

Methods in Dialectology 14

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Methods 14

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Saturday 12:00-12:30

Phonological Metathesis in Persian Social and Historical Dialects

Mohammad Reza Ahmadkani

Metathesis as a phonological phenomenon in order to reverse segments was focus of many studies. Metathesis according to the range of application can be sporadic or regular. It links synchronic studies of language to diachronic ones and thereby has some consequences for phonological theory. The central goal of this paper is to elucidate the conditions under which metathesis occurs synchronically in modern Persian (social dialects) and diachronically (historical dialects) in Pahlavi (Middle Iranian Persian). In this paper, first metathesis is viewed from different aspects especially synchronic and historical ones. Also, particular attention is paid to its causes and contexts in Persian. Synchronic metathesis found in social dialects such as (colloquial and informal) of old and illiterate people as well as child language. Data of synchronic study of metathesis shows that the motivation of this type is perceptual and auditory factors. In this type liquid and sibilant metathesized with some stops and fricatives. Diachronic study of metathesis, comparing Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and Modern Persian mostly is of perceptual type, in which C + liquid undergoes metathesis.

In this paper, metathesis is studied within optimality theory, using constraints such as Syllable Contact Law (SCL), Sonority Sequence Principle (SSP), and complex onset avoidance. Also it was found that segments don't behave identically in the metathesis process; *r* is the most frequent phoneme in the metathesis and *z* is the least one.

Key words: metathesis, dialect, Persian, synchronic, diachronic

Tuesday 14:30-15:00

A look at word order as a change in progress in varieties of Caribbean Spanish: Evidence from Cuban Spanish

Gabriela G. Alfaraz

Studies on varieties of insular Caribbean Spanish have proposed that these varieties may be undergoing a change to strict word order related to other linguistic changes (Cameron, 1993; Hochberg, 1986; Lunn, 2002; Morales, 1989). Morales (1989) noted that the tendency to express subjects overtly, along with the often-observed tendency to prepose overtly expressed subjects may be evidence of a change in word order in Puerto Rican Spanish. Similarly, Lunn (2002) noted that the development of strict word order in Dominican Spanish may be related to other changes in that variety, including the near-categorical occurrence of preverbal subjects, the loss of verb morphology stemming from deletion of /s/ and /n/, and the loss of accusative object marking in mandatory contexts. Despite suggestions that it may be a change in progress, the study of word order in these varieties appears to have gone largely uninvestigated.

The present paper reports on research from a larger project on linguistic changes in two varieties of insular Caribbean Spanish. This paper specifically explores the suggestion that a change in progress to strict SVO word order has been occurring in these varieties by carrying out a quantitative study of data from Cuban Spanish. The analysis will establish the frequency of overt arguments in pre- and postverbal positions. To examine the possibility of change over time, data from fifty speakers representing two generational cohorts, one older and one younger, are compared using an apparent-time analysis, and the older generation is also studied in real time. It is expected that these results will provide an initial inquiry into claims that changes in word order are taking place in varieties of the insular Caribbean.

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Friday 15:30-16:00

Title: Same dialects, similar contact settings, and different sociolinguistic histories: formation of the three Japanese regional koines

Yoshiyuki Asahi

Three Japanese-speaking communities in the Okhotsk Sea (Hokkaido in Japan, Sakhalin in Russia and the Kuril Islands in Russia) comprise the intriguing sociolinguistic situation for their koine-formations. Each community has received a number of Japanese immigrants in the course of her history. The immigrants in these communities have extremely similar dialectal backgrounds. Their dialects were in contact for a substantial period of time: 40 years in Sakhalin, 70 years in the Kuril Islands and more than a century in Hokkaido. Regardless of the differences in the length of their history, similar nature of the dialect contact should occur in these communities. By contrast, each community has different history especially after the World War II. Hokkaido remained the same and has received a strong influence from Tokyo Japanese. Sakhalin and the Kuril islands, on the other hand, lost most of the Japanese speakers at the end of 1940s. Although Sakhalin had some Sakhalin dialect speakers until today, all Kuril dialect speakers lost their speech community, and a majority of the speaker now live in Hokkaido.

The purpose of this paper is to examine to what extent each regional koine show similarities, and in what way different histories gave an impact onto the koine-formation process. A total number of 15 speakers from the three communities are interviewed, and a total of 22.5-hour spontaneous speeches will be used as a data. Two phonological features (a replacement of /X/as /Σ/, and a vocalisation of /k/ and /t/) are analysed. Result will show that whereas Hokkaido dialect lost these features whereas Sakhalin and Kuril islanders maintain those features. Moreover, the differences between Sakhalin and Kuril dialect are emphasized by the individual differences. Based on these findings, this paper discusses the reasons why this difference occurred in relation to their sociolinguistic settings of each community.

299 words

Tuesday 14:30-15:00

“DiaTech”: A New Tool for Dialectology

Gotzon Aurrekoetxea, Karmele Fernández & Jesus Angel Rubio

The aim of this paper is to present a new tool to do dialectometry. The program, called “DiaTech”, has been incorporated features of previous programs, and especially by the VDM program created under the direction of H. Goebel, researcher of the Salzburg University. The main goal of the new tool is to motivate Dialectology studies and dialectologists, putting in their hands a comfortable and efficient tool.

With regards to the linguistic features of the program, the most novel feature “DiaTech” has concerns its ability to manage “multiple responses”; that is to say, it contemplates the possibility that for each question the dialectologist can record more than one item.

As far as the technological basic features are concerned, the “DiaTech” program can be used in different platforms; it has an interface in different languages.

The group of researchers at the University of the Basque Country (UPV-EHU) and the Basque Summer University (UEU) that have created the “DiaTech” program are committed to free software; consequently, the program is based on different programs, such as MySQL data-base, R statistic program and GVSIG, a GIS cartographic program. Although it has three modules, all of them are integrated in a single program.

Regarding the statistical procedures, the DiaTech program gives access to a wide variety/selection of distances, among them the most typically used in dialectometry for bidimensional and multivariate analysis (cluster, correlation, etc.). In addition, the program makes use of different algorithms of visualization and classification.

Finally, it provides the necessary tools to create different types of maps with polygonized background: question by question maps (as in a linguistic atlas), identity maps, honeycomb maps, synopsis of Skewness, standard deviation, dendrographic maps, correlation maps, etc.

Friday 11:00-11:30

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues, Session 2

Orthography development for the Greek-Cypriot dialect: language attitudes and orthographic choice

Ioli Ayiomamitou, Stelios Kyriacou and Aspasia Papadima

This paper is the first public presentation of a series of studies conducted in the “Research Laboratory for Typography and the Cypriot dialect”. The objective of the research is firstly to provide an overview of the plurality of orthographic conventions currently used to represent the non-standard Greek-Cypriot (GC henceforth) dialect in writing and to devise an agreed, unified orthographic system, meeting the criteria of phonological adequacy, simplicity and learnability (Sebba, 2007). The GC dialect is identified within the diglossic GC speech community, as the low, spoken language variety. Whilst no set orthography has yet been established for the GC dialect, a relatively significant amount of writing exists in a restricted set of genres. This paper focuses on presenting the main findings of a two-fold study undertaken on the basis of a questionnaire in combination with eye-tracking experiments (Duchowski, 2007) investigating participants’ eye reactions to the various orthographic conventions represented in the form of various word-stimuli. The study focused on exploring GC’s: a) language attitudes regarding the highly complex, linguistically as well as politically, issue of devising a spelling system for a non-standard dialect b) language preferences regarding the various non-systematic orthographic models already in use and c) stances in adopting a less etymological orthography and accepting new characters other than those offered by the Greek alphabet for representing the distinct dialectal sounds in writing (Newton, 1972).

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Wednesday 9.00-9.30

Alena Barysevich

Lexical variation in contact language situation: identity or social conditioning?

Our paper investigates the evolution in usage of forms referring to the notions of 'automobile' and 'work' in spoken French of Outaouais region, a variety with intense contact with English. Our distributional analyses show that two main vernacular forms in Canadian French of the variety under study in XX century are *job* and *char*. Interestingly, the analyses reveal the change in distribution of lexical variables in question by youngest cohorts (15-24 years). Among young speakers the use of vernacular variant *char* decreased (in 1984:64%; in 2005: 54%), but the use of *job* dramatically increased (in 1984:63%; in 2005: 72%). Several multivariate analyses of the data (using *Goldvarb*) reveal that the principal external factors that influence the high frequency of these vernacular forms in XX century are: language used the most frequently in everyday life, the intensity of contact with English, social class and age. Internal factors (preceding element and priming) were also selected by *Goldvarb* as significant in the use of vernacular variants *char* and *job*. Can the use of *job* and *char* be ascribed to the intensive contact with English, to social factors or/and to the internal constraints of French in examined variety?

In order to understand the evolution of *job* and *char* we bring together synchronic and diachronic results. We follow a quantitative sociolinguistic methodology and comparative methods. The data are taken from large corpora of XIX-XXI centuries: *Corpus du français parlé à Ottawa-Hull* and *Récits du français québécois d'autrefois, Français du Nouveau millénaire*.

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Saturday 09:30-10:00

Black English in Toronto: A New Dialect?

Laura Baxter & Jacqueline Peters

This paper presents a study of (t/d) deletion (TD) in Black Toronto English, a speech community which has not previously been investigated. Hoffman and Walker (2010) examined (TD) in the speech of Torontonians from a number of ethnic groups and found that, while first generation Chinese- and Italian-Canadian speakers showed evidence of language transfer, second generation speakers of both groups showed the same conditioning of (t/d) deletion as speakers of British descent, suggesting these speakers were all members of the same speech community. Our study, on the other hand, finds that second generation Black Canadians do not share certain constraint rankings found by Hoffman and Walker, suggesting that Black speakers in Toronto speak a different variety of English and have not assimilated to the larger speech community in the same way that speakers of the other ethnic groups have.

In particular, preceding phonological context, the most significant linguistic constraint on (TD) for all ethnolects in Toronto, shows a different direction of effect in the speech of the Black community, one that is similar to the constraint ranking found in Patrick (1999)'s study of Jamaican Creole, one of the substrate languages of Toronto's Black immigrant population. We suggest the existence of (TD) in varieties of a substrate language as a possible explanation for the persistence of language transfer into the second generation of speakers in Toronto.

Furthermore, preliminary evidence suggests that this variety of English is not limited to speakers of Jamaican heritage, but that Black speakers of different linguistic heritages have formed one speech community in Toronto. As Black speakers tend to be isolated both geographically and socially from the larger Toronto speech community, we suggest that other Black speakers have assimilated to the Jamaican community due to its status as the largest and most established Black community in Toronto.

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Workshop: Dialect and Heritage Language Corpora for the Google Generation

Explaining the Present: Why dialectologists need a historical corpus of English phonology

Joan Beal

The need to answer questions about the nature of linguistic change was the motivation behind early work in both dialectology and sociolinguistics: the Neogrammarians recognised that the living dialects were a better source of data than hypothetical reconstructions of Proto-Indo-European, whilst Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968) sought ‘empirical foundations for a theory of sound change’. Labov’s variationist methodology was to become so dominant that, as I have argued elsewhere (Beal 2007), historical sources have tended to be neglected or used selectively in recent accounts of variation and change in English. One reason for this is that information about the origins of the sound changes which underlie most of the distinctions between ‘modern’ (Trudgill 1999) accents of English has been difficult to access. The most important sources of such information are the numerous pronouncing dictionaries which were published from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Whilst the intention behind these was normative, the detailed phonetic descriptions of authors such as Walker (1791), along with their explicit proscriptions concerning ‘vulgar’ and ‘provincial’ pronunciations provide valuable information about, for example, the early stigmatisation of northerners’ lack of a ‘FOOT-STRUT’ split.

These pronouncing dictionaries are now much more easily accessed via ECCO (*Eighteenth Century Collections Online*), but the lack of a single notational system means that trawling through these texts for evidence is painstaking. In this paper, I set out plans for a corpus or database of historical English phonology which would make this valuable evidence accessible to the scholarly community. To demonstrate the potential of such a database, I present two case studies: (a) the evidence for enregisterment of unsplit ME /ʊ/ as ‘northern’, and (b) early evidence for ‘happy tensing’.

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Wednesday 14 :30-15 :00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Categorial and categorial word order variation in West-Germanic verb clusters

Hans Bennis and Sjeff Barbiers

The Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects (SAND-II, chapter 1) shows that there is a tremendous amount of word order variation in Dutch three-verb clusters containing perfective, modal and aspectual auxiliaries. Out of six logically possible word orders, only the order 2-1-3 (e.g. 2-CAN.INF 1-MUST.FIN 3-SWIM.INF, intended meaning 'must be able to swim') is categorically excluded. The attested word order variation depends on: (i) type of auxiliaries, (ii) hierarchy of the auxiliaries, (iii) geographic location, (iv) speaker. We argue that the categorial impossibility of the 2- 1-3 order for all cluster types follows from the fact that the main verb (3) is a subconstituent of the second auxiliary (2). If 2 precedes 1, then 3 precedes 1 as well. We further argue that much of the remaining word order variation can be reduced to categorial variation. In the Dutch dialects, infinitives are ambiguous between nouns and verbs, while participles are ambiguous between adjectives and verbs. Nominal and adjectival constituents obligatorily precede the selecting verb. The orders 3-1-2, 1-3-2 and 2-3-1 should be analyzed as cases in which the main verb (3) is a noun or an adjective. Evidence supporting this analysis is, among others, the geographic correlation with verb cluster interruption (cf. SAND II, chapter 2): the possibility of the 1-3-2 order in clusters strongly correlates with the possibility to have non-verbal constituents within the cluster: both are typical for Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium. If this analysis is correct, the only possible verbal clusters in the Dutch language area are 3-2-1 (northern Dutch) and 1-2-3 (the rest). We will discuss the theoretical ramifications of the fact that out of six logically possible orders only two seem to exist. Time permitting we will test this analysis on clusters involving aspectual auxiliaries that have not been investigated in the SAND, and extend it to word order variation in German verb clusters.

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Friday 11:30-12:00

Some quantitative methods in the dialectology of the U.S.-Canada border.

Charles Boberg

The international border between Canada and the United States provides an ideal site for studying the role of political boundaries in creating or maintaining geolinguistic transitions. Despite strong American influence and general linguistic similarity, Canadian and American varieties remain distinct at every point of trans-border contact. This has been well documented by a long history of regional analyses: from the early surveys of Avis (1954-56) in Ontario and Allen (1959) on the Prairies to more recent work by Zeller (1993), Chambers (1994, 1995) and Boberg (2000) in Ontario and Burnett (2006) in New Brunswick. Missing from earlier work has been a view of the border along its entire length, allowing its character to be understood in a new light, through a comparative analysis of contrasts in different regions, based on a uniform set of data from different regions and both sides of the border.

A first continental view emerged from Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006): the most consistent difference between across most of mainland Canada was produced by the Canadian Vowel Shift (lowering/retraction of KIT, DRESS TRAP). However, research reported in Boberg (2010) and in the present paper, based on a new continental data set comprising both phonetic and lexical variables, indicates that the Canadian Shift is maximally distinctive only in Ontario, while Canadian Raising (of MOUTH and PRICE) creates a sharper isogloss in western North America. Moreover, while these phonetic variables suggest a stronger border effect in Ontario, lexical data show a greater national difference in the West. These patterns emerge from quantitative analyses of lexical frequencies and of acoustic data on vowel production, to be explained in the talk, which allow direct comparison of one border region with another. This analysis supports a linguistic view of the border that is at once more comprehensive and more nuanced.

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Word count (excluding title and reference): 299 words.

Perceptual Dialectology in a Quantitative Approach

Paulina Bounds

Dennis Preston developed the 'Draw-a-map' methodology, giving the contemporary perceptual dialectology a foundation in beliefs and ideas about speech of folk speakers. Such an approach shifted focus from what we as linguists think about speech and how we describe it, to how lay speakers' perceptions are shaped by constraints such as knowledge, distance, or experience with a particular kind of speech (or lack of it). The results of the Prestonian 'Draw-a-map' methodology give an impression of neat boundaries between regions of salient perceptual agreement. This presentation will propose an alternative way of computing results from 'Draw-a-map' methodology using 215 perceptual maps collected in Poland. The analysis of perceptual maps was performed using automated processes; however, the solutions presented do not require a high level of proficiency with technology. The presentation will show a step-by-step procedure necessary to perform such an analysis. Instead of creating generalizations, maps drawn by respondents were combined into a "result map" depicting all areas of perceived speech varieties, with various levels of agreement among the respondents. Moreover, the way of organizing the data allows not only to show the overall results, but also to depict how particular groups of speakers labeled perceived speech varieties and their speakers on the map. The results suggest that the majority of areas on the map display a low level of agreement about the locations of perceived speech varieties. This method allows us to show the variation in perceptions with both similarities and differences visible at the same time. Moreover, it represents visually the informants' perceptions of the location of particular groups of speakers.

Friday 09:30-10:00

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues

Standardization and Language Revitalization “Why don’t you write it the way she said it?”

André Bourcier

Standardization is a staple of classic Language Planning. Defined as: “deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper 1989:45), classic Language Planning generally presents the State as the central agent of change. As one of its endeavors in Language Planning, the State might decide to standardize one of the dialects within its jurisdiction to create an Ausbausprache, a “standard tool of literary expression” (Kloss 1967:29). The State will then adopt language policies and laws to promote and impose the use of his standard language.

Language revitalization is quite different. It usually takes place in minority settings and it aims at reversing a language shift. The State is here perceived as either indifferent or hostile toward minority languages as it did not prevent the language shift in the first place. In Language Revitalization, the central agents of change are community leaders. Whereas States rely on bureaucracy to carry most of their actions, community leaders exist on very different political arenas and their perception of language as a symbolic resource for political purposes can have direct and volatile effects on the work of linguists and language community activists.

The differences between Language Planning and Language Revitalization should not be underestimated as they very often constrain the methods available to linguists for descriptive and normative work. Using a model of political agents inspired by Practice Theory in Political Anthropology, this paper will illustrate some difficulties in creating and implementing standard languages in the Canadian Western Arctic and Sub-Arctic regions. We will argue that the energy needed to implement an Ausbausprache in Language Revitalization contexts might be detrimental to the more general goal of preserving these languages as living languages.

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Tuesday 11:00-12:30

Workshop: Dialect and Heritage Language Corpora for the Google Generation

Isabelle Buchstaller, Karen Corrigan, Adam Mearns and Hermann Moisl

**The *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE):
Issues of preservation and public engagement**

Continuing growth in the number of digitized corpora of natural language text/audio raises various questions relating to the best ways of presenting, promoting, preserving and future-proofing such resources for current and future users in both academic and non-academic contexts.

This presentation addresses these issues by showcasing a new corpus of vernacular Tyneside speech currently being collated at Newcastle University (UK), along similar lines to the ONZE corpus (Gordon et al. 2007). The *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE) updates the *Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (NECTE, Allen et al. 2007), which combined and digitized the *Tyneside Linguistic Survey* (TLS) (1960s) and the *Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English* (PVC) corpus (1994). This material is augmented by the monitor corpus NECTE2, consisting of dyadic interviews, involving a variety of local informants, that have been collected and digitized by researchers at Newcastle University since 2007. DECTE will therefore constitute a rare example of a publicly available interactive online corpus presenting data spanning five decades (Table 1). Crucially, all its sub-corpora have been created from sociolinguistic interviews with defined protocols that have been conducted among a wide range of social groups and thus offer a wealth of variationist data for longitudinal analyses.

Table 1: DECTE speaker birth-dates.

| NECTE2 (2007-) | | Younger 1967-1990 | Older 1923-1966 | | |
|-------------------|---------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| PVC (1994/5) | } NECTE | | Younger 1954-1977 | Older 1911-1953 | |
| TLS (1960s) | | | | Younger 1925-1968 | Older 1895-1934 |

In this presentation we will:

- Showcase DECTE, demonstrating its architecture, interface and applications.
- Report on the measures taken to ensure the longer-term preservation and sustainability of the corpus.
- Describe how DECTE has been promoted as a resource not only for Higher Education, but also for schools and the general public, for example through the use of multi-media technologies.

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Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

On the areal dimension of non-standard syntax: evidence from a Portuguese dialect corpus

Ernstina Carrilho and Sandra Pereira

This paper presents and discusses the areal distribution of a selection of non-standard syntactic constructions in European Portuguese (EP). Dialect syntax is thus considered from a geolinguistic perspective aimed at: (i) showing how non-standard syntax may be confined to some geographical areas within a linguistic territory; (ii) discussing the peculiarities of “syntactic areas” when considering the areal distribution of other linguistic variants; (iii) relating syntactic areas to traditional dialect-geographic areas defined on the basis of phonetic data.

Beyond the conceptual and methodological difficulties in identifying and studying variables in syntax (see Barbiers 2008, a.o.), this study exploits the data of a dialect corpus aiming at the description and areal delimitation of the following non-standard EP constructions: (i) verb *ter* ‘have’ existential constructions; (ii) periphrastic constructions involving an aspectual verb + a gerund; (iii) pronominal form *a gente* (3sg) + third plural verbal agreement; (iv) possessives not co-occurring with a otherwise required definite article. Differently from other non-standard constructions that spread over all dialects (even if absent from spoken standard Portuguese), the constructions under inspection here mainly occur in restricted EP areas. Moreover, these areal limits will be shown to meet, to an important extent, well-known dialectal boundaries in EP (Cintra 1971, Segura 2006), which have been identified on the basis of regional phonetic variants.

The aspects of Portuguese dialect syntax presented here thus contribute to a twofold conclusion: (i) syntactic variation may be confined to cohesive dialect areas; (ii) such syntactic areas provide additional geolinguistic arguments to the tasks of identifying and delimiting dialects.

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Thursday 10:00-10:30

Dialect Variants in Bilingual Settings (295 words)

Jack Chambers and André LaPierre

Dialect studies in multilingual settings face the prospect of possible influence from subjects' exposure to 'other' languages. In the Dialect Topography of Canada, three of our English-language survey regions are in the heart of the French-speaking domain and two other regions are in the bilingual belts adjacent to the francophone heartland. Many of our subjects are French-English bilinguals. In order to measure individual exposure to the other language, we devised a graded scale called the Language Use Index (LUI) based on self-reports of the language used in four mundane settings: at home, at work, with friends and with relatives. Once subjects are categorized on the LUI scale, a larger linguistic issue rears its head: Does it matter? Does it make a difference in the subjects' linguistic choices?

We present two kinds of evidence to demonstrate that participation in second-language culture provides a revealing independent variable for linguistic variation. First, we consider a case in which one variant is assumed to be a loan translation from the majority language. However, the LUI reveals absence of interdependence between variant choice and second-language exposure, and therefore cast doubts upon it. Further investigations revealed that another independent variable, Regionality, correlates robustly, providing an alternative hypothesis. Second, we look at the linguistically complex situation in the Ottawa Valley, the region straddling the Ontario-Quebec border. Here, we discovered that certain variant choices correlated with LUI indices. What determines variant choices by these subjects is the degree of immersion in the second-language vernacular culture as measured by high LUI scores. This result resembles correlations with network strength (established by the Milroys' classic studies) and in that sense is not surprising, but we believe it is the first empirical demonstration of sociolinguistic choices related to second-language interaction.

Tuesday 14:00-14:30

Workshop: Dialect and Heritage Corpora for the Google Generation

Adapting Legacy Regional Language Materials to an Interactive Online Format: The Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador

Sandra Clarke

Despite the existence of many tape-recorded heritage regional dialect corpora, the considerable outlay of time and money required until very recently to document spatially-correlated variable features helps to clarify why, in the English-speaking world, only a handful of regional dialect atlases have ever been published. The advent of digital technologies, however, provides a wealth of new possibilities for the display and dissemination of regional dialect data. This paper outlines one such recent approach: the Online Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador English (DANL, <http://www.mun.ca/linguistics/research/language/danl.php>). Grounded in heritage recordings made three to five decades ago with conservative rural speakers born between c. 1870 and 1920, DANL provides information on the spatial distribution not only of lexical items (over 40,000 responses to a 566-item questionnaire), but also of ‘structural’ features (29 phonological, 27 morphosyntactic).

This paper outlines the DANL project, with particular focus on issues of long-term preservation and public access. Rather than specially-designed computer programs, the project relies on readily available, upgradeable and cost-effective commercial relational database and GIS software to produce online map and other visual displays. It also utilizes digital audio editing software to enhance phonetic feature presentation via illustrative sound files.

Given the historical importance of – and public interest in – its heritage materials, a guiding principle of DANL is that it be easily accessible to non-academic and academic audiences alike. To this end, the project is developing interactive components grounded in Web 2.0 technologies. These will enable present-day users to contribute their own linguistic usage (cf. such interactive regional lexicon sites as the Australian Word Map and BBC Voices) and, at the same time, to compare their own speech forms to those of their great-grandparents’ generation. Further, DANL will be adapted to multiple platforms, including handheld and mobile devices, thereby ensuring broad accessibility for some years to come.

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Friday 15:30-16:00

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues, Session 4

Dialects, Orthography, and Society

John M. Clifton

Sebba (2007) argues that orthography should be considered primarily a social, not linguistic, phenomenon. This is especially true when dialects are involved. In this paper I illustrate this through case studies from Papua New Guinea and Bangladesh.

Bine, in Papua New Guinea, contains four dialects. Dialectal differences in stop distributions led to the decision to represent /ŋ/ as <ŋ>. While this was linguistically justified, speakers of one dialect later decided to use <ng>. They felt it was more important to keep their orthography closer to the national language, English, than to identify with the other dialects.

Speakers of Tangchangya in Bangladesh took a similar approach. Linguistic research indicates they could use literature produced for the larger Chakma community. The Tangchangya, however, want to establish an identity separate from, but related to, Chakma. While their orthography is based on Chakma, the majority of graphemes have been modified; e.g., C(hakma) <ᳵ ᳶ> are T(angchangya) <ᳵ ᳶ>; C <ᳵᳶ> is T <ᳵᳶ>.

Contrasting with these situations, speakers of the two dialects of Vanimo in Papua New Guinea feel it is important to maintain a single orthography. A major problem is that /g/ and /h/ in one dialect are neutralized as /ʔ/ in the other. Speakers decided to write the glottal as <gh>, allowing for visual unity.

Similar decisions were made by speakers of Kokborok. When speakers in India decided to change to a Roman orthography, speakers in Bangladesh followed. However, speakers of Bangladeshi dialects discovered contrastive nasalized vowels not found in Indian dialects. While the decision to write nasalized vowels with both a diacritic and nasal complicates the system, it maintains visual unity.

These differences cannot be accounted for by linguistics; they are rooted in social practice. This suggests that the local communities must be heavily involved in making decisions.

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Tuesday 15:30-16:00

The Subjunctive Mood in Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French

Philip Comeau

The use of the subjunctive mood in French varieties spoken in contact with English has been the subject of debate. For instance, Laurier's (1989) quantitative study of Ontario French along with Neumann-Holzschuh's (2005) commentary on Acadian French make the claim that both varieties have experienced diminished use of the subjunctive. In contrast, Poplack (1992, 1997) argues that variation in mood choice is inherent in the language: when community norms, as opposed to prescriptive rules, are the object of study, evidence for subjunctive loss in Ottawa-Hull French disappears.

This study examines variation between the subjunctive (1) and the indicative (2) in the Acadian French of Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia. Following Poplack's methodology, we consider only environments where alternation between the two moods occurs (i.e., we investigate the variable context as defined by community norms). Since this variety retains the imperfect subjunctive, as shown in (3), separate multivariate analyses were conducted for present and pas tense verb tokens.

- (1) Oh, je crois pas j'y **aille** aujourd'hui. (GC-05-18)
oh I think not I PART go-SUBJ. today
'Oh, I don't think I'll go today.'
- (2) Non, moi je crois point que ça **fait** trop peur. (GC-07-06)
no me I think not that it makes-IND. too scary
'No, I don't think it's too scary.'
- (3) Fallait qu'il te **donnit** une tape là. (GC-04-23)
is-necessary that he you give-IMP.SUBJ. a tape there
'He had to give you a tape, there.'

The data were submitted to multivariate analyses with Goldvarb X to determine the linguistic and social factors which condition mood choice. Our results show that both the present and imperfect subjunctive are favoured with certain main clause verbs and particular non-verbal constructions. Since there is no significant difference across age cohorts, these results suggest that the subjunctive is in fact not being lost in Acadian French.

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Wednesday 14:00-14:30

Workshop: English and European Historical Dialectology

“It takes a Yorkshireman to talk Yorkshire” : towards a framework for the historical study of enregisterment

Paul Cooper

In this paper I consider the phenomenon of enregisterment and whether it can be studied in historical contexts. Following Johnstone et al's definition of enregisterment as an instance where a feature has „become associated with a style of speech and can be used to create a context for that style' (2006:82), I am investigating whether their notions of second and third-order indexicality can be applied to historical texts. I am specifically focussing on a stereotypical feature of the Yorkshire dialect: the phenomenon of Definite Article Reduction; as this feature is, to some extent, enregistered.

The historical context of this paper is the nineteenth century, due to the evolution of a strong interest in dialects in that century (Milroy in Watts & Trudgill (eds) 2002:14); the role that the resulting dialect dictionaries played in enregistering dialect features (Beal 2009:141-145); and the sheer quantity of examples of DAR in nineteenth-century Yorkshire dialect literature (a pilot study showed that around 80% of all definite articles were reduced).

My data for this paper comes from a corpus of dialect literature, literary dialect (Shorrocks 1999), and texts which discuss dialect such as Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1905) and Hunter's *Hallamshire Glossary* (1888). I shall also consider data from contemporary newspapers such as *The York Herald* (October 25 1889), which mentions „the abbreviation...of the definite article'.

I am attempting to answer the following questions: (1) are comments like: „The absence of *þ* or *th* in the definite article is remarkable in the Sheffield dialect' (Addy 1888:xviii) and „it is said the ghost of a *t'* is always to be recognised' (Easter 1883:134) evidence for the nineteenth-century enregisterment of DAR?; (2) do textual representations of DAR highlight the feature's enregisterment?; (3) is it possible to create a framework for the historical study of enregisterment?

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Thursday 09:00-10:00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Regiolect syntax in Dutch standard and dialect area

Leonie Cornips

This talk focusses on the linguistic outcomes of two types of language contact settings in two different geographical areas in The Netherlands. The first type concerns bilingual dialect and regional Dutch speakers in southern Limburg that results in horizontal (between dialects) and vertical (between dialect and its roofing standard) convergences and divergences (Cornips 1994, 1998; Auer, Kerswill and Hinskens 2005). This language contact situation is already a long-lasting one.

