowering and retraction of /æ/ with respect to the Canadian Shift. The comparison of generational differences across the two regions shows that /æ/ is much lower in younger speakers than in older speakers only in New Brunswick. Furthermore, the phonetic contexts show that raising environments (i.e. /æN/ and /æg/) resist the vowel shift to a much larger degree than elsewhere contexts.

On negotiating racial and regional identities: Vocalic Variation Among African Americans in Bakersfield, California

Sharese King #235

This study builds on recent work that examined regional variation among African Americans by investigating vocalic variation among twelve African Americans from Bakersfield, California (Yaeger-Dror & Thomas, 2009). I examine how these speakers negotiate racial and regional identity using a supraregional AAE feature (PIN-PEN merger) and a local feature (BAT backing and lowering). Drawing on interview data, tokens were extracted from stressed positions and measured midpoints were used in various analyses. Social conditioning was only found for backness across age ($p < .01$) and race ($p < .001$), while minimal social conditioning, was found for the PIN-PEN merger. African Americans may resist the fronting and raising of BAT (an African American Vowel Shift pattern) because this feature stands in conflict with the local sound change of lowering and backing (a California Vowel Shift pattern). Additionally, the PIN-PEN merger may enable them to index racial identity while affiliating with the local variety.

The role of geography in syntactic variation: A corpus-based analysis on adverb position across varieties of English worldwide

Edwin Ko #145

In this study, adverb position is analyzed for geographical patterning across ten L1 and L2 varieties of spoken and written English from the International Corpus of English - Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Kenya, Tanzania, Jamaica, Hong Kong, India, Philippines, Singapore, and Canada. Five adverb positions were chosen: infinitive-splitting, sentence-initial, non-modal auxiliary-splitting, modal auxiliary-splitting, and pre-auxiliary, and their probabilities were extracted from each corpus. A number of statistical analysis and visualization techniques were employed to identify similarities and differences due to geographical space. The analysis shows that geographical 'as-the-crow-flies' distances explain 16.4% of the syntactic variance ($p < 0.01$, Mantel test). Results also show a significant effect of geography on sentence-initial adverbs in the spoken data, where a 'hot spot' was analyzed among the L2 vernaculars: Hong Kong, India, Singapore, and Philippines.

The Third Vowel Shift in Kansas: A supra-regional shift with regional variation

Mary Kohn, Carly Stithem #275

To date, acoustic documentation of the Great Plains region has been restricted to urban hubs, leaving questions about sound change at the border of the Midlands and West dialect regions. The Third Vowel Shift is described as affecting front lax vowels such that BAT, BET, and BIT lower and retract and is found in regions surrounding the Great Plains. Apparent time evidence from three communities in Kansas, two rural and one suburban, reveals that the Third Vowel Shift is vigorous within the Great Plains region. However, the tense vowel BAIT also appears to undergo change through increasing monophthongization. This study not only provides one of the first acoustic surveys

of rural and suburban Great Plains English, but documents how a supra-regional sound change may become locally-instantiated through changes to vowels not implicated in the general shift.

Apparent-time evolution of (dh) in one African American community

Chris Koops #[290](#)

This talk presents the results of an apparent-time study of 20th-century change in the variable (dh) – i.e., [ð]~[d] variation, as in then [ðɛn]~[dɛn] – in one Southern African American community: Princeville, North Carolina. The results indicate that while stopping was already present in a unique AAE constraint pattern at the beginning of the 20th century, it has since then intensified and undergone phonological leveling, rendering the AAE system increasingly distinct from Southern Anglo (dh). We discuss this case of divergence in the context of other recent work on the diachrony of AAE phonological features, as well as more broadly in the context of the recent history of AAE in the South.

Intergenerational language transmission in Jakarta Indonesian: Evidence from the pseudo passive in adults and children naturalistic corpora

Ferdinan Kurniawan #[171](#)

This investigation involves interaction of two subfields of linguistics, namely language change and acquisition, embedded in a variationist perspective. It involves understanding the child as the locus of change. This study examines intergenerational language transmission across three generations of Jakarta Indonesian (JI) speakers.

This study uses three naturalistic spoken corpora of JI collected in colloquial settings: children corpus collected in early 2000s (collected over a four year period, Gil and Tadmor 2007), adults corpus collected in 1970s

(Wallace 1976), and adults corpus collected in early 2000s (Gil and Tadmor 2007).

This study takes as its specific focus the patterns of the “pseudo passive” and finds that the patterns of use have not changed across these three generations. Three data points of JI children (1;7-3;5, 5;10-6;5, and 11;0-11;11) show that the patterns of use of pseudo passive by JI children resembles the primary linguistic data (PLD) transmitted from parents’ generations.

Is there a HAVE-switch in Danish?

Anu Laanemets #[381](#)

The paper reports on a corpus-based investigation of perfect auxiliary variation in spoken Danish in apparent and real time. Two intransitive motion verbs are examined: *gå* (go) and *komme* (come); representing, respectively, (a) telicity-neutral motion verbs, combining with both *HAVE* and *BE*, and (b) inherently telic motion verbs, combining only with *BE*. The distribution of the auxiliaries with ‘*go*’ shows a continuous decline of the auxiliary *BE* across the three generations in apparent time, indicating a change within the language community. The real time panel study reveals no significant variation – each generation remains stable. The infrequent use of auxiliary *BE* among the youngest can be explained by the limited use of the meaning potentials of the highly polysemous ‘*go*’. We examine, whether this pattern can be generalized to less polysemous telicity-neutral motion verbs, and whether this putative apparent time change is reflected in the use of inherently telic motion verbs.

The re-organization of short-a systems in Philadelphia

William Labov, Sabriya Fisher, Gudrún Gylfadóttir, Anita Henderson, Hilary Prichard, Betsy Sneller #[80](#)

Recent developments in Philadelphia show radical change in the phonology of sections of

the population involved in higher education. Short-a before voiceless fricatives, tense in the traditional system, becomes lax, while short-a before nasals becomes tense, including many subcategories that are lax in the traditional system. College students who graduated from Philadelphia high schools were recruited and trained to interview close friends who were also graduates of Philadelphia schools. FAVE analysis of their vowel systems shows that conformity to the traditional system is entirely confined to White graduates of parochial schools and general public schools, while conformity to the nasal system is characteristic of elite public schools, private Quaker and charter schools. This result shows an unusual case of social redistribution of an abstract phonological structure.

“What do Haitians sound like”?

Sociophonetic variation in Haitians’ English in Toronto

Véronique Lacoste #203

This paper examines variation in Haitians’ English phonology in Toronto, which is variably in contact with Canadian English and other English varieties spoken in the city. The data comes from sixteen sociolinguistic interviews and was coded auditorily for the realisations of dental fricatives, intervocalic phoneme /t/ and phoneme /ɹ/. The quantitative analysis reveals that Haitians exhibit high phonetic variation: Canadian English tap [ɾ] for /t/ is often realised, but also its stop counterpart, phoneme /t/ is realised as alveolar approximant [ɹ], voiced uvular fricative [ʁ], which is often produced by francophone speakers of English, or labio-velar approximant [w] present in Haitian Creole. Other variants match those found in English speakers of Caribbean descent or may signal influence from Haitian Creole or French, showing overall a complex phonological repertoire and a sociolinguistic (and sociocultural) situation of “in-betweens” among Haitians in Canada.

Accommodation and Retroflex Variation in Taiwanese Mandarin: A Case of Dialect Contact in the U.S.

Yu-Ning Lai #136

This study investigates 28 Taiwanese Mandarin (thereafter TM) speakers’ linguistic preference of retroflex features, full retroflex and de-retroflexion, when they contact with Putonghua (thereafter PTH) speakers in the US. The correlation between retroflex variation and TM speakers’ social network strength with PTH speakers in an immigrant community is examined. The results show that TM speakers who have greater social network strength with PTH speakers produce the least occurrence rate of the full retroflexed variant. The widespread use of de-retroflexed variants in TM speakers’ speech suggests that speakers develop stronger intentions to distinguish in- and out-group speech to reinforce their Taiwanese identity while they are abroad. The findings also suggest that the direction of the dialect accommodation in the immigration setting may be determined by the positive social value of the acceptable form merging from the local community instead of being determined by speakers’ network strength with their interlocutors.

Perceptual salience of vowel rhoticity in Canadian French

Jeffrey Lamontagne, Jeff Mielke #283

Rhotic mid front rounded vowels have been observed in French spoken in Montreal and Ottawa/Gatineau since the 1970s and 1980s (Dumas 1972, Mielke 2013). We report a perception experiment designed to test the salience of the difference between rhotic and non-rhotic vowels for Canadian francophones and for anglophones in Canada and the United States. 93 participants completed an AX discrimination task which was followed by either an AXB discrimination task or an identification task, followed by a short production task for French speakers. The AX task employed formant resynthesis to isolate vowel quality, the AXB task used natural stimuli

produced by different speakers, and the identification task used extreme natural stimuli, and listeners had to learn the categories from feedback. The results show that the rhotic/nonrhotic distinction is perceived weakly, especially by francophones, supporting the claim that rhoticity is a change from below.

Vraiment Vraiment Intense: The use of intensifiers in Acadian French adolescent speech

Emilie LeBlanc #[178](#)

Chiac is a variety of Acadian French spoken in the Moncton area of New Brunswick. This study examines French and English intensifier use by adolescent speakers of Chiac, to determine the rate of use of English and French intensifiers and the intensification system of this variety. The data come from the Perrot (1995) sociolinguistic corpus of thirty Acadian French adolescents; thirteen males and seventeen females.

The overall rate of intensified adjectives is 38.6%. The most common intensifiers used in this study are: *right* (44%), *assez* 'so' (18%), and *vraiment* 'really' (9%). A series of multivariate analyses pitted individual intensifiers against all other intensifiers, excluding the non-intensified tokens. For *assez* 'so', a gender effect was in play with females favoring *assez* and males disfavoring it, a finding reminiscent of Tagliamonte's (2008) results for *so*. Another gendered intensifier, *pretty*, was favored by males and disfavored by females, a further finding mirroring Tagliamonte (2008).

A diachronic shift: The status of *well* and *ben* in Chiac

Emilie LeBlanc, Selena Phillips-Boyle #[177](#)

Chiac, a dialect of Acadian French spoken in southeast New Brunswick, is characterised by extensive borrowings and code-switching with English (Perrot 1995; Chevalier 2007; King 2008). This study investigates the use of *well* and *ben* in two sociolinguistic corpora (N=887)

consisting of adolescent speakers of Chiac (Perrot, 1995; LeBlanc, 2012). We address the following questions: Is there evidence of diachronic change in the usage of *well* and *ben*? and What social and linguistic factors condition the use of these discourse markers in Chiac?

The results of multivariate analysis show that the use of the French variant *ben* has increased from 36% in 1991 to 71% in 2012. Females favour the French variant (effect=0.60), while males favour the English variant (effect=0.64). The function of the discourse marker shifts between the two corpora: in 1991, *ben* is preferred for reflexive frame breaks and self-repair, whereas, in 2012 it is favoured for wh-questions and clarification.

Phonetic Effects of Diglossic- and Style-Shifting in Arabic

Thomas Leddy-Cecere #[27](#)

In analyzing Arabic diglossia, researchers have often viewed phonetic/phonological variation between dialectal Arabic (DA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) as a change in style linked to formality or care in speech. This study investigates whether gradient phonetic properties distinguish DA and MSA independently of the phonetic correlates of change across the Labovian style continuum. Two speakers of Egyptian Arabic and two of Syrian Arabic recorded interviews consisting of free speech, a reading passage, and a wordlist, replicated once each in DA and MSA. Tokens of /a:/ were measured for quantity, quality, and dispersion. ANOVAs identified consistent main effects for style across all speakers. Regarding register, however, the Syrian speakers showed strongly significant effects not evidenced by the Egyptian speakers. This finding of dialect-specific, differential operation of style- vs. diglossic-shifting argues strongly for the identification of the latter as a separate phenomenon involving switching between two distinct sets of phonetic norms.

Retour sur le futur : une perspective sur le français oral dans le nord-ouest de l'Ontario.

Isabelle Lemee #[103](#)

L'expression de la référence temporelle future a été largement étudiée à travers les variétés françaises orales. Le futur périphrastique (FP) signale une proximité, tandis que le futur simple (FS) semble être favorisé par les formes négatives. Dans cette recherche variationniste portant sur un nouveau corpus oral de locuteurs L1 et L2 du nord-ouest de l'Ontario, où le français est en situation minoritaire, les participants montrent une préférence pour le FP (59%) et le présent à valeur de futur (28% contre 11% pour le FS). Le FS s'oppose au FP pour l'expression de la postériorité dans certains contextes linguistiques, dans d'autres, le FP et le présent à valeur de futur sont utilisés en alternance. Certains locuteurs font un usage quasi-catégorique du FP. Par ailleurs, la négation ne semble pas importante dans le choix du FS.

Gender, politeness and intonational variation: The multiple discourse functions of High Rising Terminals in London

Erez Levon #[24](#)

In this paper, I examine the different conversational and interactional functions that High Rising Terminals (HRT) fulfil among young, White, middle-class speakers of London English. Data are drawn from sixteen small-group interviews with forty-two individuals (28 women and 14 men) aged 18-25. From this corpus, 7351 declarative intonational phrases were extracted, and auditorily coded for the presence/ absence of HRT as well as for a variety of social, textual and interactional factors. I combine quantitative and qualitative methods to demonstrate that while all of the speakers investigated use HRT as a (positive) politeness device, the specific politeness strategies that the feature is recruited to perform differ markedly across genders. I consider the ramifications of this finding for our

understanding of politeness as a gendered practice, and also discuss the analytical importance of examining a variable like HRT in its discourse-functional context.

Frequency Effect on Subject Pronoun Use in Mandarin Chinese

Xiaoshi Li #[87](#)

In recent years, some studies have been conducted to investigate the role of lexical frequency in phonological and syntactic variation since Bybee's proposal of the central importance of frequency in language use (Bayley, Ware & Holland, 2013; Bybee, 2002; Erker & Guy, 2012; Walker, 2012). The results suggest a complicated and even puzzling picture of frequency effect. This study investigates the effect of frequency on subject pronominal expressions in Mandarin. The data were collected from twenty Chinese native speakers in three discourse contexts with a total of 7,291 tokens. Frequency was measured in two ways – general frequency and dataset frequency. The results suggest that subject pronoun use in Mandarin cannot be best explained by usage-based approach and frequency does not play a central role. In addition, the "Cheshire cat" (Bayley et al., 2013) nature of frequency effect was demonstrated even within the same dataset.

Vowel Variation in Emerging Miami Latino English: Exploring Vernacularity through Social Affiliation

Lydda Lopez, Phillip Carter

Recent work documenting the role of Spanish substrate influence on new dialect formation in Miami (authors 2014) has demonstrated that Miami-born Latinos differ from non-Latino Anglo Whites for a variety of phonetic, syntactic, lexical, and prosodic variables. Miami-born Latinos were found to demonstrate productions of /u/ and /æ/ that were significantly more backed than those of Anglo Whites. While the college student

population provided a good sense of the role of Spanish structural influence in emerging Miami English, it nevertheless gave us a limited sense of the range of vernacularity in the speech community.