The second type concerns bilingual speakers in the so-called Randstad area, which is the dominant part of the Netherlands where (sub)standard Dutch is spoken as the colloquial variety. In contrast to the southeastern part of Limburg that has encountered huge immigration in the beginning of the 19th century, this area has encountered rather recent population shifts due to immigrants entering the Netherlands. These immigrants and their local born children broadened the number and range of linguistic contact situations in cities such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In this area, I will focus on transmission (*cf.* Labov 2007) as a type of a relatively 'new' language contact situation, namely bilingual acquisition by immigrant children who are born in the Netherlands and exposed to a Dutch input from birth onwards. The linguistic phenomenon in both cases is grammatical adnominal gender

The aim of the talk is to show that the processes in both types of contact settings and areas are similar in that speakers show linguistic effects of being in contact with each other. Although variation is constrained by the nature of possible grammars it is driven by social factors (*cf.* Henry 2002). However, speakers do not simply reflect social categories but are agents as well (Eckert ms). Which linguistic element(s) will become meaningful in the process of language contact is dependent on the individual and societal context in interaction i.e. it is an emergent phenomenon with different results on the level of regiolect syntax.

The first part of this talk discusses that different language contact outcomes may have similar social meanings. In contrast, the second part discusses that similar language contact outcomes are socially meaningful for some speakers but not for others.

Saturday 10:00-10:30

Speaking dialect accelerates the acquisition of grammatical gender in Standard Dutch

Leonie Cornips

Unlike English, standard Dutch has a two-way gender distinction in the adnominal domain. It makes a binary distinction between common and neuter nouns. This gender distinction is morphologically visible on the determiner if it has the features singular and definite: neuter nouns take the article *het* and common nouns take *de*. It appears that the monolingual acquisition of the Dutch neuter definite determiner *het* is a long-lasting and slow one. It takes Dutch monolingual children about six years to acquire neuter gender target-like.

In this paper, I will focus on two types of bilingual communities in The Netherlands: that is, a “new” and an “old” one. The “new” one is the result of population shifts: immigrants entering a new country whereas the “old” one refers to bilingual / bidialectal communities in geographical areas where non-standard dialects are common. In these areas, children acquire the standard language in addition to a local dialect and are therefore raised bilingually, either from birth or from school age onwards. The bidialectal children reported on in this talk speak a Limburg dialect that has, in contrast to standard Dutch, a three-way gender distinction (neuter, feminine and masculine).

I will discuss the results of a sentence-completion task involving 40 picture pairs showing that bilingual children of the “new” type (Dutch-Moroccan and Turkish speaking; n=24, age between 10;5 and 12;11 years) show a serious delay in the acquisition of neuter grammatical gender in Dutch whereas the bilingual children of the “old” type (local dialect and standard Dutch, n=30, age between 2;0 and 7;0 years) reveal an “accelerated” acquisition of the neuter gender of the Dutch definite determiner. In order to explain these striking differences in *societal* bilingual contexts, I will carefully disentangle various external and internal factors that play a role in bilingual development.

Wednesday 09:30-10:00

The Acquisition of Modal Verbs in L1 Toronto English: Variability and Change

Ailis Cournane

The modal auxiliaries of English developed historically from main verbs (e.g., Lightfoot 1979, Roberts 1985, Warner 1993). Currently, the quasi-modals (*have to*, *need to*) are eclipsing certain modal auxiliaries in Canadian English, notably the deontic meanings associated with *must* (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007). I am running an L1 acquisition elicited production study on modal verb constructions in English. The findings of the study will be linked to learnability issues and to the modal-cycle in historical linguistics (Closs-Traugott 2006).

The modal cycle starts with a main verb with modal readings being reanalysed as a deontic modal auxiliary (associated with permission/ability/obligation) and later being reanalysed as an epistemic modal auxiliary (associated with possibility/necessity). For example, the quasi-modals are now available for deontic readings, but not yet epistemic. And the deontic reading of *must* is being lost. How children from ages 3-6 treat modal verbs in production should be telling. Comprehension tests have already shown a slight that deontic modality is mastered earlier than epistemic modality (Hirst & Weil 1982, Papafragou 1995, Fond 2003).

The motivation for running an acquisition study in order to address a phenomenon in historical linguistics is well-grounded in the literature. Many researchers attribute the creation of new structural possibilities or semantic readings (*reanalysis* in generative terms, *actuation* in variationist terms) in a language to processes that occur during L1 acquisition (Lightfoot 1991; Roberts & Roussou 2003; Hale 2007). Thus, something about the strategies employed by children acquiring their L1 is predicted to favour the common changes we see in the historical record over the uncommon ones. However, the empirical connection between L1 acquisition and language change has not been adequately tested. I will link the ubiquitous modal cycle to acquisition strategies (i.e., Snyder 2007), and to learnability (assuming innovation occurs when learnability 'fails'; Clark & Roberts 1993).

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Wednesday 14:30-15:00

Historical Shift in African American English

Matthew Crossland

The African-American English dialect (AAE) behaves in a particularly nontraditional way: how the dialect performs in comparison to surrounding dialects depending on whether they are superstratal or substratal. An accurate analysis of how much divergence occurs within a closed African-American community is still something that is difficult to gauge. Walt Wolfram (1987) posits seven potential dialect shifts which AAE may undergo. Rickford (1999) later states that any or all of these potential shifts may occur within a given dialect. Wolfram and Thomas (2002) show that over time, AAE begins to diverge more starkly from the surrounding dialects. However the time depth of these studies is limited: more prescient historical data must exist for a better understanding of how AAE has shifted historically. Additional analysis of a deeper time depth is now available from Woodville, Mississippi and St. Francisville, Louisiana.

This study analyzes the recordings of African-American speakers in Woodville and St. Francisville, recorded in the mid-1970s by Margaret Louise Duval, PhD. These two cities have a historically closed African-American community, which Dr. Duval was able to join due to historic familial ties. The recordings include speech samples of several speakers who were born shortly after the Civil War and present historical linguistic data on the region. Their speech is compared to the speech of modern AAE speakers from the same areas to show how the dialects of the areas have shifted in the more than 30 years since the recordings were made.

The data was analyzed in regards to the six features considered class in the study of AAE (Rickford 1999). The data exhibits the extent AAE in the area has transformed over time. In addition to exhibiting the growth of the dialect in the area, it also shows how the language has changed from the surrounding English dialects.

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Tuesday 13:30-14:00 - "To count or not to count"

Patricia Cukor-Avila and Guy Bailey

The principle of accountability for every linguistic form in an envelope of variation is fundamental to work in quantitative sociolinguistics. In theory, each relevant linguistic utterance is coded and subsequently analyzed. In practice, things are far more complicated. First, a substantial number of tokens in every study are relegated to a "don't count" category. For instance, in studies of zero copula in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) the following types of tokens are not considered in most analyses: clause-final copulas; copulas in questions, negatives, and exclamations; invariant *be*, and copulas contracted in *it*, *that*, and *what* (cf. Blake 1995). Their exclusion may have an effect on the results. Moreover, in many cases the types of tokens relegated to the "don't count" category are not made explicit. In these cases, it's impossible to tell how the results are affected. Finally, precisely how tokens in an envelope are analyzed can vary across studies of the same feature. For example, studies of invariant habitual *be* in AAVE analyze habitual *be* in one of three ways: (1) as a percentage of all present tense copula forms, (2) as a percentage of all invariant *be* tokens, (3) as a frequency of occurrence per hour of speech. Again, decisions about how to analyze tokens can have significant consequences on results and make comparisons across studies difficult if not impossible. This paper explores the consequences on results of decisions about what features to count and how to count them. It does so through a comparison of zero copula, invariant habitual *be*, and quotative *be like* in AAVE using different coding and analytical schemes. This comparison suggests that results are often artifacts of decisions about what and how to count and as a result, studies of the same feature are often not comparable.

Blake, Renée. 1997. "Defining the envelope of linguistic variation: The case of "don't count" forms in the copula analysis of African American Vernacular English. *Language Variation and Change* 9:57-79.

Friday 15:30-16:00

When variation isn't available: Lexical conditioning in English adjective comparison

Alex d'Arcy

English adjective comparison is increasingly the focus of corpus linguistic research (e.g. Kytö & Romaine 1997, 2000, 2006; Leech & Culpepper 1997; Mondorf 2003), but it is much less studied in the variationist framework (Hilpert 2008; Scrivner 2010). These two traditions converge, however, in revealing variation between the historical inflectional form (*happier/happiest*) and the newer periphrastic variant (*more/most happy*); contemporaneously, the majority of comparison is achieved inflectionally. The traditions also converge with respect to a number of language-internal factors operating on variation (number of syllables, final phonological segment, etc.). However, our understanding of this variation comes from written genres, and, following good variationist practice, from those adjectives that are variable in these genres. In contrast, very little is known about adjective comparison in vernacular speech. Since periphrastic comparison likely emerged as a change from above (see Mustanoja 1960), the lack of spoken evidence thus proves a critical gap in our knowledge. To address this gap, this paper examines comparison strategies in New Zealand English, drawing on the whole of the ONZE Archive (Gordon et al. 2007). More than 2500 comparative contexts were extracted from these materials, including defective (i.e. suppletive) paradigms. Analysis of the non-suppletive tokens, which allow variation, reveals a striking result. Consistent with reports elsewhere, inflection is the preferred mode of comparison (72.24%; N = 1603). However, consideration of lexical item reveals a system that is not, in fact, variable. Rather, across the full history of this variety (speakers born 1851-1982), individual adjectives pattern one way (inflection) or the other (periphrasis); in speech, the form of comparison has consistently been lexically conditioned, and by extension, invariant. This talk explores a number of explanations (e.g. variation is genre-specific or variety-specific, or may only be visible in extremely large corpora), and ultimately concludes that in speech, historical variation resulted in the full 'regularization of a confused situation' (Bauer 1994:60).

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Ken Decker

On virtually every island and in every country of the English-speaking Caribbean there are different dialects of English-lexifier creoles. In several communities where such creole dialects are spoken, there are a few people who want to develop their own standardized writing systems. However, there has been very little done to coordinate any effort toward a single Caribbean-wide writing system. Standardizing an orthography in this context is a complex task. Numerous factors must be dealt with, such as variation within each local dialect, variation between the different dialects, similarities with Standard English, and attitudes towards what is proper in speech and writing. Some of these different factors are in opposition to one another. A successful response to these problems will require social and linguistic solutions.

This paper examines patterns of development that apply to large and minority languages. Historically, languages with large, powerful speech communities became standardized spontaneously, over time, usually without deliberate efforts. One such example is the development of Standard English. In recent decades there have been efforts to apply intentional efforts to standardize orthographies for smaller, marginalized language communities. Examples will be taken from minority language situations including the Bantu of Africa, the Otomanguean of Mexico, the Tai-Kadai of Southeast Asia, and the Austronesian of the southwestern Pacific. Through these experimental efforts to develop orthographies scholars have developed strategies, which will be cited. Then, I will compare and contrast principles and practices of orthography development from the aforementioned studies to evaluate how orthographies have been developing for creole dialects in the Caribbean. Finally, based on the lessons learned from representative language situations, I will recommend a development strategy that the creole speakers could follow for a Caribbean standardized orthography.

Wednesday 12:00-12:30

Northern Sinai: transitional area between Bedouin and sedentary Arabic dialects

Rudolf de Jong

Through the ages, the northern Sinai Desert has served as the natural land bridge between Asia and Africa. With the spread of Islam from the 7th century, speakers of Arabic came from the Arabian Peninsula and crossed into non-Arabic speaking regions like Egypt and farther west into North Africa.

Today we find Bedouin tribes inhabiting the entire Sinai Peninsula. Most tribes arrived there during the Middle Ages and some even before Islam.

The northern Sinai littoral today is identified as an area of transition: from the dialect of the tribes in the Negev Desert in the east (described in Blanc 1970), the transition is embodied by four typological groups forming a continuum from the „Bedouin’ type of North West Arabic (hypothesized in Palva 1991) to the „sedentary’ type of the eastern Nile Delta in the west (described in Woidich 1979).

Apart from this east-west dimension, there is a historical dimension; the tribes arrived in their present abodes at different points in time (Bailey 1985).

Although more recent developments such as the completion of the Suez Canal and the creation of the state of Israel may blur the picture of the area as culturally homogeneous, we can still clearly see how the dialects of Bedouin tribes of northern Sinai linguistically interconnect with the dialects spoken in the Negev and the Nile Delta.

Based on findings of field research in the area for over fifteen years, I shall show how this area of transition has taken its linguistic shape; the transition inside Sinai is visible in the gradual disappearance of „Bedouin’ features of the Negev, yielding to more typically „sedentary’ features of the Delta.

I shall show that techniques of „multi-dimensional scaling’ are very useful for dialect classification and for the identification of transitional areas, in this case in the context of Arabic dialects. In addition, we shall see how the continuum is interrupted by the typologically very different Bedouin Arabic dialect originating from the eastern Arabian Peninsula, spoken by a pariah tribe who live in the middle of this transitional area in northern Sinai.

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Substandardization at school: is language variation a friend or an enemy?

Steven Delarue

In the Flemish linguistic literature of the past two decades, the substandard variety *tussentaal* has been subjected to heavy debate. *Tussentaal* (literally *in-between-language*) can be described as a 'mixed lect' that shares features with both standard Dutch and the Dutch dialects. *Tussentaal* caters for a specific need to fill the gap in the continuum between standard and dialect varieties. Because of the constant interaction between language varieties, the Flemish language situation has developed from a diglossic to a diaglossic situation (cf. Auer 2005), in which non-standard language variants are being incorporated in more formal situations that normally require standard language use (= *substandardization*).

Those multifaceted evolutions contrast sharply with the language policy carried out by the Flemish government with regards to education. In language policy documents, standard Dutch is being called the only acceptable language variety in Flemish educational contexts, inside as well as outside the classroom. Other language varieties (*tussentaal*, dialect) are being denounced or not even mentioned in the policy document, in spite of being the *Umgangssprache* of most students. In this respect, the government policy serves as an example of what Irvine & Gal have called *erasure*: "Facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away." (2000:38).

This puts teachers in a difficult position: how to unite the monoglossic utopia of the government with the ever-expanding language diversity (indigenous as well as foreign) in Flanders and its schools? This issue does not only concern Flanders, but also many other language communities with a complex language situation. The here-reported research aims at bringing together the two diverging poles:

1. *Linguistic reality at school*. Is there, aside from the standard, also room for other language varieties, and in which situations? We observe pupils and their teachers, and register their language use and perception through observation and a questionnaire.
2. *The governmental language policy*. How can an efficient language policy be conceived, which enables an education type that gives students opportunities, but at the same time faces day-to-day reality?

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Toward a Unified Theory of Chain Shifting

Aaron Dinkin

The ontological status of the chain shift as a linguistic phenomenon has been a subject of some dispute. Is “chain shift” merely a label assigned in retrospect to a collection of sound changes that happen to have cooccurred in a superficially structured-seeming way, as argued by Stockwell & Minkova (1988)? Or is the chain a unitary process which simultaneously causes the movements of several phonemes, as argued by Lass (1988)? This paper explores the ontological status and evolution of chain shifting, focusing on data from the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) in the transitional region of eastern New York State.

In the Hudson Valley, raising of /æ/, the triggering feature of the NCS, is absent, while other NCS features are present, suggesting that the structural relationship does not hold. At the same time, in “fringe” communities to which the NCS has apparently diffused, the NCS takes on a more systematic-seeming triangular shape in the vowel space. These findings corroborate the theories of Labov (2007) and Preston (2008) on the phonological consequences of diffusion of the NCS, which had not previously been observed in a single data set.

These results suggest an overall model for the life cycle of chain shifts, unifying Stockwell & Minkova’s and Lass’s perspectives: In the community where a chain shift originates, it is a unitary phenomenon in which phonemes move in response to each other. As it spreads to new communities, the uniformity is broken down and the individual shifts no longer bear the same structural relationship to each other. If the result of the shift becomes mainstream in a broad area beyond its originating community, it takes on the phonetically symmetric and simplified form that is the result of diffusion. A similar analysis can be applied to the Great Vowel Shift, as well as the NCS.

Wednesday 11:30-12:00

Workshop: English and European Historical Dialectology

Sense and Sensibility: Verbal Syntax in Nineteenth-century Scottish Emigrants' Letters between Standardization and Vernacular Usage

Marina Dossena

This paper intends to discuss verbal morpho-syntactic features in a corpus of nineteenth-century letters written by encoders of Scottish origin, whose levels of education vary quite considerably. The aim is to identify the features which appear to be most resistant to Anglicization, paying particular attention to instances of the so-called Northern Subject Rule, and to modal auxiliaries.

While written documents typically reflect an attempt to imitate standard models of educated discourse, letters place themselves at the intersection between formal modes of address and much less formal ways of conveying personalized and involved contents. As indicated in other studies (Dossena 2008 and in preparation), it is therefore possible to use such documents as witnesses of vernacular usage, where less monitored linguistic choices derive from the greater importance given to the immediacy of the message and to the often powerfully emotional relationship existing between encoders and recipients.

The decision to concentrate on verbal syntax in popular writing is meant to shed more light on Late Modern English beyond the materials currently available for the study of this variety, especially as far as Scotland is concerned. The data offered by the corpus compiled so far by the author will therefore be cross-checked with data available in the recently-launched *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing, 1700-1945* (www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/cmsw/).

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Wednesday 15:30-16:00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Two-verb Clusters in West Central German: Idiolectal and Areal Variation

Shannon Dubenion-Smith

The topic of verb clusters (e.g. ... dass er das *hat machen wollen* “that he wanted to do that”) in the Continental and extraterritorial West Germanic languages and dialects has received considerable attention in recent decades. Two major research foci have been the identification of factors that influence variation in the verb cluster and their theoretical derivation (see e.g. Löttscher 1978, Wurmbrand 2006, De Sutter 2007). In addition, idiolectal and areal variation have been areas of keen interest (see e.g. Seiler 2004, Barbiers 2005, Cornips 2007). However, while verb clusters in Standard German and Dutch as well as Upper German and Dutch dialects have been relatively well studied, the Low German and Central (East and West) German dialects have been largely neglected in this regard.

In my talk, I present the results of a questionnaire study of two-verb clusters (past participle + auxiliary and infinitive + modal) conducted in the West Central German dialect area of the Federal Republic involving 55 participants in 17 localities. The chief findings are threefold. First, the consultants use both the 2-1 order (non-finite before finite) and 1-2 order (finite before non-finite) with both syntagms tested, and the occurrence of particular orders is subject to interspeaker, intraspeaker, and areal variation as well as morphosyntactic constraints. Second, a comparison of the results from the questionnaire to data from Dubenion-Smith (2008) based on Zwirner Corpus data suggests diachronic stability in two-verb clusters over the roughly 50 years since the dialect recordings for the corpus were made. Third, the distribution of word orders in the Hessian dialect area corresponds to Wiesinger’s (1983) division based on phonological and morphological criteria and points toward this region as a particularly promising locus of further research. The talk concludes with a discussion of some methodological issues surrounding the elicitation of data in dialect syntax studies.

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Wednesday 13:30-14:00

Spanish loan words in Galician. A quantitative analysis across the territory

Francisco Dubert-García & Xulio Sousa-Fernández

Galician is a Romance language spoken in the northwest of Spain, historically related to Portuguese. Since its origins, Galician has always been in contact with Spanish and departed from Portuguese. Despite the early use of Galician in literature and in official settings, since the XIII century, Spanish was increasing its role as the only high language used in Galicia. At the end of this process, Spanish was the only language used in the school, religion, justice, writing, and Galician became a low language in Galicia.

This situation was only reverted in the last decades of XX century, when Galician acquired official status, developed a standard, and was spread in the mass media, taught at the schools and universities and gained official protection.

As a consequence of linguistic contact with Spanish, Galician converged with the high language at various degrees. However, the lexicon was the component more affected by the contact, in such a way that hundreds of loan words taken from Spanish entered into Galician along its history, sometimes accompanying new elements of the World (as in the case of *tenedor* 'fork'), sometimes eliminating old Galician forms (as in the case of *Dios* 'God').

Until today, no pattern about the penetration of Spanish words has been discovered. The works on borrowing only cite lists of words and try to link the loan words to the social context where they are used.

The questionnaires of the Galician Linguistic Atlas include a vast quantity of information about the borrowing process developed in the Galician lexicon; the questionnaires show not only the existence of loan words, but also their geographic localization.

With this investigation, we like to use a quantitative approximation, inspired by the dialectometrical method developed by Hans Goebel at Salzburg University. Our intention is to know if it is possible to discover some geographical pattern in the borrowing process, above all along the boundary between Galician and Astur-Leonese varieties.

Carrie Dyck, Amos Key Jr.,

Friday 14:00-14:30

Issues in standardization of Cayuga (Iroquoian)

This paper discusses the issues arising from the implementation of a standardized writing system for Cayuga, an Iroquoian language spoken at Six Nations, Ontario.

The literature describes Cayuga as having two dialects, Upper and Lower Cayuga. The main differences between the dialects are in pronunciation, for example saying *gyohdɔːʔ* or *dyohdɔːʔ* for 'eight'. The factors governing variation are not well understood or documented (and may be impossible to determine, given the small number of speakers).

The Cayuga community at Six Nations uses the 'Henry' orthography. However, as speakers develop more written materials, they use the orthography in unique ways, resulting in greater spelling variation. As a result, the language is now at the stage where issues surrounding spelling standardization will arise. One of the main sources of spelling variation is that some speakers employ a more phonetically-based orthography, for example, writing [eh'yadɔhkwaʔ] as *ehyatkwaʔ* instead of in the more phonemic way, *ehyadɔhkwaʔ*. Furthermore, because of the limitations of using ascii characters, Cayuga speakers must resort to ad-hoc ways of spelling while texting or using email; for example, they might write 'oneh' for [ʔo:nɛh], because there is no ascii 'ɛ' symbol. Cayuga speakers have expressed a desire for a standardized way of texting Cayuga.

Legacy written materials also exist for Cayuga, but they are written in at least one other orthography (referred to as the 'linguistic' orthography). Legacy orthographies present a barrier to the transmission of the valuable documents produced by earlier linguistic work.

Developing spelling standards for Cayuga is not necessarily a desirable goal, since it takes resources and time away from more central needs such as documenting the speech of Elders. We will discuss how 'new' technologies (such as audio and video recordings) can facilitate work-arounds that enable transmission of the language without the need for spelling standardization.

Wednesday 9:00-9:30

Defining Dialect Regions with Interpretations: Advancing the Multidimensional Scaling Approach

Sheila Embleton, Dorin Uritescu, and Eric S. Wheeler

In our earlier work, an approach to defining dialect areas using multidimensional scaling (MDS) of the total collection of available raw data has produced results that showed *some* but *not all* of the dialect distinctions that were anticipated. To investigate this situation, we have extended our approach in two ways, one methodological and one technical.

Methodologically, we have switched from looking at raw data to examining interpretative maps based on recognized dialect distinctions. Further, we have categorized these interpretations as phonetic (regular and irregular), morphophonemic, morphological, and lexical, examining each category separately. The result is a much clearer set of dialect distinctions, as seen in the MDS pictures. However, the dialect distinctions vary by category, leading us to make suggestions about the role of each category in defining the notion of dialect.

Our technical extension is the creation and use of a 3-D viewer for looking at the MDS pictures. We project the linguistic-distance space into three, instead of two, dimensions, and manipulate the resulting structure interactively, thus uncovering and eliminating any accidental “closeness”, as sometimes happens in the 2-D case. Strikingly, the resulting 3-D objects seems to be very flat, which strongly suggests that there are only two relevant dimensions for distinguishing these dialects, although the two dimensions do not correspond exclusively to geographic dimensions.

The result of these extensions is that the multidimensional approach becomes even more viable as a way of selecting dialect and dialect-transition areas, and perhaps more accessible for use with languages and dialects beyond our own study area.

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Thursday 10:00-10:30

"Seattletonian" to "faux hick": mapping perceptions of English in Washington State

Betsy Evans

This study was carried out to ascertain what perceptions long-time residents of Washington state (WA) have of the English spoken in the state through a perceptual account of variation there. Little is known about the English spoken in WA and the social evaluation of dialects is an important aspect of describing language varieties (Preston 1986). This paper reports the results from 232 WA residents who were asked to draw on a map of WA outlines of places in the state where they think people's English sounds different and to give a label for that variety (as described in Preston and Howe 1987 and elsewhere). Respondents' hand-drawn maps were analyzed and compared using ArcGIS 9.0 Geographic Information System software. This software allows the respondent maps to be aggregated and reveals patterns in the responses through the creation of a variety of maps derived from qualitative and quantitative aspects of the data. Although some residents reported that they perceive no difference among speakers in WA, the resulting composite maps from other respondents show the majority felt that there are patterned differences among speakers in WA. Perceived differences between eastern and western Washington were among the most salient, reflecting the geographic division created by the Cascade mountain range. Eastern Washington was labeled as "hick"/ "country" while western Washington was labeled as "city talk" and "standard". Other salient socio-political and linguistic features such as "spanglish" and "ghetto" were also indicated and aggregate maps of these qualitative labels will also be presented. Britain (2004) suggests that understanding space as an extralinguistic variable is an important direction for the future of sociolinguistics: "critical sensitivity to the socialized nature of human space(s) is required if we are to advance the discipline further" (45). The collection of residents' perceptions of English through the medium of maps in conjunction with the latest spatial analysis tools aims to contribute to that advancement.

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Tuesday 16:30-17:00

"What Time have I to stop?" Modal auxiliaries in Irish and British English

Markku Filppula

Fewer topics have attracted more attention in descriptive linguistics than modality. The attraction of modality rests with its complex set of semantic categories, the endless variability of the exponence of these categories, and the pragmatic functions associated with particular exponents. Studies of modality in the spoken English of different regional or national varieties of English show different combinations of semantic categories and exponents, while very recent studies of spoken and written English (e.g. Kortmann, *et al.* 2004, Algeo 2006, Mair 2006) have revealed further changes even within British English itself.

Although an increasing body of literature now exists on the grammar of Irish English, we still lack systematic descriptions of the uses of modal auxiliaries in this variety (or varieties, rather). Using the recently completed Irish component of the International Corpus of English, so-called *ICE-Ireland* (see Kallen and Kirk 2008) and its earlier British English counterpart, *ICE-GB*, as its main databases, this paper compares the uses of modal auxiliaries in educated varieties of Irish English and British English. The paper focuses on the modal auxiliary realisations of the semantic fields of obligation and necessity. Many aspects of these have been covered in some recent studies on especially British and American varieties of English (e.g. Krug 2000; Leech and Smith 2006; Mair 2006; Leech, Hundt, Mair and Smith 2009). By taking its cue from these studies, this paper shows that while there are areas of shared uses between Irish English and British English, as well as other international Englishes, IrE displays characteristics of its own especially with respect to the variation between the deontic modals *have to* vs. *have got to* and *must*. As a result, the systems of modal auxiliaries in these two varieties pan out rather differently, and differences also emerge when comparing the findings with those on Englishes spoken beyond the British Isles.

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Friday 09:30-10:00

A Comparison of Vowel Formant Normalisation Methods

Nicholas Flynn

The process of normalising vowel formant data to permit accurate cross-speaker comparisons of vowel space layout, change and variation, is an issue that has grown in importance in the field of dialectology in recent years. A plethora of different methods and formulae for this purpose have now been proposed. However, there is still a lack of agreement over which available algorithm is the best to use.

Recent studies (e.g. Adank 2003, Adank et al. 2004, Clopper 2009, Fabricius et al. 2009) have compared techniques of normalisation and evaluated their effectiveness at normalising vowel formant data, but have varied considerably with respect to the number and range of methods tested and the criteria used to make the evaluations.

In this paper I provide a comprehensive comparison of twenty normalisation procedures, both older techniques and more recently-proposed methods. I evaluate the effectiveness of each procedure at normalising vowel formant data using a combination of visual, numerical and statistical methods.

My results are based on the normalisation under each procedure of a large dataset originally collected for a sociophonetic study, and recorded under conditions typical of sociolinguistic research.

I show that vowel-intrinsic scaling transformations perform poorly both overall and in the majority of the comparisons conducted, whether based on numerical calculations, statistical tests, or purely visual observations, suggesting that normalisation via procedures of this type is less than adequate for sociophonetic research.

I conclude that vowel-extrinsic, formant-intrinsic methods that normalise relative to the midpoint of a speaker's vowel space perform the best at normalising the vowel formant data used, with a modified version of the Watt & Fabricius method (see Watt & Fabricius 2002, Fabricius et al. 2009) performing the best overall.

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Wednesday 16:00-16:30

Phonosyntactic Restructuring of Gender in Franco-American French

Cynthia Fox & Gregg Castellucci

In this paper, we examine variation in gender marking in Franco-American, a variety of French was brought from Canada to the northeastern United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although still spoken in many communities, it is no longer being transmitted to younger generations and is now used primarily by older speakers in home settings (reference omitted). Our data comes from sociolinguistic interviews with 90 French speakers from three different communities.

In French, overt gender marking is present in the oral forms of certain types of descriptive adjectives (*canadien/canadienne; français/française*) and in the singular forms of the definite (*le/la*), indefinite (*un/une*) demonstrative (*ce/ cette*) and possessive (*mon/ma*) determiners. In an earlier analysis, it was shown that a trend toward the generalization of the masculine, vowel-final adjectival form that has been widely documented in other varieties of North American French (Hull 1956; Péronnet 1989; Niederehe 1991, *inter alia*) only obtains in Franco-American when the adjective is in predicate or post-nominal position, and that simplification is most likely to occur when the final segment of the adjective is an oral consonant: *elle était prêt, la messe français* (reference omitted).

In this paper, we extend the analysis to show that when adjectives appear pre-nominally, the trend is in the opposite direction, namely toward the generalization of the feminine adjective whose final segment is an oral consonant: *les dernières quinze ans, un petite voisinage*. Our hypothesis that these trends are the result of phonosyntactic processes rather than morphological simplifications is supported by the behavior of adjectives whose final syllable contains a nasal vowel: (*certain/certaine ; différent/différente*) In these cases, the « simplification » is in the direction of the « masculine » form (*certaines prières ; différents choses*), a behavior that mirrors that of the possessive determiners (*mon mère*).

] before nouns and adjectives beginning with a vowel (*un école ; un autre femme*) lend further support to our analysis.

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Tuesday 11:00-12:30

Workshop: Dialect and Heritage Language Corpora for the Google Generation

From Sociolinguistic Research to English Language Teaching

Sue Fox and Jenny Chesire

We report here on data collected in 2005 for the project *Linguistic Innovators: the English of Adolescents in London* (<http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/innovators/index.htm>, Kerswill, et al.) and will discuss the ethical considerations and measures taken in order to archive the transcripts from this project and make the corpus sustainable and available for further academic use. Our main aim, though, will be to show that by focusing specifically on knowledge transfer activities the use of such a corpus can be extended beyond Higher Education to achieve greater social impact. With the study of spoken English acquiring increasing importance in the UK's GCSE and GCE A Level English curricula, we demonstrate how we can make a concrete contribution to educational practice by developing the content and scope of the materials on spoken English and providing teachers and students with a greater understanding of the nature of spoken language which is based on up to date relevant academic research. We will present the results so far of one part of our current project, which aims to develop an online Databank of Spoken English for teachers and students of GCSE and GCE A Level English. The databank will consist of sound clips with written transcripts and associated class activities. Each sound clip will have accompanying teacher notes with relevant linguistic concepts and frameworks for the class activities and for analysing the sound recordings. We will be working with a user-partner who will provide the platform from which the materials will be launched to ensure that they reach the widest possible target audience and thereby have the greatest impact. Initially, the databank will be based on recordings of London English but, as we will show, this project has scope to be extended and to include other research projects carried out elsewhere in the UK and beyond.

Tuesday 15:30-16:00

Floating Tones and Dialect Formation in Medumba, a Grassfields Language

Kathryn Franich

The system of floating tones in Medumba (Bamileke), a Grassfields Bantoid language of Cameroon, was proposed by Voorhoeve (1965; 1971) and Hyman (1976; 2003) to explain unusual surface tone patterns in the language. Originating from tones historically realized on segments now lost, these unassociated tones can spread to other toneless segments and can cause downstep when realized in a sequence of H(L)H ('high, floating low, high'). This study presents new data collected in Cameroon from 19 speakers of Medumba ages 18-72 evidencing change in the tonal system since Voorhoeve's fieldwork 40 years ago.

Findings indicate that a new dialect of Medumba has emerged among speakers typically aged under 45 years wherein downstep is applied uniformly after nouns that historically (and up until at least the 1980s) represented two distinct underlying tone types, where only one type could trigger downstep on a subsequent high tone. This suggests a merging of the two classes of nouns into one class. This type of tone assimilation is commonly described diachronically in the literature on African languages, but few studies have looked in-depth at change in progress.

Additional data from relative clauses suggests that patterns like downstep, once exclusively represented through interactions of individual tones, may sometimes result from larger, generalized tone patterns conditioned by higher-level grammatical constituents. Tone rules may apply differently at lexical and prosodic word levels or at phrase boundaries.

This study examines historical evidence from Medumba and other Grassfields languages, internal factors like morphosyntactic status of relevant particles and prosodic boundaries within which they occur, as well as external factors like age and register, to explain patterns of variation. It aims to show that variation in tone is similar to that found with other phonological features, and that studying tone variation can provide insight into how different prosodic systems are related.

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Wednesday 10:00-10:30

Revisiting Regional Variation on an Island after Thirty Years

Chitsuko Fukushima

A geolinguistic survey was conducted in 1975 and 1976 on an island named Tokunoshima, one of Southwestern Islands in Japan. The language of this island belongs to Ryukyu dialects of the Japanese language. In 2008, a survey using the same questionnaire as that used in 1976 survey was conducted. The results of this repeated survey not only reveal various aspects of linguistics changes that happened on this island during the period but also confirm interpretations on linguistics maps published in T. Shibata et al (1977).

The number of localities in the 1976 survey was 117, almost double of 63, the number of hamlets on this island. At that time we tried to challenge the homogeneity of a speech community and decided the number of informants per hamlet in relation to the population of each hamlet. The 2008 survey has only 32 localities but they can barely show the regional distribution.

The comparison of linguistic distributions between two different surveys revealed that new maps include several geographical distribution patterns. First, a half of the 2008 maps show almost the same distributions as the 1976 maps. Interestingly, one of honorific suffixes is maintained in every location, which proves it is still indispensable part of everyday conversation today. Next, a quarter of the 2008 maps show older dialect distributions expanding within the town or to adjacent towns. Third, a third of 2008 maps show new lexical forms with small distributions.

Thus the comparison of linguistic maps from two different surveys 30 years apart lets us glimpse different steps of linguistic innovation.

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Friday 14:30-15:00

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues

The problem of syncope in Anishinaabemowin dictionary creation

Stephanie Gamble Morse

Devising an orthography for a language with diverse dialects is a challenging task made even more difficult when the dialects already have written traditions. With the entire Anishinaabemowin-speaking/learning community as its intended audience, it is important that a dictionary have both a clear and consistent representation of the sounds of the language and be maximally useful to its users by including versions of the lexeme from dialects which have undergone syncope (deletion of segments in unstressed position) and those that have not.

Though most orthographies draw from the Roman alphabet, a system of syllabics is often used by speakers of the northern dialects (Valentine, 1994). As a compromise, this project uses the widespread Fiero double-vowel system for the spelling to standardize the way the sounds are represented (though this is not without its own political implications).

Syncope has caused a number of lexical items to lose entire syllables. A linguist could derive the syncopated form from the more conservative form with a little effort, but speakers and learners from the syncopated dialects might find searching for words frustrating. For instance the word for 'corn' has been written as *mandaamin* (Nichols & Nyholm, 1995) and *dah-min* (*daamin* in the Fiero orthography) (Kiogima, 2010). The use of either version alone could potentially alienate those whose varieties either preserve or have lost the unstressed syllables. To solve this, a lexical item may have several entries. Each variant forms its own headword and refers the user to any other variants. Thus both *mandaamin* and *daamin* have their own entry in the dictionary.

This presentation will give a brief overview of the orthographic traditions for Anishinaabemowin and discuss the reasons for creating a dictionary with extensive duplication and the implications thereof.

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Saturday 11:00-11:30

Developing a non-circular approach to salience and language change: Language variation and the attitudes towards language variation in Flanders

ANNE-SOPHIE GHYSELEN

In the last decades, European language repertoires have been displaying great dynamics as a result of increasing geographical and social mobility, the growing impact of mass media, a high level of education and the informalization of public life (Taeldeman 2009:355). In many language communities, we find mentions of dialect leveling (Auer & Hinskens 1996), regiolectisation (Hinskens 1993), koineisation (Kerswill & Williams 2000), substandardisation (Vandekerckhove 2007) and destandardisation (Willemys 2007). In those works, the notion of salience often surfaces. Non-salient features are said to be those which remain stable in the different language change processes, whereas the salient ones are more prone to be left out. Mostly, a wide range of factors are appealed to to determine whether a language feature is salient or not (cfr. Trudgill 1986). These salient-related factors, however, are not as hard and fast as mostly thought (Kerswill & Williams 2002:72-74); in many works on salience (e.g. Trudgill 1986), circular reasoning can be detected: salient features are said to be those which are easily suppressed in supraregional language use, but at the same time claims concerning salience are made on the basis of supraregional language material and not on the basis of independent criteria. The here-reported research aims to investigate the role of a number of independent factors in the language change processes such as koineisation and dialect leveling.

The research was conducted in Flanders, the northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium. In the first part of the research an experimental method was developed to discover which linguistic elements impact language attitudes in Flanders. More specifically, we investigated the role of the independent factors *language domain* (do phonological features behave in other ways than e.g. morphological ones?) and *regional distribution* (do people favour features that are endogenous in their local dialect or not?). In the second part of the research, which is still being conducted, these experimental results on salience are correlated to the outcome of leveling and substandardisation processes in a corpus of accommodated speech. This allows to test the hypothesis that salient characteristics tend to be lost in language change processes.

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Friday 11:30-12:00

Bridging the gulf between pre-IPA and IPA transcriptions: the irregular verb-form system in C. Clough Robinson's 'An outline grammar of the Mid-Yorkshire dialect' from 1876

Beat Glauser

The irregular verb systems of the traditional northern English dialects tend to offer more contrast than does their respective Standard in two ways. Firstly, three-vowel constellations are more frequent, secondly {-N} participles are used more often. There is also much more variation than in the Standard, even though irregular verbs in local dialects have rarely been documented in their entirety.

There is one dialect sample, however, that covers all the irregular verbs with the wealth of data required to ascertain such speculations, i.e. C. Clough Robinson's 'An Outline Grammar of the Mid-Yorkshire Dialect' (1876:xxi-xliv), which boasts 210 entries. After the dismissal of six perfectly regular verbs (*dress*, *flig* 'fledge', *pen*, *spelder* 'spell', *thrash*, *wesh* 'wash'), the staggering number of 204 items remains (as to 177 in Quirk *et al.* 1985, whose considerable number of additional prefixed items, e.g. *arise*, *become*, *befall*, ..., has been dismissed here: these are practically non-existent in the traditional dialects).

There are two reasons why linguists have so far avoided this collection: (a) the author provides an abundance of phonological as well as morphological variants; only for 50 verbs is there one form each for present, past and past participle (*creep* for instance has three different past tense variants and four different participles); (b) the phonetic renderings are in Alexander Melville Bell's Glossic, which cannot be translated into IPA notation unequivocally from Robinsons key (xiii-xix) and Ellis's table (1871:xiii-xviii). but together with the IPA-notation as used in the *Survey of English Dialects'* Basic Material for the Northern Counties and the Isle of Man (Orton/Halliday 1962/1963) and the dialect monographs covering Yorkshire, the dialectologist can get a rough idea of what phonetic

values are indicated.

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Saturday 11:30-12:00

The *u: split in modern Dutch

Kyle Gorman

The realization of Proto-Germanic *ū in the Dutch of the Overijssel and Gelderland regions of the Netherlands is, thanks to Bloomfield (1933:326f.), one of the best-known cases of lexical split. Kloeke (1927) reports that ⟨muis⟩ ‘mouse’ (< *mūs) is [u:], whereas ⟨huis⟩ ‘house’ (< *hūs) is [y:]. The contrast between these two words in the “split” region is stable throughout much of the 20th century, according to later studies (Blancquaert and Péé 1982, Goossens et al. 2000). This study considers twenty other *ū words (according to Köbler 2007), using the FAND transcriptions gathered 1980–1995.

Contra Van Reenen (1994), there is no homogeneous class of words which participate in the split (e.g., have [y:] in a region where *ū > [u:] otherwise) in the Dutch-speaking region, nor is there any nesting among the different [y:] words. We find that there is a previously-unreported [u: ~ y:] split in a non-adjacent region 200 km to the south, in Limburg in the Flemish portion of Belgium. Here, Kloeke and Van Reenen’s account for the northern region, that [y:] is a borrowing from the west, is in doubt, since there is no adjacent region with [y:] < *ū. We propose that the source of [y:] in Limburg is an earlier [y:] which has fronted further to [œj]. Van Reenen proposes that the borrowed of [y:] in the north comes from western Reform pastors, but this account does not extend to Limburg, which supported the Spanish during the Eighty Years’ War and has been Catholic since. We also show, contra Van Reenen, that there is no effect of frequency in predicting which words show [y:] < *ū in split regions.

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Wednesday 12:00-12:30

The Analysis of Regional Lexical Variation Using Site-Restricted Web Searches

Jack Grieve and Costanza Asnaghi

This paper presents a novel method for the analysis of regional lexical variation using site-restricted web searches. In total, 39 binary lexical alternation variables whose regional distribution in American English are known based on previous research were analyzed using this method, including low frequency content word alternations (e.g. *frosting/icing*, *cemetery/graveyard*, *sunset/sundown*) and high frequency function word alternations (e.g. *though/although*, *among/amongst*, *backward/backwards*).

Data was collected using the following procedure. First, a list of 2061 newspapers from across the contiguous United States was harvested from *refdesk.com*. Second, the internet search engine *bing.com* was used to count the number of web pages hosted by each of these 2061 newspaper websites that contain tokens of each of the 78 lexical variants using site-restricted searches (e.g. *frosting site:www.latimes.com*). Third, counts were combined for newspapers from the same city and cities with low counts were then deleted, leaving 822 cities in the final dataset. Finally, for each of the 39 lexical alternation variables a proportion was calculated for each of the 822 cities by dividing the number of hits for the first variant by the number of hits for both variants. These proportions were then mapped across the cities in the corpus and subjected to a multivariate spatial analysis (Grieve et al, 2011) in order to identify patterns of regional linguistic variation in the dataset.

The results of this analysis were then compared to the results of previous American dialect surveys. In almost every case the regional pattern identified by the web-based analysis agreed with the results of previous dialect surveys. Based on these comparisons, it is argued that this web-based approach is both a valid and efficient method for gathering data on regional lexical variations.

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Tuesday 14:00-14:30

A multivariate spatial analysis of lexical and phonetic variation in American English

Jack Grieve, Dirk Speelman and Dirk Geeraerts

This paper presents a multivariate spatial analysis of lexical and phonetic variation in American English based on two datasets. The first dataset consists of 40 high frequency lexical alternation variables measured across 206 American cities based on a 26 million word corpus of letters to the editor (Grieve, 2009). The second dataset consists of 30 F1 and F2 vowel formant variables measured across 235 American cities based on the telephone interviews conducted for the Atlas of North American English (Labov et al, 2006).

A multivariate spatial analysis (Grieve, 2009) is used to identify regional linguistic variation in both datasets. Unlike most quantitative approaches to the analysis of regional linguistic variation, at the core of a multivariate spatial analysis are spatial statistics that allow for significant patterns of regional variation to be identified in the values of individual linguistic variables. In particular, two measures of spatial autocorrelation are employed: global Moran's I (Moran, 1948) is used to identify significant spatial clustering and local Getis-Ord G_i^* (Ord and Getis, 1995) is used to identify the location of high and low value clusters. By then subjecting the results of the spatial autocorrelation analysis to a multivariate analysis, common patterns of spatial clustering and dialect regions are identified.

Based on the analysis of the two datasets, it is clear that phonetic and lexical variation follow very similar regional patterns in spoken and written American English; however, it is also clear that previous American dialect surveys have overlooked some of these patterns. In addition, it will be argued that the small differences between the regional patterns identified in the two datasets appear to be primarily a result of the different approaches used to compile the two datasets, as opposed to the register or the linguistic variables under analysis.

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Friday 09:30-10:00

Spanish language in Western Massachusetts: a language in transition

Patricia Gubitosi

The Hispanic population is the largest minority in the United States; in Massachusetts this community has shown an impressive growth during the last decade (U.S. Census Bureau), and in some cities of the Commonwealth, Latinos constitute a significant portion of the local communities: Lawrence 59.71%, Holyoke 41.38%, Springfield 27.18%, Worcester 15.15%, Boston 14.44%, and Lowell 13.3%. Despite common beliefs, the majority of this Hispanic community (65%) was born in Massachusetts and not in a foreign country.

This paper examines the linguistic variation of 18 heritage Spanish speakers from Caribbean (mostly Puerto Rico and Dominican Republican) and from Salvadorian dialects to see whether their dialects remain differentiated or become more convergent as a result of an interpersonal accommodation process (Auer & Hinskens 2005). The data is based on 18 one-hour interviews where the speakers had the opportunity to talk spontaneously about different subjects and topics.

The main questions to be answered are: is the language spoken by these speakers a Koine? Does this language present different characteristics from the language spoken by monolingual Spanish speakers? Is there an English influence in this heritage language such as transfer or overgeneralization?

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U.S. Census Bureau. <http://www.census.org>

Saturday 10:00-10:30

Investigating Language Variation and Change using the Millennium Memory Bank

Sarah Haigh

In 1999 the BBC and the British Library interviewed thousands of people across the country for a large-scale oral history project which they called the Millennium Memory Bank. This data covers such a wide geographical distribution that it has huge potential for research by dialectologists.

I have been working with this data to formulate an investigation of speech across the whole of the Yorkshire region, and will outline the potential for study that I have found that could be of use to other linguists. In particular, I will compare the coverage of the region provided by the MMB to that of the SED, and highlight the possibilities of its use as a dataset for real-time comparison across a period of some 40 years.

I will illustrate my points using examples taken from a sample of male speakers from across Yorkshire, similar in age to the SED informants, and matching them as closely as possible geographically with SED locations. Additionally, I will compare these speakers with a younger generation of speakers from some of the same locations. Focussing on the pronunciation of a small set of vowels (GOAT, PRICE and NORTH/FORCE/THOUGHT) I will explain that there is still variation throughout the region, and, furthermore, that there may even be innovations since the time of the SED that show new variations have arisen. In other words, although speech has changed over the 40 years since the SED, it has not necessarily been converging on a point, and, in fact, may show signs of further divergence and innovation. I shall explore the possible implications for theories of dialect levelling and its incidence in the region.

Thursday 09:30-10:00

Towards a New Linguistic Atlas of French: a phonetic-phonological study of the French of Northern France

Damien Hall

Towards a New Linguistic Atlas of French (TANLAF) is a research project which will begin in March 2011. The project will produce a linguistic atlas of the French of Northern France from phonetic measurements, in the style of the *Atlas of North American English (ANAE)*; Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006). This paper's aim is to introduce the project in the dialectology community and to receive comments on it from other dialectologists.

ANAE's pioneering work provides a systematic and robust, geographically-based, phonetic and phonological description of the pronunciation of English in North America. *TANLAF* aims to do the same for Northern France, against the background of a growing amount of evidence of phonetic variation in that area (Jamin 2005, Hall 2008, Armstrong and Pooley 2010, etc). *TANLAF* will survey pronunciation in the largest urban settlements in an area from Lille in the North to the Southern limit of a rough line between Rennes and Strasbourg. This area holds promise of dialectological variety, as it includes the Paris area (the largest urban area in France) and also the North-East of France with its non-Romance substrate varieties.

I intend to use this talk to present my ideas for conducting the *TANLAF* study (and the progress made in the first five months). Topics on which I would welcome discussion at this conference include:

- appropriate analysis techniques (Is there a place for dialectometry in this pilot project, or should it limit itself to exploratory analysis?)
- data-collection techniques (there is a system for collecting data remotely by web-streaming, Draxler and Jansch (n.d.))
- dissemination (I plan to disseminate my findings in a series of articles, hopefully also with a website)
- the insights which the project can bring for linguists of French, linguists of Romance, and people concerned with language policy in France.

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Tuesday 12:00-12:30

Lindsay Harding

**People *who* leave and the ones \emptyset would rather work here:
Relative clause marking, Newfoundland affiliation, and (ex)urbanization**

Rapid urbanization places residents of rural communities at a crossroads. Caught between non-local economic opportunities and local community affiliation, speakers must decide when the benefits of standardizing their language outweigh the social costs. This paper investigates how these pressures affect relative clause marker variation in Petty Harbour (PH), an urbanizing Newfoundland fishing community. I focus on the incursion of WH- relative markers (*the boy **who** I met* vs. *the boy **that/** \emptyset I met*), a late top-down addition to the inventory (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2002) that has either "not really affected the spoken language" (Romaine 1982: 212) or "has affected [. . .] nonstandard varieties as well" (Ball 1996: 251). Testing these competing claims, recent studies find diverse variant choices, rates of use, and social and linguistic conditioning (Levey 2006; Tagliamonte *et al.* 2005; Tottie & Harvie 2000).

I extracted restrictive relative clauses (N=855) from sociolinguistic interviews with 24 PH residents (Van Herk *et al.* 2009) and coded them for grammatical role of relative marker, relative clause length, matrix clause type, animacy/definiteness/adjacency of antecedent, and speaker age and sex. Results show a pronounced generational shift concerning WH- forms in subject position favoured by human antecedents, with equal participation by males and females. In non-subject position, where WH- forms have not made significant inroads, females favour neutral 'that' while males prefer vernacular \emptyset .

Younger speakers double the use of WH- markers over the previous generation, largely at the expense of \emptyset . High rates of WH- use were found even in the most vernacular younger speakers, those who simultaneously display salient local features such as interdental stopping and past-referent "weredn't". I propose that because no relative variants are salient markers of local English, using prestigious WH-forms allows PH speakers to index education and urbanization without sacrificing local affiliation.

Friday 11:00-11:30

Transitions of L over hill and dale: L-vocalization through space, time, and methods

Kirk Hazen & Robin Dodsworth

Labov (2007) distinguishes the *transmission* of a linguistic variable within a speech community from its *diffusion* across communities, the primary difference being that transmission involves structural continuity. L-vocalization provides a good proving ground for this distinction. Quantitative studies ranging from the US (Ash 1982) to Australia (Borowsky 2001) have demonstrated that multiple English-speaking communities around the world vocalize coda /l/. If Labov's transmission/diffusion distinction is accurate, then the internal constraints should be more consistent across time *within* a speech community relative to *between* communities in contact (Horvath & Horvath 2001, 2002).

This paper first investigates the origins of L-vocalization in the West Virginia region of Appalachia: was it developed *in situ* and then transmitted to later generations, or did it diffuse from Philadelphia, PA, the innovatory epicenter of /l/ vocalization in the US (Ash 1982)? The corpus includes 67 speakers born between 1922 and 1989, and in comparing the generations, a clear trend of increasing L-vocalization emerges. Yet, evaluating a phonological variable for (dis)continuity of internal constraints is complicated by the existence of "phonetically natural" constraints shared by geographically disparate communities; for example, L-vocalization is favored by following interdental and labial consonants around the world. In addition, transmission and diffusion are likely to be acting in concert for a subset of the speakers.

We address this problem in part by using acoustic, rather than auditory, methods, allowing more fine-grained statistical analysis than is normally available for L-vocalization. The vocalized variants in West Virginia are generally low back vowels or semivowels. For that reason, we use three independent acoustic indicators based on formant intensity, F1 frequency, and F2 frequency. Even with acoustic data, however, assessing structural continuity yields complex results that resist a straightforward determination of transmission or diffusion.

Ash, S., 1982. The vocalization of intervocalic /l/ in Philadelphia. *SECOL Review* 6, 162–175.

Borowsky, T., 2001. The vocalisation of dark-l in Australian English. In: Blair, D., Collins, P. (Eds.), *English in Australia*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, pp. 69–87.

Horvath, B., Horvath, R., 2001. A multilocality study of a sound change in progress: the case of /l/ vocalisation in New Zealand and Australian English. *Language Variation and Change* 13, 37–57.

Horvath, B., Horvath, R., 2002. The geolinguistics of /l/ vocalization in Australia and New Zealand. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 6, 319–346.

Labov, William. 2007. Transmission and diffusion. *Language* 83.344–87.

Thursday 09:00-09:30

Transitioning from Old School Variationist Analysis to What?

Kirk Hazen

Coupland (2007) asserts that Labovian approaches to language in society have essentially reached their limits of usefulness in modern sociolinguistic analysis. Since the early 1960s, this body of work has produced large quantities of scholarship on dialects and linguistics in general. The question this paper tackles is whether or not the methods used in Labovian variationist analysis merit continued use for social analysis, or are other alternative methods available to accomplish the same goals. Working through data from a traditional study of English in the Appalachian dialect region, this paper discusses the impact of methodological decisions such as grouping social demographic categories, employing Varbrul, applying the term *dialect* to language variation patterns, and focusing on individuals or the speech community as a locus of language variation.

Using quantifiably analyzed, empirical evidence from completed projects, this paper delves into social findings from recently conducted studies of five sociolinguistic variables: (ING) (e.g. *she was walkin'*), *was* leveling (e.g. *We was out late*), coronal stop deletion (e.g. *nest --> nes'*), demonstrative *them* (e.g. *How about them apples?*), and the innovative quotative *like* (e.g. *She was like, "I'm not going"*). The limits and benefits of those methods, along with suggestions for their continued use, are illustrated with published findings from these variables. The paper concludes that the research goal of any sociolinguistic study should remain foregrounded to ensure that useful methodologies do not get thrown under the bus as the general focus of sociolinguistics vacillates back and forth between dialects and individuals' language variation patterns.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2007. *Style: Language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Thursday 11:00-11:30

Performing Transsexuality: deliberately gendering intensifiers

Evan Hazenberg

Butler (1990) argues that all gender is performative, with gender identities constructed through repeated and refined performances. Language is central to this construction, and transsexual speakers are acutely aware of its power as a marker of perceived gender. In interviews, transsexual informants say that women use more “flowery” and “descriptive” language. This observation can be operationalized within a variationist framework through the study of intensifiers (e.g., *very* vs. *really*), which are associated with gender differences in both variationist (Tagliamonte 2008) and non-variationist (Lakoff 1973) analyses. How transsexuals use intensifiers to perform gender gives us insight into language as a positional marker in the spectrum of gender expression.

We use data from 7 male speakers, 9 female speakers and 11 female-to-male transsexuals (FtMs) in Ottawa to examine intensification (total N=3320). The overall rate of intensification was 32%, with *really* and *very* as the most productive variants. The general patterning matches that of Toronto English (Tagliamonte 2008), suggesting that English in Ottawa can be considered as representative of mainstream Canadian English as that in Toronto (Levey 2010), at least with respect to intensifiers. In Ottawa, older speakers used less intensification and favoured *very*, while younger speakers preferred *really*. The gender distribution was unexpected: for both *really* and *very*, males disfavoured their use (0.37 and 0.30, respectively), females were neutral (0.49 and 0.50), and FtMs diverge from cissexual males by favouring both intensifiers (0.56 and 0.60). This may be evidence that the FtM informants in this study are modeling their use of intensifiers on gay-identified men, through involvement in the Ottawa queer community. By exploiting the gender differences in intensification, these speakers are able to distance themselves from heteronormative practices of maleness without sacrificing their hard-won masculinity.

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Thursday 09:30-10:00

-s Aspiration and Deletion in Holguín Spanish: Conditioning Phonological Variables

David Heap, Jorge Emilio Rosés Labrada, Jeff Tennant

The Spanish voiceless sibilant fricative /s/ can appear in two different syllable positions: onset and coda (Hualde 2005:74). In coda position, the /s/ can be word-internal or medial, or word-final (*frescos* “fresh(pl)”) and often undergoes aspiration ([s] → [h]/__ \$) or deletion ([s] → [∅]/__ \$) (Lipski 1999:198).

As Hualde (2005:28) observes, all Caribbean Spanish speakers “aspirate preconsonantal and word-final /s/ to a certain extent [...], [therefore] this is a highly variable process.” This pilot study focuses on -s aspiration and deletion in the Fernández-Heap-Tennant corpus of Holguín Cuban Spanish in a Labovian variationist framework (Labov 1972). We focus specifically on the phonological variables that condition these two phenomena, namely position, pause, stress, word length and phonological features of the following segment such as ± vocalic, ± continuant and ± voice.

Our analysis is based on samples of reading passage speech for 4 speakers. The passages were orthographically transcribed in Praat to facilitate the coding and acoustic analysis of (s) realization with the software.

The importance of this study resides in the nature of the corpus. Other studies on -s aspiration and deletion in Cuban Spanish (e.g. Terrel 1977, 1979; Lynch 2009) focus on the speech of Cuban immigrants in Miami. Our corpus, however, includes only Cuban, specifically Holguín, speakers who have lived all their lives in the country and, therefore, represent more accurately the speech of the island.

Our analysis shows that dependent variable (s) is conditioned by its position within the word, word length and stress. More significantly, it shows that the feature ±voice of the

following consonant plays an important role; i.e. voiced consonants disfavour -s retention.

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Wednesday 09:00-09:30

Morpheme BE acquisition in two varieties of English: Children's use of BE in (Southern)African American English and Southern White English.

Joe Roy, Janna Oetting

Much of the variationist sociolinguistic literature on childhood acquisition has focused on the acquisition of phonological variables (e.g. Roberts, 1997; Labov, 1989; Romaine, 1978) see Roberts, 2002 for an overview) with some more recent exceptions (Levey, 2006; Rickford & Théberge-Rafal, 1999). Van Hofwegen and Wolfram (2010) present evidence from a longitudinal survey of childhood African American English use, but only focus on the overall rate of each variable surveyed.

Our work presents an apparent time study of children from two age groups: at 4 years and 6 years with one group speakers of Southern White English (SWE) and the other of (Southern) African American English (SAAE). Previous work (Oetting and McDonald, 2001) from this data set found that the out of fourteen morpho-syntactic variables, zero BE constituted the second largest difference between the two dialects (with –s marking, the largest differentiating variable, explaining only 1% more of the distance between the two dialects). Over 2500 tokens of BE marking are analyzed from 24 SAA children and 38 SW children who lived in south-eastern Louisiana. Employing a comparative approach (Tagliamonte, 2002) we are able to see differences in each variety across the different age cohorts in the rate of Zero BE, but also differences in the underlying grammar constraining the use of zero BE. For following grammatical environment, for the 4 year-olds we have a strong effect (Range=40,37 for AAE, SWE respectively). While SWE lose this effect in the six-year old cohort, the AAE cohort has a reduced effect for this factor group (Range = 22). Contractibility has no effect in either cohort for SWE, but in AAE it retains a stable and significant effect from both cohorts. In both varieties, the linguistic constraints converge for the older children to the reported adult norms for BE marking.

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Saturday 12:00-12:30

Convergence between dialect varieties and dialect groups in the Dutch dialect area

Wilbert Heeringa and Frans Hinskens

According to Hoppenbrouwers (1990) Dutch dialects become less heterogeneous and fuse to geographically more homogeneous systems, which he calls 'regiolects'. We define convergence among dialect groups as the process which makes the diversity among dialect groups decrease relatively more strongly than diversity among individual dialect varieties within groups (cf. F ratio as a measure of the proportion of within groups / between groups variance, as proposed by Heeringa, Nerbonne & Kleiweg 2002, p. 447).

In this paper we will report on a study of the convergence among dialect varieties and dialect groups, using phonetic transcriptions of newly made recordings of a representative set of Dutch dialects spoken in 80 locations in the Netherlands and Flanders; the recordings were made in the period 2007-2011. For each site an old male and a young female are recorded, representing conservative dialect speakers and innovative dialect speakers respectively. We will answer four questions:

1. Do dialect varieties converge to each other?
2. Do dialect groups converge to each other?
3. Has the number of natural dialect groups decreased?
4. Do dialect varieties converge to standard Dutch?

We will answer all four questions, focussing on developments in the sound components. Distances in the sound components are measured with Levenshtein distance (Heeringa, 2004).

The findings concerning question 2 will be deepened by means of the results of a web-based perception experiment based on the newly collected dialect samples. Dialect speakers will be asked to rate distances between their own dialect and the dialects in the recordings on a scale of 0 (no difference) to 10 (maximal difference). The setup is similar to the Norwegian perception experiment reported on by Gooskens & Heeringa (2004).

Results of the experiment will enable us to test whether dialect groups become less sharply distinguished in the perception of the younger speakers.

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Muiderberg.