To address this limitation, we have expanded our Miami sociolinguistic corpus beyond the university setting. But given the complexities of controlling for variables such as national origin group, bilingualism, and age-of-arrival in U.S. Latino communities (Bayley 2014), we have limited our efforts to a group of social affiliation we are calling “gym jocks.” The gym jocks we have studied, like the college students in the earlier study, are all Miami-born, come from one of the four largest national origin groups in metropolitan Miami, and are comparable in age to the college students (18-26). They differ from the college student group in that their social practices and shared experiences are oriented to Miami’s gym culture, rather than to scholastic achievement. We do not refer to this group as a community of practice, however, since our fieldwork draws on several different gyms.

For the current paper, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with 26 Latino “gym jocks: 13 men and 8 women. 5 Miami-born Anglo Whites served as a comparison group. Here we examine the same suite of features we studied for the college students – both allophones of [æ] and /u/, as well as /i, ɪ, ə, ɔ, ay/. For each vowel for each speaker, a minimum of 15 nonrecurring tokens were considered from analysis. Tokens were extracted from sociolinguistic interviews and analyzed for F1, F2, and F3 values using PRAAT. Measurements were taken at the midpoint for all monophthongs and at three temporal locations for all diphthongs. Two allophones of /æ/ were considered: prenasal and prenasal, since Latinos in other regional settings have shown to resist prenasal /æ/ raising (Thomas 2001). Tokens for all vowel variables were coded for phonetic environment as described by Thomas (2011) and vowel data were normalized using the Bark

difference metric (Syrdal and Gopal 1986). Statistical analysis testing differences in production between ethnic groups (Latinos and Anglo Whites) and social affiliations (college students and gym jocks) was conducted using SPSS. In terms of ethnicity, our results showed that the gym jocks patterned like the college students, with an ethnic split for both allophones of /æ/ and /u/, with Latinos producing significantly more backed variants as compared to Anglo Whites. In terms of social affiliation, Latino gym jocks demonstrated a nearmerger for prenasal and nonprenasal /æ/ and were significantly more backed for /u/ than Latino college students.

Agreeing when to disagree: A corpus analysis of variable agreement neutralization in caregiver and child speech

Cynthia Lukyanenko, Karen Miller #[380](#)

Studies of language acquisition typically treat morphosyntactic rules as absolute, but rules can and do occur variably in input to children. How does variability influence their acquisition? English subject-verb agreement, for instance, can be neutralized in locative inversions: a plural subject sometimes appears with a singular verb (e.g., *here’s your cookies*). We examined patterns of agreement neutralization in caregiver and child speech in the Sarah (lower-SES) and Nina (middle-SES) corpora (CHILDES). Third-person sentences with an agreeing form of the copula were coded for subject and verb properties, and sentence type. All speakers produced neutralization variably in inversions, and lower-SES speakers produced agreement variably in other sentence types. Children matched their caregiver’s patterns, except that Nina produced more neutralizations in locative inversions than her mother did. These patterns suggest that children’s productions are closely related to variability in their input, and that adult-like variability takes longer to master than categorical usage.

Mouthing rates in Deaf Seniors' production of Langue des signes Québécoise/Quebec Sign Language (LSQ)

Stéphanie Luna

Prior to 1960, deaf girls and boys in the Canadian province of Quebec were educated separately in religious institutions which adopted different pedagogical approaches with regard to the medium of instruction (Perreault & Pelletier, 2010). Girls had an overall greater exposure to oral French than boys. However, there are differences within the boys in that some had little exposure to French (manual group) while others were taught with some French (oralist group), but less than the girls. Previous research on these signers' focused on the effects of this contact on the lexicon, but the linguistic consequences to other areas of the grammar are not known. This study seeks to address this lacuna by investigating a linguistic contact phenomenon, variable mouthing rate, that is the production of oral language simultaneously with signing. The different degrees of exposure to oral teaching methods in the educational background of older Quebec deaf women and deaf men has led me the following research question: Is the variable production of mouthing rate in LSQ among older deaf people constrained by their previous educational experience? I hypothesized that the mouthing rate in oralist-educated women would be higher than the manual-educated men and I expect the oralist-educated men to be situated between the other two groups.

To investigate whether the different educational experiences affect mouthing rate of these older (60+) deaf women and men, I analyzed natural language data from a LSQ corpus of deaf participants stratified by sex (11 women, 11 men). I circumscribe the variable context broadly, taking into account that each sign could potentially be accompanied by mouthing. This resulted in a total of 1526 tokens which were coded for presence or absence of mouthing. The data were coded based on social factors: the signers' educational

experience which corresponds indirectly with sex (oralist-educated women, oralist-educated men, and manual-educated men), the signers' family environment (with/without deaf family members) and the signers' onset of deafness (native/non-native). Since previous studies (Dubuisson *et al.*, 1992) have shown that verbs in LSQ are mouthed less frequently than nouns due to the morphosyntactic complexity conveyed by a single verb in French, we thus consider whether the grammatical category of the sign constrains mouthing.

Results from multiple regression analysis of social factors reveal that there is only a statistically significant difference between the three groups according to their exposure to French ($p < .001$). Oralist-educated women favour mouthing at a factor weight of .59 ($n=828$) while oralist-educated men and manual-educated men disfavour mouthing at respective factor weights of .41 ($n=281$) and .38 ($n=417$). Furthermore, the results reveal that the grammatical category of the sign conditions mouthing rate ($\chi^2=67.9, df=4, p < .001$) in that adjectives, nouns and adverbs are mouthed more frequently (between 58% and 66%) than verbs (42%) or pronouns (17%), which is in line with previous research on other sign languages. These results suggest that the contact situation with oral French has consequences which extend beyond the lexicon, in that there are clear differences in mouthing rates between deaf seniors based on their previous educational background.

Quantifying the Urban Linguistic Landscape: Nostalgia and Authenticity in San Francisco and New Delhi

Kate Lyons #318

Through a dual quantitative-qualitative comparative study of language display in two urban spaces (the Mission, San Francisco and South Delhi, New Delhi), this study attempts to show the potential of using inferential statistics for the field of Linguistic Landscapes (LL). A series of binomial logistic regression models

compared signs in different areas to determine relationships between language distribution and location. Significant differences were then evaluated using qualitative LL methodologies. These assessments suggest the presence of *linguistic commodification* in select areas, or processes by which linguistic forms become “marketable” objects (Heller, 2003: 474), and that this ‘marketability’ of linguistic objects can be predominately characterized by nostalgia and varying processes of authentication (Toor, 2000; Bucholtz, 2003). The intersection of quantitative and qualitative methods used in this study presents new insights for study of multilingual communities, as well as new methods with which to advance study of linguistic variation in Linguistic Landscape research.

Heritage speakers abide by all the rules: Evidence of language-contact effects in Heritage Polish word-final devoicing

Paulina Lyskawa, Emilia Melara, Ruth Maddeaux [#292](#)

We investigate word-final obstruent devoicing in the context of contact between two languages with differing application environments for the devoicing rule: Polish – Heritage and Homeland varieties – and English. ~120 tokens of underlyingly voiced word-final obstruents were extracted from transcribed sociolinguistic interviews (N=33). The independent variables analyzed were: *manner of articulation, following segment, word type, and lexical frequency* of the token; *ethnic orientation, generation and code-switching frequency* for Heritage Polish speakers, plus *age and sex* for all speakers. Mixed-effect analyses determined the best predictive model of the variability. Heritage Polish speakers were found to devoice significantly more than the Homeland Polish and English groups. For all groups, devoicing is favoured before a voiceless obstruent or pause, but different factors predict the behaviour otherwise. We argue devoicing is significantly more frequent in

Heritage Polish as a result of Heritage speakers employing the devoicing rules of both Homeland Polish and English.

Production planning effects on variable contraction in English

Laurel MacKenzie [#249](#)

This paper explores the potential role of the incremental planning of speech on the variable contraction of *is* (e.g. *My mother{’s ~ is} a teacher*). At issue is the question of whether sociolinguistic variables which are conditioned by a linguistic element to their immediate right are sensitive to speakers’ naturally variable ability to plan ahead as they speak: if the rightward element has not yet been planned, it should not be available to condition the varying form that precedes it. We use duration of the word following *is* as a proxy for advance planning, and see whether this measure interacts with the well-known effect of following constituent type on *is*-contraction. We find no interaction, relating this to psycholinguistic work on advance planning of higher-level grammatical elements. We also draw conclusions from the results concerning the nature of grammatical architecture and the cognitive mechanisms that derive varying linguistic forms.

Is "like" like "like"?: Evaluating the same variant across multiple variables

Ruth Maddeaux, Aaron Dinkin [#63](#)

Campbell-Kibler (2010) suggests that social meaning attaches to a sociolinguistic variant independent of the variants it competes with. We investigate this hypothesis via a matched-guise experiment on the word *like*, which has multiple standard and vernacular functions instantiating different variables, many involved in ongoing change. We prepared nine guises of a two-minute narrative: eight each containing one function of *like*, and a control guise without *like*. Participants heard the control guise and two *like* guises, and rated each on several social

dimensions. Only “vernacular” functions of like were evaluated significantly differently than the control guise or prompted participants to describe a guise as “using like a lot”—even though some “standard” functions are undergoing the same change as vernacular functions. This suggests that we may need to look somewhere other than social evaluation to explain the apparent coincidence whereby multiple functions of like are increasing simultaneously in apparent time.

"Black Twitter": AAE lexical innovation, appropriation, and change in computer-mediated discourse

Mia Matthias, Renee Blake #[342](#)

This paper provides a new perspective on lexical innovation, appropriation and change of African American English through computer-mediated communication, specifically “Black Twitter” online discourse. While appropriation of African American English has been documented largely through spoken word, this work extends the discussion to written texts. In this paper, we present results of research that examines the life cycle of three lexical items that originated and underwent change through computer-mediated communication. Using the Twitter API, we mine approximately 18,000 tweets of three AAE lexical innovations (1, 2, 3):

1. Twerk (dance form)
2. On Fleek (“good”)
3. Yeet (originally a dance form, also used as an exclamation or to signify rejection)

Using Google Trends from 2014-2015, we show rates of usage of these lexical items from their inception, to their peak, appropriation, and where possible their loss within a virtual world of AAE users and Mainstream English users.

The results indicate that at the height of usage, as indicated by Google Trends, the lexical items experience decreased usage by AAE users on Twitter. We correlate the drops in usage by the AAE users with highly marked moments for the lexical item in mainstream communities such as

designation as a dictionary entry or use by mainstream media.

Local and National Identity in Central Brazil

Shirley Mattos, Marta Scherre #[67](#)

We analyze coexistent identity trends in subject/verb concord with *nós* ‘we’ and alternation of *nós/a gente* ‘we’ in spoken Brazilian Portuguese in the urban area of Goiás State (Center-West region). Our sample consists of 55 speakers (28 women/27 men), with a minimum of 10 years of schooling, 16-86 years of age. We analyze 579 tokens of subject/concord and 2027 tokens of *nós/a gente* alternation and present our results in frequencies and relative weights. Speakers with more schooling favor *nós*-with-concord, the standard variant. They disfavor *a gente*-with-concord, a new, but not-stigmatized variant, favored by women and younger speakers. Surprisingly, women and younger speakers heavily favor *nós*-without-concord, the stigmatized variant. The contrast between these phenomena reveal assertion of identity on two different levels among speakers: local, through *nós*-without-concord; and national, through *a-gente*-with-concord. In sum, local identity produces a more complex configuration of social variables in phenomena of language variation and change.

The role of contextual distributions in Differential Object Marking in Mexico City Spanish

Alexander McAllister #[48](#)

This study investigates how discourse context shapes the use of the differential object marker *a* in Mexico City Spanish. 1,432 Subject Verb Object (SVO) clauses were extracted from *El Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (Lastra & Martin, 2011) and coded for definiteness, specificity, relative animacy, and verb, as well as for education level, age and gender. Results of 7 independent multivariate

analyses, including 3 by social group according to speaker education level and 3 for the frequent verbs *conocer* ‘know’, *tener* ‘have’ and *ver* ‘see’ show that although DOM is constrained by the same factors and with the same direction of effect, there is important patterning of use that constrains appearance of the marker dependent on education level and verb. Ultimately, this study contributes to current discussions of individual lexical and speaker effects by highlighting the importance of data distributions in analyzing both linguistic and extralinguistic factors in variation.

Development of locality judgments and implicit language attitudes

Elizabeth McCullough, Cynthia Clopper, Laura Wagner #99

In implicit language attitude rating tasks, talkers of standard dialects are rated highly on status measures, while talkers of non-standard dialects may be rated highly on solidarity measures. This study examined attitudinal development throughout the lifespan and its relationship to the perceived geographical origin of each talker. 240 child and adult participants, primarily from Ohio, rated talkers from the Midland, Northern, Southern, and New England regions of the United States on status and solidarity measures and on whether each talker was “from Ohio.” Northern talkers, who are not stigmatized in Ohio, patterned with Midland talkers on all measures, while stigmatized Southern and New England talkers were downgraded. Perceived locality differences emerged before differences in attitude ratings. Further, listeners showed a three-way division of dialects for locality, but a two-way division for other measures, suggesting that some language attitudes may depend on a less differentiated conception of geography and/or group membership.

Explaining Discursive 'well' in Ontario French: From Qualitative to Quantitative

Charlotte McDonald #187

This paper seeks to quantitatively explore the aspects of adolescents’ language habits which play a role in the emergence of discursive *well* in French in Pembroke, Ontario. A preliminary qualitative study of the data suggests a correlation between the emergence of *well* in variation with *ben*, the adolescent’s exposure to French outside of school and their personal orientation with regard to French. Despite considerable variation across speaker profiles, all 31 Pembroke speakers are categorized as restricted users of French according to Mougeon & Beniak’s (1991) restriction index. A key methodological objective of this research is then to manipulate Mougeon & Beniak’s language restriction index to account quantitatively for differences in speaker profiles. Speakers are regrouped according to their exposure to French and personal orientations to determine the significance of these factors — along with their constituent parts — on the emergence of *well* in Pembroke.

Slum-living adolescents, social integration and the directionality of language change

Marcelo Melo, Christina Gomes #170

This study addresses the behavior of two groups of adolescents in the speech community of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) that share similar social characteristics (low class from slums), but differ in terms of social integration: the EJLA sample, constituted by slum-living adolescents who, during the interview, were living in a reformatory due to some crime they had committed; and the FIOCRUZ sample, composed by slum-living adolescents who, during the interview, were attending an educational program offered by a renowned Brazilian scientific institution. Results related to a sociophonetic variable – coda fricative as in *me*[ʒ]mo ~ *me*[z]mo ~ *me*[h]mo ~ *me*[0]mo (same) – show that FIOCRUZ adolescents adopted a closer behavior to that observed for

the young speakers from middle-class, avoiding the pattern of EJLA adolescents. We argue that the linguistic behavior of a group can be also related to the degree of the social integration of this group within the speech community.

Articulatory signals from ultrasound video, applied to North American English variables

Jeff Mielke, Christopher Carignan #[314](#)

Ultrasound imaging is an increasingly common part of the toolkit for variation studies. We introduce a method for examining the temporal dynamics of articulatory correlates of sociolinguistic variables directly from ultrasound video without tongue tracing. Principal component analysis is used to identify independent axes of variation within a set of ultrasound data (see Hueber et al 2007), and then we use linear regression and vowel formant measurements to transform the resulting PC scores into meaningful articulatory parameters. We demonstrate this technique using short-a tensing and variation in pre-liquid vowels in the speech of a regionally diverse group of 20 U.S. and Canadian English speakers. In the case of short-a, we are able to see clearly that tensing before anterior nasals involves tongue body raising that is timed to the vowel nucleus, whereas tensing before voiced velars involves anticipating the velar closure to different degrees.