Saturday 09:30-10:00

Afrikaans and Dutch as Closely-related Languages: a Comparison to West Germanic Languages and Dutch Dialects

Wilbert Heeringa, Febe de Wet and Gerhard B. Van Huyssteen

This paper aims to find the origin of Afrikaans pronunciation with the use of dialectometry. Towards this aim, it is determined which West Germanic language and/or dialect(s) is acoustically closest to Afrikaans. Being recognized as a West-Germanic language, Afrikaans is first compared to Standard Dutch, Standard Frisian and Standard German. Pronunciation distances are measured by means of Levenshtein distances. Afrikaans is found to be closest to Standard Dutch.

Secondly, Afrikaans is compared to 361 Dutch dialect varieties in the Netherlands and North-Belgium, using material from the *Reeks Nederlandse Dialectatlassen*, a series of atlases compiled by Blancquaert and Peé (1925–1982) in the period 1925–1982 and covering the Dutch dialect area. Afrikaans is found to be closest to the South Holland variety of Zoetermeer, which largely agrees with the findings of Kloeke (1950).

Finally, vowel and consonant similarity were studied separately. The strong relationship between Afrikaans and the South Hollandish varieties can be explained by their vowels. With regard to the vowels, the South-Holland variety of Wateringen is closest to Afrikaans, and with regard to the consonants the town Frisian variety of Heerenveen is closest. But on average the town Frisian dialects are closer to Afrikaans at both levels, probably since town Frisian dialects still maintain features which were lost in the South-Hollandish dialects.

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Tuesday 11:00-11:30

Meet the Scottish relatives

Sanna Hillberg

Relativization features of written Scottish English (ScE) have been largely neglected by researchers in the last few decades, while relativization in Highland and Island ScE (HIScE) has been completely ignored. The present paper aims to shed light on relativization phenomena in Educated Standard Scottish English (ESSE), and in two of its subvarieties: HIScE and Lowland ScE (LScE). These varieties have been affected by different language contacts, which are still evident in their modern use. The Scottish Highlands and Islands were previously Gaelic-speaking and the English language in its standard form was not introduced into these areas until the 17th century and later, whereas in the Lowland areas Scots and English, sharing OE as their origin, have been operating side by side for centuries.

Today ScE, especially its spoken varieties, differs from StE in its syntax, lexicon and pronunciation. These differences also manifest themselves in the relativization strategies of ESSE. Recent studies show that the relativizers *that* and zero (i.e. the omission of the relativizer) are a striking feature of spoken Lowland Scots. The preliminary findings of the current study indicate that in educated written LScE the relativizers *that* and zero are indeed more frequent in comparison to HIScE and Standard English (StE), as well as Irish English (IrE), which is here used as another point of comparison. The HIScE figures conform to the StE ones showing a clear assimilation to the StE norms in relativization. Interestingly, IrE stands out from the group in its clear avoidance of relativizer *that*.

The differences in relativizer use between the two ESSE subvarieties may be explained by their distinct linguistic history. Transition from Scots to English in the Lowlands has not been completed in the same way as that from Gaelic to English in the Highlands and Islands. Although the English language (and its southern standard) has influenced Scots from the very beginning, the LScE-speaking areas retain to some extent features of the spoken forms even in educated writing.

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Thursday 11:30-12:00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Can Construction in Colloquial Singapore English: Substrate Reinforcement and Semantic Broadening

Hiramoto Mie

Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), also known as Singlish, is an English-based contact variety which is often categorized as a new variety of English. CSE has grammatical features that are independent from Standard English, and this paper focuses particularly on its use of *can*. While the default meaning of the English modal auxiliary *can* still remains and overlaps with the meanings of its equivalents in CSE's substrate languages, some extended CSE-specific meanings of *can* such as 'competent' and 'okay' have also been observed. For example, *can* in the sentence "*Got problem call me can?*" conveys the denotation of 'okay' as in 'Please let me know if you need help [Call me if you have any problems, OK?]' (Singapore National Library Board 2010). We suggest that these extended meanings diffused into CSE *can* from the 'can'-equivalent words in the substrate languages including the Chinese languages (Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, and Mandarin) and Malay.

The examples of CSE specific *can* usage include the verbal adjectival use of *can* in a predicative position and its use as a stand-alone marker of affirmative agreement on one's inherent ability or a request or sign of minimal satisfaction or non-committal evaluation. The second use of CSE *can* is a single-word affirmative response or non-committal evaluative marker. The existence in CSE of the various resultant uses of *can* supports the role of substrate reinforcement as an important factor in the stabilization of linguistic features in the multilingual contact ecology. (240)

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Saturday 11:00-11:30

Dialect Contact in Hawai‘i: Phonological Change of Tōhoku Dialect

Hiramoto Mie

Studies of second dialect acquisition (SDA) have suggested that older speakers tend to retain the phonological features of their original dialects during dialect contact situations (Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1994; Siegel 2003). Little has been reported in the literature on dialect contact situations involving Japanese language speakers, however the data from Hawai‘i concerning adult Japanese plantation immigrants is comparable to the findings of Chambers (1992; 1995) and Trudgill (1986), and suggests that the adult Tōhoku dialect (TD) speakers from northern Honshū island examined for this study demonstrated similar limitations in acquiring second dialect phonology in their contact with non-TD speakers.

Roughly 200,000 Japanese migrant sugar plantation workers arrived in Hawai‘i between 1885 and 1924, with the Chūgoku dialect (CD) speakers from Western Honshū island being both the largest group and the earliest arrivals. Most of the TD speakers arrived later and were a small minority compared to the CD speakers. Existing studies on Japanese immigration in Hawai‘i note that CD influenced the local language at the lexical level; however, little has been mentioned on phonological features of Japanese spoken in Hawai‘i. Based on the recordings of elderly first generation TD speakers, this study reports their language change with a focus on the phonological features. It is likely that when the overt zūzū TD features were replaced, it was due to stigmatization and discrimination. Moreover, the dialect change among the minority latecomers, namely TD speakers, additionally provides strong support for the Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001), which states that the speech of the first group of settlers in a new area acts as a linguistic template for subsequent settlers.

(266 words)

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Has Canada Entered the USA? A Sociolinguistic Analysis of North Dakota's Pronunciation

Matthias Hoffman

The paper introduces a research project which focuses on a multidisciplinary analysis (sociology and linguistics) of pronunciation features characteristic of North Dakota in the context of vowel shifts (Northern Cities Shift, Canadian Shift) that define dialect areas in North America (Labov, Ash, Boberg 2006). A multitude of methods will be employed, ranging from quantitative methods of sociolinguistics (multivariate analysis), traditional dialectology (interpretative dialect maps), and perceptual dialectology (attitudinal dialect maps; Preston 1999; Bucholtz et al. 2007) to qualitative methods of sociolinguistics (free speech section in recorded interviews). I propose that a detailed analysis of North Dakota's pronunciation shows a participation in a vowel shift contrary to the state's definition as being part of a transitional area linguistically conservative and hence resistant to participation in the vowel shifts of its neighboring regions (Labov et al. 2006). This proposition is indicated by my pilot study, which revealed a tendency for the informants to participate in the Canadian Shift:

- 1) low back merger: mean F2 of /o/ smaller than 1450 Hz (1350 Hz) and mean F1 of /oh/ greater than 700 Hz (890 Hz),
- 2) backing of /æ/: mean F2 smaller than 1825 Hz (1760 Hz)
- 3) lowering of /e/: mean F1 greater than 660 Hz (660 Hz)

Despite the fact that sociolinguistic methodology has changed from a macrolinguistic to a microlinguistic perspective (Chambers 2009; Eckert 2000; Edwards 1992; Labov 2001), the latest comprehensive work on dialects and language variation tended to re-focus on the former (Labov, Ash, Boberg 2006). I follow this methodological turn-around and expand it by combining it with the perceptions of respondents native to North Dakota regarding the phonological behavior and status of their own speech (as empirical evidence for the prestige of the sound change) and with sketching a map of possible dialect sub-regions in North Dakota. The latter summarizes a comparison of the findings derived from the sociolinguistic analysis and the analysis of the perceptual data.

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Thursday 12:00-12:30

The interaction of word frequency and the loss of dialectal border in Taiwan Southern Min
Huji Hsu

This study investigates word frequency effect on the sound change in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) after two concurrent dialect/language contacts .

In the past two decades, TSM revivalism movement has encouraged Taiwan people to re-speak this language after a language shift toward Mandarin. This movement further activated the TSM-Mandarin contacts and between the two major TSM subdialects, Tsiang and Tsuan, which share most vowels and differ mainly in the vowel realization in certain rhyme-categories defined in historical Southern Min dictionaries. However, the ever distinct Tsiang-Tsuan dialectal border appears to be lost in the revived TSM (Li 2010).

This study analyzed the spontaneous TSM speech of 20 old and 20 young Mandarin-TSM bilingual speakers, while the TSM capability of the latter, due to the language shift toward Mandarin, is limited, mainly at the level of daily conversation with frequent code switching to Mandarin. Four Tsiang-Tsuan dialectal rhyme pairs were studied -- [u]/[i], [e]/[ue], [ĩ]/[ẽ], and [ue]/[e].

Results indicated that the dialectal rhyme pairs are becoming free variations among the young speakers. Statistical analysis showed that high-frequency words tend to participate in this change.

The results suggested that the Mandarin-dominant young TSM speakers seemed to acquire TSM word by word from the mass media, where TSM was once prohibited and reappeared after the TSM revivalism movement. As high-frequency words appear more often, these dialect-system-free young TSM speakers thus have more chances to hear these words in both dialects and may further consider them as free variations.

In addition to the language shift toward Mandarin, the cognate relationship and the nearly overlapping vowel systems between TSM and Mandarin, and the locality of TSM may also have accelerated the loss of Tsiang-Tsuan dialectal border as the young TSM speakers may not view TSM as a rather new language that requires many efforts to learn.

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Saturday 10:00-10:30

Change in the use of beautifying “o-” and late adoption: A historical interpretation of data one decade apart

Fumio INOUE and Akemi YAMASHITA, Meikai University, Japan

In this paper, the relation between theory and reality is discussed through analysis of the use of the so-called beautifying “o-”. The relation between real time and apparent time of linguistic change is first analyzed, and the mechanism of language change and its relationship to lifetime is ascertained

The data used in this study was obtained from public opinion polls carried out on two occasions by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Japan). The results of the analysis of the actual use of “o-” showed that gender differences were large, and that use of beautifying “o-” peaked in speakers aged 30 to 40. Housewives in their thirties residing in urban areas were seen as the leaders in this trend, followed by men. By comparing data from surveys carried out nine years apart in real time, a steady increase in the ratio of “o-” was calculated.

This pattern of linguistic change typically testifies the late adoption of new forms by adults. The pattern seen can be interpreted as the long-term honorific change towards frequent use of “o-.” It was predicted that it takes several hundreds of years for a language change to advance. It seems that the increase in “o-” is part of a long-term historical process of drift since the early modern age, and that this change will continue over a long period of time in the future.

Words with “o-” are distributed continuously from words with a low usage rate to words of high usage rate. This result was interpreted as a continuum of linguistic change. The process of the variation during the change can be explained by the “Lens model”. The social stratification of Japanese language will also be discussed.

Friday 13:30-14:00

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues, Session 3

Standardization: The Imprisonment and Reification of the Oneida Language

Mary Joy Elijah

This paper takes a position against using a standardized orthography for the Oneida language, an Iroquoian language which exists primarily as an oral tradition. It will argue that the standardized form of orthography developed by Floyd Lounsbury (*Oneida Verb Morphology* Yale University Press, 1953) has been detrimental to the teaching and learning of the Oneida language.

I am Kaliwaloloks of the Turtle Clan and lifelong resident of the Oneida community located near London Ontario. I have worked as the Director at the Oneida Language & Cultural Centre for the past 13 years and have used the site for my master's research on second language acquisition and barriers to Oneida language learning. We have produced the *Oneida as a Second Language Curriculum for Gr. 1-8, 2008* which is geared to non-fluent teachers; supported by companion CD's, Phraselator translation device, and bilingual DVD's. Most recently we are producing mp3 audio files for iPod use aimed at youth. I am presently working on transferring the European Language Profile (Romani version, Little 2010) to an Oneida Language Profile for adult learners. Our work is primarily supported by audio files wherever possible, but our school curriculum necessarily includes reading and writing expectations as per Ministry guidelines.

Committing the language to paper is the most difficult task of our production process as we are forced to depart from our traditional form of decision-making by consensus due

to regional and familial differences in pronunciation. Not all speakers use the same combinations to formulate expression so it is highly problematic and stifling to the speakers to have one common spelling. This lack of agreement among the speakers is not as evident when using audio recordings, which they perceive as acceptable models for teaching learners to produce speech and concerns over spelling do not arise.

Saturday 12:00-12:30

Taking a large-scale legacy archive online: the case of LAP and LICHEN

I. Juuso, W. Kretzschmar, A. Jr, Opas-Hänninen, L. Lena & T. Seppänen,

The Linguistic Atlas Project (LAP) audio archive consisting of several thousands of interviews reaching back to the 1920s is an excellent resource for the study not only of the common language of the US but for its culture more generally, stories of daily life in America. Originally recorded on reel-to-reel tapes the archive has in the recent years been the subject of extensive digitization and tools development efforts and is now becoming available online. The first step in bringing the complete data set of more than 7000 hours of interviews online is the launch of the web interface based on the Digital Archive of Southern Speech (DASS, a 2009 USB drive product). This free online repository contains over 400 hours of audio interviews complete with the relevant metadata on the interviews and the informants.

The data is made available through a light-weight, graphical web user interface that facilitates full metadata queries, GIS-based browsing and access to the actual audio recordings. The users are free to explore the collection using any and all stored metadata, interact with maps, read informant biographies, listen to recordings and save files for local access.

Our aim in developing the dataset and the interface has been to provide researchers with a growing set of tools for studying interesting linguistic phenomena across large data sets. Furthermore, we have adopted an ambitious goal of making the data and tools as widely usable as possible. This translates in to open access to the data and the possibility of adopting the tools for other linguistic collections with a minimal amount of work. The latter is facilitated by a data-driven tool design approach, where describing the data using a simple XML definition mechanism will in effect also generate the necessary user interfaces.

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<http://us.english.uga.edu/> LAP – Linguistic Atlas Projects; includes LAGS and DASS.

<http://www.lichen.oulu.fi/> LICHEN – The Linguistic and Cultural, Heritage Electronic Network.

Wednesday 16:30-17:00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Exploring syntax by means of experiments – an innovative approach to syntactic data collection

Tim Kallenborn

This paper is on syntax variation. The empirical data discussed are from the German language area, where dialect syntax is still a rather neglected field. Whereas recent empirical projects on dialect syntax mainly and almost exclusively use questionnaires to collect their data (cf. BARBIERS / BENNIS 2005 and GLASER 2000), my talk will present new approaches to the direct collection of syntactic data of all kind of regional varieties “between” dialects and the standard language.

My directly surveyed corpus consists of data from records of talks among friends (representing free recorded speech from “lower” speech degrees), recorded interviews (representing free recorded data from “higher” speech degrees) and experiments (two sessions; representing the dialect and standard language). My talk focuses on the experiments which are motivated by the fact that particular syntactic features do not appear in a sufficient number in free speech. Therefore, the current study employs experiments developed to elicit rare syntactic features. The experiments were run two times. Each experimental session targeted one pole of the variation spectrum (standard vs. dialect), and motivated the informants to produce the feature being investigated. For example, in an experiment evoking final-subclause alignments, pictures with different tools were presented to the informants who were asked to explain the use of these items. Their answer had to begin with “This is needed...”. All questions the informants have been asked were presented to them through recordings from both a speaker of standard German (for the first run) and a speaker of the local dialect (for the second run) to deflect the informants from the attendance of an interviewer and to give them the mood of a more natural communication context.

My talk will discuss this (as well as other) experiments, and present preliminary results of their use in the Moselle-Franconian village of Graach an der Mosel (Central German language area).

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Friday 10:00-10:30

Approaches to Analysing Prosodic Rhythm in Language Contact: French in Ontario

Svetlana Kaminskaia, Alexander Russell, and Jeff Tennant

Prosodic rhythm has received a considerable amount of attention recently, both in the phonetic and phonological literature (Arvaniti 2009, Kohler 2009, Nolan & Asu 2009) and in the broader field of language variation and change (Thomas & Carter 2006, Fagyal in press). A particularly promising methodological development for the study of rhythm that arose in the late 1990s (Grabe & Low 2002, Ramus *et al.* 1999) is the use of numerical indices to situate languages and varieties along a continuum from stress timing to syllable timing. These indices have been applied to language contact situations with interesting results (e.g. Thomas & Carter 2006, Fagyal in press). In our initial studies on Ontario French (Tennant, Kaminskaia & Russell 2010), it appeared that the contact situation might not be affecting rhythm, despite having been shown to influence another aspect of prosody, intonation (Tennant 2000, Tremblay 2007). However, it is also possible that the PVI index is not the most useful tool to compare varieties of Canadian French and that a broader analytical framework is needed to represent rhythm patterns.

In this paper, in order to detect possible influence of English in minority contexts, we present an analysis of Ontario French prosody that draws on a number of different methods: 1) PVI analysis (Grabe & Low 2002); 2) Interval analysis (Ramus *et al.* 1999); 3) Duration analysis according to position in rhythm group (Cichochi 1997); and 4) Analysis of speaking rate and tonal alignment (Sertling-Miller 2007). Corpus data for the analysis is drawn from the Phonologie du Français Contemporain (PFC) project for Windsor Ontario (minority setting), Hearst Ontario (majority setting), and Quebec City (control group).

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Svetlana Kaminskaia, University of Waterloo: skaminsk@uwaterloo.ca

Friday 10:00-10:30

Workshop: Dialect standardization: Approaches and Main Issues

The Importance of Identity and Affiliation in Dialect Standardization

Mark Karan

Traditionally, orthographic dialect standardization overemphasized linguistic factors. This paper attempts to present all the factors which must be considered, and then demonstrates the importance that must be given to social identity and affiliation considerations in orthographic dialect standardization. Social identity and associative aspects of language are discussed, leading to a demonstration of the importance of identity and affiliation in orthographic dialect standardization. The paper will conclude by showing that the success of orthographic dialect standardization depends more on whether the dialect groups want to associate with and be identified with each other, much more than on any other factor such as a discovered linguistic middle ground between the dialects. In the same way, in considering similarities between the orthography of a Language of Wider Communication (LWC) and a proposed vernacular orthography, how much the dialect group(s) want(s) to identify with and be associated with the people and culture of the LWC is key.

Thursday 11:00-11:30

Socio-cognitive parameters and syntactic consistency

Simon Kasper

The present investigation aims to illuminate the widely unrecognized interplay between social cognition and syntax, using the example of Hessian dialects. The socio-cognitive factor under investigation is “attribution and taking of responsibility for the outcomes of one’s behavior” (cf. Moskowitz 2005). It is assumed that the criteria underlying attribution are intersubjectively shared habits within a (speech) community (cf. Kasper [under review]) which can be captured in terms of an action theory (cf. Hartmann 1996). These criteria, as employed in the judging of events caused by oneself or by others by means of syntactic constructions, can be characterized along several parameters, e.g., self vs. other, accomplishment vs. misaccomplishment, sympathy vs. antipathy, situational contingencies vs. stable character dispositions (Aronson, Wilson & Akert 2010). The syntactic constructions (cf. Goldberg 1995) considered are “constructional minimal pairs” designating events of misaccomplishment which are critical with respect to the attribution/taking of responsibility in relation to the abovementioned parameters (*Ich habe dein Glas heruntergeworfen* ‘I have thrown down your glass’ vs. *Mir ist dein Glas heruntergefallen* ‘It happened to me that your glass fell down’). Initial results in the context of the DFG project exploring the syntax of Hessian dialects (“Syntax hessischer Dialekte”) (SyHD)) suggest that there is a high correlation between the controlled setting of the parameters by the experimenter and the choice of a syntactic construction designating the event by the informants. The results thus suggest that socio-cognitive factors as identified by sociology directly bear upon syntactic structures. Finally, it is discussed how data about the social cognition–syntax interface can be collected by indirect means, and what the implications of the absence of areal syntactic variation are.

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Friday 11:30-12:00

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues, Session 2

Writing in Cypriot Greek: the need for standardisation and its importance for dialectal lexicography

Marianna Katsoyannou, Spyros Armosti & Kyriaki Christodoulou

Cypriot Greek (CG) is a variety of Modern Greek spoken by more than half a million people in the Republic of Cyprus. CG is in a diglossic relationship with Standard Modern Greek (SMG), with SMG being the High variety and CG the Low variety; SMG, albeit one of the two official languages of Cyprus (the other being Standard Turkish), is not spoken as native language by Greek Cypriots, who in their everyday interaction speak CG —while the oral usage of SMG is confined to formal situations (such as news broadcasting). Writing though is associated almost exclusively with SMG, in both formal and informal situations. Writing in CG is traditionally associated with literature, even though lately CG is increasingly used in informal electronic texts and communication (arguably facilitated by the use of the Roman alphabet in these informal situations). Because writing in CG has always been very limited, it does not follow standard orthographic conventions. However, where CG is formally written, the Greek alphabet with its orthographic conventions is used, along with some other diacritics and conventions to represent sounds that do not exist in SMG. Even so, the conventions used by different writers are not always the same.

The aim of this paper is to present the problems caused by the lack of standardisation of the writing system of CG from the lexicographer's point of view. The solutions proposed for an online dictionary of contemporary CG are discussed with reference to linguistic factors, acceptability by native speakers of CG, typographic issues etc. Finally, the need for standardisation is pointed out along with its implications regarding practical issues (such as typography and computer assisted editing), and pedagogical applications; finally the obstacles posed by the sociolinguistic and political situation in Cyprus are considered.

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Tuesday 13:30-14:00

Workshop: Dialect and Heritage Language Corpora for the Google Generation

Beyond Research alone: Considering sociolinguistic archives as “public” resources”

Tyler Kendall

The Sociolinguistic Archive and Analysis Project (SLAAP, <http://ncslaap.lib.ncsu.edu>; Kendall 2007, 2008) is a web-based repository and software toolkit for managing and working with sociolinguistic recordings and their related data (transcripts, variable tabulations, research notes, and so forth). The project was begun in 2005 as a joint initiative of the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP, <http://www.ncsu.edu/linguistics/ncllp/index.php>) and the North Carolina State University Libraries and was primarily designed as a tool for sociolinguistic researchers, in order to provide better management and preservation options for scholars and in order to develop new analysis tools and approaches for the analysis of conversational and interview speech as sociolinguistic data. In this regard, we believe that SLAAP has been, and continues to be, successful. It has a growing user-base of researchers, houses a growing collection of data (at present, SLAAP contains over 1600 sociolinguistic interviews comprising over 1300 hours of audio data), and has aided in research projects ranging from students’ MA theses (e.g. Kohn 2008) and PhD dissertations (e.g. Carter 2009) to published research (e.g. Mallinson & Kendall 2009).

However, the archive and its tools have also been useful in the classroom and in other non-research specific ways. Sociolinguists, and the NCLLP in particular, have often found public outreach to be an important component of their research agenda (Wolfram, Reaser & Vaughn 2008), and, as the project develops, its potential as a public resource becomes increasingly clear. In this presentation, after a brief discussion of SLAAP in general terms and in terms of its research applications, I focus on the classroom and public uses for the archive and for sociolinguistic archives in general. Finally, I discuss our plans for SLAAP’s future, in terms of increasing its utility and appeal to a wider range of public users.

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Wednesday 16:30-17:00

Revisiting attention to speech in variationist sociolinguistics: Henderson graphs and the quantification of channel cues

Tyler Kendall

In his earliest work developing the paradigm of research now known as variationist sociolinguistics, William Labov (1966, 1972) established that an orientation to speakers' *attention to speech* provided important insights into patterns of language variation. This was originally presented in terms of speaker *style*, though in recent years, as sociolinguists have developed more robust views of *style* that attend more to speakers' orientations and negotiations with their audiences (Bell 1984, 2001) and their own presentations of self (cf. Eckert *under review*), the focus of much research has moved away from attention to speech as a meaningful approach to *style*. However, the main thrust of attention to speech – that we find robust patterns of stratified variation when we compare speakers' productions across different levels of formality or attentiveness in speech – has never been refuted and still provides useful windows into language variation.

In this paper, I revisit attention to speech and consider the ways that Labov's suggestion of *channel cues* – the use of features like pausing, speech rate, pitch and intensity changes – can be systematically leveraged for researching variation in language production. I argue that a consideration of attention to speech from a cognitive perspective rather than a stylistic perspective makes the notion an even more useful approach to studying inter-speaker variable processes and allows us to better understand the cognitive reality of sociolinguistic variables. To illustrate this, I present a plotting and quantification technique, known as the *Henderson graph* (Henderson et al. 1966, Levelt 1989, Kendall 2009) and demonstrate how its use benefits sociolinguistic analyses. In particular, I assess patterns in several sociolinguistic variables – primarily focusing on *-ing* (e.g., talkin' vs. talking) – from two varieties of North American English to show the extent to which statistical predictors based on the Henderson graph technique aid in the modeling of the variable linguistic phenomena.

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Wednesday 10:00-10:30

Back in Time and Space: The Linguistic Trajectory of an Old Borrowing

Ruth King

French varieties spoken in contact with English typically display some degree of integration of the English intransitive preposition *back*. Through a combination of traditional dialectology, comparative sociolinguistics and recent syntactic theory, I trace its use in Acadian, Laurentian and Louisiana French from its earliest (1890) attestation through to its use in recently-constructed sociolinguistic corpora.

In (1), *back* is used with the same locative meaning and in the same position as it is in English. Following Mougeon *et al*'s (1980) analysis of such data, I link the rise of *back* to the gradual loss in productivity of the *re-* suffix (e.g. *revenir* "to come back", *refaire* "to do again") in the history of French.

- (1) Il s'en vient back où ce-qu'était la vielle. (Nova Scotia; Aucoin 1953)
"He comes back to where the old woman was."

In situations of intense language contact, *back* takes on an iterative meaning, as shown in (2):

- (2) J'ai commencé à refumer back. (Louisiana; Rottet 2000)
"I started smoking again."

In some varieties, iterative *back* has been reanalyzed as an adverb, occupying the same syntactic positions as aspectual adverbs like *souvent* "often", illustrated in (3) and (4):

- (3) Il m'a back frappé. (Southeast New Brunswick; Perrot 1995)
"He hit me again."

- (4) Veux-tu back faire ça? (Prince Edward Island; King 2000)
"Do you want to do it again?"

Syntactic reanalysis may also extend to locative *back*, as shown in (5), even though French-origin locative adverbs do not precede the past participle or the infinitive.

- (5) Il a back amené la tape. (Nova Scotia; Comeau 2007)
"He brought back the tape."

On the basis of both interdialectal comparisons and intradialectal real and apparent time quantitative analyses, I identify five stages in the integration of *back*, involving variable presence/absence of the *re-* suffix, meaning extension and syntactic reanalysis.

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Thursday 10:00-10:30

On the perception of syntax – an experimental approach to the salience of regional syntactic features

Andrea Kleene

This talk is on the question how syntax is perceived by lay linguists. When, for example, lay people are asked to name characteristics of their non-standard varieties, it has been found that they refer primarily to phonetic/phonological or lexical features whereas syntactic ones are metacommunicated only rarely (cf. Soukup 2009: 61–84, Anders 2010). This observation goes along with the fact that also within the framework of “Perceptual Dialectology” the domain of syntax is rather a desideratum (cf. Preston 1999, Long / Preston 2002).

In this talk, I will discuss different approaches to and issues regarding the study of the perception of grammatical features in the sociolinguistic setting of the Bavarian language region in the South of Germany and in Austria. Here we still meet a strong affinity towards dialects as well as regional languages in general. Specifically, I present and critically reflect on a set of experimental designs intended to provide insights regarding the following research questions:

- What about the salience of syntactic features in general? Can we indeed detect different degrees of awareness or salience among the different linguistic subsystems?
- What about the influence of different communication channels? Are there differences with regard to the perception of grammatical features presented in a written or a spoken form?
- What about the interindividual variation of perception within the Bavarian language area across the nation borders? Are there any social factors/variables in samples of experimental informants which correlate with their perceptions of grammar?

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Friday 12:00-12:30

Effects of methodological transitions in working with phonetic data in a linguistic atlas project.

Stefan Kleiner

Although signal analysis seems to be the state-of-the-art way of working with language data even for today's linguistic atlases (cf. Labov/Ash/Boberg 2006), in our opinion phonetic transcriptions still are an indispensable part of everyday dialectological work - especially when a project wants to reach public interest. We work with a corpus of 670 German-speaking 16-20 year-old high-school pupils from the whole German-speaking area (collected 2006-2009), which includes read as well as spontaneous speech. Striving for a comprehensive phonetic description of the corpus data in order to compile an online "Atlas of Spoken Standard German Usage", transitions in the methodology of handling phonetic data have generated problematic aspects but also new opportunities. Responsible for this is mainly the "transition between technologies" which has made possible high-quality voice recordings even under field recording conditions and analysis with the help of spectrograms and signal segmentation just with a mouse click. However, phonetic detail often emerges as sub-segmental phenomena like partial nasalization or small formant movement which would have gone unnoticed in traditional pen-and-paper transcriptions or in transcribing tape recordings purely auditively, raising the question of comparability to "traditional" predecessor studies (in our case e.g. König 1989). But the new technologies also offer new opportunities because computer/software-aided data-processing may greatly enhance work progress, making possible the handling of hitherto unthinkable quantities of phonetic data. Additionally, signal analysis allows for alternatives to transcription-based linguistic maps (like vowel plots) and may in some cases make the effort of making tedious manual IPA-transcriptions completely unnecessary.

In the presentation different examples from the project work will be shown to illustrate the above-mentioned issues.

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Friday 15:30-16:00

Are there speakers of the /ɛ/ vs. /e/ dialect in Budapest?

Miklós Kontra, Sára Fruzsina Vargha, Helga Hattyár

Standard (Budapest) Hungarian has a short front unrounded low vowel phoneme /ɛ/, but certain dialects have a mid /e/ as well. The standard /ɛ/ evolved from a merger of the two phonemes. According to most descriptions, the phoneme /e/ is found in most parts of Hungary except the Budapest metropolitan area and in the northeast of the country. Using the database of the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview Version 2, which was recorded in 1987 with 10 teachers, 10 university students, 10 sales clerks, 10 blue-collar workers and 10 vocational trainees, this study seeks to answer the following questions: (1) Are there respondents who, in a “same or different?” test, reported that [hed^yeš] ‘pointed, sharp’ and [hed^yɛš] ‘mountainous’ had different meanings? (The F1 for [e] was 462 Hz, for [ɛ] 574 Hz.) (2) What are the effects of the independent variables on the results of the “same or different?” test? (3) To what extent do the linguistic biographies of respondents explain the responses of the in-migrants? (4) To what extent do the linguistic biographies of respondents explain the responses of the natives of Budapest? (5) Are there respondents who, in various production data including guided conversations, show evidence that they know the /ɛ/ vs. /e/ phonemic distinction?