A corpus study of the influence of input on child acquisition of African American English aspectual markers

Shannon Mooney #[325](#)

What happens when children are exposed to two dialects with grammars that differ? This is a quantitative study of the acquisition of AAE morphosyntax by children in environments where multiple varieties of English are spoken. Aspectual markers *be*, *bin*, and *done* are grammatical particles specific to AAE but largely homophonous with Standard English lexical

items serving other functions. Acquisition of aspect is a cognitively complex task that takes place relatively late in language development. This study investigates the acquisition of aspectual markers among 39 preschool-aged (4;6-5;0) children. There are distinct situations captured in the data: one preschool comprises African American children with African American teachers, another is white children with white teachers, and the third is a preschool with both African American and white students and teachers. African American children in exclusively African American preschools displayed significantly more uptake of AAE aspect than their peers in the more diverse preschool.

L'accord verbal avec les sujets collectifs singuliers sur un continuum L1-L2

Raymond Mougeon, Françoise Mougeon #[46](#)

Notre étude examine deux alternances : i) l'emploi au pluriel (non standard) vs au singulier (standard) des verbes avec les sujets collectifs (morphologiquement singulier et sémantiquement pluriel), ex. *toute la famille viennent/vient chez nous* et ii) l'emploi de personnes ou gens comme variante du nom collectif monde (ex. beaucoup de *personnes/gens/monde*). L'étude compare 120 locuteurs L2 avancés, plus ou moins engagés dans l'appropriation du français, à 182 locuteurs L1 bilingues, dont l'usage du français est plus ou moins restreint. L'étude identifie les points communs et les différences dans l'usage des variantes par les sous-groupes de locuteurs L1 et L2 et les facteurs systémiques (ex. type de sujet, fréquence du verbe) et extra-système (ex. classe sociale, sexe, degré d'engagement ou de restriction) associés aux points communs et aux différences. Nos résultats sont interprétés à la lumière des travaux sur la variation sociolinguistique en langue seconde et en langue minoritaire.

Variation sociolinguistique dans le discours des enseignants en salle de classe

Raymond Mougeon, Katherine Rehner #61

Notre étude porte sur les alternances *je vais/je vas/m'as*; emploi/non emploi de *ne*; et verbe au singulier/verbe au pluriel avec le collectif *monde* (ex. *le monde par ici il connaît/ils connaissent les deux langues*) et *gens/monde/personnes* (ex. *c'est du monde/des gens/des personnes qui ...*). Elle repose sur un corpus d'auto-enregistrements effectués en salle de classe par 59 enseignants dans les écoles secondaires de langue française des communautés francophones de Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay et Pembroke en 2005. Notre étude révèle que les enseignants exploitent les différences de marque sociale des variantes à des fins stylistiques, conformément aux principes d'accommodation de l'*audience design framework* (Bell, 1984). Elle montre que plusieurs des caractéristiques socio-professionnelles des enseignants (spécialité, âge) influencent le choix des variantes. Nos résultats contribuent à l'avancement de la recherche sur la variabilité du discours des enseignants en salle de classe, phénomène peu étudié par la sociolinguistique variationniste.

Ignorant and annoying: Inland Northerners' attitudes toward NCS short-o

Monica Nesbitt, Suzanne Wagner, Erin Pevan, Matthew Savage, Alex Mason #181

Fronted short-/o/ (BOT) is a well-known feature of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS), yet it appears to be retreating in some locations such as Chicago Syracuse, and in Lansing, MI where we are conducting an ongoing study. Because of this, short-/o/ seemed to be a logical focus for attitudes research. We conducted a between-group matched guise survey, with a digitally manipulated short-/o/ vowel. The survey contained 27 likert-scale descriptors, which, using factor analysis, are reduced to 6 parameters: *rude*, *dull*, *annoying*, *confident*, *liberal*, and *accented*. Participants from the Inland North region who were exposed to the

fronted short-/o/ guise were significantly more likely to rate it as *annoying* ($p < 0.001$) and *accented* ($p < 0.05$); however, this was found to be the case only among younger (age < 40) participants. These results suggest that Inland Northerners exhibit some degree of awareness of the NCS.

LOTS of THOUGHTS on the endangered PALMS of New York

Michael Newman, E. Brian Kelly #151

We explore the potential simplification of NYCE's three low back vowels with data from sixteen White New Yorkers from five families stratified by generation. Participants read passages and sentence frames including 52 potentially PALM, LOT, and THOUGHT words. Analysis consisted of determining vowel class clusters. Younger participants either had no PALM or a tendency for historic PALM words to concentrate in between THOUGHT and LOT without clear division. Also, PALM showed reduction in the number of words following an implicational pattern. If e.g., *god* or *Bob* were LOT for a parent, that word was LOT for their children, but if they were PALM for parents, they might be either class for children. These patterns suggest that mergers involving small classes may not proceed only by shifts in vowel space, so much as progressive defections of words to larger classes and/or weakening of clustering at specific targets.

A Nonparametric Test for Spatial Dependence

Dong Nguyen, Jacob Eisenstein #260

Quantifying the degree of geographical dependence for linguistic features is a key task for analyzing dialectal variation. However, existing approaches have several limitations: they are only suitable for certain types of data, often require spatial aggregation or thresholds, and make parametric assumptions that limit their statistical power. We address these problems with a new test for spatial

dependence. Our test can be applied to either count-based or frequency based data, and it is computed from pairs of individual geotagged observations without spatial binning or distance thresholds. The test avoids parametric assumptions about the form of geographical dependence by building on recent work on kernel-based independence tests. After analyzing synthetic data to quantify the test's sensitivity and accuracy, we apply it to three real datasets: letters to the editor, social media, and a Dutch syntactic atlas. A forthcoming software implementation will allow linguists to employ this technique in their own research.

Intergroup dynamics in speech comprehension: Interaction between experience, attitudes, and expectations

Nhung Nguyen, Jason A. Shaw, Michael D. Tyler, Rebecca T. Pinkus, Catherine T. Best #147

Experience, attitudes, and expectations have been identified to influence speech comprehension across groups. In this study, we investigate the interaction between these three variables. Participants (24 Australians) completed an online survey and a vowel categorization task. The survey examined participants' experience with Vietnamese-accented English and their affective attitudes towards Asians. Half of the participants were told to expect a Vietnamese speaker whereas the other half were not. Results indicated that the relationship between attitudes and comprehension accuracy varied according to whether participants had experience with the Vietnamese accent and whether they expected a Vietnamese speaker. For Australian English participants, Australian English speakers constitute their own group (ingroup) while Vietnamese speakers constitute a group perceived as different to their own group (outgroup). We conclude that whether attitudes towards outgroup negatively or positively correlate with the comprehension of outgroup's speech depends on the ingroup's

experience with and their expectations about the outgroup.

Variability in the Form of Southern Brazilian Portuguese Imperatives

Luana Nunes, Scott Schwenter #365

Throughout Brazil, verbs can show variability in 2sg commands between the imperative and the present subjunctive forms (Scherre 2007). However, in far southern Brazil (Porto Alegre) the imperative is more common than in other regions, due to near-exclusive use of *tu* instead of *você* as the 2sg pronoun. We analyze the variability in command forms in Southern Brazil, and compare it to the use of these forms in a *você* region (São Paulo). A random sample of 12 of the most frequent Portuguese verbs showing imperative/subjunctive variability in commands was taken from Davies (2005) to create an online survey. We presented 24 (12 affirmative and 12 negative) contextualized scenarios to respondents, who chose either the imperative or the subjunctive. Our final results show a stronger preference for the imperative variant in Southern Brazil than in São Paulo. However, both regions show similar polarity constraints, and greater subjunctive use with negation.

Second dialect acquisition & stylistic variation: Using D1 and D2 features to convey place identity and attitude

Jennifer Nycz #379

Much work on topic-based stylistic variation focuses on speakers who remain in a community throughout their lives. Studies of mobile speakers, however, can reveal how new dialect variants are incorporated into speakers' stylistic repertoires. I present a case study of how one speaker, a 45-year-old woman from Manitoba who moved to New York City at 31, shifts between Canadian-English-like and New-York-City-English-like vowel realizations according to topic and expressed place identity. Tokens of (aw), (ay), (o), and (oh) were coded for phonological context, topic (e.g. family,

work) and the place context of that topic (e.g. Brooklyn, Manitoba) and acoustically analyzed. Overall, the speaker maintains a raised (ay) and (aw) before voiceless obstruents, yet exhibits a contrast between (o) and (oh). However, all four vowels vary stylistically and to some extent independently, conveying metaphorical closeness to or distance from her home and adopted regions and reflecting her complex, sometimes conflicted place identity.

Simultaneous innovation and conservation: Unpacking Victoria’s vowels

Sky Onosson, Rebecca V. Roeder, Alexandra D’Arcy #[42](#)

This paper compares five vocalic features in Victoria, British Columbia, to the model of the typical (western) Canadian city presented in Boberg (2008, 2010) and other research on Vancouver, targeting characteristics previously identified as either General Canadian English (CanE)—the Canadian Shift and back-vowel fronting—or distinctively Western CanE—START vowel retraction and pre-nasal/pre-velar TRAP positioning. We also address yod-retention, a conservative feature that is argued to be obsolescing. Utilizing data from the 2012 Synchronic Corpus of Victoria English, we analyze 9180 word list tokens from 114 speakers (b.1913–1996), facilitating both synchronic and diachronic observations about English in Victoria. Results indicate a combination of stability (pre-nasal/pre-velar TRAP), incremental change toward supra-regional norms (General CanE features), and variability (START and yod-retention). Overall, these findings portray Victoria as an innovative yet unique Western Canadian city, thus highlighting the value of investigating locales outside the traditional domain of CanE research.

Spanish in New York City: The intersection between Language contact and dialectal convergence

Rafael Orozco #[57](#)

Social predictors on New York City Colombian Spanish are analyzed in three linguistic variables: the expression of futurity, the expression of nominal possession and subject pronoun usage. Contrary to what occurs in Colombia, men exhibit a conservative linguistic behavior in NYC. Colombian expatriates’ sociolinguistic patterns are simultaneously more similar to those of other NYC Hispanics and more different from those in Colombia, suggesting that contact with other varieties of Spanish impacts the Spanish of New York City Colombians more strongly than contact with English. That is, besides showing tendencies similar to those of New York Puerto Ricans (Claes & Ortiz-López 2011; Otheguy & Zentella 2012; Orozco 2015) but different from those predominant in Colombia, findings help account for Colombians’ assimilation to their new sociolinguistic surroundings. These results suggest that the effects of contact with other varieties of Spanish outweigh those of contact with English on Colombian Spanish in NYC.

When teenagers use fewer overt pronominal subjects: Is it an instance of retrograde movement or an L1 acquisitional feature?

Rafael Orozco, Monika Estrada #[182](#)

A variationist analysis of subject pronoun expression (SPE) in the Spanish of Xalapa, Mexico reveals a 25% overall pronominal rate—one of the highest such rates among mainland speech communities (cf. Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015; Lastra & Martín Butragueño 2015; Otheguy & Zentella 2012). Grammatical number and person constitutes the strongest linguistic constraint, and lexical frequency uncovers *tener* ‘have’ as the most frequent verb. The robust effect of age sets this community apart from most other Hispanic Speech communities, as social predictors do

not consistently condition SPE (Carvalho, Orozco & Shin 2015). Teenagers' low pronominal rate (10%)—consonant with other Spanish varieties—may constitute retrograde movement (Labov 2001:75) toward lower pronominal usage eventually making Spanish more similar to Latin and less similar to the modern Romance languages. With children's pronominal rate increasing as they acquire adults' SPE usage patterns, these results may uncover the effects of an acquisitional feature.

Social meanings of (-r) in São Paulo: a computational approach for modeling the indexical field

Livia Oushiro [#215](#)

We propose a computational method for modeling indexical fields using *Minimum Distance Trees* (MDT). Data come from a matched-guise experiment on the perceptions of coda (-r) (*porta* 'door') in Paulistano Portuguese and were analyzed in mixed-effects models in R. Four excerpts of spontaneous speech were digitally manipulated in Praat to produce pairs of stimuli with either only tap or retroflex-r, and submitted to 185 participants, who listened to four recordings and filled a perception questionnaire. The strongest correlations refer to geographical identities and speakers' status: retroflex-r is consistently associated by all with "rednecks", "accented-speech" and "working-class", and tap-r with "Paulistanity", "middle/upper-class" and "educated". The MDTs show that some terms cluster in ideologically-related meanings, but attach to different tree nodes depending on listeners' profile. The MDTs represent the dynamic yet structured nature of indexical fields, and shed light on how to predict new orders of potential social meanings of linguistic variables.

Spread of voicing assimilation in Northern Greek as a sociolinguistic variable

Panayiotis Pappas [#112](#)

I present apparent time evidence from a community in Northern Greece concerning the spreading of voicing assimilation across definite articles and object pronouns (/ton tixo/ is realized [tondixo] or [dondixo]). The dataset of 960 tokens has been constructed from structured interviews with 36 speakers who were born between 1930 and 1995, both male and female. The analysis shows that the rural, non-standard variant (voiced initial consonant) is being replaced by the standard variant (voiceless initial consonant) in apparent time. At the same time, the evidence suggests that the rural variant is used to index masculinity and loyalty to the local community. Of particular interest are two cases of outliers among the older participants who use the standard variant significantly more than others in their age group. As these two speakers had extensive contact with standard speakers through their summer employment, they highlight the effect that accommodation can have on change over one's lifespan.

Lo and behold! Diachronic constraints on the Italian masculine article *lo*

Lauren Perrotti [#169](#)

Like other Romance languages, Italian nouns are often preceded by an article that agrees with the noun in number and gender. When constructing a well-formed, masculine determiner phrase in Italian, speakers have three definite article allomorphs to choose from, *il*, *l'*, and *lo*. The phonetic and lexical factors constraining the use of *lo* appear to have changed and developed over the centuries into present-day operative effects. This study takes a diachronic, variationist approach by conducting several multivariate analyses on six Italian texts from c.a. 1300 to 2007. Results show that the overall rate and constraints on the article *lo* have changed significantly over time. By uncovering the past, it became clear

how the Italian masculine article allomorphs developed into their current distribution.

On the social meanings of palatalized /t/ and fronted /s/ among adolescent Copenhagen speakers

Nicolai Pharao #[190](#)

This paper shows the effect on speaker evaluations of palatalized /t/ [tj] alongside fronted /s/ [s+] in two different prosodic contexts of contemporary Copenhagen Danish known as modern Copenhagen speech and “street language”. A speaker evaluation experiment using carefully controlled stimuli shows that neither the standard alveolar nor the new palatalized variant of /t/ is very salient when occurring in the “street language” context in combination with fronted /s/. Evaluations of speakers of modern Copenhagen, however, are heavily influenced by the presence of palatalized /t/ in terms of increasing the perceived toughness of the speakers and diminishing homosexual and feminine connotations previously shown to be evoked by a fronted /s/. This shows that specific social meanings are made relevant partly as a result of the combination of linguistic variants in the context.

The Voice Embodied: Bringing the Quantitative Analysis of Body Movement into the Study of Phonation

Robert Podesva, Patrick Callier, Rob Voigt, Katherine Hilton #[293](#)

Although scholars of gesture and bodily hexis have long recognized the centrality of the body in speech production (Bourdieu 1984, McNeill 1992, Kendon 1997, Mendoza-Denton and Jannedy 2011), variationists have not typically incorporated video data into sociolinguistic analysis. Significant hurdles have been the collection of high-quality audio-visual recordings and the large-scale quantification of body movement. This paper applies novel computer vision methodologies

to an audio-visual corpus of dyadic interactions to investigate the effects of body movement on two phonation variables: fundamental frequency (F0) and creaky voice. Both variables show robust relationships with how speakers use their bodies.

Data are taken from a corpus of video-recorded dyadic interactions between friends that took place in a sound-attenuated laboratory staged like a living room. Each interactant wore a wireless directional microphone and was video-recorded with an inconspicuous camera positioned for a head-on shot. This paper investigates the speech of 20 lifelong Californians (10 female, 10 male) between 18 and 30 years old. Force-aligned audio recordings were analyzed acoustically via Praat script. The present analysis focuses on, for each vowel, median F0 and whether it was produced with creaky voice (determined automatically using Kane et al.’s 2013 neural network model). Video recordings were automatically annotated for how much speakers move their bodies (movement amplitude, based on frame-to-frame changes in pixel value) and the extent to which they smiled (automatically coded with a Haar cascade classifier trained on open source smile data). Data were fitted to a mixed-effects regression model for each variable (linear for F0, logistic for creaky voice), with a number of linguistic (e.g., phrase position, lexical stress, duration) and social factors (including movement amplitude and extent of smiling) as predictors.

Predictably, F0 levels are higher in stressed syllables and lower in longer phrases, and they decrease as phrases progress. F0 levels also positively correlate with movement amplitude during the phrase, as well as the percent of the phrase that was smiled; movement amplitude and smiling during individual vowels does not predict F0. These findings suggest that the affective stance conveyed by the body has scope over the entire phrase.

Creaky voice is more prevalent as phrases progress, at lower F0 levels, and among

female speakers, as found in previous work (Yuasa 2010). Creaky voice also occurs more commonly on vowels produced in phrases exhibiting less body movement (and again movement amplitude during individual vowels is not a significant predictor). This finding resonates with claims that creaky voice creates distance between speakers and the discourse objects about which they are taking stances (Grivičić and Nilep 2004, Zimman 2014, Lee 2015); decreased body movement may indicate restricted engagement with the matter under discussion.

Importantly, movement amplitude and smiling more strongly predict both variables than many well established linguistic (stress, phrase duration) and social (sex) factors. To arrive at an adequate analysis of how these two variables pattern, variationists should examine the body as a site of variation. We exemplify two ways of doing so from a quantitative variationist perspective.

Insérez schwa : comment parler comme un Pape italien du quinzième siècle en français contemporain.

François Poiré #79

Le doublage au Québec et en France vient d'une volonté d'offrir aux publics locaux un référent culturel et linguistique. Plusieurs œuvres sont alors doublées deux fois. Notre hypothèse est que le référent linguistique par défaut des doubleurs québécois demeure européen. Nous comparons les doublages français et québécois du Pape Alexandre dans *The Borgias*. À titre de comparatifs, des personnages de séries pour publics locaux (*Aveux*, Québec; *Les revenants*, France) sont analysés. 90,91% des schwas de clitique sont réalisés dans la version québécoise (91.31% en France) contre 36,88% pour la série locale québécoise. Les schwas internes sont réalisés à 79,05% pour le doublage québécois (69,32% en France) contre 23,08% pour *Aveux*. En position finale, on passe de 0% (*Aveux*) à 16,96% de réalisation pour la version québécoise (16,01%

en France). L'analyse des deux premiers formants montre une tendance à l'antériorisation et à la fermeture du schwa en version québécoise.

Using variability to measure grammaticalization: A pan-Romance study of the subjunctive

Shana Poplack, Rena Torres Cacoullos, Rosane De Andrade Berlinck, Salvatore Digesto, Nathalie Dion, Dora Lacasse, Jonathan Steuck #282

Recent work on language change characterizes language families by the ranking of their daughters along the cline of grammaticalization. We confront such characterizations in four Romance languages, using the facts of variability to assess their positions on the measures of desemantization and obligatorification. Our diagnostic is variable mood selection, analyzed in 6,000+ tokens of subjunctive selecting-contexts.

Results show that in none of the languages do semantic considerations constrain variant choice, nor does the subjunctive exhibit high productivity. Instead, we propose a gauge of mood grammaticalization based on the contribution of the governor, dispersion of embedded subjunctive verbs, and level of ritualization. By these measures, all four languages are distanced from their Latin source, though at different points on the cline: Italian and Spanish are most conservative, Portuguese intermediate, and French most advanced. The conditioning of variant choice may be instantiated differently, but each language is engaged in an overriding process of lexicalization.

Filling in the blanks: Oklahoma Vowels

Dennis Preston #265

ANAE focuses on cities of 50,000 or more, and, in Oklahoma, only 4 respondents were recorded, but the Research on the Dialects of English in Oklahoma project has recorded over

100 respondents and acquired 55 more recorded by William Van Riper in the early 1960s. These data have been normalized, coded for demographic and stylistic categories, and analyzed. They show a robust Southern pattern (contra Bailey and Tillery 2008), excepting higher status, younger, urban respondents. There is a “mild stigma” that Bailey and Tillery (120) assign to the awareness of Southern influence, but data from the entire State and from respondents of various social backgrounds do not show massive retreat from Southernness. The findings also suggest that peripheral areas may reveal more conservative elements than are shown in even central areas and further highlight the importance of looking at entire systems rather than individual changes.

The slow spread of Chinese in Inner Mongolia: Using intergenerational data to track language shift

Sarala Puthuval #[199](#)

This study explores the possibilities of collecting language shift data about family groups instead of individuals, in order to more directly reflect what is fundamentally a cross-generational phenomenon. The presentation compares two analyses of the same dataset, one a traditional apparent-time approach and one incorporating family relationships.

Data comes from a survey conducted in 2014-2015 among several hundred Mongolian speakers and ethnic Mongols in Inner Mongolia, China. This is a relatively large, diverse speech community undergoing gradual, multi-generational shift from Mongolian to Mandarin Chinese. Respondents are interviewed about their ability in each language; the abilities of their parents or other caregivers; and their exposure to each language during early childhood and schooling.

The spread of Chinese is well attested by either the apparent-time or the intergenerational approach. However, the latter is more

successful at tracking the loss of Mongolian, as well as the social factors contributing to shift.

Monophthongal /o/ as a Lingering Substrate Effect in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula English

Wil Rankinen, Aaron Albin #[324](#)

While /o/ and /e/ are often phonetically realized as [oʊ] and [eɪ] in most dialects of American English, the monophthongal variant [o] has been reported as a substrate effect in German, Swedish, and Norwegian heritage communities in Wisconsin (Rose, 2006). The present sociophonetic study seeks to determine if a similar effect can be found among Finnish- and Italian-heritage communities in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Since /o/ and /e/ are phonetically realized as monophthongs in both Finnish and Italian, these sounds were hypothesized to be monophthongized in the respective immigrant-heritage communities as well. Analysis of reading passage data from 130 speakers suggests that, across both communities, the phoneme /e/ is realized as a diphthong whereas the phoneme /o/ is not. Thus, the present study supports previous findings that /o/ is a monophthong in certain areas of the Upper Midwest but reveals that the same substrate effect is not observed for /e/.

It is just me being a good friend: Discursive Variation in Advice Framing Among European and Asian Americans.

Aisulu Raspayeva #[109](#)

This study examines the variation in face-saving strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987) employed in advice-giving instances among the dyads (the two participants who are close friends and are of the same ethnicity) from two cultural groups (European and Asian Americans) participating in the psychological lab experiment. Problem discussions (15 minutes per dyad) were video-recorded and transcribed. The coding system contains two parts: direct (an utterance with a

pronoun you in the subject position) and indirect (an utterance with a pronoun I, it, that in the subject position) advices. Using Poisson regression with a cultural group as an independent variable and advice total instances and its levels as dependent variables, we revealed linguistic variation between two cultural groups regarding their use of face-saving techniques in framing advice. Thus, there is a tendency among the Asian Americans to be more direct (and more face-threatening).

Modeling social factors in language shift

Maya Ravindranath, Abigail Cohn, Thomas Pepinsky #[312](#)

We use Indonesia as a case study to examine language shift in large speaker communities. We analyze the correlation between six social factors and language choice (local languages vs. the national language, Indonesian). Looking across age cohorts, we demonstrate ongoing shift away from large local languages. Urbanization, education, and socioeconomic development are significant predictors of language shift across the ten ethnic groups we consider. This suggests an effect of modernization on language shift that may be generalized beyond Indonesia. The effect of religion depends on whether the religion is that ethnic group's majority religion (religious minorities are more likely to speak Indonesian); this factor is less likely to be generalizable across communities. We do not find strong evidence of differential use of Indonesian by gender, and we speculate that gender effects found in other work are a result of differences in social networks, access to education, and exposure to Indonesian.

Regional Differences in Pre-Service Teachers' Responses to Critical Language Pedagogies

Jeffrey Reaser, Jessica Hatcher, Jeanne Bissonnette, Amanda Godley #[228](#)

Studies find that teachers maintain sociolinguistic myths including “dialects are unpatterned” and “vernacular speakers lack academic potential,” suggesting sociolinguistic knowledge remains underrepresented in teacher education programs. In order to equip teachers with research-based language-related pedagogies which help them meet diverse students’ literacy needs, we created a four-week, online “mini-course” on language variation and Critical Language Pedagogy, which was piloted at numerous universities. This paper examines how being Southern shapes language ideologies in pre-service teachers’ (PSTs’) online discussions of sociolinguistic content knowledge and pedagogy.

We find that Southern PSTs employ fewer “white talk” discourse strategies than their non-Southern peers and are more willing to engage authentic dialect. These findings suggest that Southern PSTs are more comfortable (or at least more used to) discussing stigmatized dialects; Southern PSTs’ greater exposure to diverse and stigmatized dialects may also have better equipped them to positively-frame discussions of authentic dialect.

Place and Language: A Flexible Metric for Rootedness

Paul Reed #[261](#)

Studies find that teachers maintain sociolinguistic myths including “dialects are unpatterned” and “vernacular speakers lack academic potential,” suggesting sociolinguistic

knowledge remains underrepresented in teacher education programs. In order to equip teachers with research-based language-related pedagogies which help them meet diverse students' literacy needs, we created a four-week, online "mini-course" on language variation and Critical Language Pedagogy, which was piloted at numerous universities. This paper examines how being Southern shapes language ideologies in pre-service teachers' (PSTs') online discussions of sociolinguistic content knowledge and pedagogy.

We find that Southern PSTs employ fewer "white talk" discourse strategies than their non-Southern peers and are more willing to engage authentic dialect. These findings suggest that Southern PSTs are more comfortable (or at least more used to) discussing stigmatized dialects; Southern PSTs' greater exposure to diverse and stigmatized dialects may also have better equipped them to positively-frame discussions of authentic dialect.

Pre-Velar Raising in the Northwest: Language Change and Reanalysis

John Riebold [#376](#)

'Pre-velar raising' is the raising and fronting of the /æɪ, eɪ/ wordclasses (e.g. "bag", "beg"), which is associated with a lowering of the /eg/ wordclass (e.g. "pagan"). Studies of pre-velar raising in the Pacific Northwest have found that middle-aged and younger speakers produce a near-merger between /Eg, eg/, with variable raising of /æɪ/. Interestingly, middle-aged speakers appear to be the most advanced, however, until recently it was not clear why. This study is a sociophonetic analysis of pre-velar raising leveraging all five ethnic subsamples of the Pacific Northwest English Study corpus. Results show that although middle-aged speakers do lead in the fronting and raising of /æɪ, eɪ/, the youngest speakers' non-pre-velar wordclasses have shifted and monophthongized, creating separation between pre-velar and non-pre-velar wordclasses at all timepoints. This suggests that

younger speakers may have reanalyzed the wordclasses as being separate, resulting in the following system: /æ/, /æɪ/, /E/, /Eg~eg/, and /e/.

A third third dialect of English: Vowel patterns in Vermont

Julie Roberts, Sarah Belevance, Aidan Holding, Julia Moreno, Nicholas Chappel, Rebecca Wheeler, Jessica Suriano [#81](#)

As most variationists are well aware, the Third Dialect of North American English (Labov 1991) is characterized by a low back merger, a stable short a, and a general lack of a major vowel shift. Fronting of tense back vowels /o/ and /u/ may also be present. Two of the arguably most well known responses to this proposal, stating that vowel shifts can occur in LBM varieties, have been the work on the Canadian Shift (Clarke, Elms and Youssef 1995) and the California Shift (Kennedy and Grama 2012). These researchers have reported similar, but not identical, vowel patterns: Both varieties are characterized by a lowered /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ and fronting of /o/ and /u/. The Canadian Shift alone features a retracted /æ/. In other words, it is the movement of the front, short vowels, albeit differently, that provides support for chain shifting within Third Dialect varieties and, in the Canadian Shift, forms an exception to the generalization of a stable short a being a primary characteristic of Third Dialects.

The current study seeks to explore these features in another example of a Third Dialect: that found in Vermont. 19 undergraduate students, all native Vermonters, were recorded reading a 220-word list. The 4180 tokens were then analyzed using Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2014), FAVE (Rosenfelder, Fruehwald, Evanini, and Jiahong 2011), and NORM (Thomas and Kendall 2007), and t-tests were applied to the F1 and F2 measurements, and the ANAE (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2005) guidelines for vowel placement were utilized. The results revealed that all speakers had a low back merger, the first characteristic of a third dialect.

Further, these speakers also showed a stable short a (nasal system) with no evidence of retraction, as found in California, but not Canada. Most strikingly, however, was the lack of evidence of /ɪ/ or /ɛ/ lowering, unlike both of the other varieties. For 18 of 19 speakers, /ɛ/ was merged with the nucleus of /e/ (but lacked the glide found in /e/). Finally, Vermonters showed fronting of both /u/ and /o/ with /o/-fronting trailing that of /u/.

These findings from middle-class young adults support previous reports that there are variations within the Third Dialect, primarily involving the front and front short vowels. Future research includes determining whether it is a movement of /e/ or /ɛ/ that has precipitated the partial merger. In either case, however, Vermonters demonstrate neither front lax vowel stability (Third Dialect) nor the predicted falling of these vowels (Canadian and Californian Shifts). General implications based on this small study are difficult, but the current study, previous studies, and the geographical diffusion of dialects with the LBM suggest that the Third Dialect is more likely an umbrella term for a constellation of varieties and that the LBM itself does not disfavor the shifts and mergers found in other, non-LBM dialects.

Sociolinguistics in an alien language: A laboratory simulation of linguistic behavior in a South Philadelphia neighborhood

Gareth Roberts, Betsy Sneller #[160](#)

While ethnographic linguistic fieldwork remains the primary source of data for linguistics, hypotheses resulting from it are hard to test. We present an innovative experimental study designed to test such a hypothesis by simulating real-world behavior in the laboratory. In our simulation, participants played a computer game in groups of four, fighting, trading, and chatting in an “alien language”. We found that participants playing as weaker aliens appropriated variants that were explicitly associated with “toughness” significantly more than those that were

explicitly associated with tougher aliens. This result supports a hypothesis derived from an ethnographic study of white speakers in South Philadelphia, who had adopted a feature of AAVE in spite of expressing aggressively negative attitudes towards their African-American neighbors. We argue that experimental simulations such as this are a meaningful and worthwhile complement to traditional linguistic fieldwork.