Among other things, results show that (a) it is not the case that the more informal the style, the more vernacular (/ɛ/ vs. /e/) forms are used, (b) the range of style differences is considerably smaller for native Budapest speakers and in-migrants from one /ɛ/ dialect regions than it is for the in-migrants from /ɛ/ vs. /e/ regions, and (c) there are two natives of the Budapest dialect who produced a > 100 Hz in F1 difference in [hed^yeš] and [hed^yɛš] but judged the two words as having the same meaning, a classical case of near-mergers.

Oral presentation

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Tuesday 11:00-11:30

Scaled Measurement of Geographic Speech Data

William A. Kretzschmar, Jr. and Brendan A. Kretzschmar

One of the principle signs that speech is a complex system (Kretzschmar 2009) is the non-linear arrangement of frequencies of variant lexical responses and pronunciations in linguistic survey data. When the counts of word or variant tokens are charted by frequency, they form an asymptotic hyperbolic curve, or A-curve, at every scale of analysis, from the survey overall down to small geographic subsamples. However, the shape of the curve is sensitive to size of the sample and the categorization of the data. A small sample is unlikely to show an A-curve if the number of tokens is insufficient to differentiate the top-ranked variants from those in the tail of the curve. As for categorization, counting F1/F2 coordinates from acoustic phonetic analysis is unlikely to show a curve because there are so many possible categories (on the order of a million, from an F1 range of c. 500 Hz and F2 range of c. 2000 Hz), so the frequency of any given coordinate pair is most likely to be one or two tokens even for a large sample. On the other hand, allowing too few categories will also not show a curve: frequency data from two categories, say for whether or not speakers pronounce postvocalic -r, gives us a line, not a curve. The A-curve can only be observed when the number of categories into which the data is sorted lies between these two extremes. Common practice in dialectology and sociolinguistics has been to establish a small number of possible categories into which variants could be grouped, such as phonemes for pronunciation, or to notice only the most frequently occurring variants and to ignore the remaining variation. Such methods cannot address the underlying complexity of the data. In this paper, we will discuss tools used in economics (Gini Coefficient, Lorenz Curve), and report the results of an experiment in which lexical and pronunciation data from survey research is analyzed in various geographic subsamples. We will demonstrate thereby that A-curves do exist in the data in all cases, and establish parameters for the interaction of sample size and number of categories in the design of valid and reliable experiments.

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Wednesday 11:00-11:30

A dialect description based on lexical variation

Lars-Gunnar Larsson

The Saami language is spoken over a huge area in northern Fennoscandia and on the Kola peninsula. Influence from literary standards have affected Saami only to a limited extent, and the geographical distribution of the Saami dialect groups have largely remained unchanged. Therefore, Saami is not far from being the ideal object of dialect research.

The extensive research in Saami dialectology carried out so far is heavily dominated by traditional methods. The dialect descriptions depend on isophones and isomorphs shown on maps. This being so, we get a picture of dialect areas separated by isophone boundaries. Such a static description is hardly appropriate, especially when considering that large groups of Saami are nomads who follow their reindeer herds across vast distances every year.

Among the Saami dialects, Ume Saami holds an intermediary position between the Central Saami and the South Saami group of dialects. The only printed documentation of Ume Saami is a dictionary with a short grammar survey and some texts. This description by Wolfgang Schlachter is based on one idiolect, the language of one person in Setsele in the South-eastern part of the Ume Saami area. Today, Ume Saami is a seriously threatened dialect and the old variation within the dialect is gone.

There is, however, an additional. extensive archive material from nine Ume Saami villages that has so far not been investigated. Primarily, this material consists of collections of words. Here I present a new method based on the lexical variation within a language area. In many ways the results of such an investigation coincide with those of a traditional, isophone based investigation. Interestingly, this method yields a more detailed and dynamic picture of the language displaying groups and contacts in the area. After all, words are essential in communication.

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

"Dialect and Regiolect Syntax: Preliminaries"

Alexandra Lenz, Helmut Weiß

Following the impulses of Kayne's theory of micro-variation, a broad spectrum of areal syntactic studies and projects with predominant theoretical interests and objectives has emanated over the last 20 years (s. Bayer 1984, Benincà 1989, Abraham & Bayer 1993, Black & Motapanyane 1996, Barbiers et al. 2002, Tortora 2002, Haegeman 1992, Henry 1995, Zanuttini 1997, Poletto 2000). Overall, areal syntactic projects have broadened the empiric basis of modern linguistics and have shown that areal syntax provides very fruitful insights for different linguistic disciplines. A central aim of this workshop is to combine and discuss experiences, results and problems of current areal syntactic projects and papers. Thereby we strive towards a mixture of theoretically aligned contributions by linguists of different theoretical backgrounds as well as more empirically based papers. But the session is not limited to the syntax of dialects as the "deepest" pole of the continuum of colloquial speech; rather it is the second central goal of the workshop also to focus on the syntax of "higher" (regiolectal) varieties approaching the standard. Including this vertical dimension represents an innovative approach to the investigation of variation in syntax.

Three groups of central research questions will be discussed in the presentations:

I. Questions regarding the horizontal (areal) dimension of syntax:

What are the horizontal-areal structures of dialect syntax? How do these syntactic areal structures correspond to "traditional" dialect-geographic areas defined mainly on the basis of phonetic/phonological data? How do the linguistic areal structures correspond to other "extralinguistic" (e.g., geographic, political or social) areas?

II: Questions regarding the vertical (social) dimension of syntax:

How do syntactic structures vary along the vertical axis of non-standard spectra of varieties? What does the syntax of intermediate (regiolectal) varieties between dialects and standard languages look like? To what extent does the syntax of intermediate varieties differ from the syntax of the dialects and standard varieties, respectively? Which "vertical structure(s)" can be hypothesized on the basis of syntactic data? Does the syntactic level provide evidence for different varieties on the vertical axis or is there a syntactic continuum from the base dialects up to the standard languages? To what extent is syntactic variation in line with what we find for phonetic and phonological data?

III. Questions regarding the implications for syntactic theory:

How can variation be modelled within structural or cognitive theories? Where is the locus of variation (lexicon, morphology, syntactic structures)? What is the consequence for the concept of competence?

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Tuesday 11:30-12:00

Zeroing in on Canadian Relatives

Stephen Levey

The relativization system in contemporary varieties of English is fertile territory for the exploration of patterns of synchronic variation between competing forms (Romaine 1982; Tagliamonte et al. 2005; D'Arcy and Tagliamonte 2010). This study addresses variation in relative marker usage in restrictive relative clauses in Canadian English, focusing specifically on the factors constraining the selection of the zero relative marker, an area of variability that is reported to differentiate varieties of English (Lehmann 2001). Recent studies (Fox & Thompson 2007; Jaeger et al. m.s.) have argued that the selection of the zero variant is constrained by a number of important factors such as the lexical specificity of the head NP, as well as the semantic content of the matrix clause. These factors have not featured prominently in previous variationist research targeting the relativization system. In this study, we evaluate the magnitude of effect of these factors vis-à-vis that of other factors which are widely reported to constrain the choice of the zero variant (e.g., adjacency of the antecedent NP and relative clause; length of the relative clause, etc). Drawing on the Oshawa-Whitby component of the *Quebec English Corpus* (Poplack et al. 2006), we conduct a multivariate analysis of 1255 relative clauses culled from 19 speakers stratified by age, sex and education. The results indicate that the subject of the relative clause, properties of the matrix clause, as well as adjacency effects are key determinants of the selection of the zero variant. Contrary to claims in the literature, lexical specificity of the head NP, and length of the relative clause play a minor role in the choice of the zero variant. An important finding to emerge from the results is that putatively general language processing constraints associated with relative marker choice may not operate uniformly across all varieties of English.

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Saturday 11:00-11:30

Researching Non-Standard Dialect Usage in Linguascapes

Danny Long and Seiichi Nakai

In this paper the authors look at the use of non-standard dialects in linguascapes examining four aspects of signage. (1) Where (what types of establishments) are dialect signs commonly found? For example we found a preponderance of dialect usage in signs of businesses related to the care of the elderly but almost none in pharmacies. (2) Who are the "senders" and "receivers" in dialect signage. If we think of signs as messages, it is interesting to consider who has created the sign (the sender of the message) for what sort of prospective reader (the receiver). For example we found a preponderance of dialect signage that does not appear to be aimed at speakers of the dialect but rather at outsiders. It appears to be counterintuitive to make signs aimed at people who can not understand them. However, we interpret this behavior in the context of the "commercialization of dialects" as one elements of the "tourism resources" of a region. (3) What orthographic adjustments have been made in an attempt to represent non-standard dialects (for which a standardized orthography often does not exist)? (4) When are parallel Standard Japanese translations used and what sort of language attitudes does usage/non-usage reveal? Although the signs we will be presenting will not only be in Japanese (a language which many conference attendees cannot understand), but in non-standard dialects of Japanese to boot, the authors consider this handicap one inherent in the concept of an international dialectology conference and will utilize romanization, translations, and even allusions to the standard/non-standard situation of other languages, to ensure that the points we are trying to make are clear.

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Iron Range English reflexives pronouns

Sara Loss

In some dialects of English, reflexive pronouns (e.g., *himself*) and pronouns (e.g., *him*) are not in complementary distribution (e.g. Zribi-Hertz 1989, Fasold 1994). New data reveals that one such dialect is Iron Range English (IRE). IRE is an understudied, non-standard dialect spoken in the Arrowhead region of northern Minnesota (Underwood 1981, Linn 1988, Bauer 2005). Most research on IRE has been done on phonetic and lexical variation, most of which probably stem from the area's unique immigration history (Sirjamaki 1965).

IRE reflexives can corefer with nominal expressions outside their minimal clause in subject or object position, as illustrated in (1). Coreference is indicated with subscripts, and clauses are indicated with brackets.

(1) [Craig_i told Tom_j that [Matt_k believes in himself_{i/j/k}]].

Coreference with an expression outside the minimal clause is not acceptable in two environments: (i) if there is an intervening subject that does not match the reflexive for person (similar to Blocking Effects in Mandarin, see Huang & Liu 2001) as in (2) or (ii) if the reflexive is in an island, as in (3), which has a *wh*-interrogative island.

(1) *Bill_i said that [I believe in himself_i].

(2) *Bill_i wonders [who likes himself_i].

A structural model of the variation of reflexive pronouns in IRE can be achieved by (i) positing an operator-like feature on the reflexive and (ii) positing separate binding and blocking processes (c.f. Cole & Wang 1996). An operator-like feature allows the reflexive to raise successive-cyclically to [Spec, CP] where the reflexive can participate in processes of higher phases according to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2001). Separate binding and blocking processes are required since different sets of nominal expressions participate in each process: both subjects and objects can be binders, but only subjects can be blockers.

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Wednesday 16:00-16:30

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Aspect in the Verbal System of Pennsylvania Dutch and European German Dialects

Mark Loudon

The focus of this paper is on the semantics of verbal forms in Pennsylvania Dutch (Pennsylvania German), a North American language that developed from the immigration of German speakers, mainly from the southeastern Palatinate (Vorderpfalz), to America during the eighteenth century. Although PD speakers have always been bilingual in English to some extent since genesis of the language, contact-induced influence has been largely limited to the lexical level, with a few important caveats that will be noted in this paper. Further, PD speakers' receptive knowledge of a standard German variety has played no observable role in the emergence or development of the language. Unlike what we find across the European German landscape, there is no dialect-standard continuum in the verbal repertoire of speakers of PD. PD is thus the modern descendant of Palatine German dialectal input whose core phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures show little effect from either other forms of German or English.

Following the practice handed down from traditional models of German grammar, the semantics verbal system of PD, as has been the situation with virtually all European German dialects, has been described in terms of the categories of "tense" (e.g., past, present, future) and "mood" (e.g., indicative, subjunctive, imperative). Analysis of grammatical aspect in PD has been largely limited to a single, very productive construction that is found in many European German varieties, namely *sei* 'to be' + *am/n* 'at (the)' + infinitive, which marks progressive aspect. As it turns out, it appears that the primary semantic function of verbal forms in PD is not related to locating events in time, rather it is to identify them in terms of perfectivity, that is, as either perfective or imperfective. In other words, aspect, not tense, is the salient grammatical category in the PD verbal system. Temporality, on the other hand, is essentially lexical in PD, marked by adverbial elements (individual lexical items and phrases).

At the core of the PD finite verbal system are two constructions, one synthetic ("present tense") and one compound ("present perfect tense"), which are imperfective and perfective, respectively. Neither is bound to a certain point time. That is, the so-called present and present perfect "tenses" may be used to express situations that are objectively located in the past, present, or future (or: past or non-past). This imperfective/perfective distinction is mirrored in the two nonfinite forms of the PD verbal system, the infinitive and the (past) participle. Examples with their standard German equivalents are given in (1):

- (1) *ich ess* / *ich esse* 'I eat' (imperf)
 ich hab gesse / *ich habe gegessen* 'I ate, have eaten' (perf)
- esse* / *essen* 'to eat' (imperf)
 gesse / *gegessen* 'eaten' (perf)

The bulk of the paper will be devoted to a review of the various constructions marking perfectivity in PD, all of which can be found in a number of European German dialects, including the so-called present and present perfect constructions, the so-called progressive construction *sei* 'to be' + *am/n* 'at (the)' + infinitive (imperfective) mentioned above, and *grieye* 'to receive, get' + participle (perfective), which has the semantics of "getting something done." We will also consider the function of the so-called double perfect in PD, e.g., *ich hab gesse ghatt* / *ich habe gegessen gehabt* that is widespread especially in Upper German dialects. An important element of our analysis will be a discussion of the role of modal verbs, and modality more generally, in the marking of aspect in PD.

Finally, we will also review a few facts about the historical development of the PD verbal system away from its Palatine origins, which on the one hand may point to semantic influence from English, but also reinforces the native trend toward marking all events as either imperfective or perfective. Such facts include the historical expansion of the progressive and *griegen* constructions mentioned above, but also the grammaticalization of verbs of counting to become modal verbs and the reanalysis of historically IPP verbs (e.g., *losse / lassen* 'to let') as lexical verbs.

By comparing what we find in the verbal system of PD to parallel phenomena in European German dialects, including not only the Central and Upper German dialects that are PD's closest linguistic cousins, but also Low German), it appears that viewing aspect rather than tense as the salient verbal category in most if not all German(-related) varieties may have implications for the analysis of spoken German more generally.

Friday 12:00-12:30

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues

The Standardization of a Latin-based Orthography for Podlachian

Jan Maksymiuk

The paper presents a project aimed at propagating a written version of the East Slavic local dialects that are spoken in the area between the Narew and Bug rivers in Podlachian Province in Poland. According to estimates based on Poland's 2002 census, some 35,000 people living in Podlachian Province speak dialect variations that are categorized by linguists as "Belarusian-Ukrainian transitory dialects" or "dialects with Ukrainian traits" or "Ukrainian dialects". The overwhelming majority of users of these dialects (95%) identify their ethnic affiliation as Belarusian. The standard Belarusian language is taught as a subject at some schools in the area but these local dialects are not. Three years ago two native Podlachian speakers launched a purposeful online effort to develop a standardized written version for these dialects. They proposed an orthography based on the Latin alphabet and developed a consistent grammar for the language they call Podlachian. The paper presents this standardization effort, reviews earlier attempts to publish Podlachian texts in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, and discusses ramifications of the standardized Podlachian orthography for the preservation of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Belarusian and Ukrainian minorities in Podlachian Province in Poland.

Tuesday 16 :00-16 :30

Workshop : Dialect and Heritage Language Corpora for the Google Generation

Heritage Corpus for Tomorrow

France Martineau and Dominique Thomas

In the last decade, there has been an increased concern about corpus preservation and corpus dissemination for the communities. Heritage corpora are an invaluable source for diachronic and synchronic comparison, but they are compromised by the fact they are dispersed, without a mobilization of the academic community to preserve them (for instance, lack of compatibility to new technological development endanger many 60's corpora).

The CLA's *Repertory for Corpus Preservation* is a project of the National Committee for Corpus Preservation of the Canadian Linguistic Association (CLA). In its first phase, it aims to build an inventory of linguistic corpora dealing with North America, and more specifically with French, English or Aboriginal languages. In this regard, corpora dealing with French- or English-based creoles are also listed. It includes both oral and written corpora, and has a diachronic focus. We will present the database and web interface, built by the Polyphonies Lab, directed by France Martineau at the University of Ottawa.

Observing the Transition of Politeness for 55 years: Okazaki Survey on Honorifics I- III

Kenjiro Matsuda

The Okazaki Survey on Honorifics (OSH) is an ongoing, questionnaire-based survey on honorific use and its consciousness in Okazaki City, Japan, conducted by National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics since 1953 (NIJLL 1957, 1983). Following OSH I (1953) and OSH II (1972), OSH III was conducted in 2008 as the third survey of the project. In addition to a trend sample, OSH II and III also used the panel samples from the previous surveys, enabling a comparison of responses from the same speakers for the three surveys over 50 years at the longest. The current paper is intended to be a sampler of major findings we made so far from the analysis the three trend samples and the three panel samples.

SHRINKING SOCIAL FACTORS Although the sex and the educational background of the respondents have been the strongest factors determining the politeness with which they respond to each question, the effects of the two social factors are shrinking over the years. Such a picture neatly fits in the *democratization* hypothesis proposed by Inoue (1999), according to which the Japanese honorifics are increasingly used less by the social status of the speaker/hearer, and more by the perceived psychological distance between the two.

LIFESPAN CHANGE AND SEX The Okazaki women respond to the questions with lesser politeness as they age; in particular, the panel females show a drastic downward move even after middle age while the males mostly stay at the same level of politeness. Reminiscent of a similar pattern in a recent report on a lifespan change (Sankoff and Blondeau 2007), the distribution requires some explanation. Here we propose two possible explanations, social and biological, and discuss their implications.

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Saturday 11:00-11:30

Same or different origin? Building up the entry list for the Estonian etymological dictionary

Iris Metsmagi

The Estonian Etymological Dictionary has been a project of the Institute of the Estonian Language since 2003. The paper brings examples of the problems encountered in compiling the word list and of their practical solutions.

The entry list is based on the Orthological (normative) dictionary of Estonian. As etymological dictionaries are focused on the origin of words it is expedient to build up the list on stem basis, following the principle that each stem of a different origin gets a separate entry and, vice versa, each entry discusses all words or stems originating in a common etymological source. Thus the first thing was to find out which words (stem variants, derivatives etc.) included in the Orthological dictionary belong together etymologically (diachronically), and which ones should be treated separately.

The task turned out to be rather complicated, because the Orthological dictionary is synchronic in essence, whereas an etymological dictionary is diachronic. Three aspects had to be considered:

1. Polysemantic words and homonyms: Which cases should be diachronically classified under homonymy and which under polysemy?

2. Derivatives and lexicalized inflected forms. What is the original stem of the derivative or lexicalized form?

3. Possible variation of stems: which phonetically different stems originate from same source?

So the final entry list was built up based on the following principles:

A. Same entry will present the main stem and: (1) cases of diachronical polysemy; (2) diachronical derivatives and lexicalized inflected forms; (3) diachronical stem variants.

B. Different entries will take care of: (1) cases of diachronical homonymy; (2) derivatives of unclear origin or interpretation; (3) stem alternations without phonological explanation.

Wednesday 15:30-16:00

Workshop: English and Historical Dialectology

Phonetic Variation in Tyneside English: A Diachronic Analysis of the 'Goat' Vowel

H. Moisl, K. Corrigan, I. Buchstaller, A. Mearns (Newcastle)

The Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE) includes phonetic transcriptions of recorded audio interviews with 63 speakers from the Tyneside region of north-east England collected in the late 1960s by the Tyneside Linguistic Survey project. These transcriptions were cluster analyzed to see if they contain regularities that could be used to generate hypotheses about phonetic variation in the region. Such regularities were found, as reported in Moisl et al. 2006 and Moisl & Maguire 2008, and the hypotheses were: (i) that there is systematic variation in phonetic usage among Tyneside speakers, and (ii) that one of the primary determinants of this variation was the so-called 'goat vowel' (ɔ:). The present paper tests these hypotheses by means of a diachronic study of the development of (ɔ:) and its variants using data from more recent Tyneside speech. The discussion is in three main parts. The first part reviews the aims and methods of the 2006 and 2008 studies that generated the hypotheses. The second describes the more recent speech corpora used for hypothesis testing. One of these is a collection, also included in NECTE, made in the early 1990s by the Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English project, and the other is an even more recent data-set (2007-2010) that will eventually be combined with NECTE to form the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE). The third part of the presentation reports on the methods used for the present study and its findings. Existing results indicate that the distribution of (ɔ:) variants in the early 1990s is broadly similar to that in the late 1960s, though whether this holds for the 2007-2010 sub-corpus remains to be determined. This study is both a contribution to our understanding of the historical development of the Tyneside dialect, and, in combination with the 2006 and 2008 papers, a methodological case study in the use of cluster analysis for hypothesis generation and testing in diachronic dialectology.

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Tuesday 16:30-17:00

Synchronic patterns of Tuscan phonetic variation and diachronic change: evidence from a dialectometric study

S.Montemagni, M.Wieling, B. Jonge & J.Nerbonne

A careful investigation of synchronic patterns of linguistic variation with underlying linguistic features can lead to important insights into the comprehension of diachronic phonetic processes. In this contribution, starting from the analysis of synchronic patterns of phonetic variation in Tuscany we would like to tackle one of the main and most debated features of Tuscan dialects, the phenomenon of spirantization with a specific view to the so-called “Gorgia Toscana” (i.e. voiceless spirantization).

The study is based on the dialectal data of the “Atlante Lessicale Toscano” (‘Lexical Atlas of Tuscany’, ALT, <http://serverdbt.ilc.cnr.it/ALTWEB>) which were used in a quite peculiar way, namely as a corpus: this is to say that we are not starting from a predefined set of questionnaire items specifically designed to investigate the geographic distribution of phonetic features, but rather from the set of the ALT attested lexical items, which were elicited from informants with quite different (mainly, lexico-semantic) purposes. By using atlas data as a corpus, the problem of inherently subjective feature selection is significantly reduced, thus providing a more “realistic” linguistic signal (Szmrecsanyi, to appear).

First dialectometric investigations of this dialectal corpus (Montemagni, 2007, 2008) provided divergent results compared to the analyses by the main scholars of Tuscan (Giannelli, 2000) and Italian (Pellegrini, 1977) dialectology. Montemagni (2008) conjectured that relatively recent pronunciation changes (corresponding to spirantization phenomena) spreading radially from Florence lie behind the observed variation patterns. This initial hypothesis, however, needed further investigation which was possible thanks to a newly proposed dialectometric technique of co-clustering (called “bipartite spectral graph partitioning”) advanced by Wieling and Nerbonne (2009, 2010) which permits to simultaneously identify dialects on the basis of the aggregate analysis of a large corpus of dialectal data and reconstruct the underlying linguistic basis. Through this technique it is possible to understand which factors underlie identified patterns of variation, the role played by each of them and their interaction.

It turned out that identified phonetic areas are arranged in an onion-like shape built around a core covering the province of Florence and propagating in different directions, towards south and west. Around this central area, there is a transition layer separating it from an external layer within which non-Tuscan dialects can be clearly detected. In the central area linguistic features mainly correspond to spirantization phenomena involving both voiceless and voiced stops (/p t k b d g/), whereas in the first layer spirantization appears to be circumscribed to voiceless stops only; spirantization appears to play quite a marginal role in the external layer. Such a geographic distribution of spirantization can be taken to confirm the initial hypothesis, i.e. that patterns of phonetic variation in Tuscan are mainly due to spirantization phenomena which arose firstly in Florence and spread rapidly in different respects, i.e. geographically and phonologically. Achieved

results will be discussed in the light of the primary texts on the topic of Gorgia Toscana (Giannelli and Savoia, 1978, 1980).

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Analyzing Ethnic Orientation in the Quantitative Sociolinguistic Paradigm

Naomi Nagy, Joanna Chociej & Michol Hoffman

Many speakers who control two (or more) languages may use features of one language while speaking the other. We expect that speakers' patterns of language use and attitudes toward each language (and their speakers) would influence the degree of this type of language mixing. Working with a corpus of 240 sociolinguistic interviews and responses to an Ethnic Orientation (EO) Questionnaire (adapted from Keefe & Padilla 1987), we compare a range of linguistic variables and how they pattern in the heritage dialects of 7 languages, plus English, in Toronto.

In spite of consistent methods of data collection, disparate patterns of correlation emerge between linguistic variants and measures of EO. Correlations with EO exist for a phonological variable (t,d) and phonetic variation (Canadian Vowel Shift) in the English of the Chinese and Italian communities (Hoffman & Walker 2010), and a discourse pattern (code-switching) in Korean (Chung 2010). However no correlations emerge with the morphosyntactic variation between pronoun and null subjects in Russian, Polish, Cantonese, or Italian (Nagy et al. 2010).

Here, we seek to understand whether these differences truly reflect differing behaviour of the different types of variables (phonetic, phonological, morphosyntactic, discourse), or whether, under appropriate methods of analysis, more consistent patterns emerge. We contrast a range of methods for quantifying and statistically analyzing EO, raising the following issues:

- the relative contribution of each EO measure to the final EO score; and whether the Principle Components Method, paired correlation coefficient comparisons, or multivariate regression analyses allow us to better understand the relationships between them;
- the relationship between generation (since immigration) and EO (i.e., having grown up in the home country, first generation speakers tend to be more positively oriented toward the HL and heritage culture (Chung 2010));
- changes in EO patterns across a speaker's lifespan (Chociej 2010, Flores-Ferrán 2010).

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Workshop: Dialect and Language Corpora for the Google Generation

Heritage Language Variation and Change: Corpus construction and use

Naomi Nagy

I will present aspects of an ongoing project documenting and describing six heritage languages spoken in Toronto (HLVC, Nagy et al. 2009). The presentation will focus on corpus construction techniques and the integration of teaching and research goals. The *Heritage Language Documentation Corpus* (HerLD, Nagy 2009) contains time-aligned transcriptions of interviews approximately one hour long from 40 speakers of each of six languages (Cantonese, Faetar, Italian, Korean, Russian, Ukrainian), representing three generations of speakers, balanced across a range of ages (12-92 yrs). For each speaker, information about self-reports of language use patterns and linguistic and cultural attitudes are elicited and quantified. Using consistent methods of data collection, transcription, and analysis across six languages, with appropriate metadata, is an innovation designed to further our understanding of contact-induced language change. We are working to provide useful material to Toronto's heritage communities, as well as to academic colleagues.

My presentation of the corpus construction techniques will describe the involvement of heritage speakers in recruiting, interviewing, analyzing, and reporting findings, both as research assistants and as students using the corpus for course assignments.

Specific features of the project to be described include the use of the transcription program ELAN for transcription and data-coding (and how it may be quickly introduced to students and research assistants at all levels), a multi-level consent process that allows participants to determine how their data may be used and shared, the development of a searchable, online database of transcription and audio files (Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto), and assignments developed for an undergraduate course called 'Exploring Heritage Languages' (Nagy 2010), which both uses the HerLD corpus and contributes outreach material to the HLVC project. Prototype webpages, designed by students to describe available HL resources, illustrate one result of integrating research, teaching, and outreach.

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Dialect, standard and new variants in West Sweden

Jenny Nilsson

The project 'Dialect leveling in West Sweden' is concerned with today's dialect situation in the western parts of Sweden and how the dialects in this area have changed since the 1950s. The project has investigated dialect use in nine villages and small towns located 50–100 kilometers outside Gothenburg, Sweden's second largest city, and in this presentation some of the main results from the project are presented.

In total, 110 informants have been recorded in two different traditional dialect areas. Their realization of between 30 and 40 linguistic variables (depending on location) as standard, dialect or 'new' variants is analyzed. It turns out that today's dialect situation in West Sweden is characterized by extensive inter-and intra-individual variation. For example, two informants with similar backgrounds, having lived within close proximity of one another for a whole life still has separate linguistic varieties; one might be a traditional dialect speaker and the other a representative of the 'new' (to this area) Gothenburg variety. As for the intra-individual variation it is apparent that most informants switch between dialect, standard and new variants within the same recording. In a way, this could be seen as a new 'mixed' variety.

In my presentation I will discuss in which ways new variants might change the linguistic system in an area and how we can theoretically treat this fact.

Digital recording options for geographically remote informants

Jennifer Nycz & Paul de Decker

Dialectologists now have more options for collecting speech data than ever before. Informants who might otherwise be inaccessible to the analyst could record themselves using smartphones and personal computers; researchers might also consider YouTube or recordings uploaded to other internet sites as sources of data. However, digital compression techniques simplify some acoustic content and discard others (Bulgin, De Decker & Nycz 2010) while lower-quality microphones may distort the quality of the signal (Van Son, R.J.J.H. 2005). Therefore, before such data can be used for dialect research, it is crucial to determine if these media affect the reliability of acoustic analyses (Gonzalez, Cervera and Llau 2003; Gonzalez and Cervera 2001).

As an initial test, we looked at the way compression effects the vowel space. Male and female speakers were recorded reading a word list containing 10 English monophthongs in *h_d* context using a *Roland Edirol R-09* (WAV format) recorder, an *Apple iPhone* (Apple m4a), a *Macbook Pro* running Praat 5.1 (WAV) and a *Mino Flip* video camera (AVI). The *Mino Flip* file was then uploaded to *Youtube* (FLV format). Speakers read each word 3 times while seated in a quiet room with the recorders placed on a table in front of them. Measurements of F1 through F4 were taken at the temporal midpoint of each vowel using Praat 5.1. Differences between recording formats were tested in R using a Repeated Measures ANOVA with separate runs for each formant (F1-F4). Preliminary results show significant differences between *Edirol* and *Mino* and *Youtube* formats. F1 values for most vowels were raised in *Mino* and *Youtube* measurements. F2 was also affected, such that front vowels were artificially raised while back vowels were lowered. Thus the vowel space is effectively altered with lowering along the F1 dimension and a widening of the space along the F2 dimension. These effects seem to be exaggerated for female voices.

Based on these results, *Macbook Pro* and *iPhone* may be suitable recording options for studying the vowel spaces of speakers. *Mino* and its *Youtube* derivative show a number of significant deviations from lossless recordings indicating that audio from these devices should not be used for this type of analysis until corrective measures are identified.