Contact-induced Differential Object Marking in Basque: different bilinguals, different processes of influence

Itxaso Rodríguez-Ordóñez #[274](#)

The present study follows a usage-based approach to explore the *process* of influence by which Basque Differential Object Marking (DOM) is the result of intense contact with Basque-Spanish *leísmo* and *how* linguistic attitudes can affect those processes. 70 Basque-Spanish bilinguals and 19 Basque-French bilinguals (control) participated in an elicited production task (EPT), oral interviews (Basque and Spanish/French) and a matched-guise experiment to retrieve attitudes towards Basque DOM. Results show that L2 speakers rarely produce Basque DOM mainly because they view it as “bad and unauthentic” Basque. Native speakers show an interaction between typological factors (animacy/specificity) and language-specific constraints (borrowed verbs and null objects) in their production. I argue that L2 speakers directly transfer their Spanish DOM system into Basque whereas native speakers show *replica grammaticalization* from Spanish. Linguistic attitudes are discussed as playing an important role in these processes, advocating for its study as an integrated part of contact-linguistics theory.

There's a New Ethnolect in Town: Vowel Patterning of Filipino English in Winnipeg

Nicole Rosen, Sky Onosson, Lanlan Li #53

Ethnicity has only recently begun to be investigated as a factor in variation in Canadian English. Our study investigates an important yet previously unstudied group: the heritage Filipino population in Winnipeg, Canada (FilWpg), the largest visible minority immigrant population in the city.

The data come from a wordlist corpus collected in 2014-2015, controlled for age and location, and stratified by gender and ethnicity. Fixed effects include ethnicity, gender, age, following segment, preceding segment and stress; random effects include lexical item and speaker.

Statistical models reveal that ethnicity is a strongly significant factor across several dimensions. FilWpg vowels are significantly shorter, FilWpg Canadian shift vowels are significantly more retracted, and FilWpg /u/ is significantly more fronted. We discuss two possibilities for this ethnolectal difference: that FilWpg speakers are further advanced in the Canadian Shift, or that language transfer effects seen in first generation Canadians are at work.

Bilingualism effects in Subject Pronoun Expression: Evidence from Basque and Spanish

Lorena Sainzmaza-Lecanda, Itxaso Rodriguez-Ordóñez #36

This study presents the first variationist quantitative examination of Subject Pronoun Expression (SPE) in Basque among speakers of Basque in contact with Spanish. Over 2,100 tokens have been extracted from 25 Basque-Spanish bilinguals (native, early-sequential-bilinguals, advanced and intermediate learners) and coded for PERSON/NUMBER, PRIMING, SWITCH REFERENCE, VERB SEMANTICS and TENSE. In line with Sorace's *Interface Hypothesis*, less proficient Basque speakers use more overt subjects (22,5%) than highly proficient ones (11,8%),

suggesting possible processing alleviating effects. Additionally, SPE in Basque is conditioned by different constraints within each group: whereas SPE is conditioned by PERSON/NUMBER, SWITCH REFERENCE and VERB SEMANTICS among native Basque and early sequential bilinguals, advanced and intermediate learners feature a main effect of PRIMING in addition to all three aforementioned factors. We argue that, rather than simplification, L2-Basque speakers transfer their Spanish pragmatic constraints into Basque, producing a creative system not found among L1 Basque speakers.

Thai men who identify with non-normative male roles and their choice of self-reference terms

Pavadee Saisuwan #217

The study investigates the construction and presentation of gender identity among men who identify with non-normative male roles in Thailand, including both gay men and *kathoey* - male-to-female transgender individuals, focusing on self-reference terms in Thai, a highly articulated system consisting of pronouns, kin terms, names, occupational titles and zero self-reference. Data are drawn from the eight-month ethnographic fieldwork in Bangkok. 14 participants were observed and recorded in a variety of interactional contexts. The analysis shows that gendered self-reference terms are used only in certain situations depending on the dimensions of formality, power and intimacy. Self-reference terms are used both to construct gender and avoid presenting gender. The findings show that although gender is one of the social factors determining the self-reference choice, it is not more important than other factors. Like other Thai speakers, Thai gay men and *kathoey* have to consider several social factors to choose appropriate self-reference terms.

Attitudes, Generations, and Varieties of Kriol in Postcolonial Belize

William Salmon, Jennifer Gómez Menjívar
#234

This paper reports on a study of language attitudes across generations with respect to two varieties of Kriol, the Afro-Belizean language of Belize. We investigate attitudes toward Belize City Kriol and Punta Gorda Kriol with a special focus on differences across two generations in coastal Belize. We employed a verbal-guise test with 131 participants, collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, and found that BC Kriol was in general rated more highly than PG Kriol among the two generations of those surveyed. BC Kriol is generally considered to be the more traditional variety, so we might expect different attitudes toward it among younger and older speakers. This is not what was found, however, and we argue that the traditional BC Kriol translates into status and prestige at a time when the newly independent country (1981) is tasked with fashioning its own postcolonial Belizean identity.

Grammatical code-blending in Australian Sign Language (Auslan)

Adam Schembri, Trevor Johnston, Jane Van Roekel
#134

In this paper, we will discuss a unique type of language contact: code-blending refers to lexical items from a spoken language being silently mouthed during the production of signs. In a recent study of mouth actions of a dataset of 17,002 signs produced by 38 deaf signers from the Australian Sign Language (Auslan) corpus, we found that 57% of all signs were accompanied by the mouthing of English words. In an Rbrul analysis, we found that some grammatical classes (such as nouns, prepositions, adjectives, and conjunctions) favoured the use of mouthing, while others (such as verbs and pronouns) disfavoured mouthing. In a follow-up study, we investigated the use of past tense mouthing in verbs. Our

analysis suggests that this subset of the data is influenced by a single social factor – signer’s age – with younger signers significantly favouring the use of English mouthing with Auslan verbs.

Functionality and Standardization: *nós* and *a gente* ‘we’ in Brazilian Portuguese

Marta Scherre, Lilian Yacovenco, Anthony Naro, Shirley Mattos, Camila Foeger, Samine Benfica
#66

We investigate first-person-plural expression with pronouns *nós* (1st-plural morphology -*mos*) and *a gente* (3rd-singular zero morphology) in four varieties of Brazilian Portuguese. We identify three trends: 1) resolution of standard present/preterit ambiguity by favoring *-mos* in preterit and disfavoring *-mos* in present, when verbal forms are identical; 2) favoring *-mos* for both preterit and present with *nós*, when verbal forms are distinct; 3) avoidance of antepenultimate stress through ellipsis in imperfect. (1) and (3) set up a variable concord system, with standard and non-standard variants; (2) favors more standard concord. The conflict tends to be resolved by favoring usage of forms with standard concord: *a gente* in the present and in the imperfect and *nós* in the preterit. Thus, internal structural shift solves sociolinguistic conflict caused by rejection of variable concord within the speech community. In the end, both functional tense expression and formal concord win out.

World War II and the origins of community-wide variation: a century of present-tense *is* concord in the South Atlantic Ocean

Daniel Schreier
#76

This paper provides a quantitative analysis of present *be* concord with pivot *is* (as in *I is, we is, the old dogs is*) in 20th century Tristan da Cunha English (TdCE), a variety of South Atlantic English that developed in geographic isolation and under extensive (mostly dialect, to some

extent language) contact conditions. Data (N=1137) come from a total of 45 speakers, born between 1896 and 1989. Speakers born before WW II (both male and female) had remarkably high leveling rates (<90%), but the opening-up phase in the early 1940s triggered an increase of *am/is/are* agreement. Inter-community variation increased, particularly in the community's outliers, which are discussed prominently, whereas internal constraints (preceding grammatical person, following environment, intervening material) remained relatively robust throughout the 20th century.

Ethnic variation of /t^h/ in Aswan Arabic

Jason Schroepfer #[172](#)

/t^h/ has been described as a stable sociolinguistic variable in Upper Egypt. Upper Egyptians or Şa'īdīs lean towards a stigmatized voiced allophone, while Nubians prefer a voiceless /t^h/. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with thirty speakers using a solid-state recorder and a Shure microphone in the Upper Egyptian city of Aswan. The dependent measure lies in VOT, while the independent variables are Female, Şa'īdī, and Age. Preliminary results from multiple regressions reveal a significant correlation for Female, which demonstrates longer VOT lag for females of all groups. The Şa'īdī variable also establishes a significant correlation, which shows Şa'īdīs produce longer VOT lead than Nubians. Finally, Age exhibits a significant correlation, which illustrates that older participants produce longer VOT lead. These findings provide evidence that young Şa'īdī women are leading a change in progress. Moreover, Şa'īdīs prefer the voiced allophone, which indexes toughness, while the Nubians prefer the “relaxed” voiceless allophone.

Examining the Performance of FAVE for Automated Sociophonetic Vowel Analyses

Nathan Severance, Keelan Evanini, Aaron Dinkin #[303](#)

The Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction suite (FAVE) is a relatively new tool for sociophonetic research. Despite increased recent adoption of FAVE, little research has been done to examine the empirical accuracy of the automated vowel measurements. Our study addresses this gap by using FAVE to measure 1,033 vowel tokens from sociolinguistic interviews of three American English speakers and comparing the automated measurements for each speaker to manual measurements extracted by an experienced sociophonetician. Most vowel categories (76 out of 80) showed no statistically significant differences between the distributions based on FAVE measurements and manual measurements. Statistically significant differences were found, however, with back rounded vowels (e.g., F2 of /ow/ and F2 of /uw/). These findings suggest that additional automated error correction methods may be needed for analyses that rely heavily on back rounded vowels.

Raising thoughts about /r/

Allison Shapp, Nathan Lafave, John Victor Singler #[361](#)

Even though raised-THOUGHT and r-vocalization are two of the signature features of New York City English, recent acoustical studies of THOUGHT-raising have systematically excluded all tokens where the vowel is followed by /r/. We investigate how the presence of a following /r/ affects F1 of THOUGHT for Brooklyn-born Ruth Bader Ginsburg at the Supreme Court. We determined that Ginsburg has the same vowel in rhotic and non-rhotic instantiations of the same word. We then carried out a linear regression of THOUGHT-raising with the F1 of the vowel as the independent variable. Whether the following /r/ was obligatory (*SORREL*), variant and consonantal ([sɔrs] *SOURCE-C*), variant and vocalized ([sɔs] *SOURCE-V*), or a lateral (*SAUL*), the

vowel was raised relative to environments where thought was not followed by an underlying liquid (sauce).

Ginsburg's use of raised THOUGHT or vocalized-/r/ highlights her NYC background. Her use of both of them at once? Fuhgeddaboutit!

Individual differences in listener perceptions: personality or cognitive processing?

Madeline Shellgren [#369](#)

Research on sociolinguistic perceptions shows that speaker characteristics affect the way speech is evaluated (Campbell-Kibler 2011; Drager 2010; a.o.) and that listeners' broad demographic characteristics influence speech perception (Labov et al 2011; Preston 2010; a.o.). Beyond this, however, we know little about the effects of listener characteristics (i.e. individual differences) on sociolinguistic perception (e.g. cognitive processing style and personality). Wagner & Hesson (2014) and Buchstaller & Levon (2014) show that sociolinguistic perceptions depend on social and cognitive factors (specifically the ability to contextualize variation in sociolinguistically meaningful ways). Beyond cognitive processing style, however, little is known about what makes one individual's interpretation of sociolinguistic input different than another's. This paper extends the current trend to consider individual differences and their impact on linguistic behavior, specifically listener perceptions of discourse marker *like* (DML).

336 undergraduate students completed a likert scale perception task similar to Labov et al (2011). Participants heard eight audio clips, which differed only by DML frequency. For each clip, participants rated the speaker for professionalism, friendliness, and intelligence. Participants also completed a demographic survey, post task survey, and three domains (Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness) of the Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R), which is

used to measure the Big Five personality traits (John et al. 2008). Each domain consists of 60 questions, which assess 6 facets pertinent to their respective broader domain.

Overall, the broad personality domains were generally not significant. However, individual traits (or facets) were found to be significant. Surprisingly, the results countered expectations. For instance, as Emotionality scores increased, professionalism and intelligence ratings decreased. In other words, the more emotionally-sensitive you are, the harsher (more negative) your ratings of DML. Similar results were found for the Sympathy, Altruism, and Trust facets. These findings seem to contradict intuitions surrounding typical social behavior; we would predict that increased sympathy would lead to nicer (or more positive) ratings. However, if we interpret facets as representative of cognitive processing skills (like pragmatic language ability), the story begins to make sense: higher emotional sensitivity could reflect greater sensitivity to societally-based ideologies surrounding DML (e.g. DML is 'bad,' and even more DML is worse).

In personality research, measures like the NEO-PI-R have been shown to predict various social behaviors/tendencies. For instance, low agreeableness scores are associated with social rejection by peers (Newcomb et al. 1993), which seems intuitive. The present study predicted that linguistic perception would be among the set of behaviors intuitively predicted by differences in personality traits. However, the results were only interpretable when personality scores were considered to be reflective of cognitive processing skills rather than social behaviors/tendencies. As a result, we must question the extent to which behavioral norms like one's general concern for other's and tendency to tend to/anticipate the needs of others (i.e. Altruism) impact linguistic perception, or if they simply reflect abilities pertinent to cognitive processing (like sensitivity to a variable's prestige or

frequency), which have previously been shown to impact listener judgments.

Bilingual children’s patterns of morphosyntactic variation: Variable clitic placement in Spanish

Naomi Shin, Pablo Requena #[32](#)

Our study examines bilingual and monolingual children’s production of proclisis and enclisis in the [finite + nonfinite verb] construction in Spanish, as in *La quiero ver ~ Quiero verla* (both meaning ‘I want to see her’). Corpus studies of adult Spanish find that proclisis is favored when the finite verb conveys a grammatical meaning and when the object referent is animate. In the current study third-person direct object clitics in variable contexts were extracted from narratives/sociolinguistic interviews with Spanish-English bilingual children in the U.S. and monolingual children in Mexico, all between 6 and 11 years old. Results from a logistic regression measuring the impact of grammaticalization of the verb and clitic animacy indicate no difference between the two groups of children. We conclude by suggesting that variationist studies may call into question assumptions about the extent to which bilingual and monolingual children differ with respect to morphosyntactic variation.

Parenting style: from preschool to preadolescence in the acquisition of variation

Jennifer Smith #[75](#)

Labov (2001:437) observes that ‘children begin their language development with the pattern transmitted to them by their female caretakers, and any further changes are built on or added to that pattern.’ What happens to these patterns of variation once children move from the vernacular dominated norms of the home to the standard dominated norms of the school? To tackle this question, we conduct a real time study of children first recorded at age 2-4 and again at age 11-13, comparing a

number of variables across the two corpora. Mixed effects modeling in R of over 4000 contexts of use across indicate that the patterns evident in preschool remain in preadolescence. In line with Labov, these results suggest that the forms transmitted to children in the earliest stages of acquisition are fundamental to language variation in later life.