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Wednesday 14:00-14:30

Areal relations of lexical borrowings (according to ALE and ALFE)

Vilja Oja

My paper is focused on the Indo-European loanwords in Finnic dialects. The material analysed comes from two dialect atlases: *Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum* (ALFE) and *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE). ALFE, the 3-volume Finnic atlas recently finished as a joint effort of Finnish, Estonian and Karelian linguists, contains dialect maps of all Finnic languages. Of ALE, which is a joint project of European countries, 7 issues of maps and commentaries have been hitherto published. Some words have been mapped in both atlases. The area of the Finnic branch of the Uralic languages is surrounded by Indo-European language areas. The main lexical donors differ depending on the recipient Finnic language or dialect. Often an Indo-European stem has been borrowed into Finnic dialects repeatedly from different languages or in different periods. As ALE represents just one equivalent for each mapping point the maps often lack loanwords as more recent material. ALFE has no such restriction, enabling a better picture of the borrowing dynamics within the Finnic group. However, ALE offers invaluable information on the broader geography of Indo-European stems.

The causes, centres and routes of lexical innovations mostly depend on extra-linguistic factors such as geographic location and road network, cultural contacts, historical and political events, etc. The repeated wars between the neighbouring countries for domination have divided the Finnic areas between Eastern and Western influences, with a moving borderline. As for the Estonian dialects, some borrowings associate them with the Western, some with the Eastern sphere of influence. The situation is especially complicated in Votic and Ingrian. If an ALFE map contains several Indo-European loanwords with different stems, an ALE map may reveal that the Finnic area happens to be a peripheral meeting place of widespread Indo-European words arriving from different directions.

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Wednesday 11:30-12:00

The Process of the Areal Formation of a Dialect: A New Theory of the Formation of the Distribution of Japanese Dialects

Takuichiro Onishi

The distribution of Japanese dialects has long been thought to result from successive radiations of linguistic change from the historical center of Kyoto. According to this hypothesis, after new words were innovated in Kyoto, they spread gradually from the center reflecting the order of innovations. Since such linguistic innovations occurred repeatedly, their distributions were taken to form a concentric circle pattern. This hypothesis was clearly stated by Yanagita (1930) as what he called the “dialect radiation theory”. 40 years later, Sibata (1969) modernized the theory, terming it the “principle of adjacent distributions of dialects”.

Language is a tool to communicate in a community. Until a new linguistic change becomes established in a community, it must spread in the relevant locale. But it is not necessary for the expansion to spread from the center to the periphery. Expansion will take place depending on the mutual relations of each person in the community, in other words regardless of its geographical position. When the new linguistic change becomes established in the relevant locale, it forms a distribution as a specific area drawn on a map.

From the standpoint of the general properties of the formation of areal distributions as outlined above, the dialect radiation theory incorporates two defects. The first is the insistence on radiation from the center. The second is the assumption of expansion by means of gradual steps. We must be certain to take into account the dialectal community of each area to account properly for the formation of dialectal distributions. Language change happens in a community influenced by other communities, but they need not be neighboring. Language changes spread in an area determined by the community, but not necessarily by spatial continuity. Comparison of dialectological maps investigated over different time frames verifies the formation theory outlined above.

297 words

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Interactional aspects of intonation in the traditional Stockholm dialect – a case study

Jenny Öqvist

This paper investigates the phonetic forms and interactional functions of a number of salient pitch contours used by a speaker of “the traditional Stockholm dialect”. The data for the study is a 23 minute long dialect interview with a male Stockholmer (b. 1904), recorded in 1962.

The term “traditional Stockholm dialect” is used here to refer to a variety of Stockholm Swedish that probably developed around the turn of the 20th century, among the city’s rapidly growing working class population (cf. Kotsinas 2008). It holds a unique position among Stockholm Swedish varieties in that it is commonly viewed as the most “real” and “authentic” one, not least due to its ubiquity in popular culture representations of Stockholmers and of the Stockholm dialect (cf. Öqvist 2010, to appear). There are, however, very few empirical studies of the traditional Stockholm dialect (e.g. Kotsinas 1988, 2005), and its intonation has not been investigated previously.

The study focuses on a number of salient, markedly steep intonation contours. The phonetic forms of the intonation contours are analysed auditorially and acoustically (using Praat), with Bruce’s (2010) account of the intonation in Eastern middle Swedish as a reference point. The interactional uses and functions of the intonation contours are analysed sequentially, using Conversation Analysis (CA). The main questions addressed in the sequential analysis concern the actions that the analysed salient intonation contours contribute to achieving (cf. Selting 2004a,b), and the attitudes and affects that they contribute to displaying (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 2009, Selting 2010).

This paper is both a case study of intonation in a specific regional variety, and an illustration of how CA-methodology can contribute to sociodialectology.

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Friday 14:30-15:00

Variation in prosodic phrase of Japanese Dialects

Ichiro Ota, Shoji Takano, Hitoshi Nikaido, Akira Utsugi & Yoshiyuki Asahi

The language change observed at the tonal prosody level is one of the most recent topics of Japanese dialectology. It has often been claimed that the tone structure of the Japanese language is the most resistant to language change. However, some recent studies, such as Takano and Ota (under review) and Ota et al. (2008), have argued that tonal level change seems to be taking place in Japanese dialects.

With a similar interest, this paper aims to investigate the variation in tonal phrase formation of Japanese dialects by focusing our attention on 'prosodic subordination (PS)' which emerges as 'downstep' (pitch range compression) or 'dephrasing' (recomposition of tonal units). This tends to be found more frequently in the speech of the younger generation, which suggests that this should be the evidence of the ongoing tonal level change. We are now investigating this variation in three cities, Sapporo, Fukuoka, and Kagoshima. Despite the fact that the traditional dialects of those cities differ in the pitch accent system of prosodic words whereby their tonal phrase formation should not be identical, Ota et al. (2010) suggests that there may be some similarities in the pitch movement of tonal phrase in these dialects.

Taking the variationist perspective (Tagliamonte, 2006), we will present more results of our ongoing research and discuss whether we can say that a language change caused by PS is taking place in these dialects, and if so, then what kind of change is in progress in the tonal prosody level. Also we will consider how this variation is constrained by linguistic, social, and stylistic factors. In order to deal with the diversity of the social profile of individual speakers, The Cookbook Method (Asahi, 2009a, 2009b), a new approach seeking for correlation between social variables and linguistic variation, will be employed.
(299 words)

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Friday 14:00-14:30

On the borderline of Finnish and Karelian: perspectives on cognate languages and dialects (FINKA)

Marjatta Palander & Helka Riionheimo

FINKA is an ongoing research project (2011–2014) that rises to the challenge presented by the multifaceted interrelationship between the eastern dialects of Finnish and their closest cognate, Karelian language. Surveying the unique and so far unexplored contact between the two languages in the area of Border Karelia and making an extensive use of authentic, audio-recorded data, the project offers new perspectives on the development and contact of very closely related varieties and invokes discussion on demarcation of languages and dialects. The project makes use of the earlier empirical tradition of research on Finnish and Karelian and broadens the research theme by using current theoretical and methodological means, including syntactic, typological, contact linguistics and perceptual linguistic approaches. The general objectives of the project are as follows:

- to create new knowledge on morphosyntactic and derivational phenomena in eastern Finnish dialects and Karelian
- to present data and description of a unique language contact in Border Karelia
- to create new theoretical knowledge on contacts of closely related languages, their effects on language structure, and the emergence of mixed lects
- to raise discussion on the demarcation of languages and dialects

The project will focus on three interrelated thematic areas, within which several grammatical and lexical phenomena will be discussed. Theoretically, the project lays special focus on the process of grammaticalization and the effects of language contact (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003, Heine & Kuteva 2005) as well as on perceptual dialectology (e.g. Canut 2002, Preston 2009). In this presentation, the theoretical perspectives of the project will be described in detail and exemplified with samples from the data.

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Thursday 11:00-11:30

How do western Finns imitate eastern Finnish dialects?

Marjatta Palander

Since the 1990s, the general European dialect boom has boosted the visibility of regional dialects in Finland. Dialects are used in public in spoken language, in literature, advertisements, and entertainment. In spite of this general tolerant attitude, eastern Finnish dialects are used less in the national media than western dialects. This is why it is more difficult for western Finnish non-linguists to imitate eastern dialects than vice versa.

Dialect imitations have been studied e.g. in test conditions (Preston 1992, Evans 2002) and by using performance speech (Schilling-Estes 1998). The present study is based on interviews and a translation test conducted among 20–30-year old non-linguists born in western Finland. Part of the material was gathered in 1998–2002 and contains spontaneous dialect imitations elicited in connection with a so-called *mental map* task (Preston 1989). They are either single word forms or longer phrases. Further interviews were conducted in 2005–2009, and in them informants were asked to translate into eastern Finnish dialects four sentences that contain eastern-western variation in c. twenty phonological, morphological and syntactic features.

The study provides information of the dialect features that western Finns are best able to control and the ones they produce inaccurately. Some of the inaccuracies are caused by structural differences between eastern and western dialects, while some of the imitations and exaggerated, hyper-dialectal forms derive from the media and common folk knowledge.

There is a connection between the imitations and the current state of eastern Finnish dialects: the features that are recessive in the dialects of the present-day youth in eastern Finland are not well-known among western Finns. The surviving features are better controlled but their linguistic distribution is still not always clear to the imitators.

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Wednesday 14:00-14:30

Raising and Shifting in British Columbia English

Panayiotis Pappas

I will present the methodological design for a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews for British Columbia English, and the results of a pilot study concerning the status of Canadian Raising (CR) and Canadian Shift (CS), for which there is disagreement in the recent literature (cf. Labov et al 2006—4 speakers, and Boberg 2008—12 speakers). I will report on the analysis of 23 speakers from Victoria (11) and Vancouver (12), which include both sexes and two age groups (20-35 and 40+). Nearly 3,000 vowel tokens from a word list were analyzed, following the formant measuring and normalization techniques used in both of the above studies. The data confirm the finding of Boberg (2008: 139) that CR is still a robust feature of BC English, which the Labov et al report disputed. The larger sample allows us to observe that there are differences within the population based on age, sex, and city of origin. Young people in Vancouver ($M F1 /ayT/ - F1 /ay/ = 135\text{Hz}$) raise $/ayT/$ much more than their peers in Victoria ($M F1 /ayT/ - F1 /ay/ = 62\text{Hz}$). Another finding of Boberg (2008:140) that is confirmed is that the pronunciation of $/awT/$ in BC is quite back ($M F2 = 1520\text{Hz}$) but it is also found that men have quite an extreme pronunciation with a mean of 1417Hz, while the women have a mean of 1650Hz. For CS, we find that women ($M F1 746\text{Hz}$) lead men ($M F1 603\text{Hz}$) in the lowering of $/e/$, but men ($M F2 1567$) lead women ($M F2 1708\text{Hz}$) in the retraction of $/æ/$. The latter finding is a reversal of Esling and Warkentyne (1993:242).

I am currently in the process of analyzing these vowels in the conversational portion of the interviews and will present the results from this analysis as well.

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Thursday 11:30-12:00

How do three sign languages from the same family (ASL, LSF and LSQ) organize space syntactically?

Anne-Marie Parisot, Julie Rinfret, Karl Szymoniak & Amélie Voghel

Sign languages (SL) use space to encode relations between discourse elements. Referents may be established at locations in the space in front of the signer, with spatial association strategies (e.g point sign, eye gaze), and established loci can be reactivated in order to refer anaphorically to previously introduced referents. Among the strategies used for spatial association, we will examine body shift (BS) and head tilt (HT) toward a locus, in three SL: Quebec (LSQ), French (LSF) and American (ASL) (Montreal/Texas varieties). Although these SL have their own grammatical characteristics, they come from a common source. LSQ has abundantly borrowed from ASL and LSF lexicons, and ASL from the LSF lexicon (Delaporte, 2006). To our knowledge, no study aims to compare these SL in another way than a lexical view. There is an inconsistency in the descriptions of BS and HT from one SL to the other. For ASL, it has been proposed that HT is a spatial association strategy, and that BS is used in role shift (discourse marker) (Petronio, 1993). For LSF, BS and HT are not considered as discrete unities, and both mark role shift (Cuxac, 2000). For LSQ, it has been shown that there is a distinction between spatial association (BS (torso inclination)) and role shift (torso rotation) (Parisot 2003). HT has not been described yet. Our analysis of elicited productions (12 sets of depiction tasks) from 12 deaf signers (3 for each SL/variety) will lead us to answer these questions: 1) Do the three SL make a distinctive use of BS and HT? 2) Do BS and HT are discrete unities of spatial association? 3) Do BS and HT have differential effects on meaning or are they varieties of a same referential marker? 4) Do ASL varieties (Texas/Montreal) make a different use of BS and HT.

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Saturday 11:30-12:00

Toward a hermeneutic dialectology: Analogy, variation and congruence from Phula to Peirce

Jamin Pelkey

When language variation is found to correspond with social or physical geography, perplexing factual ambiguities inevitably emerge, denying dialectologists, and their audiences, access to strong conclusions or operational hypotheses. Is the reporting of overlapping isoglossic variation in geo-linguistic data the *summum bonum* of dialectology or should the dialectologist seek to interpret her findings? If so, to what degree? Interpretation implies transdisciplinarity; would this not threaten the demarcation of the field itself? In this paper I argue for the viability (and desirability) of a hermeneutic approach to dialectology by interweaving two complementary modes of discussion. One mode explores the semiotic congruence of analogy (a la Anttila 2003), as not only the activity of linguistic problem solving undertaken by living language communities but also the activity of choice for the dialectologist seeking to understand the nature of linguistic variation. A complementary mode of discussion reports on the practical findings of a specific hermeneutic approach to dialectology carried out among the Phula varieties of Southwest China (Pelkey 2011 in press) in which multiple perspectives are actively incorporated into data collection and data analysis in order to enable the operationalization of definitions for dozens of languages, dialects and dialect continua. Both modes of discussion are facilitated by insights from Charles Sanders Peirce's science of semiotics—prominently including his irreducible division of logical inquiry into abduction, induction and deduction with its corresponding branches of semiotic mediation: representation, truth and interpretation. In spite of a century of inquiry and numerous fresh directions in recent decades, the operationalization of strong definitions for language identification, dialect boundaries and dialect continua all seem to remain beyond the reach of leading trends and traditional methods in dialectology. Isoglossic methods, statistical methods, perceptual methods, and the comparative method each tend to produce questions that the respective method is ill-equipped to resolve on its own. Reconciling the findings of each, and interpreting the emergent results in light of extra-disciplinary realities, allows for strong, operational hypotheses useful for the actual definition of language varieties.

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Wednesday 9:30-10:00

Maria-Pilar Perea

Dynamic Cartography With Diachronic Data: Dialectal Stratigraphy

“Dialectal stratigraphy” aims to focus on the cartography of ancient lexicon. It seeks to represent cartographically how the diatopic variation of a sample of sixty words has evolved. The project begins with the earliest period of written Catalan and indicates the words’ geographical location and their graphic form and semantic progression over time. Unlike conventional atlases which use only a single axis, two axes of linguistic representation are used in dialectal stratigraphy, those of space and time. The distribution of words in the map is represented in layers depicting linguistic change over time.

From a methodological point of view, a number of dynamic maps have been created. The maps have a chronological axis that: *a)* allows the words to be traced to their initial geographical place; *b)* shows their evolution over the passage of the centuries; and *c)* makes it possible to observe its geographical movement.

In addition, this comprehensive overview allows us to track the course of Eastern and Western Catalan dialects which have been subject of so much controversy of late and also provides information about transitional areas. The aim of this paper is to show the potential of this technique for explaining the reasons for changes in lexicon.

Tuesday 13:30-14:00

Geostatistical Dialectometry - Stochastic Image Analysis in Geolinguistics

Simon Pickl

In this talk, a new methodology for the computational geostatistical analysis of the spatial distributions of linguistic variables will be presented. Techniques adopted from spatial statistics are used for the automated analysis of data from large corpora of linguistic maps such as those provided by dialect atlases. Unlike previous dialectometrical methods, our approach does not aim at the classification and analysis of dialects using large numbers of features in aggregate form, but at the study of geospatial characteristics of the distributions of individual variables, which goes beyond the extent to which space has previously been taken into account in dialectometry. Thus, the methods presented are intended to provide a quantitative means of comparing individual distributions rather than aggregating them. Throughout the process, statistical and geostatistical methods such as intensity estimation are employed. The conversion of certain spatial characteristics of the variants' distributions into numerical form subsequently enables us to examine the correlation of these characteristics with linguistic properties of the variables in question or with extralinguistic conditions that occur in space. Another field of application is the automated grouping of structurally similar maps by means of classification routines, which can lead to the discovery of geographically relevant linguistic relationships that have not been considered so far. By providing some examples of these new analysis tools, we aim to give an insight into the possibilities that arise from quantifying the distributions of linguistic variants and the application of geostatistical methods to the data.

Friday 16:30-17:00

Plural Formation in Texas German

Marc Pierce, Hans C. Boas, Karen Roesch, and Adams Laborde

Wiese (2009) argues that preferred plurals in German can be parsed into trochees. Thus, monosyllabic words generally add a second syllable in the plural (e.g. *Buch* ‘book’ ~ *Bücher* ‘books’), while nouns with two syllables generally do not (e.g. *Mutter* ‘mother’ ~ *Mütter* ‘mothers’). Here we explore the possibility of extending such an analysis to Texas German (TxG).

Many TxG plurals do follow this pattern; some monosyllables add a second syllable in the plural, e.g., *Tag* ‘day’ ~ *Tagen* ‘days’ (data from Boas 2009), and some disyllabic nouns do not add an additional syllable in the plural, e.g. *Ziege* ‘goat’ ~ *Ziegen/Ziege* ‘goats’. However, numerous Texas German plurals cannot be accounted for in this way, e.g. *Hirsch* ‘deer (sg.)’ ~ *Hirsch* ‘deer (pl.)’, which does not add a second syllable in the plural. We therefore view the TxG plural system as the result of a number of factors. Prosody, contact with English (e.g. *Amerikaners* ‘Americans’, standard German *Amerikaner*), and a trend towards explicit plural marking (e.g. *Fenster* ‘window’ ~ *Fenstern* ‘windows’; standard German *Fenster* ~ *Fenster*), account for many plurals. We also see some TxG plurals as a claim to TxG identity by speakers of TxG. In the case of *Kiehe* ‘cows’, for instance, speakers of TxG see the fronting of vowels – along the lines of umlaut in standard German – as a specifically ‘German’ way to form plurals, and therefore pluralize the noun by adding an –e and fronting the first vowel, rather than using one of the other available pluralization strategies, like adding an –s (although adding an –s without vowel fronting would not violate any prosodic constraints and would both explicitly mark the form as a plural and parallel English-inspired plurals like *Amerikaners*).

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Everybody speaks the same now, Oxford English innit?: Dialect attrition in Dorset English.

Caroline Piercy

This paper presents evidence of the rapid attrition of the dialect of Dorset in the southwest of England. Britain (2002) describes dialect attrition as “the eradication of a traditional locally embedded dialect (including accent) form or forms in favour of one originating either from outside the community or from another group within the same community”. Through an examination of 6 traditional grammatical features, including periphrastic do, pronoun exchange and invariant be and 6 traditional phonological features including rhoticity, medial /t/ voicing and initial fricative voicing, extensive attrition is attested and described.

Sociolinguistic interviews from 40 speakers in 4 age groups were examined and it was found that all the traditional features that were present in the oldest age group were completely absent from the youngest age cohort. This represents a decline of the traditional Dorset accent and dialect over a period of just 60 years. However, as Britain (2002) has described for other dialects of English, traditional features are not replaced with “Standard English” but with supra-regional non-standard variants. This paper describes the change from local non-standard features to supra-regional non-standard features providing an up-to-date description of present day Dorset English.

Dialect attrition is, I argue, the result of dialect contact and changing communities caused by large scale in and out migration in Dorset.

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An Analysis of Voice Onset Time in Bitburger Platt

Zeb Pischnotte

The plosive consonants in German are some of the most interesting and often-researched aspects of the language. According to Braun (1996: 19), “the articulation of stop consonants forms one of the most important criteria which ... distinguish the dialects of German.” It is no coincidence that several of the major dialect boundaries, including those separating Low, Middle, and High German (as well as divisions within them), are drawn along isoglosses concerning these consonants. Some of these boundaries involve a fortis/lenis or voicing contrast, such as *Tag/Dag* ‘day’ and *Krug/Grug* ‘mug.’ The present study investigates some of the aspects of this contrast type, specifically the situation of (t/d).

According to Veith (1987), some dialects – including Bitburger Platt, spoken near the border of Luxemburg and Germany – have obliterated the distinction between /t/ and /d/ in certain contexts. The study is based on fieldwork from the summer of 2010, in which I recorded two speech events with the intention of eliciting two different speech registers: an interview between the participant and myself, and a conversation between the participant and another community insider, at which time I was not present. Using acoustic analyses of *voice onset time* (VOT) (Lisker and Abrahamson, 1964), this study investigates:

1. Whether or not the participants’ two speech varieties have lost a distinction between the two sounds.
2. Whether the distinction – if it exists – can best be accounted for with a distinction in [voice], as claimed by, Wiese (1996), Kingston and Diehl (1994) and others, or [tense], as claimed by Braun (1996) and Jessen (1998).

The results have shown that /d/ and /t/ have significantly different VOT in both the interviews and conversations, and that feature [tense] and its durational parameters, not [voice], is best able to account for these differences.

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Tuesday 16:30-17:00

Discovering local social meaning: Why dialectology and ethnography are complementary

Kathleen Shaw Points

Combining data collection methods traditional to dialectology with an ethnographic approach leads to a greater understanding of the sounds under study. Word lists and reading passages provide a wealth of data, but in order to interpret it appropriately the researcher should understand the social significance of the sound in question. We should endeavor to find the reasons behind sound change, not only to document change. If we don't know why sounds change, we miss a crucial piece of the linguistic puzzle.

In Central Texas, African American speakers in appear to be leading a change towards a backed variant of the GOOSE vowel, followed by Hispanic speakers and Anglo speakers (Bigham & Shaw Points, 2010). This minority-led sound change is in contrast to the traditionally front variant of GOOSE that is a stereotypical feature of Texas English. It also contrasts with current trends in American dialectology where GOOSE is fronting in both the West and the South at large. This pattern is apparent from data collected by traditional dialectology; ethnography helps us best understand it.

My paper will discuss how supraregional variables are used to create local meaning and the ways in which ethnography helps achieve this. East Austin, Texas is an area with several dialects in contact. Segregation in the early 20th century and recent gentrification has led to African Americans, Hispanics and now Anglos living in a close area. Ethnographic observation suggests that speakers who use a backed variant feel a separation from the new residents. I hypothesize that the innovative backed variant of GOOSE allows speakers to express an identity that is contrary to the traditional Texan identity. The innovative variant serves to increase the social distance between the life-long residents of East Austin and the new residents who are causing gentrification. Without ethnography, it would not be possible to observe this connection.

Wednesday 15:30-16:00

Can borrowing and codeswitching be distinguished?

Shana Poplack & Nathalie Dion

Many theory-driven accounts of language mixing are based on the premise that all intrasentential manifestations of language contact are instantiations of the same process (e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002; Eliasson 1990). Some go so far as to claim that borrowing and codeswitching cannot be distinguished (Gardner-Chloros & Edwards 2004; Winford 2005, 2009; Johanson 1993). But empirical studies have shown that the former are subject to the grammar of the recipient language, while the latter retain that of the lexifier (e.g. Poplack & Meechan 1998; Torres Cacoullous & Travis 2010). Here we extend this line of inquiry to speakers' treatment of individual words in borrowing and codeswitching modes.

Rather than relying on theory-internal criteria, we divided a corpus of 38,000 English words in otherwise French discourse into two operational categories: *lone* English-origin (LEO) words, and English words occurring within multiword fragments (MWF) of English. Three comparative measures were applied: 1) distribution across parts of speech, 2) level of diffusion, and 3) degree of morphosyntactic integration of the *same* lexical type alone and in a MWF.

Results confirm that LEO words and words in MWF differ wildly. The latter are distributed across all parts of speech; the former consist disproportionately of nouns. Nearly half the MWF consist of function words vs. 1% of LEO words. 94% of LEO word types occur at different diffusion levels in MWF. But the most striking evidence comes from morphosyntactic integration of the *same* lexical type occurring in each instantiation. On five independent measures (adjective placement, determiner realization, gender marking, plural affixation, and verb conjugation), LEO words differed consistently from those in MWF.

Systematic quantitative analysis revealed massive qualitative differences in the treatment of the two classes of other-language item. Since the cohort of LEO words demonstrably constitutes the source for most borrowings, and the MWFs are uncontroversial codeswitches, we conclude that codeswitching and borrowing are *not* instantiations of the same process. Certain linguists may continue to claim it is impossible to tell them apart, but speakers clearly have no trouble doing so: they treat the *same* word differently in each context.

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Thursday 09:30-10:00

Methods in the study of lifespan change: Revisiting the “up” series

Shana Poplack and Allison V. Lealess

Since apparent time is fundamentally only a model for real time, and not necessarily a faithful reflection of it, recent sociolinguistic research has aimed to uncover the nature and extent of linguistic change over the lifespan. Great strides have been made, but many questions remain. Are some linguistic levels more labile than others? Is change limited to rates, or is structure affected as well? At what points in the lifespan does change occur?

To address these questions, we undertook a panel study spanning 42 years in the lives of participants in the “Up” series (Almond 1964; Apted 1970-2005), a film documentary which revisits the same individuals every seven years from the ages of seven to 49. Sankoff (2004) had already found compelling evidence of phonetic change in the speech of two of them, but paucity of data prevented firm conclusions on whether grammatical change was also involved, or whether other speakers were also participating. Building on her findings, here we compare the trajectory of two phonetic (h-dropping; theta-fronting) and two morphosyntactic (complementizer expression; stative possessive alternation) variables over the entire 42-year period for all 13 speakers.

Results indicate that rates of variant use for each of the variables do fluctuate over the lifespan, albeit not necessarily monotonically. Rather, rates consistent with monotonic change over two or three periods tend not to persist across the longer time span. This suggests that caution should be used when inferring change from apparent-time and real-time distributions of only two generations. Conversely, the underlying constraints conditioning variant choice remain essentially the same over time, regardless of type of speaker or variable. Together, these findings provide compelling evidence of the stability of language over the lifespan, lending further support to the utility of the apparent time construct (Labov 1963, 1966). They further highlight the importance of considering both rates and conditioning of variant choice in assessing the propensity of the linguistic system to change over the lifespan.

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Wednesday 16:30-17:00

Beyond the /t/: Sociophonetic variation in the frication of word-final oral stops in Placentia, Newfoundland

Suzanne Power

This paper examines variation in frication of word-final stops /t,d,k/ in sociolinguistic interviews conducted in 2009 in Placentia, an Irish-settled community on the southern Avalon Peninsula. Initial ethnographic work revealed that linguistic identity discourse of some residents focused on an American orientation, resulting from the presence of an American Air Force base in neighbouring Argentia from 1941-1994. Such frication is an Irish English (Hickey, 1984) and Newfoundland English feature (Searly, Story & Kirwin, 1968; Clarke, 2010). Although salient in Newfoundland, it is not highly stigmatized and thus available for speakers' expression of local identity without the negative associations attached to such markers of local identity as interdental stopping and s-marking.

Previous research on frication of oral stops has focused on variation in the acoustic and articulatory phonetic properties of /t/ and, to a lesser extent, /p/ and /k/, describing allophonic variation as a function of lenition (Pandeli et al., 1997; Jones & Llamas, 2008; Loakes & McDougall, 2010, etc.). Sociolinguistic research on frication shows both internal and external constraints but has not taken full advantage of instrumental tools available for more detailed phonetic analysis (Sangster, 2001; Marotta & Barth, 2005; Parris, 2009). Through inclusion of /d/ and sociophonetic analysis using instrumental techniques, I hope to present a more complete picture of variable frication.

Tokens were coded for linguistic factors (word type, preceding phonological context, duration of release, stress, and underlying phoneme) and social factors (age and gender). Preliminary multivariate analysis of 8 speakers (N = 789) shows fricated /t/ and /d/ favoured by preceding vowels or rhotics. Socially, fricated /t/ is favoured by young males while young females and older males favour fricated /d/. Frication of /k/ was strongly male-associated; older females' avoidance of fricated /k/ may reflect social motivation towards an American affiliated identity construction.

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Tuesday 12:00-12:30

Detecting structures in linguistic maps – fuzzy clustering and pattern recognition in Geostatistical Dialectometry

Simon Pröll

When geographic language variation is examined on a broad level, it is common practice to aggregate large quantities of data to identify dominating structures. This practice, however, may result in a neglect of valuable geolinguistic data. In this talk, new perspectives on non-aggregative methods of dealing with large corpora of dialect maps are presented that aim at preserving the distinct features of individual maps. In order to achieve this, methods derived from spatial statistics, stochastic image analysis and pattern recognition are applied and adapted to the analysis of dialect data.

Firstly, we introduce a new method of clustering individual maps. We employ fuzzy clustering algorithms which provide a new angle on clustering techniques in linguistics by allowing the researcher to detect and measure gradual similarities between individual maps rather than form “hard” clusters as in conventional hierarchical clustering. This is achieved by automated comparison of statistical properties of the maps. The method can be used for grouping maps based on their spatial similarities while at the same time allowing for the investigation of semantic/phonetic/ontic etc. relationships between such spatially related maps.

Secondly, we employ means of stochastic image analysis and pattern recognition in order to automatically and objectively detect geometric structures in dialect map corpora, a usually tedious and error-prone task when done manually. A quantitative method for the detection of ellipsoid patterns and their centres in dialect maps is outlined, along with the identification of parameters necessary for adapting the technique to any dataset.

We argue that these methods offer promising enhancements for quantitative research techniques on geographical language variation.

Wednesday 14:30-15:00

Workshop: English and European Historical Dialectology

Past tense and past participle forms in the *English Dialect Dictionary*

Heinrich Ramisch

The recent digitisation of Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (Wright 1898-1905) by Manfred Markus and his research team at the University of Innsbruck amply illustrates that a classic work of reference on English dialects can be transformed into an important electronic database for both dialectology and historical linguistics. What is more, Wright's dictionary is not just an effective research tool for lexicologists, but equally includes many interesting aspects of grammatical variation. Originally, Wright's collected material came from the various publications of the English Dialect Society, most of which were glossaries, and dialectal data that had been collected by other dialectologists such as Skeat, Palmer and Ellis. Wright basically employed two criteria whether a word would be included in the dictionary. First, the word must have been reported to have been in use after about 1650 and secondly there must be some written evidence of the word.