Stability and change in Scottish stops: a real-time study of three acoustic cues in Glaswegian vernacular

Morgan Sonderegger, Jane Stuart-Smith, Rachel Macdonald, Thea Knowles, Tamara Rathcke #[269](#)

The voicing contrast in English is fairly stable, even though *VOT*, reflecting aspiration can vary substantially. Scottish English is less aspirated than Anglo varieties, but there are hints of change towards greater aspiration (positive *VOT*) and less frequent voicing (negative *VOT*) over time. Here we examine three acoustic cues (*VOT*, *voicing during closure: VDC*, *closure duration: CD*) in spontaneous Glaswegian, to ask: how is the voicing contrast realized across multiple cues, and how stable is it over time? Our data come from 23 speakers in casual conversations in 6 groups spanning real- and apparent time from 1890s-1990s. Measurements were obtained for voiced and voiceless stops using fast semi-automatic measurement. We find that the voicing contrast is stable at a phonological level over time, across three cues, with significant variability in how speakers realize the contrast. We also find real-time change in the realization of the contrast at the phonetic level.

The noemen/heten alternation: ongoing change in Colloquial Belgian Dutch

Dirk Speelman #[213](#)

Colloquial Belgian Dutch (CBD), often dubbed ‘tussentaal’, recently emerged as a new variety of informal Belgian Dutch. Most of its typical characteristics are morphological features

borrowed from dialects from the center of Flanders (Brabantic dialects). In this paper we investigate a less typical feature of CBD, namely the usage of (2) as an alternative to the standard Dutch variant (1), which is a lexico-syntactic feature originating from more western dialects:

(1) Hij **heet** Tom. (*He's called Tom.*)

(2) Hij **noemt** Tom. (*He's called Tom.*)

Using data from the Spoken Dutch Corpus, we modelled the alternation between (1) and (2) with regression analysis and conditional inference trees. The new variant (2) was found to have acquired a typical CBD distribution across contexts, but at the same time, to exhibit a specific lexical/semantic/pragmatic usage profile.

Acquiring social evaluation in Singapore: identification and perception of regional varieties by local and foreign-born children

Rebecca L. Starr,, re Joseph Theng, Natalie Tong Jing Yi, Kevin Martens Wong, Nurul Afiqah Bte Ibrahim, Alicia Chua Mei Yin
#143

Singapore is an economic hub that has attracted many immigrants across the socioeconomic spectrum from a variety of nations. As more foreign-born children grow up in Singapore, and increasingly enroll in local rather than international schools, questions arise as to what extent children of different backgrounds acquire local community norms. Children completed region identification and perceived occupation tasks for four varieties of English: Australian, Filipino, Singaporean, and Mainland Chinese. While accuracy on the region identification task was high overall, foreign-born children attending international schools showed lower proficiency than foreign-born peers attending local schools. For the occupation task, children's performance demonstrated awareness of dialect prestige but also reflected differences in school attendance. These investigations demonstrate that children growing up in Singapore's cosmopolitan

environment develop sophisticated knowledge of variation. Although foreign-born children largely match the performance of local peers, those attending international schools show less integration into the local speech community.

It's, like, Canadian Raising in Kansas City

Christopher Strelluf #29

This research examines two phonetically similar innovations in the vowel in words like PRICE in Kansas City. First, productions of *like* are examined through acoustic measurements from 4,119 tokens of *like* drawn from sociolinguistic interviews with 67 Kansas Citians. Discourse- and quotative-*like* are produced with lower F1 than other forms, suggesting that *like* has a unique phonetic profile in addition to its semantic, syntactic, discourse, and social functions. This research then expands to consider all other productions PRICE in Kansas City. Raising of the nucleus of PRICE before voiceless consonants appears to be a new and vigorous innovation in the community. While speakers born before 1970 show almost no so-called "Canadian Raising," females born in the 1990s exceed ANAE's threshold for Canadian Raising. This may mark an erosion in Kansas City of one traditional distinction between the Midland dialect region and the North.

Modulation of the following segment effect on coronal stop deletion

Meredith Tamminga #183

This study tests three hypotheses about how aspects of language structure and use interact with the following segment effect on coronal stop deletion: that the magnitude of the following segment effect should increase with a) lexical frequency, b) speech rate, and c) syntactic locality. The data, extracted from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus, are 1,289 monomorphemic, monosyllabic CSD tokens followed by a vowel or an obstruent. Logistic regression results do not provide evidence for significant interactions of either frequency or

syntactic locality, but there is a significant interaction of speech rate with the following segment such that as speech rate increases, the distinction between the pre-vowel and pre-obstruent contexts decreases. I suggest an interpretation where CSD is a phonological process with a grammatically-specified following context sensitivity that is more often fully realized in slower speech.

Comparing the Use of Sociophonetic Variables in Speech and Twitter

Rachael Tatman [#212](#)

This study uses Twitter and speech data to investigate the degree to which use of non-standard spellings on Twitter matches variation in speech. The data comes from a fan of New York radio host Mike Francesa who has created a number of videos where he impersonates Francesa and uses variant spellings to represent Francesa's speech. This offers three parallel data sets: speech data from Francesca's radio show, speech data from the videos and tweets from the fan. Two stereotyped variables (r-deletion and th-stopping) were used at the same rates in the videos and tweets, more frequently than they appeared in Francesca's speech. A less salient marker (g-dropping) occurred at the same rates in Francesca's speech and the parody and to a much lower degree in tweets. This shows that, at least for performative dialect speech, only highly salient variables are used in the same levels in tweets and speech.

Aspiration vs. Deletion of /-s/ in Contemporary Eastern Cuban Spanish: Differing Constraints

Jeff Tennant, David Heap, Angelica Hernandez, Jorge Emilio Rosés Labrada [#358](#)

In coda position, the Spanish voiceless sibilant /s/ often undergoes aspiration or deletion in a number of varieties. The present study focuses on factors conditioning /s/ aspiration vs.

deletion and thus constitutes an important contribution towards our understanding of these variable processes. Working with a corpus gathered in situ from Cuban Spanish speakers, our variable rule analysis considers stylistic (interview, reading passage, word list), social (sex, age, education, rural vs. urban), and phonological (position, pause, stress, word length, features of the following segment) factor groups. In addition, we code possible functional dimensions of lexical vs. morphemic /s/ as a factor in variation. Our analysis shows that aspiration is favoured in word-internal position and word-final position before a consonant and by rural speakers. On the other hand, /s/ deletion is favoured word-finally before a consonant, in polysyllabic words and by speakers with the lowest levels of formal education.

La liaison en français ontarien : contact, restriction et langue seconde

Jeff Tennant, François Poiré [#242](#)

Nous étudions la liaison chez trois catégories de locuteurs en Ontario: les Franco-ontariens en situation majoritaire, les Franco-ontariens en situation minoritaire et les apprenants anglophones du français langue seconde. Les résultats pour les Franco-ontariens rejoignent ceux d'autres francophones en ce qui concerne le taux général de liaison, la variation stylistique, et la fréquence relative des consonnes de liaison. Nous observons cependant une plus grande variation interindividuelle en situation minoritaire (Windsor) qu'en situation majoritaire (Hearst). Chez les anglophones, la tendance stylistique attendue est inversée; ils font moins de liaisons en lecture qu'en parole spontanée. En outre, ces locuteurs L2 montrent des taux de liaison semblables à ceux des locuteurs franco-ontariens dans des contextes de liaison « obligatoire », mais moins de liaisons dans certains contextes de liaison « facultative ». Les anglophones se distinguent également par leur usage de liaisons non enchaînées et de consonnes de liaison inattendues.

Variation in Singapore English: Preliminary Study of Usage Differences between Ethnic Groups

Ming Chew Teo [#73](#)

In this paper, I argue that various ethnic groups in Singapore differ not only quantitatively but also qualitatively in their use of discourse particles. Using sociolinguistic interview data from 4 Chinese and 4 Malay individuals, I provide empirical evidence to illustrate how Chinese and Malay speakers differ in their use of discourse particle *lor*. As previous studies do not discriminate between different uses of *lor*, only a quantitative difference between Malay and Chinese speakers was reported. However, ignoring subtle usage differences masks the fact that a qualitative difference exists between Chinese and Malay Singaporeans. For instance, not only do Malay speakers use *lor* less often, they actually do not use *yah lor* at all, despite it being highly frequent in the speech of younger Chinese speakers. This suggests that with the maturation of Singapore English, linguistic features marking ethnicity are beginning to emerge and stabilize.

ความเป็นไทย k^hwa:m pen t^haj ‘To be Thai’: Phonetic conservatism in the LA Thai diaspora

Kanjana Thepboriruk [#106](#)

Standard Thai has five lexical tones. Tones are generational markers, regional markers, and the most salient feature by which Thai speakers judge the level of accuracy. This study is the first linguistic study to include Thai speakers living outside of Thailand. A total of eight mother-daughter pairs in LA and Bangkok were interviewed and recorded for this study.

The phonetic results show that Thai speakers in the LA diaspora have conservative tones. Conservatism in the LA diaspora is also evident in the linguistic attitudes of LA speakers gathered during interviews. Despite consuming the same Thai language media as BKK speakers,

LA speakers do not model their speech after speakers in the ‘homeland’. Further, LA teens are not linguistic innovators, unlike BKK teens; rather, they model their speech after older community members, particularly their mothers.

Retraction or Raising? A comparison of /æ/ among Vancouver, B.C. and Seattle speakers

Julia Thomas Swan [#70](#)

Previous research has described /æ/ retraction among Vancouver, B.C. speakers, while literature describing Seattle speakers has focused on raising of /æ/ before /g/. To what extent are speakers in neighboring cities participating in these observed dialectal patterns? This analysis presents findings from a production study that collected over 27,000 vowel tokens and sociolinguistic interview data from 39 speakers of Vancouver, B.C. and Seattle English. Using dynamic methods, the trajectories of /æ/ in various phonetic contexts are compared. The findings indicate that Seattle and Vancouver speakers are behaving similarly with respect to /æ/ raising before /g/, but show major differences in pre-nasal /æ/ raising. Seattle speakers consistently show strong pre-nasal raising and tensing of /æ/ (realizing these tokens higher and fronter than /æG/ tokens), while Vancouver speakers show a very different trajectory with no raising of pre-nasal /æ/.

“I sound Irish, like”: Investigating the acquisition of local phonology by new migrants to Northern Ireland

Jennifer Thorburn, Karen P. Corrigan [#211](#)

This paper examines language variation and change through the lens of historical and contemporary Irish migratory experiences. We consider the following variables:

1. (ing) (Schleef et al. 2011)
2. Epenthetic vowels in clusters of two sonorants (e.g. *film* pronounced as [filəm]) (Corrigan 2010, Hickey 2011)

3. Relative clause markers (Corrigan 2010, Tagliamonte et al. 2005)

We highlight diachronic variation in a subsample of 18th and 19th century historical letters from the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence* (McCafferty & Amador-Moreno 2012) and demonstrate how this variation persists in the speech of young people from local and migrant families in present-day Northern Ireland, using a sample stratified according to sex, community, and L1. Preliminary multivariate analyses suggest that locals and non-locals have some overlap in terms of significant factors, but that the young people from non-local families often demonstrate more highly constrained use of the non-standard variants.

Variationist typology: Structure of variable subject expression in English and Spanish

Rena Torres Cacoullos, Catherine Travis
#197

Received classifications of languages according to the expression of pronominal subjects distinguish (non-) null-subject types. Here we apply the variationist comparative method to conversational data of English—a “non-null-subject language”—and Spanish—a well-studied “null-subject language”. As well as a patently lower rate of expression (approximately 4% unexpressed 1sg and 3sg human subjects in English vs. 60% in Spanish), English has a narrower envelope of variation: besides coreferential-subject verbs conjoined with a coordinating conjunction, unexpressed subjects are restricted to declarative main-clause verbs in prosodic initial-position, a constraint that is absent in Spanish. However, within each language’s variable context, the conditioning is similar. We find effects for subject continuity - linkage to preceding subject, tense/aspect - temporal sequencing and coreferential subject priming, constraints that have been reported cross-linguistically. We propose that *variationist typology*, according to which cross-linguistic types are distinguished by

the structure of intra-linguistic variability, provides greater insights into language universals than do abstract classifications.

Perceptual characteristics of speech produced by self-identified gay and heterosexual male speakers

Erik Tracy, Keith Johnson #3

In order to investigate which acoustic cues (e.g., f0, and the acoustic information contained in bursts, formants, and fricatives) that listeners rely on when forming judgments of sexual identity, five continua were created from synthesized versions of two words produced by a gay-sounding male talker and heterosexual-sounding male talker of American English. Each continuum morphed between one voice and the other. Within four of the continua, only one acoustic cue varied, and within the fifth continuum, all of the acoustic cues varied. The results demonstrated that listeners from Northern California and North Carolina categorized the stimuli as categorically *gay* or *heterosexual* when all of the acoustic cues varied, and were remarkably similar to each other in how they weighted the specific acoustic cues in forming their judgments. Interestingly, vowel formant range was important for one word continuum, and fricative spectrum was more important for the other word continuum.

Is Heritage Language Phonology Conservative?: Evidence from Variation and Change in Toronto Heritage Cantonese Vowels

Holman Tse #237

This talk addresses whether or not there is evidence of conservatism in the vowel system of Toronto Heritage Cantonese based on acoustic data from sociolinguistic interviews. The data examined comes from the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto Project. The vowels examined include /i:/, /u:/, /ɛ:/, and /ɔ:/. Rbrul was used to run mixed

effects models with F1 and F2 as dependent variables and phonetic context, generational background, sex, age, and Ethnic Orientation (EO) continuum scores as independent variables. Results show a significant lowering effect (higher F1) of /i:/ and /u:/ in prevelar context across the speech community and an allophonic split in the realization of /ɛ:/ among GEN 2 speakers. Sex and Ethnic Orientation scores are also significant predictors of variation in the F2 of /ɛ:/, but only for GEN 2 speakers. Overall, these results show innovation rather than conservatism in the Heritage Cantonese vowel system.

A social explanation for a gender difference in the size of terminal rising pitch

Joseph Tyler #[252](#)

This study analyzes variation in the 578 phonetically analyzable rising pitch tokens in Disc 1 of the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. Questioning was independently coded by three coders, with tokens deemed questions when marked by at least two. Results from linear mixed-effect models showed that women produced larger rises on their questions than non-questions, while men did not. Moreover, the conversations split between those between intimates (friends, family) and others being more task-related, with the more social, intimate interactions showing larger rise spans ($t=2.01$). If more social intimacy leads to larger rise spans, then the gender difference in rise spans on questions vs. non-questions could be explained either as an inhibition by men to fully express the social nature of questions, or an embrace of the sociality of questioning by women.

All My Natives: The use of Native as an In-Group Term in the Aboriginal Hip-Hop Community

Chimwemwe Undi, Veronica Loureiro-Rodriguez #[218](#)

This paper is part of a larger research project in which we look at how Aboriginal rappers use hip-hop as a means with which to experience and engage Aboriginal Canadian identities, while simultaneously asserting authentic membership to global hip-hop culture. In this presentation, we will focus on how the address term *native* is being used and perceived by self-identified Aboriginal people, revealing a connection between the use of *native* and participants' identification and interaction with hip-hop culture, especially rap music. Among Aboriginal Canadian rappers, *native* appears to function as a culturally appropriate substitution for *nigga*, particularly in rap lyrics. Drawing from the lyrics of Aboriginal Canadian hip-hop acts, social media and interviews with self-identified Aboriginal Canadians, our paper will show how the term *native* has been reclaimed as a positive in-group term of address, specially among speakers who identify and interact with hip-hop culture.