The electronic version of the *English Dialect Dictionary (EDD Online)* is an advanced and versatile database that can be searched systematically for any specific item included in the dictionary. The particular aim of the paper will be to examine the variability of past tense and past participle forms attested in the dictionary. To broaden the perspective and to complement previous research in this area, a quantitative analysis of a selection of high-frequency verbs (e.g. *knew* vs. *knowed*, *caught* vs. *catched*) will be carried out. The results will be presented in the form of maps and will reveal dialectological and historical patterns of individual verb forms.

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Friday 16:30-17:00

Colliding passives: a morphosyntactic perspective on Finnic language contacts

Helka Riionheimo

Contacts among cognate languages involve the juxtaposition of partly overlapping grammatical systems and structures. Due to their shared history, many of the structures have a common origin but have later developed into different directions. In contact, the similarities form a hole through which the differences may flow from one language to the other leading to cross-linguistic interference. This presentation examines a contact of multifaceted morphosyntactic structures: the use of so-called passive forms in a contact between two Finnic languages, Finnish and Estonian. The topic invokes themes related to contact linguistics and studies on dialect syntax (see e.g. Kortman 2004). The Finnic passive is an impersonal verbal category that leaves the agent/subject argument unspecified, implies the involvement of a human agent/subject in the situation, and allows both (semantically) plural and singular and speaker/hearer exclusive and inclusive interpretations of the agent/subject (see e.g. Shore 1988, Helasvuo & Vilkuna 2008). In modern Finnish dialects, the passive form is also routinely used as the PL1 verb form with a subject pronoun (*myö männään ulos* we go-PASS out 'we are going out'). The Estonian passive forms have a fairly similar basic function: the passive structures are subjectless and refer to an unspecified human agent. Estonian differs from Finnish in that the passive forms are not used inclusively with a PL1 pronoun. Furthermore, Estonian has several passive structures that are not known in Finnish (see e.g. Erelt 2000, Tragel & Lindström 2007). Previous research (Riionheimo 2007, Kokko 2007) has shown that the contact of complex overlapping features may result in widespread variation. In this presentation, the variable use of passive forms will be analyzed on the basis of authentic, audio-recorded data.

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Friday 11:00-11:30

Ethnicity as a variable on the Canadian prairies

Nicole Rosen & Jeff Muehlbauer

Ethnicity has been an important sociolinguistic variable for decades in the U.S. (Labov 1963, 1966, Wolfram 1969), describing primarily African-American versus Latino-American versus European-American varieties. However, ethnicity as a dimension of sociolinguistic investigation in Canada has seemingly only begun to be investigated, and primarily for urban, middle class groups, as for Montreal English (Boberg 2004) and Toronto English (Hoffman & Walker 2010). Based on their findings, Hoffman & Walker argue that we 'do see evidence of substrate transfer in the first generation. However, the bulk of the evidence shows that substrate transfer does not persist.' We argue in the present paper that while this may be the case for the variables studied in that research, this is not case more generally, and that substrate influences do persist past the second generation, contributing to the establishment of ethnolects on the Canadian Prairies. This will be supported from evidence from Prairies French, though it is predicted that it will be reflected in Prairies English as well (cf. Meechan 1999 and Genee & Stigter 2010).

On the Canadian Prairies, perhaps due to the combination of relative geographic isolation and lower social mobility, ethnicity remains an important sociolinguistic variable, even with well-established groups which settled a century ago. For example, Hallion Bres (2006) and Papen (2004) report that the French spoken by Métis people is different from other varieties of Prairies French. Furthermore, Rosen et al (2010) show that formant frequencies of back vowels differ between francophones of Métis versus European descent, while Bigot et al (2010) show differences between variable usage of adverbs of restriction. This latter study shows that the Métis speakers diverge the most dramatically from all the other European-descended Prairie French speakers; i.e. that ethnicity plays a greater role than geography. In the present paper, we build on this work, reporting on findings from the phonetic analysis of approximately 20 hours of recordings in Alberta and Manitoba, from speakers of Métis and European descent, showing that ethnicity is an important factor in the variation of both vowel space and rhythm of French on the Prairies.

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Friday 10:00-10:30

Variation in the unstressed third-person object personal pronouns in the Spanish spoken in the province of Zamora (Spain) according to the ALPI data

Jorge Emilio Rosés Labrada

The use of the Spanish unstressed third-person object personal pronouns varies greatly throughout the Hispanic world. The pronominal system varies in three ways: 1) the use of *le* (dat., ±fem., sg.) for *lo* (acc., masc., sg.) or, very rarely, for *la* (acc., fem., sg.), termed *leísmo*; 2) the use of *la* (acc., fem., sg.) for *le* (dat., ±fem., sg.), called *laísmo*; and 3) the use of *lo* (acc., masc., sg.) for *le* (dat., masc./neutron, sg.), especially with plural masculine referents, known as *loísmo*.

According to Fernández-Ordoñez (1994), four main systems can be found in Spain: an etymological system (i.e. a system in which the use of the pronouns follows the case/gender distinction) and three referential systems (where the case/gender distinction is not completely maintained). There are also transition areas or “areas of compromise” among the systems.

In this paper, I determine which of these four systems was/were used in the province of Zamora in the 1930s by means of an analysis of the unstressed third-person object personal pronouns used in 24 different sentences by 12 speakers coming from 12 different places of the province. The data come from the *Cuaderno I* of the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (ALPI).

This study allows us to verify whether the three dialectal zones, i.e. Galician-Portuguese, Leonese and Castilian, proposed by González Ferrero (2007) for this province – based on the analysis of 14 phonetic variables – are also valid for this morphosyntactic feature. It also constitutes the first study, as far as I am aware, to use

the ALPI data to analyse variation in the Spanish unstressed third-person object personal pronouns.

A preliminary analysis of the data shows that the etymological system is the one typically used in the twelve points surveyed. However, a more detailed examination of the divergent uses permits us to show that the use of the etymological system is almost categorical for the whole province.

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Friday 11:00-11:30

Sociolinguistics Statistics: The intersection between statistical models, sociolinguistic theory and empirical data

Joseph Roy

There has been a call to expand the statistical models employed by sociolinguists (e.g. Saito, 1999; Johnson, 2009a; Gorman, 2009; cf. Paolillo, 2002; Baayen, 2008).

Much of the discussion in favour of using mixed-effects models has focused on the effect of random intercepts for speakers on social factors (Johnson, 2009a : 374-375, Gorman, 2009); Employing the comparative sociolinguist method (Tagliamonte, 2002; Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001: 95-99), however, militates against the concerns put forth by the proponents of mixed-effects as the comparative method removes the social factors from the model and refocuses the analysis on the GRAMMAR across the social factors. Do these different statistical models (the non-parametric technique of GOLDVARB X, logistic regression, mixed-effects models (with random intercepts) and marginal logistic regression models) generate a different GRAMMAR as represented by the direction and magnitude of (para-) linguistic effects? An outline of each statistical technique and its technical assumptions (something missing from much of the literature) is presented. We present a comparison of ten linguistic variables and their conditioning factors and the results presented by each statistical model. Some previous criticisms of using GOLDVARB X rely on simulating data as well as one or two (non-simulated) linguistic variables per study (e.g. Roy, 2009; Johnson 2009 a, b; Gorman, 2009). Although these simulations seem to provide an easy manner of assessing statistical models under a presumed set of conditions, it is not clear if these (balanced) simulations replicate natural sociolinguistic data that are completely unbalanced in most studies.

For each of the four statistical techniques described, we find that that DIRECTION and MAGNITUDE of effects do not change, but statistical significance does. The difference in statistical significance, however, is explained as each type of assessment of statistical significance available for each model tests a different set of hypotheses (x, in progress).

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- x. (in progress). Sociolinguistic Statistics: P-values, statistical significance and the null hypothesis in sociolinguistic research.

Wednesday 09:00-09:30

Morpheme BE acquisition in two varieties of English: Children's use of BE in (Southern)African American English and Southern White English.

Joe Roy, Janna Oetting

Much of the variationist sociolinguistic literature on childhood acquisition has focused on the acquisition of phonological variables (e.g. Roberts, 1997; Labov, 1989; Romaine, 1978) see Roberts, 2002 for an overview) with some more recent exceptions (Levey, 2006; Rickford & Théberge-Rafal, 1999). Van Hofwegen and Wolfram (2010) present evidence from a longitudinal survey of childhood African American English use, but only focus on the overall rate of each variable surveyed.

Our work presents an apparent time study of children from two age groups: at 4 years and 6 years with one group speakers of Southern White English (SWE) and the other of (Southern) African American English (SAAE). Previous work (Oetting and McDonald, 2001) from this data set found that the out of fourteen morpho-syntactic variables, zero BE constituted the second largest difference between the two dialects (with –s marking, the largest differentiating variable, explaining only 1% more of the distance between the two dialects). Over 2500 tokens of BE marking are analyzed from 24 SAA children and 38 SW children who lived in south-eastern Louisiana. Employing a comparative approach (Tagliamonte, 2002) we are able to see differences in each variety across the different age cohorts in the rate of Zero BE, but also differences in the underlying grammar constraining the use of zero BE. For following grammatical environment, for the 4 year-olds we have a strong effect (Range=40,37 for AAE, SWE respectively). While SWE lose this effect in the six-year old cohort, the AAE cohort has a reduced effect for this factor group (Range = 22). Contractibility has no effect in either cohort for SWE, but in AAE it retains a stable and significant effect from both cohorts. In both varieties, the linguistic constraints converge for the older children to the reported adult norms for BE marking.

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Thursday 09:00-9:30

Stability vs. change: 40 years of Tristan da Cunha English in real time

Dani Schreier

This paper reports some first findings of a research project on language variation and change in present-day Tristan da Cunha English (TdCE), one of the most isolated varieties of English around the world. The variety has been well described and documented, based on data collected on the island in the late 1990s (Schreier 2003). However, it was only more recently that I managed to locate recordings made by the Swedish painter Roland Svensson, who spent time on the island to draw and produce artwork. Svensson developed a deep interest in the community; other than sketches and notes, he also left a body of recordings made with islanders in the early 1970s. When revisiting the island in 2010, I carried out sociolinguistic fieldwork and talked to 7 native speakers of TdCE who had been recorded under similar conditions some 40 years before.

In this paper, I will introduce methodological aspects of a real time study of TdCE and also provide some first results of variation in individual speakers. More specifically, I will look into whether features such as present tense be leveling and consonant cluster reduction remain stable in 40 years of real time or whether (and if yes, to what extent) they are subject to change.

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Thursday 11:30-12:00

Whither a 'Pan-Chinese' grammar: Examining the usage and frequency of three syntactic constructions

Darcy Sperlich and Robert Sanders

This is an experimental study of the interpretation and use of passive, causative and disposal constructions in various spoken forms of five Chinese dialects—Beijing Mandarin, Taipei Mandarin, Cantonese, Shanghainese and Taiwan Southern Min. It is commonly assumed that the dialectal variation found in Chinese is largely phonological, with some differing lexical items as well, falling under the scope of an existing 'Pan Chinese' grammar. The function markers and syntax of these constructions are to a certain degree intertwined with each other diachronically across dialects, which reinforces this notion. The focus of the present study is the frequency of usage of these constructions, in order to determine whether a given frequency of usage is peculiar to a particular dialect, or if usage is uniform across all dialects. However to elicit this kind of data is difficult due to the influence of written Chinese, which is based heavily upon Mandarin and which differs stylistically from the spoken dialects in terms of its lexicon, syntactic patterns and degree of formality. Hence, this may potentially interfere with how spoken dialectal data is collected. To overcome this, our approach utilised oral stimuli and responses. To elicit the use of these constructions, ten native speakers of each dialect were asked to listen to specially constructed stories and answer questions about them orally, together with an additional oral acceptability judgment test, comparing the acceptance of differing function markers. It was found the use of passives and disposal in Beijing Mandarin and Taiwan Southern Min superseded that of all other dialects, whilst Cantonese had the lowest usage regardless of construction type. The results found have implications for a 'Pan-Chinese' grammar – as there appears to be differing patterns of usage across the five dialects.

Thursday 11:00-11:30

Lexical Variation and Change in British Sign Language (BSL): Evidence for dialect levelling?

Rose Stamp, Adam Schembri, Jordan Fenlon & Ramas Rentelis

In this paper, we report the results from the first corpus-based study to investigate lexical variation and change in BSL. This study will report on regional variation in the signs for numbers, colours, countries and UK cities and considers the relationship with the following social factors: age, gender, school location, social class, ethnicity, teaching experience and language background (whether the signer has deaf or hearing parents). Results from a previous study in BSL suggested that there has been a reduction in regional differences since the introduction of BSL on television (Woll, Allsop & Sutton-Spence, 1991). This paper investigates whether there is evidence of dialect levelling taking place in BSL.

For this study, data was analysed from the lexical elicitation task as part of the BSL Corpus Project (Schembri, 2008). This project elicited 101 lexical items from 249 native, near-native and early learner deaf signers filmed in eight UK cities. The results suggest that dialect levelling may be taking place with younger signers using a decreasing variety of regionally distinct variants. This change appears to be happening faster in particular sub-groups of the deaf community (e.g. signers from hearing families) and semantic categories (e.g. signs for countries). These results need to be understood in light of the dramatic changes to the British Deaf community in the late 20th century, including the closure of residential schools for deaf children and an emergence of a national and international Deaf identity (Ladd, 2003). Also, results for some UK cities (e.g. Cardiff) show an in/out-group effect with signers from outside the region using different signs to those who live in the region. Finally, this paper will discuss the methodological validity of different sociolinguistic data by investigating the same lexical variants produced in conversational data and also consider whether any linguistic factors account for lexical variation.

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Wednesday 15:30-16:00

Methods in Tone Dialectology: A Tonal Perspective on Sui Dialect Geography

James Stanford

Approximately 70% of the world's languages have lexical tone (Yip 2002), yet tone is underrepresented in variationist sociolinguistics and dialectology (Stanford 2008; Hildebrandt 2003). By contrast, vowels and other segmental variables are more well-understood (e.g., Preston & Niedzielski 2010). There has been considerable progress in researching intonation as a sociolinguistic variable (e.g., Fagyal & Stewart in press; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2003; Grabe 2004), but lexical tone remains understudied in this paradigm. The present paper therefore has two goals: (1) Report on tone results of a dialect geography study among the indigenous Sui people in rural southwest China. (2) Help develop reliable methods for socio-tonetic research of dialects.

Methods: In Guizhou province, China, Sui dialect features were recorded and compared to a 1950s survey, *Shuiyu Diaocha Baogao* (SDB 1956). SDB surveyed 16 speakers (middle-aged/young adults) across 16 locations. Now 50 years later, the present study recorded 25 speakers in the same age range representing 17 locations (monolingual Sui interviews with picture identification in interactional style, 90 lexical items). Tone pitch tracks (F0) were analyzed acoustically in Praat (~1000 tokens analyzed).

Results: (1) Among the six Sui tones, regional variation was observed in “Tone 1” and “Tone 6”. With an emphasis on these tones, the paper draws Sui dialect isoglosses across 50 years. Comparing the present study with the 1956 study, Tone 6 isoglosses were found to be very similar (low-pitch in the central region, but categorically higher pitch in northern and southern regions). For Tone 1, the present study found subtle regional variation not reported in 1956: Tone 1 was found to be a gradient variable ranging from low-falling to low-rising across different regions. (2) As for methods, the study considers how to handle gradient versus categorical variation in tone. Since the Tone 6 variation is categorical, a single speaker adequately represents a given geographic location. Tone 1, however, requires a variationist approach with multiple speakers. The paper also addresses F0 methodological challenges in measuring tone as a sociolinguistic variable, including word-list intonation, problems extracting tone in free-speech style and in idiolectal breathy/creaky speech, and the effects of voiceless consonants.

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Wednesday 12:00-12:30

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Personal Pronouns and Reflexives in Bavarian: Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Properties

Ursula Stangel

The aim of the proposed paper is twofold: first, to discuss syntactic and semantic properties of personal pronouns and reflexives in Bavarian and the influences of these characteristics according to paradigmatic leveling, and second, to address empirical questions, namely the advantages and limitations of a corpus-based investigation and the traps of introspection in dialect syntax, as exemplified in the topic outlined above..

Since the (morpho-)syntax of dialects has attracted more interest also within theoretically oriented frameworks, the behavior of personal pronouns and their clitic forms in dialectal varieties has been a very prominent field within dialect syntax (e. g. Abraham & Wiegel 1993; Abraham 1996; Weiß 1998: ch. III). But it is possible to detect two subareas of this field that were neglected in the studies mentioned: the connection between paradigmatic leveling and syntactic limitations, and the integration of reflexive pronouns. Both of these areas can however shed some light on the behavior of pronominal elements. The phenomena of interest within this paper are leveling tendencies within the paradigm of reflexives (as in (1) and (2)) and personal pronouns (Tab. 1 below) in Austrian Bavarian varieties.

- (1) *si* not only for 3rd person but also for 1PL (some Central Bavarian varieties: e.g. Viennese)

gem-ma si an fim anschaun
go-1PL REFL INDEF movie watch
'Let's go and watch a movie.'

- (2) PERSPRON instead of REFL.DAT (South Bavarian: e. g. Carinthian)

si hot irn ane firther gekhaft
she AUX 3SG.DAT.F INDEF:PL skirt: PL buy: PP
'She has bought (herself) some skirts.' (cf. Berndt 1912: 3)

An explanation of some paradigmatic phenomena based on the syntactic quality of the elements (full form vs. clitic).will be presented Additionally, the paradigmatic restructuring (Tab. 1, dative form for object case full form) and some syntactic limitations (as in (3)) will be traced back to the semantic properties of the elements in question.

| leveling in 3SG | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| | ACC | | DAT | |
| | full form | clitic | full form | clitic |
| M | eam | =n | eam | --- |
| F | si:/iara | =s | iar(a) | --- |
| N | --- | =s | (eam) | --- |

Tab. 1: Paradigm of the 3SG in Bavarian (cf. Weiß 1998: 87, modified)

- (3) interpretable or not: two full forms (3SG): fully grammatical for Abraham & Wiegel (1993: 20), not interpretable for Weiß (1998: 138ff)

?? *ea hot eam eam ge:m*
3SG.NOM.M AUX 3SG.AKK.M 3SG.DAT.M give:PP
'He has given him to him.'

The findings presented here entail an empirical discussion: We claim that a corpus-based investigation is an important method for studying dialect syntax, although there are of course many problems and limitations connected with this approach. How to use a dialect corpus in addition to grammaticality judgments and how these two methods can complement one another (cf. ex. (3): different judgments for one sentence). will be demonstrated during the presentation.

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Wednesday 13:30-14:00

Workshop: Dialect and Regiolect Syntax

Pronominal Partitivity: A Micro-Comparative Approach

Thomas Strobel

Pronouns with (amongst others) indefinite-partitive function as French *en* and Italian *ne* are well-known (and well investigated) in Romance. As for Germanic languages, it is commonly assumed that the Dutch pronoun *er* in its partitive/quantitative manifestation is quite a unique phenomenon (cf. De Schutter 1992).

Considering dialectal data, however, it appears that several (High) German dialects, mostly situated in a stripe between West Central German and East Franconian, but also in Highest Alemannic and other areas, do use an originally pronominal genitive form to refer to an indeterminate partial quantity. Apart from base dialects, partitive pronouns can be found for instance in Thuringian regiolects and thus also in 'higher' varieties of German.

Forms like Central Hessian *ere* and *sen* can be traced back to the Old High German genitive forms of the personal pronoun *iro* (3rd person plural) and *sîn* (3rd person singular masculine). Once embedded in a complex system of partitive structures using genitive case, in modern dialects they constitute isolated, fossilized relics, for most German dialects having lost the genitive as an adverbial and adnominal case, with important consequences for the expression of partitive relations (cf. Glaser 1992).

The central issue of the talk is the areal (horizontal) dimension of the pronominal expression of partitive-anaphoric reference in the German-speaking area in general and in Hesse in particular. Do the syntactic isoglosses correspond to the 'traditional' phonetic/phonological dialect-geographic boundaries? Focussing on the German state of Hesse as an administrative unit, using a classification-neutral division in grid squares, data collection methods of the current research project 'Syntax of Hessian Dialects' (SyHD) are applied, based on the experiences of the SAND and SADS projects. Hesse, comprising all three main German dialect areas (Low, Central and Upper German), represents one of the remaining core areas of partitive genitive pronouns and, due to its central position, is influenced by various (expanding?) surrounding patterns of pronominal partitivity. Not least, the area is expected to show interesting transition zones: different types might coexist at present, as mentioned by Glaser (1993) for the Egerland dialect and subdialects of East Franconian.

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Friday 16:00-16:30

“Appalachian Transitions: Appalachian Dialect Features in Speech and Song”

Amanda Lynn Stubley

This presentation will be based dialectology research comparing dialect transition between speech and singing, for three singers of traditional Appalachian music who are life-long residents of the Southern Appalachian mountain region of the United States. Both post-vocalic r-lessness, and monophthongization of the /ai/ diphthong to [a:] have been previously identified as features of Appalachian English (Wolfram and Christian, 1976). Using publicly available recordings, interviews and performances I examined these features in the singers’ speech and singing. I found evidence of monophthongization but *not* of r-lessness, contrary to others’ work. Additionally, I found substantial differences between two of the singers’ spoken and sung tokens of /ai/. Essentially these singers’ Appalachian “accent” increased when they sang. For example singer Hazel Dickens’ rate of fully unglided [a:] was 23% increased to 43% in song. Singer Ralph Stanley went from 45% to 51%. The third singer, Doc Watson, did the opposite, going from 54% spoken [a:] to 50% in song.

To understand this distinction between Watson and the others, I propose that these singers’ have, consciously or unconsciously, shaped their singing to fit the public image they wish to present. While this may seem unsurprising on first glance, consider that both Stanley and Dickens present their music as highly ‘traditional’ and related to Appalachia, whereas Watson does not. The notion that the singers’ ‘Appalachian-ness’ is exaggerated in song, intentionally or otherwise, seems contradictory to claims like Stanley’s that his music “is preserved in the cultural amber of Appalachia”. Accordingly, this study demonstrates that even a cultural product which trades directly on its own claims of ‘authenticity’ can still be understood to be constructed in social discourse.

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Wednesday 11:00-11:30

Workshop: English and European Historical Dialectology

Ac ar we to unker dome fare: A Reassessment of the Demise of Dual Personal Pronouns in Middle English

Nicole Studer-Joho

Though dual forms of the personal pronoun survive in some Early Middle English texts like *The Owl and the Nightingale*, the *Ormulum* or *Genesis and Exodus*, there has been, apart from a fifty year old unpublished Oxford seminar paper (Ladd and Radice 1951/52; quoted in Howe 1994), no detailed study on the survival of dual forms in Middle English. In this paper, I will focus on the spatial and historical distribution of this feature and reassess the extent to which dual forms survive into the Middle English period. Howe, relying on Ladd and Radice, concludes that "duals are best preserved, used more consistently, and survive longest in the East Midlands." (1994: 141). This is remarkable as in Old English such forms are most frequent in West Saxon texts (Campbell 1959: §703) and it is the South-Western Middle English varieties that are generally regarded as preserving conservative forms the longest.

The publication of the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (Laing and Lass 2008-) allows for a comprehensive extraction of dual forms from the extant manuscripts and enables us to research the manifestation of dual pronouns in alternative sources. In addition to the spatial distribution of the forms I will also discuss the contexts in which they appear and possible reasons why they survive longer in some manuscripts.

Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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<<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/laeme1/laeme1.html>>

Wednesday 10:00-10:30

Dieter Studer

Mapping Present Paradigms of *to be* from the Survey of English Dialects: An Easy-to-Use Web-Interface for Visualizing Dialectological Data

The production of dialect maps using symbols and isoglosses has been one of the main visualization techniques of traditional dialectology since the late 19th century. While the early maps had to be drawn manually, the arrival of computers has simplified the production of maps that combine many sets of data at once considerably. For the present study on data from the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) a publicly accessible web-interface using PHP was programmed. It allows students and researchers to create their own complex symbol or isogloss maps by uploading simple comma-separated text files, which can be compiled in and exported from virtually any spreadsheet application (*Excel*, *CALC 3*, etc). The produced maps have the same dimensions as the maps published in Viereck and Ramisch (1990-1997) and hence allow direct comparisons with the maps found there. Due to its open architecture, the interface can easily be expanded to accommodate for other projects with different maps and data sets.

In this paper I shall introduce the “SED Mapper” and show how it can be configured according to different needs. Furthermore I shall present findings from research on the present paradigms of the copula *to be* in the SED and discuss some revealing combining maps that were produced by means of the above-mentioned web-interface, processing over 5,000 forms recorded in the SED’s *Basic Material* (Orton et al. 1963-1971).

“SED Mapper: A Dialectological Map Creator for the Survey of English Dialects.”

URL: <http://www.sed-mapper.ch/>

Orton, Harold et al. (eds.). 1963-1971. *Survey of English Dialects: The Basic Material*. 4 vols. Leeds: E.J. Arnold & Son.

Viereck, Wolfgang and Heinrich Ramisch. 1990-1997. *The Computer Developed Linguistic Atlas of England*. 2 vols. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Friday 16:00-16:30

A priming method for investigating interdialectal influences on bilingual lexical processing

Anita Szakay

The present paper forms part of a larger research project investigating the effect of ethnic dialect on bilingual language processing and representation. Previous research has examined the effect of dialect variation on *monolingual* spoken word recognition. For example, Sumner & Samuel (2009) conducted a series of primed auditory lexical decision tasks, where primes and targets came from two different regional dialects of American English (e.g. rhotic /beɪkə/ – non-rhotic /beɪkə/). Priming methods are also commonly used in the *bilingualism* research paradigm to explore the organization of conceptual and lexical representations in the bilingual's mind. This type of priming method uses two different languages, where primes and targets are often translation equivalents of each other (e.g. English GIRL – French FILLE).

This study merges the monolingual priming method used in sociolinguistic investigations of dialect variation with the method used in the bilingualism literature, thus developing a novel cross-language/cross-dialect priming paradigm. Here primes and targets come from the two languages of the bilingual speaker, as well as from two different dialects of one of the languages. This technique enables us to explore the effect of dialectal variation on spoken language processing in bilingual individuals. The paper investigates this issue within the New Zealand context, using English-Maori bilingual participants. New Zealand English comprises two main ethnolects; Maori English and Pakeha English. Maori English is predominantly spoken by the indigenous population, while Pakeha English is mainly used by speakers of European descent. The priming experiments use all combinations of Maori, Maori English and Pakeha English words as primes and targets to investigate priming effects in any direction. The paper reports on the results of a short-term cross-language/cross-dialect primed lexical decision task. Statistical analyses of reaction times and error rates are reported to reveal how ethnic dialects are being processed in the bilingual speaker's mind.

Reference

Sumner, M. & Samuel A. G. (2009). The effect of experience on the perception and representation of dialect variants. *Journal of Memory and Language* **60**, 487–501.

Friday 16:30-17:00

Co-variation in the speech community: Methods for identifying innovators and their repertoires

Sali A. Tagliamonte & Cathleen Waters

Guy (2009) pioneered the study of co-variables in the analysis of linguistic variation and change. His study targeted stable prestige variables and compared females and. The results were unexpected: use of a prestige variant by a particular speaker was not highly correlated with the use of a prestige variant of another variable by that same speaker, although women showed higher correlations than men. What about the case of linguistic innovation? According to Labov (2001:356) the leaders of linguistic change are women who are “at the center of their social networks, who other people frequently refer to, with a wider range of social connections than others.” The shared social characteristics of innovators suggest that they will also share a common repertoire of innovative variants in their speech.

To explore this question, we targeted recent changes in progress in contemporary youth (quotative *be like*, intensifier *so*) and compared these to longitudinal changes (deontic *have to* and stative possessive *have*). Taking the frequency and probability of each innovation by individual, we calculated a series of (Pearson) correlation coefficients across all pairs of variables, focusing on the behaviour of the leaders. Our initial results show that the correlations in general are extremely weak, and indicating that individuals who lead one linguistic change are not necessarily the same individuals who lead another. However, vigorous innovations do show strong correlations, suggesting coherence to the behaviour of the leaders of dynamic changes but not change that is more diffused. The next step is to add other fresh innovations to the mix (extender *stuff* and discourse *like*) and to test a range of metrics for the identification of “leader”. The results will offer a model of co-variation, provide new methods for identifying leaders and their repertoires, and elaborate their unique social and linguistic characteristics.

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Saturday 09:00-09:30

Where does the ‚que’ come from?

Sandra Tailleux

French wh interrogative system allows speakers to pick from a surprisingly high number of variants when asking a question. People usually assume that the wh-*est-ce que* variant in French (**Quand est-ce que** tu pars? ‚When are you leaving?’) has yielded many other phonetically reduced variants, including the wh-comp(lementizer) (**Quand que** tu pars?). Today, although usage varies across dialects (King 1991, Starets 2002, Coveney 2002), wh-comp is one of the most common variants in vernacular speech, and we find similar constructions in many related and unrelated languages. These facts led us to the following questions: does wh-comp really come from wh-*est-ce que*, and what historical evidence can we find?

To answer this question, we used different types of historical data: *i.* metalinguistic documents, *ii.* linguistic atlas, *iii.* corpus of historical written documents.

By looking at the usage of each variant throughout time, we uncovered some interesting facts. First, *est-ce que* started being used with wh words as early as Old French, and by the end of the 16th century it had spread to all wh words (Rouquier 2002). The wh-comp variant was first found in texts in the mid-eighteenth century, and was never mentioned in grammars of the time. By the beginning of the 20th century, we can find written examples of wh-comp with all types of wh words, and our corpus study has showed slight differences in usage between our two variants (matrix vs. embedded context). Finally, the data from the ALF (1902-1910) showed that around the 1900s, wh-comp was surprisingly the majority variant, being used in almost all the localities from the northern half of France (Tuailon 1975).

So wh-comp actually comes from wh-*est-ce que*, but it seems to now have grammaticalized and taken a life on its own. We conclude with some typological reflections, based on cross-linguistic facts.

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Friday 14:30-15:00

Consonantal Variation in the English of a Spanish-Substrate Community

Erik R Thomas & Janneke Van Hofwegenv

One problem in language variation study is that analysis of consonantal variation has remained tied to auditory transcription—few researchers have taken advantage of advances in acoustic techniques (Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Purnell et al. 2005). Another lacuna is that, while considerable research is devoted to bilingualism and to variation in communities that exhibit substrate influence, very little research has followed the process of new dialect formation in contact situations. We attempt to address both of these issues in a study of a Mexican American community in southern Texas.