Brocatives: A pilot study of nominal forms of address in Winnipeg

Matthew Urichuk, Verónica Loureiro-Rodríguez #[239](#)

In this poster we will discuss the results of a pilot survey on the use of the “brocatives” *dude*, *man*, *bro*, and *brah/bruh*. Data was gathered through an online self-report survey that replicated Kiesling's (2004) survey on the use of *dude*. Respondents were asked how often they used these “brocatives”, whether they would use them with particular addressees, and whether they associated each “brocative” with a particular type of person. Findings suggest that male and female Winnipeggers reported use of *dude*, *man*, and *bro* is very similar, with social distance and gender of the addressee being the most

important factors determining the use of each of these “brocatives”. *Brah/bruh* is the only “brocative” to show statistically significant gender dependence, with males reporting higher use than females, hinting at a potential covert prestige status.

The susceptibility of intonation in contact situations: a case study of New Mexican Spanish

Jackelyn Van Buren #[173](#)

This study researches the prosodic variable pitch peak alignment in New Mexican Spanish. Unlike non-contact varieties of Spanish, pitch tends to peak within the stressed syllable in contact varieties of Spanish. This study investigates whether: 1) NM Spanish patterns like other contact varieties of Spanish with early pitch peak alignment, and 2) whether this pattern relates to sociolinguistic variables such as age and gender. 304 tokens of syllables within broad focus declarative statements were extracted from interviews with 4 speakers of NM and 3 speakers of Mexican Spanish. The placement of pitch peak relative to syllable boundaries was then measured. Results show that the overall early peak alignment rate was significantly earlier for the NM Spanish speakers than for the Mexican Spanish speakers [$t(6)=4.46$, $p = .004$]. I suggest that a natural inclination towards aligning peak with the stressed syllable is encouraged by contact with other languages.

(Re)defining the envelope of variation: A discussion of adjectival intensification

Gerard Van Herk, Jennifer Thorburn, Isabelle Buchstaller #[286](#)

The first researchers to study a linguistic variable develop approaches and methodologies that are often replicated and reified by subsequent scholars. However, reconsidering established approaches can nuance our analyses and provide added insight into the communities and varieties under

investigation, e.g. Walker and Meyerhoff’s (2006) reinterpretation of the “following grammatical category” constraint for copula deletion.

We propose a similar reinterpretation, this time of the *variable context*, for the intensification of adjectives. Specifically, we demonstrate the consequences of variable definitions of intensification: the formal definition proposed by Ito and Tagliamonte (2003)’s foundational paper considers “all AdjPs”, including unintensified zero tokens, while a functional definition (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010, Rickford et al 2007) considers all *intensified* adjectives. Based on comparisons of analyses of two data sets (spoken Labrador Inuit English and written data from online forums), we argue that deciding to intensify is a different discourse/pragmatic process than choosing among intensifiers. Consequently, studies that investigate speakers’ intensifier choice should take only intensified tokens as their variable context.

Wh[ʌ] is a V[ɑ]lley girl? Assessing dialect recognition with resynthesized matched guises

Dan Villarreal #[176](#)

Californians tend to view California English as relatively standard in spite of ongoing phonological changes in California, namely the California Vowel Shift (CVS), and persistent popular folk-linguistic portrayals. This apparent contrast raises the questions of what social meanings Californians attach to the CVS, including whether they identify it as Californian. This study investigated these questions through a dialect recognition task with matched guises—California-shifted vs. conservative—differing by two representative CVS vowels (TRAP and GOOSE) manipulated via source-filter vowel resynthesis. Californian listeners heard excerpts, identified the regional origin of the speaker, and rated the speaker on 12 affective scales. Californian guises were rated significantly higher for *sounds like a Valley girl*,

Californian, confident, and rich, and were significantly less likely to be identified as from outside California. Results are discussed in relation to folk-linguistic awareness and possible changes in the folk-linguistic construct of “standardness.”

The trajectory of language shift among Vlashki/Zheyanski speakers in Croatia

Zvezdana Vrzic, John Victor Singler #207

Vlashki/Zheyanski is an endangered Eastern Romance language spoken by 120 native speakers in Croatia. Macrosocial forces, beginning with massive depopulation of the region, have led to the language’s severe endangerment.

But what is the trajectory of the language shift? Using a questionnaire, we elicited self-reports regarding language use in different social situations as well as speakers’ attitudes about language and identity. We analyzed the language-use responses using implicational scaling, following Gal (1978) and Rickford (2012).

As expected, the implicational scaling shows a strong correlation between a respondent’s age and language use: the oldest speakers still use Vlashki/Zheyanski in most social situation but also Croatian in the community, while the youngest respondents report speaking Croatian everywhere. However, implicational scaling also calls attention to speakers whose language use diverges from that of their cohort. We discuss the positioning of these exceptional individuals vis-à-vis local vs. extra-local opposition (Fought 2006).

Variability of the (ing)-Allomorphy and Production Planning

Michael Wagner, Meghan Clayards #344

Variable phonological processes have often been accounted for by enriching the formalism and directly encoding the probabilistic application rate of a process. For example, Labov (1972)’s variable rules enrich the notation of rules by add

information about other factors that affect the probability of its application; another example of this approach is more recent formalizations of probabilistic constraint ranking within OT (cf. Coetzee and Kawahara, 2013). Certain types of variability, however, may not need to be ‘hardcoded’ in this way, once we take into account the locality of production planning (cf. Levelt, 1999). We explore this idea by looking at the allomorphic choice between two pronunciations of the affix *-ing*. English *-ing* varies between two allomorphs [in] and [iN]. Across different varieties of English this variation has been shown to depend on gender, speaking style, and class (Fischer, 1958; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1972). Phonological factors also play a role (Houston, 1985, and references therein), e.g., the allomorph [in] is more likely when a coronal segment follows.

Here, we are most interested in these phonological effects.

If phonological processes are directly constrained by production planning, segments of a following word should only be probabilistically ‘available’. Availability should depend on whether the first segment of the following word has already been retrieved at the point when the articulation of the final cluster is planned. We assume that the size of the prosodic boundary separating two words affects the extent to which the second word has been planned when the first word is realized. We then expect that the effect of the following segment *to be gradiently modulated by the size of the boundary separating the two words*. A production study was conducted that varied prosodic boundary strength indirectly via a syntactic manipulation:

(1) a. Transitive *the*

Whenever the boy was browsing the book the game would fall off the table.

b. Intransitive *the*

Whenever the boy was browsing the book would fall off the table.

c. Transitive *a*

Whenever the boy was browsing a book the game would fall off the table.

d. Intransitive *a*

Whenever the boy was browsing a book would fall off the table.

Methodology: 35 native speakers of English produced 45 sentences drawn from items like (1) in a Latin-square-design. Prosodic phrasing was analyzed using forced alignment (Gorman et al., 2011), and subsequent extraction of various acoustic cues to measure boundary strength. Allomorph choice was determined by perceptual annotation, and also by looking at acoustic features of the nasal.

Results and Discussion: The results show that the effect of the following phonological environment on the choice of allomorph is modulated quantitatively by the strength of the prosodic boundary, as predicted by the locality of production planning. We also found effects of gender, in tune with previous results in the sociolinguistic literature, showing that our results might be generalizable to findings from non-laboratory speech. The results provide new insights into the understanding of the (ing) variable, and have methodological consequences for the study of other variable processes.

Tellin' the whole story – tales of frequency and non-linearity in (supposedly) stable variation

Susanne Wagner [#97](#)

This paper adds to our knowledge of the variable (ing) by analysing new data from Oxford (shire) (UK): some 2,500 tokens from 17 sociolinguistic interviews (stratified for age and gender) in one style (colloquial) are submitted to statistical analyses. Results from mixed-effects logistic regression confirm previously established hierarchies for grammatical distributions: verbal forms favour the alveolar variant (/n/), while nouns and adjectives are mostly realised as velar /ŋ/. Sub-models reveal different constraints per POS for variables like phonological context. Focussing on (lexical) frequency by including log₁₀ transformed frequency (based on the spoken component of the BNC) as well as random effects for speaker and word in the model shows that frequency is

consistently significant across different models. Advanced statistical modelling led to generalised additive models (GAMs), enabling visualisation and statistical modelling of numeric non-linear predictor variables, with better model fits than simple GLMs.

Reversal and re-organization of the Northern Cities Shift in Michigan

Suzanne Wagner, Alex Mason, Monica Nesbitt, Erin Pevan, Matthew Savage [#310](#)

We report initial findings from a study of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) in Lansing, Michigan. As in other urban centers recently examined, the NCS appears to be undergoing re-evaluation and attrition. However, whereas others have found the NCS to be simply undergoing “exact reversals” of its vowel movements (Driscoll & Lape 2014), in Lansing we find two additional processes in addition to reversal: reorganization and continuation. We observe reversal of the fronting of BOT, reorganization of BAT from a raised to a continuous or nasal system, and continuation of the lowering of BET. Findings are derived from a sample of 27 speakers born 1908 to 1996, combining new sociolinguistic interviews with oral histories recorded 1992-2006.

Advantage Accented? Listener differences in understanding speech in noise

Abby Walker [#95](#)

42 native speakers of American English transcribed 120 HINT sentences, which were presented mixed with noise at -3dB SNR. The sentences had been recorded by six young males: two speakers of Standard American English (SAE), two speakers of Southern American English (STH), and two non-native, L1-Chinese speakers (NNS). Participants were asked to transcribe what they heard as best they could, and were scored on keywords correct. While everyone did much worse with NNS than SAE and STH, participants who self-reported being accented did significantly worse

with SAE, and significantly better with both STH and NNS, than those who reported being unaccented. Additionally, those participants who agreed with statements like *People tell me they like the way I speak* did significantly better with STH than speakers who disagreed.

Modeling the speech community through multiple variables: trees, networks and clades

James Walker, Michael Dunn, Aymeric Daval-Markussen, Miriam Meyerhoff #[104](#)

The question of ‘co-variation’ among variables within a speech community has been addressed in recent work through tests of statistical correlation, although results have proven inconsistent. In this paper, we examine co-variation in an interrelated set of grammatical variables in Bequia, a potentially polylectal speech community where varieties of English and English-based creoles are spoken. Shifting the analytical focus to differences between speakers based on their verbal behavior, we characterize each token as belonging to an utterance type that consists of a particular configuration of language-internal factors. Using neighbor-joining algorithms implemented in phylogenetic software, we model the number of differences between types produced by speakers in three ways: trees, neighbor networks, and cladograms. All three models divide speakers most consistently according to the village in Bequia, in line with previous studies of individual variables.

The role of speakers’ identities and attitudes in koineization in Hohhot, China.

Xuan Wang #[137](#)

This paper looks at how the outcome of contact-induced dialect mixture is influenced by social factors like speakers’ identity and attitudes, by presenting the case of Hohhot, a Chinese immigrant city. In Hohhot, the contact between local residents who speak Jin dialect, and migrants who speak Mandarin Chinese, led

to the formation of a new vernacular “Hohhot Mandarin”. Given the complex social conflicts between the local-born and migrant communities, I ask whether speakers vary in the degree to which they adopt Jin-features, and whether this variation is conditioned by their attitudes. 67 people were interviewed, with their attitudes measured by questionnaires using Principal Component Analysis. The linguistic feature “l-words” was examined which displays variation in weak-strong or strong-weak stress patterns. More than 4000 tokens were analysed using binomial mixed effects models. The results suggest that scores on the attitude questionnaires were significant predictors of l-words stress pattern in Hohhot.

The Development of FASE (Forced Alignment System for Español) and implications for sociolinguistic research

Eric Wilbanks #[102](#)

Though force-aligning techniques are becoming mainstream in English linguistics, support for comparable data collection methods in other languages has yet to be sufficiently implemented. The current paper reports on the development of FASE, a forced alignment system for Spanish. Speech training data were chosen from a subset of 238 sociolinguistic interviews of native Spanish speakers from various dialect regions. Acoustic models were trained on the corpus using the HTK Hidden Markov Model suite. Instead of applying external acoustic models, models are developed directly from the data to be aligned. Novel test data alignments show excellent phone and word boundaries, with differences in agreement between the aligner output and hand-alignments comparable to diff reported between human transcribers. While many previous force-aligning systems have used laboratory or formal speech, the current project illustrates the feasibility of building

force-aligning systems from corpora of sociolinguistic data drawn from a variety of recording environments.

Deriving variation in function: A case study of Canadian eh and its kin

Martina Wiltschko, Alex D'Arcy #[107](#)

Despite recent advances (e.g. Cheshire 2007, Pichler 2010, Denis 2015), discourse-pragmatic variables (DPs) continue to challenge variationist theory and methods. The question we tackle in this talk is the following: Can the meaning of some DPs be derived from consideration of the linguistic and extra-linguistic context (cf. Gibson 1976)? The test-case for the discussion is *eh*, which is problematic for (1) the lack of predictive power held by typologies of its functions, (2) different uses across varieties, and (3) wide cross-linguistic attestations that may differ across multiple parameters. We argue that these facts are interrelated and that the apparent multi-functionality of *eh* can be understood through the interaction of its core function with contextual factors. In particular, its function is derivable from the intonational contour (steep convex rise, flat concave rise, fall), the associated clause-type (declarative, interrogative, exclamatives, imperative), and the relative expertise of the utterance/speech act participants.

The sociolinguistic legacy of Martin Luther King Jr.: Analysis and implications for social justice

Walt Wolfram, Caroline Myrick, Michael Fox, Jon Forest #[138.1](#)

This presentation examines an array of sociolinguistic variables in Dr. King's speech in a range of settings (e.g., non-black formal; black church; one-on-one conversation, etc.) to determine how he indexed his regional, social, and ethnic identity as he accommodated different audiences, interactions, and settings. Linguistic variables such as unstressed -ing/in,

postvocalic r-lessness, coda-final cluster reduction, copula/auxiliary absence, final t release, and dimensions of his vowel system are analyzed, as well as variation in his prosody. The analysis indicates the significant manipulation of selected variables based on audience/interaction/setting while maintaining cross-situational stability for others. But there also is a deeper symbolic social meaning in Dr. King's dialect stance. We argue that King's dictum "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" applies to linguistic inequality, and demonstrate by example how a sociolinguistic justice program can be implemented institutionally in a way that celebrates Martin Luther King Jr's linguistic legacy.

The exceptionality of Tyneside back vowel fronting

Katie Wozniak, Bill Haddican #[366](#)

Watt's (2000, 2002) data from Tyneside English are anomalous from the perspective of Labov's (1994) generalization about back vowel fronting in showing fronting of GOAT without fronting of GOOSE. This poster reports on a recent study of Tyneside English designed to provide a real-time point of comparison with Watt's (2000, 2002) data gathered in the mid 1990's. We analyze acoustic measurements of wordlist data from 20 Tynesiders. Unlike in Watt's results, the 2008 data show clear evidence of GOOSE fronting relative to GOAT, COAL and LOT, and a correlation across speakers in F2 for GOAT and GOOSE. Hence, notwithstanding the exceptional status of GOAT in Watt's (2000, 2002) description, our real time comparison with Watt's results suggests a process of change in Tyneside back vowels similar to that described in many other English dialects.

Sociolinguistic meanings of syllable contraction in Mandarin: Region & gender

Chenchen Xu #[141](#)

Chinese online news and blogs reveal that speech featuring syllable contraction is always

associated with a certain accent and female gender. A two-part perceptual mapping survey was conducted using Preston's (1989) 'draw-a-map' method. Informants drew borders showing different dialects and where syllable contraction exists and commented on the speech in the identified areas. The maps were aggregated using ArcGIS.

Results show that participants were able to identify the dialectal regions of Chinese. Northern accent sounds tough and manly while southern accent is more soft and feminine. Places of syllable contraction use were also correctly identified. Region of origin and gender of the contraction speaker have great influence on attitudes toward their contraction use. Contraction in the north sounds casual. In the south, male speakers sound "sissy" and female speakers sound "sweet".

1ST PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS: URBAN VERSUS RURAL USAGE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Lilian Yacovenco, Camila Foeger, Alexandre Mendonça #[258](#)

In Brazilian Portuguese the first person plural *nós* 'we' (*nós pedimos isso* 'we asked for this') varies with *a gente* (*a gente pediu isso* 'we asked for this'). We investigate age effect on this variable phenomenon in order to understand the diffusion of *a gente* in a rural community. We compare data from urban and rural samples.

The overall of two variants with concord is the same. In both communities, *a gente*-with-concord is more frequent (around 70%), but the trends are different: in urban area, it reveals change in the community; in rural area, it shows change in the individual, strongly favored by middle group, who goes to urban area to sell agricultural products. The age factor, being a reflection of the social organization of each community, is important to understand the diffusion of a linguistic change. This fact is highlighted if the interviewer is foreign to the rural community.

When probabilities don't match: The acquisition of tense in African American English

Charles Yang, Julie Anne Legate, Allison Ellman #[186](#)

Children are known to closely match the structural and probabilistic aspects of language variation from very early on, yet there are important exceptions in the study of language acquisition. For instance, the root infinitive stage, where finite matrix verbs are left uninflected, persists for years in the acquisition of languages (e.g., English) that require finite tense marking. In this study, we focus on the development of past tense marking in African American English (AAE) in comparison with Mainstream American English. We show that children's rates of past tense, regardless of the dialect variety, show correlation with the quantity of past tense marking in the input. We suggest that the morphosyntax of (past) tense is not learned piecemeal as suggested in the usage-based approach, but reflects an abstract and overarching property of the language (Legate & Yang 2007, *Language Acquisition*).

Letters from the Western Front: Intersections of 'orality' and writing in Corporal Joseph Keable's wartime correspondence

Serena Althea Yi #[122](#)

This case study examines a corpus of letters written by Corporal Joseph Keable of the 22nd French-Canadian Battalion between 1916 and 1918 from a historical and sociolinguistic perspective. Keable, a young 'semi-literate' soldier, left traces of his 'orality' in his written correspondence, as there are indications of regional pronunciation and vernacular-influenced morphosyntactic features in his orthography. By comparing these letters with contemporary metalinguistic works such as textbooks or pronunciation guides, I argue that historical *hybrid egodocuments* can be an

important source for sociolinguists. Despite the difficulty of applying Labovian-style quantitative methods when studying wartime correspondence, it is hoped that this study will not only shed further light on the state of 19th and early 20th century vernacular French in rural Quebec, but also contribute to the larger discussion of the methodological issues that arise in attempts to intersect historical sources and sociolinguistic approaches.

Prosodic rhythm in Swedish multiethnolect: Vowel durational variability carries significant social meaning

Nathan Young #[216](#)

This study contributes to the growing body of research on urban multiethnolect in Sweden, commonly called ‘Rinkeby Swedish’ and ‘Suburban slang’. Unlike early dialectological work, which has focused on the speech of adolescents, the current project draws on variationist methods to examine the phonology of eight working-class adult men in Stockholm. This is the first study to present quantitative evidence for the variety’s ‘staccato’ rhythm. It shows that vowel durational variability as measured by the normalized pairwise variability index (nPVI) has significant indexical value in Stockholm as it pertains to affective judgments toward the speaker and ideas about the speaker’s ‘Swedishness’ (solicited from two independent listener groups). I discuss the possibility that the nPVI algorithm is capturing other indexical features that are collinear with speech rhythm, and I also discuss the results in the context of the vowel movement seen in the literature to date.

Chinese American accommodation to the Northern Cities Shift in Southeast Michigan

Mingzhe Zheng #[78](#)

The current research aims to explore the nature of dialect contact by examining the extent to

which the speech of Chinese Americans in Troy, Michigan is affected by an ongoing local change, the Northern Cities Shift (NCS). This study also examines the extent to which any difference in accommodation to the NCS correlates with speakers’ social networks and cultural orientation.

The data extracted from recordings of a wordlist, a reading passage and an interview collected from 8 college students who are 2nd generation Chinese Americans did not show clear evidence of accommodation to the NCS. In addition, cultural identity and social network are influential factors. This finding was in line with previous studies about various ethnicities’ participation in regional dialect change in different areas of the US (Evans 2001, Kirke 2005, Wong 2007), while contradicts Hall-Lew (2009).

Creak as disengagement: Gender, affect, and the iconization of voice quality

Lal Zimman #[348](#)

The gendered valence of creak continues to occupy a puzzling and contradictory place in sociolinguistics, driven in part by the iconization of low fundamental frequency as masculine. This talk offers a reconsideration of creak’s iconic potentialities, particularly as they relate to gender and affect. The analytic focus is one transgender speaker who participated in a year-long ethnographic study of phonetic change. This speaker, James, is an extensive user of creak, and I focus on one discursive context in which he sustained creaky phonation for particularly long stretches of talk: when taking stances of emotional disengagement. At the same time, James’s status as a genderqueer person who does not identify as strictly female or male highlights creak’s flexibility as an index of gender. Ultimately, the gendered meanings attached to creak are produced in part through affective displays, which invoke creak’s iconic properties of low frequency and low amplitude.

Best Student Poster – Ballot

Choose **up to 3** posters by entering **“X”** in **up to 3** boxes. One will be chosen for Best Student Poster and its author will receive a \$250 prize. Winners will be announced at the conference on Sunday and via social media. **Please EITHER vote electronically** (at <http://goo.gl/forms/29gsw73y0T>) **OR turn in this ballot to the box on the Cambridge University Press Table** before 12:45 on Sunday, Oct. 25.

VOTE	AUTHOR(S)	#	TITLE
	Andrea Beltrama	341	Totally tall sounds totally younger. A socio-semantic study.
	Zachary Boyd	196	Gay Identity and /s/ Variation in French and German L2 English Speakers
	Zachary De	149	Race, Gender, and /u/: Social Perceptions of a Less Conscious Sociolinguistic Feature
	Amie Dejong	304	Let's stay positive: "Positive" anymore and polarity sensitivity in the Northwest
	Chloe Diskin	227	Discourse-pragmatic variation in the L2 context: A case study of Polish and Chinese migrants in Dublin, Ireland
	Naomi Enzina	302	The influence of Spanish of Miami English rhythm
	Charlie Farrington	230	Word final stop weakening in African American English
	Michael J. Fox	39	The Frequency of Undershoot in the Diffusion of the Low Back Vowel Merger
	Chantal Gratton	250	Indexin' Gender: Variable (ING) and the Creation of Non-Binary Trans Identities
	Johan Gross & Julia Forsberg	71	Eliciting young urban Swedish using a map-task procedure
	Monelle Guertin	125	Attitudes d'immigrants envers le français oral : France vs Québec, ou juste une question de style?
	Ho'omana Nathan Horton	45	"She's one that says 'warsh'": Cross-Generational and Within-Family Perceptions of Oklahoma English
	Michael Iannozi	65	Heritage Faetar's Verbs are Good to the Last (Pro-) Drop
	Donghyun Kim, Louisa Bielig, Amanda McDonnell & Ryan Kzama	133	Variation in /æ/ in Montreal and New Brunswick English: With reference to the Canadian Shift
	Edwin Ko	145	The role of geography in syntactic variation: A corpus-based analysis on adverb position across varieties of English worldwide
	Yu-Ning Lai	136	Accommodation and Retroflex Variation in Taiwanese Mandarin: A Case of Dialect Contact in the U.S.
	Stéphanie Luna	279	Mouthing rates in Deaf Seniors' production of Langue des signes Québécoise/Quebec Sign Language (LSQ)
	Paulina Lyskawa, Emilia Melara & Ruth Maddeaux	292	Heritage speakers abide by all the rules: Evidence of language-contact effects in Heritage Polish word-final devoicing
	Alexander Mcallister	48	The role of contextual distributions in Differential Object Marking in Mexico City Spanish
	Charlotte McDonald	187	Explaining Discursive 'well' in Ontario French: From Qualitative to Quantitative
	Shannon Mooney	325	A corpus study of the influence of input on child acquisition of African American English aspectual markers
	Ho'omana Nathan Horton	45	"She's one that says 'warsh'": Cross-Generational and Within-Family Perceptions of Oklahoma English

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Best Student Poster - Ballot, *cont.*

	Aisulu Raspayeva	109	It is just me being a good friend: Discursive Variation in Advice Framing Among European and Asian Americans.
	Paul Reed	261	Place and Language: A Flexible Metric for Rootedness
	Pavadee Saisuwan	217	Thai men who identify with non-normative male roles and their choice of self-reference terms
	Rachael Tatman	212	Comparing the Use of Sociophonetic Variables in Speech and Twitter
	Ming Chew Teo	73	Variation in Singapore English: Preliminary Study of Usage Differences between Ethnic Groups
	Jackelyn Van Buren	173	The susceptibility of intonation in contact situations: a case study of New Mexican Spanish
	Serena Althea Yi	122	Letters from the Western Front: Intersections of 'orality' and writing in Corporal Joseph Keable's wartime correspondence
	Mingzhe Zheng	78	Chinese American accommodation to the Northern Cities Shift in Southeast Michigan

Choose **up to three** talks with student authors by **entering “X” in up to three boxes**. One talk will be chosen for Best Student Talk and its author will receive a \$250 prize, courtesy of Cambridge University Press. The winners will be announced at the conference on Sunday and via social media. **Please EITHER vote electronically** (at <http://goo.gl/forms/29gsw73y0T>) **OR turn in this ballot to the box on the Cambridge University Press Table** before 12:45 on Sunday, Oct. 25, 2015.

VOTE	AUTHOR(S)	#	TITLE
	George Bailey	130	Automatic detection of sociolinguistic variation in forced-alignment
	Carina Bauman	313	Prosodic rhythm in Asian American English
	Marisa Brook and Emily Blamire	377	Ness-less-ness: Zero-derived adjectival nominals in Internet forum data
	Claire Childs	34	Looks like change, dunnit? Negative polarity tags in three varieties of British English
	Meg Cychosz	159	Variation in the signal: Remnants of social correlation in a completed sound change
	Annette D'Onofrio and Janneke Van Hofwegen	364	Nisei style: Vowel dynamism in a second-generation Japanese-American community
	Matt Hunt Gardner	373	I got a story for you: The rapid convergence of stative possessives in Cape Breton English
	Lacey Arnold	340	The role of duration in perception of vowel merger
	Soubeika Bahri, Marie-Eve Bouchard, Daniel Duncan and Natalie Povilonis de Vilchez	299	Perceptions of raised BOUGHT and TH-stopping: Varying indexicalities of New York City English features
	Julien Carrier	132	STUDY OF THE INUKTITUT TRANSITIVE ALTERNATION IN THE MULTIDIALECTAL COMMUNITY OF RESOLUTE BAY
	Lauren Colomb	343	Indexing racial and local identities: A preliminary examination of phonological variation in two New Orleans neighborhoods
	Daniel Duncan	214	The rapid grammaticalization of the English ish-construction: Syntactic change in apparent time
	Sabriya Fisher	322	The Emergence of Past-tense ain't in AAVE: Support for the Divergence Hypothesis
	Isla Flores-Bayer	220	Sociolinguistic Variation in Practice: The strategic use of Chicano English sh~ch in a political election
	Shayna Gardiner	311	What's Mine is Yours: Stable variation and language change in Ancient Egyptian possessive constructions
	Rick Grimm	56	The apparent decline of the subjunctive mood: The case of minority French in Ontario
	Amy Hemmeter	334	Social and acoustic factors in the perception of creak
	Nicole Hildebrand-Edgar	58	Grammaticalization, or just simple phonetic reduction? I dunno!
	Katherine Hilton	359	Nonstandard agreement in Standard English: The social perception of agreement variation under existential there
	Nicole Holliday	150	Intraspeaker Variation in Ethnic Identity Performance: The Role of Suprasegmentals and Peak Delay

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

	Taylor Jones	50	Talmbout: An Overlooked Verb of Quotation in AAE
	Laura Kastronic	251	When variables intersect: The interplay of the expression of the subjunctive mood and necessity in two varieties of French.
	Thomas Kettig and Bodo Winter	126	The Canadian Vowel Shift in Production and Perception: New Evidence from Montreal
	Sharese King	235	On negotiating racial and regional identities: Vocalic Variation Among African Americans in Bakersfield, California
	Ferdinan Kurniawan	171	Intergenerational language transmission in Jakarta Indonesian: Evidence from the pseudo passive in adults and children naturalistic corpora
	Emilie Leblanc	178	Vraiment Vraiment Intense: The use of intensifiers in Acadian French adolescent speech
	Emilie Leblanc and Selena Phillips-Boyle	177	A diachronic shift: The status of well and ben in Chiac
	Thomas Leddy-Cecere	27	Phonetic Effects of Diglossic- and Style-Shifting in Arabic
	Kate Lyons	318	Quantifying the Urban Linguistic Landscape: Nostalgia and Authenticity in San Francisco and New Delhi
	Lauren Perrotti	169	Lo and behold! Diachronic constraints on the Italian masculine article lo
	Sarala Puthuval	199	The slow spread of Chinese in Inner Mongolia: Using intergenerational data to track language shift
	John Riebold	376	Pre-Velar Raising in the Northwest: Language Change and Reanalysis
	Itxaso Rodriguez	274	Contact-induced Differential Object Marking in Basque: different bilinguals, different processes of influence
	Lorena Sainz-Maza Lecanda and Itxaso Rodriguez-Ordoñez	36	Bilingualism effects in Subject Pronoun Expression: Evidence from Basque and Spanish
	Jason Schroeffer	172	Ethnic variation of /tʰ/ in Aswan Arabic
	Madeline Shellgren	369	Individual differences in listener perceptions: personality or cognitive processing?
	Rachel Steindel Burdin	272	Phonological and phonetic variation in list intonation in Jewish English
	Julia Thomas Swan	70	Retraction or Raising? A comparison of /æ/ among Vancouver, B.C. and Seattle speakers
	Holman Tse	237	Is Heritage Language Phonology Conservative?: Evidence from Variation and Change in Toronto Heritage Cantonese Vowels
	Dan Villarreal	176	Wh[ʌ] is a V[a]lley girl? Assessing dialect recognition with resynthesized matched guises
	Xuan Wang	137	The role of speakers' identities and attitudes in koineization in Hohhot, China.
	Eric Wilbanks	102	The Development of FASE (Forced Alignment System for Español) and implications for sociolinguistic research
	Chenchen Xu	141	Sociolinguistic Meanings of Syllable Contraction in Mandarin: Region and Gender
	Nathan Young	216	Prosodic rhythm in Swedish multiethnolect: Vowel durational variability carries significant social meaning