The corpus includes interviews with approximately fifty Mexican Americans and twelve members of the contact Anglo group. Interviews were conducted in the study community in 2005 and 2007. The oldest generation of Mexican Americans is Spanish-dominant, but younger Mexican Americans become increasingly English-dominant and most members of the youngest generation have a largely passive knowledge of Spanish. We have examined variables with clear Spanish influence. Our earlier analyses of vocalic and prosodic variables showed two common patterns of variation: one in which the first generation has a feature but later generations accommodate to Anglo norms and one in which the Spanish-substrate variant persists and continues to set Mexican Americans off from Anglos.

Here, we examine, using acoustic techniques, realization of /ð/ and /l/, r-lessness, and voice onset time (VOT). /ð/ shows two non-standard variants, stopping ([d]) and assimilation to a preceding consonant. Stopping is maintained (after consonants and pauses) for all generations of Mexican Americans, but assimilation shows mild accommodation to Anglo norms. /l/ varies

in its degree of velarization. However, relatively “clear” (less velar) forms persist robustly across generations. R-lessness also persists, but mainly in unstressed syllables. VOT appears to show an accommodation pattern. A Mexican American dialect, with selective maintenance of Spanish substrate features, is emerging.

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Co-variables and saliency in coastal Labrador

Jennifer Thorburn

Although sociolinguists often examine multiple variables in a particular community, correlations between variables are not often examined statistically. Following Guy's (2009) work on stable co-variables in Brazilian Portuguese and Tagliamonte and Waters' (2010) analysis of changes in progress in Toronto English, this paper investigates the notion of saliency and co-variability, to determine if salient co-variables correlate with one another and/or show negative correlations with their non-salient counterparts, by examining four sociolinguistic variables in data from Nain, an Inuit community in Labrador. The three salient variables being examined – verbal *-s* marking (*I loves it*) and interdental stopping in voiced (*them* pronounced as *dem*) and voiceless (*thing* as *ting*) contexts – are often employed in identity work (Van Herk et al. 2008, 2009) and are considered enregistered features of Newfoundland and Labrador English (Clarke and Hiscock 2009). The fourth variable – word-final /t, d/ deletion, or (t,d) (*hand* pronounced as *han*) – is common but non-salient in this variety (Clarke 2010).

Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated for a preliminary age- and sex-stratified sample of 12 residents for all pairs of variables, analysing the community as a whole and also considering men and women separately. Despite the saliency of interdental stopping and verbal *-s*, there were no strong correlations for any pairing of these three variables; instead, nearly all pairs showed low *r* values, suggesting that (θ)-stopping, (ð)-stopping, and verbal *-s* operate independently of one another. Instead, the strongest correlations appear for unexpected pairs: the only strong correlation for data from female speakers is for (ð)-stopping and (t,d) ($r=0.81$), while men's speech shows a correlation between (θ)-stopping and (t,d) ($r=0.71$). Thus, it appears that relationships between co-variables cannot be explained based solely on saliency; other factors, such as speaker agency, may be more suitable.

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Collostructional analysis of verbal constructions in Estonian dialects

Kristel Uibo

Estonian dialects show a remarkable constructional variation, especially concerning the construction where the finite verb + infinite verb form are used (V_{fin}+ V_{inf} constructions). The number on finite verbs and infinite verb forms which can participate in these constructions is rather high. It is not always clear which co-occurrences form the constructions (with its own meaning) in different dialects and which do not.

In this paper I give an overview of the attempt to apply collostructional (blend of collocational and constructional) analyses (Stefanowitsch, Gries 2003; 2005) on Estonian dialects. Collostructional analysis focuses on the relationships between words and constructions they form (Stefanowitsch, Gries 2003) and adopts the terminology of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995).

Potential constructions are first extracted from the morphologically annotated corpus of Estonian dialects (CED). Clause boundaries were set automatically using the parser of Estonian which has been adapted for dialect parsing (Lindström, Müürisep 2009). I use Coll.analysis 3.2. programme developed by Stefan Gries (2007) to extract the potential constructions based on their Fisher-Yates exact test values. A higher value shows the stronger attraction and therefore the observed combination can more likely be considered construction.

I present the results of applying one collostructional method - covarying collexeme analyses - suggested by Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003; 2005) on Estonian dialects. I exemplify the results with one specific construction (*saama* 'get, become' + *passive past participle*) and give an overview of its semantic and morphosyntactic properties in different dialects.

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Friday 09:00-09:30

Workshop: Dialect Standardization: Approaches and Main Issues

Multidialectal Orthographies: an approach to systematically spelling differing dialects

Pete Unseth

This presentation will review different approaches to spelling dialects and related languages. It advocates and illustrates an approach that is informed by both phonology and sociolinguistics.

A variety of approaches have been tried to spell languages that have significant dialect variation. These have been broadly classified into three categories. The “Unilectal” approach represents a single, standard dialect and all readers spell it the same way. Readers who are not familiar with the dialect must learn it. In some cases, this has required language learning to read what is said to be the students’ “own language”. The “Union” approach is the result of writing different language features according to different dialects, so that all dialects are included in some way. The results have been orthographic orphans, unclaimed by any of the dialects (Angogo 1982, Itebete 1974). The “Multidialectal” approach works to systematically write in a way that is psycholinguistically accessible to multiple dialects. At the same time, such an approach allows for including a wide variety of spoken forms when the communities feel a sociolinguistic unity.

The presentation advocates building on shared linguistic features in orthography development (Schroeder 2010), but opposes the approach of some to create unified orthographies that are so driven by sociolinguistic motivations that they ignore significant linguistic differences (Ningewance 1999), requiring readers to learn language rather than learn reading their own, e.g. the work of Prah (1998, 2002).

Examples will be drawn from a variety of languages, including the author’s field work in Ethiopia.

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Saturday 09:00-09:30

Collecting and crunching lexis the BBC *Voices* way

Clive Upton

The *Voices* project was an initiative by the British Broadcasting Corporation which, between 2004 and 2007, gathered data on vernacular speech throughout the United Kingdom. Its primary purpose was naturally to create material for radio and television broadcasting, and the data were heavily utilised for this in the summer and autumn of 2005. But in the field recordings of its journalists, and in data input to its interactive website www.bbc.co.uk/voices, it resulted in the amassing of a large amount of data usable by linguists.

Concern in this paper is with the lexical material submitted to the website by members of the public. Geographically- and socially-tagged quantifiable British English lexical data has long been in short supply, resulting in this area of variability receiving little attention in a discipline which has largely lately concentrated its research effort on phonology and grammar. *Voices* has provided a database of almost 700,000 responses concerning thirty-eight lexical variables, these gathered from across the United Kingdom. The data are tagged according to postcode area and more detailed postcode district, and for gender and age of informant, allowing broad and finer-grained analysis to begin for regional-dialectal and social-dialectal purposes.

After outlining the lexical purpose and lexically-driven methodology of the BBC's undertaking, this paper sets out a sample of the raw data generated by the website prompts. It then goes on to illustrate ways in which such data may be manipulated in both quantified and cartographic form. In so doing it offers the promise of more light being shed on an area of linguistic variability which has recently received comparatively little formal attention, and yet which is of immediate popular and academic concern.

Friday 14:30-15:00

Superstars and bit players: Salience and the fate of local dialect features

Gerard van Herk & Becky Childs

The fate of local dialect features is not always as straightforward as predicted (Labov 1972). Alongside linguistic considerations, social motivations and speaker aspiration may significantly affect features. However, speaker strategies and motivations for dialect maintenance are often difficult to deduce. This paper investigates the role of feature salience in dialect maintenance and change in Newfoundland, where rapid social change and a local cultural revival implicate dialect features. Our analyses rely on surveys (N = 432 responses) and multiple multivariate analyses (N = 14.252 tokens) of data from Petty Harbour, an urbanizing former fishing community

We find that highly salient locally-identified features (verbal –s and interdental stopping) are now maintaining their rates of use, even increasing them among some locally-affiliated people, after a generation or more of decline. Non-salient non-stigmatized features (past habitual marking, Canadian Raising) remain stable or decline gradually. Contrary to expectations, however, so do *stigmatized* but non-locally-identified features, such as participles for preterites (*I seen it*). This suggests that what matters in Newfoundland is not simply salience, but salience *as a local identifier*. Local “superstar” features follow a U-shaped path of avoidance and renaissance, while local discourses of identity, pride and stigma are so powerful, and the sheer number of non-standard linguistic features so high, that non-superstar features escape both correction and celebration. In sum, the more enregistered a feature becomes, the more speakers can manipulate it to do local work for them. Through this local work dialect features can actually take on new meanings, distinct from their origins (Van Herk, Childs, Sheppard 2008). In the end, the life and trajectory of features are determined largely by local linguistic attention and commodification, rather than by broader global norms.

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Thursday 12:00-12:30

Regional French as the study of a linguistic intersection: the case of Vimeu French

Anne-José Villeneuve

It is well known that regional languages of France – Breton, Flemish and Corsican among others – are losing ground to French, due to lack of generational transmission (Héran, Filhon & Deprez 2002). Among languages of northern France, traditionally referred to as *langues d'oil*, Picard is no exception to this trend. Yet, even after decades of efforts towards linguistic unification by the education system, what we hear today in many areas of France is not the standard of the Parisian middle-class, but rather regional varieties which have presumably emerged from or been influenced by the obsolescent regional languages. While researchers have recently shown the linguistic influence that Basque exerts on Spanish (Gonzalez 1999; Ciriza 2009), studies of the contribution of regional languages to Continental French remain scarce (Tamine 1993; Baggioni 1995).

Based on a corpus of French interviews I collected in 2006-2007 in Vimeu, an area of northwestern France where the regional language, Picard, still enjoys a relative vitality, I demonstrate that several linguistic features of Picard have indeed seeped into French as it is spoken in the area, by both Picard-French bilinguals and French monolinguals. In this presentation, I focus on the methodological issues pertaining to the collection and analysis of a corpus of regional French. Among other things, I argue that examining non-standard tendencies shared with the obsolescent regional language – for instance, word-final consonant cluster simplification in words like *autre* [ot] ‘other’ and the reduction of the relative pronoun *qui* ‘who/which’ into [k] – is insufficient, as these may be prevalent in other varieties of colloquial French. Instead, other linguistic features, which exist in the regional language but remain virtually absent from other varieties of colloquial French, must also be used to ascertain a regional language effect.

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Wednesday 09:30-10:00

Does the scope of regionalisms affect their retention? A case study of nasal vowels and the double compound past in Briançon

Anne Violin-Wigent

This paper investigates whether regionalisms in a larger geographical area are more likely to be retained than those with a more limited scope. To answer this question, two regionalisms are investigated in Briançon, a small town in the Alps in France, on the border between the Occitan and Franco-provençal linguistic zones. The first regionalism is the pronunciation of nasal vowels, which is a typically southern feature (with a different oral articulation of the vowel as well as the presence of the nasal appendix after the vowel). The second regionalism, the use of the double-compound past in main clauses, is considered wider in scope, as it covers both the Occitan and Franco-provençal areas.

Based on the recording of 70 people born between 1945 and 1989, the analysis of nasal vowels shows that the regional pronunciation of nasal vowels is being lost in favor of a national one in 74% of cases overall, but in more than 80% for the youngest informants.

A different pool of 46 comparable informants were asked to judge the acceptability of eight sentences containing the double-compound past in embedded and independent clauses. Results show that the use of the double compound past in embedded clauses (*Quand elle a eu fini ses devoirs, elle est allée jouer* ‘when she finished her homework, she went to play’) is much more acceptable than in independent clauses (*Ça a eu payé d’avoir un restaurant, mais plus maintenant* ‘it used to be profitable to have a restaurant, but not now’) with averages of 70% vs. 59% overall, and 50% for the youngest informants.

Taken together, these results suggest that the geographical extension of regionalisms does not seem to affect their retention, at least in the context of the powerful leveling influence of standard French.

Friday 11:30-12:00

“Back and Forth with Classes and That Kind of Thing”: A Panel Study of General Extender Use in Philadelphia

Suzanne Wagner, Kali Bybel, and Kathryn VerPlanck

With this study we aim to provide a preliminary contribution to the understanding of the use of general extenders (GEs) in American English, following other studies on this phenomenon (Cheshire, 2007; Dubois, 1992; Tagliamonte & Denis, 2009). GEs are used “to suggest the multitude of possible elements of the set” (Dubois, 1992: 182) as in (1) and (2).

(1) I was always crying about my grades *and everything*. (Jeanne, 2005)

(2) For high school you know there’s certain events *and stuff* that come up (Amanda, 2005)

We also ask whether GEs are a malleable part of the sociolinguistic repertoire, with the expected peak in adolescence for discourse markers (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2009) followed by retrenchment (Chambers, 2003) in early adulthood. Dubois (1992) finds that GE usage is most frequent among teenagers with a significant decrease in the early twenties. We wanted to see if we could find evidence that this change in fact starts earlier, namely in the transition from high school to college.

Our pilot study was conducted using a small corpus gathered from interviews with 11 high school girls, ages 17 -19, in Philadelphia. The girls were interviewed once in 2005, when they were high school seniors, and again in 2006, after their transition to college. Our study found that the frequency of GE usage did not change as the panel graduated from high school, although this was individually variable.

Our study also concluded, following Overstreet (1999), that contrary to GE usage in York and Toronto, *thing* forms are much more common than *stuff* forms at least in this sample of

American English. We next need to extend our study to a larger corpus of American speech to provide a fuller examination of GE usage.

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Regional variation vs. processing constraints? Putting *provide* into context

Susan Wagner

In a domain-specific web search for the constructions in (1) and (2), the ‘exceptional’ pattern in (1) is almost 10 times as frequent as (2) in websites of the domain .ph (Philippines), but of similar frequency in Singapore, and things are very different in L1 domains. (1) to (4) illustrate all possible constructions *provide* can occur in:

- (1) *provide us an opportunity*
- (2) *provide us with an opportunity*
- (3) *provide an opportunity to us*
- (4) *provide an opportunity for us*

(1) causes natives speakers to frown; it is similar to patterns analysed by Nesselhauf (2009) in that possible variation of *provide* constructions is barely mentioned, let alone investigated (with some exceptions). This is typical of constructions with ‘borderline’ acceptability for native speakers, which are often tagged as regionally marked / restricted in grammars (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 1210), but not really stigmatised, resulting in relatively frequent use (similar to prepositional and particle verbs).

No quantitative study is available yet looking for reasons behind existing variation. Work has mostly concentrated on the development of retrieval tools for untagged corpora. This paper attempts to remedy this lack. Corpus studies based on a variety of different data (ICE, newspapers, domain-specific web searches) reveal which factors influence construction choice in a given context. Regression analyses identified certain collocations as well as the length & complexity of the noun phrases as significant in triggering either *provide somebody something* or *provide somebody with something* in different varieties of English.

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Friday 10:00-10:30

From dialect feature to local identity marker: Converging patterns of verbal -s in two

Newfoundland communities

Susanne Wagner & Gerard Van Herk

Variable verbal -s (as in *I goes there*) has remained relatively stable in its sociolinguistic distribution around the world. Dialects of English tend to share social constraints on -s, including age (non-standard -s declines in apparent time, part of a broader trend toward loss of regionally marked features), gender (males tend to favour the non-standard variant, a typical finding) and regional origin (in the case of dialect comparison). Linguistic constraints, on the other hand, vary in their application across dialects. In one of its homelands (present-day Scotland and northern England), verbal -s is generally constrained by the Northern Subject Rule (pronoun subjects adjacent to the verb disfavour -s, other subjects favour). In other dialects, variation is constrained by verb semantics, with habitual and non-stative contexts favouring -s. Previous studies have found that the relative contribution of these constraint types may vary, but the constraint ranking within each factor group generally remains constant.

Recent studies of Newfoundland English suggest that this may not be the case in situations of rapid social and linguistic change. For the present study, we pool data collected independently for projects in two different villages near the provincial capital of St. John's. We analyze over 4,000 tokens of verbal -s according to multiple coding schemes, in order to guarantee comparability of the results. Regression analyses reveal parallel constraints between these two data sets, but shared incompatibility with previous findings. This incompatibility includes a remarkable reversal of linguistic constraints: in both communities, verb types that disfavour -s among older speakers actually favour the variant among younger speakers. We suggest that as the non-standard variant declines in rates of use, its increasing social salience leads young Newfoundland English speakers to reinterpret it, recruiting it for local identity work.

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Tuesday 16:00-16:30

The Social Conditioning of Mood Variation in the Spanish of Albuquerque, New Mexico

Marc Waltermire

Prescriptive grammars of Spanish claim that inflectional markers of the subjunctive are required for subordinate clause verbs provided that: 1) this clause is introduced by the complementizer *que* ‘that’ and 2) the matrix clause construction corresponds to one of several semantic notions, such as the expression of finality, personal commentary, volition, or uncertainty. Actual speech data, however, reveal that speakers variably use indicative and subjunctive mood forms in these contexts. The following examples, taken from a corpus of Albuquerque Spanish, demonstrate this point well:

- 1) *Quisiera contarte de mis abuelos para que me **entienda** [subj.] mejor.* ‘I’d like to tell you about my grandparents so you’ll understand me better’ (20/A:155);
- 2) *Hay que darle agua para que **sigue** [ind.] floreciendo.* ‘You have to give it water so it’ll keep blooming’ (16/B:056).

In an attempt to account for variation in the use of mood, many theorists have claimed that use of the subjunctive is also determined by pragmatic factors related to a speaker’s knowledge of and/or commitment to the speech proposition. Unfortunately, since these factors are difficult to measure quantitatively, claims of this nature tend to be highly speculative. Given the limitations of previous analyses, this presentation will focus on the role of social factors (such as age, sex, language preference, and education level) on the conditioning of mood variation. Due to the bilingual nature of the speech community in Albuquerque, the grammatical distinction between indicative and subjunctive forms is slowly being lost, especially among younger speakers who prefer English. The influence of this language, which has all but lost morphological markers of mood in casual speech, may be serving to accelerate the loss of mood distinctions that is already taking place in monolingual varieties of Spanish.

Tuesday 15:30-16:30

A sociolinguistic analysis of aggregate dialect distances

Martijn Wieling, John Nerbonne & Harald Baayen

In dialectometry, researchers focus on aggregating over a large set of linguistic features to give an objective view of the dialectal variation in a certain geographic region (e.g., Heeringa, 2004). However, as opposed to dialectology, dialectometrists do not tend to take sociolinguistic factors into account other than geography (as a proxy for social contact). While geography is certainly important since nearby varieties tend to be more similar than varieties further away (e.g., Nerbonne, in press), other factors such as the size of the village or city in which a certain variety is spoken can also be assumed to have an important effect (Trudgill, 1974).

Currently, however, there have been no studies which integrated the aggregate perspective of dialectometry with a large set of sociolinguistic factors. This study is a first attempt to alleviate this lack.

We analyzed the pronunciation distance based on the Levenshtein distance from standard Dutch for almost 600 words in more than 400 dialectal varieties in the Netherlands (Wieling et al., 2007). We used a mixed model regression approach (Baayen, 2008) which enables us to investigate which factors influence pronunciation distance while controlling for the variation caused by selecting a sample of words and sites. Besides sociolinguistic factors like the average income in each place, we also took specific characteristics of the words (e.g., word frequency) and speakers (e.g., gender and age) into account.

In our initial analysis we discovered, among other factors, that the number of inhabitants (corrected for geographic location) had a significant effect on the linguistic distance from the standard language, with larger places speaking a dialect more closely to the standard. In the presentation we will illustrate our final model based on these sociolinguistic and word- and speaker-related factors.

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Tuesday 11:30-12:00

A New Quantitative Analysis of Phonetic Variation in the Traditional English Dialects: PCA vs. Bipartite spectral clustering

Martijn Wieling, Robert Shackleton, Jr. and John Nerbonne

This study explores the linguistic application of bipartite spectral graph partitioning, a graph-theoretic technique that simultaneously identifies regional clusters as well as clusters of features characteristic of those regions. Applied to phonetic data from the traditional English dialects, the method shows both strengths and weaknesses both when compared with more traditional approaches and when compared to principal component analysis. It succeeds in identifying some region and feature clusters that are not usually distinguished by other methods but fails to identify other such clusters. We argue that the graph theoretic method is a useful addition to the quantitative toolset for the analysis of regional language variation, especially when one wishes to identify the linguistic basis of dialect areas in a replicable manner. Bipartite spectral graph partitioning may provide valuable supplementary insights when used in conjunction with complementary methods.

Friday 12:00-12:30

From separate ethnolects to a single urban dialect.

Wolfgang Wölck

A survey of the linguistic composition of the City of Buffalo, NY in 1970 showed a clearly mapped division into several ethnic communities with distinct linguistic characteristics. A first study concentrating on the three major European immigrant populations, Germans, Italians and Poles, identified some of their 'distinctive features' as having indexical and discriminating function among the broader population (Carlock & Wölck 1981). One in particular, the raising, fronting and nasalizing of /æ/ as in <fantastic>, popularly called the 'flat A', was especially stigmatized. This and several other characteristics, including highly indexical prosodic markers, can be traced back to the immigrant European varieties. The label 'ethnolect', then given to the resulting immigrant varieties of English, has since become widely used for urban contact varieties in North America and Europe. Follow-up surveys in 1990 (Wölck 2002), 2004 (Wei) and 2008 (Fricano) showed a weakening of the ethnic boundaries and gradual diffusion of some features throughout the entire urban area, accompanied by their destigmatization. Two of the earlier ethnic markers, the 'flat A' and the suspended contour of declarative intonation (the 'valley girl' syndrome) have since become earmarks of the general Buffalo 'accent'.

Some of the vocalic features are included in Labov's Northern Cities Shift (2006, 2007), which is supposed to have been triggered by the raising of /ɑ/ to /æ/ in words like <pot>, locally called 'hard A' (which make our Canadian neighbors confuse Buffalo's <John> with <Jan>). While this is a monogenetic (American) English process, the ethnic features have a different origin and are limited to large immigrant cities only. The boundaries of, e.g., the 'flat A' are right outside Buffalo (or New York City). It never diffused to the rural hinterland or to other cities in Western New York, like Jamestown or Rochester, where the 'hard A' is regular.

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Friday 09:00-09:30

An evolving perspective on the concept of ethnolect

Malcah Yaeger and Christopher Cieri

When describing their methodology sociolinguists generally provide the 'questionnaire' used. We hope that these questions provide the metadata needed to 'code' speakers for various demographic variables expected to be significant.

Early studies in sociolinguistics (e.g. Fasold *et al* 1987) and the social psychology of language use (Giles & Powesland 1975) assumed that intergroup behavior might be governed by strong antagonisms which might preclude linguistic convergence. While sociolinguists also presume that attitudinal factors may influence speakers' use of specific sociolinguistic features, such factors are not typically considered in the interview.

In contrast, Pierrehumbert's (2003) Exemplar Model assumes that convergence is an artifact of propinquity, independent of social attitudes, and the Milroys' work (e.g. 1980) found that members of the nondominant community who interacted with the larger community were likely to adopt features from the dominant vernacular despite mutual antagonism.

Recent studies of ethnic communities have documented considerable convergence toward the dominant norm (e.g. Auer 2007, Yaeger-Dror and Thomas 2010, Macfarlane & Stuart-Smith 2010), but cannot address the relative merit of exemplar and attitudinal motivation for such changes, since questions which would distinguish one from the other must be added to the interview protocol if we are to hope to study accommodation scientifically.

Pilot-study presentations at ExAPP2010, at the University of Groningen, reveal that researchers are supplementing their interview protocol with questions to permit analysis of the degree to which those attitudes influence actual speech behavior. This talk, part of a larger effort to refine sociolinguistic metadata, will suggest an expanded interview protocol, based on Bourhis' model (e.g. Bourhis *et al* 2009a,b), to permit accurate appraisal of the influence of intergroup attitudes on divergent and convergent tendencies in a given speech community. Only with such evidence in hand can we estimate the relative importance of exemplar dynamics ('propinquity') and indexicality (powered by intergroup attitudes) on sociolinguistic results.

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Tuesday 17:15-18:15

Plenary Session: Traditional Speakers, Militants, and Language Change

Julie Auger

Even though scholars have predicted the imminent disappearance of regional languages for a few centuries, many of these languages can still be heard in twenty-first century France. The rise of regional identities, partly in opposition to globalization trends, has favored the retention and promotion of many such languages. But this movement has also considerably changed the conditions in which regional languages are used. While Picard used to be strongly associated with orality and individuals with little formal instruction and economical power, recent census data reveal that members of professional careers are now the largest group to report using the Picard language. In addition, written usage among individuals from many different regions now constitutes an important component of its use. In this paper, I examine how these new conditions of use influence the Picard language, focusing on oral and written data collected in the region of Vimeu, in France.

Wednesday 17:15-18:15

Plenary Session: Birdsong dialects: engines of speciation, epiphenomena, or something in between?

Beth MacDougall-Shackleton

Vocal learning makes humans unusual, but not unique, among animals. In the songbirds, males and females learn song during early life, frequently resulting in discontinuous geographic variation known as song dialects. The origin, maintenance and evolutionary importance of song dialects represents a longstanding problem in biology, with implications for the role of culture in the ecology and evolution of diverse species including our own. I will discuss recent work aimed at testing the hypothesis that birdsong dialects tend to isolate populations, and ultimately, to accelerate rates of speciation. I also present evidence that individuals vary substantially in the degree to which they advertise their population of origin, and speculate as to why this might occur.

Friday: 17:15-18:15

Plenary session: Improvements in the sociolinguistic status of dialects as observed through linguistic landscapes

Fumio Inoue

1 Linguistic Landscape and Dialects

In this presentation the sociolinguistic status of Japanese dialects will be discussed on the basis of linguistic landscape. Permanent linguistic landscape is more reliable as data in order to compare with other areas or with the past. Shop names are permanent because they should be officially registered. A steady increase in dialect shop names over the past 14 years was concretely ascertained in a southern island on the basis of tour guide books which have been published every one or two years. A considerable increase in dialect shop names in Osaka City since the 1980s has also been reported. This increase in dialect shop names is observed also in other areas of Japan. The fieldwork presented here are examples of “insect’s eye view” research.

The geographical distribution of dialect shop names can be shown also on distribution maps, if we make use of *Google maps*. These maps give us a “bird’s eye view”. By using *Google maps*, it has been ascertained that Japanese dialect forms are utilized both domestically and abroad. A typical example of a dialectal shop name is *Okini* (meaning “very much” in Western Japan), used worldwide. Many more examples are observable using *Google maps* or *Google insights*.

2 Background of Dialect Landscape

Next, principles to explain the recent increase of dialectal signboards will be discussed. The background of dialect landscape can be explained partly by the progress of language standardization, or decline of dialects. Dialects are now economically utilized because of their scarcity value. Three sociolinguistic types can be distinguished if we look back at more than one hundred years of dialect usage: ERADICATION, DESCRIPTION and UTILIZATION. Now Japanese dialects are in the state of UTILIZATION. These landscape phenomena observable from outside correspond with dialect image which is the main topic of perceptual dialectology.

3 Language Standardization and New Dialect

Dialect landscape is a reflection of language standardization, and is regarded as a sensor of standardization. There are ample concrete studies of language standardization in Japan. One is the Tsuruoka (and Yamazoe) standardization surveys repeated three times over the past several decades. A clear S-shaped curve of language diffusion was observed which extends back more than 100 years. The other is the numerical data of nationwide standardization on the basis of the *Linguistic Atlas of Japan*. From this data, three historical stages of standardization can be distinguished. First, language standardization progressed from the former capital Kyoto, and secondly, it disseminated from the new capital Tokyo in proportion to railway distance. Thirdly, nationwide standardization progressed quickly among junior high school students and almost no correlation can be found with railway distance.

In the meantime, new dialect forms, which are changes in the opposite direction from standardization, are still emerging in various areas in Japan including the capital Tokyo. New dialect can be considered to be language change in progress, and change from below. Thus Japanese dialects have not lost vitality yet. These historical movements of standardization and new dialect formation can be concisely shown by the “umbrella model”.

4 Econolinguistic Basis of Dialect landscape

The theoretical background of landscapes will also be discussed. Landscape can work as a sensor of linguistic situation. From pragmatic surveys of dialect landscape, it has been found that principles of economics work on dialect use. Thus, the econolinguistics of dialect will be a fruitful study field in the future.

Saturday 13:30-14:30: Plenary session

Variation and change in Dene (Athabaskan)

Keren Rice, University of Toronto

In this talk I examine the effects on language variation of contact of the Dene of the Sahtú region of the Northwest Territories, Canada with Europeans and eventual settlement of the Dene in communities.

In the considerable ethnographic work done in the Sahtú area in the 1970's, ethnographers concluded that there had been little effect on the overall way of life or societal structure arising from the building of forts and missions in the early to mid 1800s, and it was only in around 1950 that large changes in ways of life began. At the same time, language change and establishment of distinct community dialects is attributed to the creation of forts and missions in fairly early years of contact. Thus, while societal change was minor, language change is argued to be major during the same time period, a seeming contradiction.

What is the claim of large language change based on? The Oblate missionary Emile Petitot identifies a language that he calls Peaux de Lièvre (Hareskin, following earlier explorers), with a number of different varieties. Based on the magnificent dictionary compiled by Petitot in the 1860s and work with one speaker in 1929, several phonological differences are found that differentiate what is called Peaux de Lièvre by Petitot and Hare by later researchers at these different times. These changes include the spirantization of voiceless aspirated affricates, the voicing of some voiceless fricatives, and the shift of the nasal /n/ to /r/ in Hare. These continue as characteristics of this variety of the language. A second variety does not undergo these changes. Given the time period in which the changes take place, the presence of forts and missions seems a reasonable account, although contradictory with the overall lack of social change in this time period.

I reexamined the Petitot dictionary, looking closely at the language that Petitot calls Peaux de Lièvre. Within this language, Petitot frequently distinguishes several varieties, two of which are of interest, his Bâtard Loucheux and his Peaux de Lièvre du Grand Lac des Ours. In terms of two of the phonological properties given above – spirantization and voicing – these are already present in Bâtard Loucheux.

It appears that the assumption that Petitot's Peaux de Lièvre is equivalent to what is later called Hare rather than to what is later called Bearlake is the foundation for the proposal that the establishment of forts and missions led to the formation of varieties. However, a study of Petitot suggests that those varieties already existed at the time that Petitot compiled the dictionary. Further, recent work suggests that much of the variation found in Petitot continues within the communities today, with the present markers of distinct varieties already being present at the time of Petitot. Thus, we do not appear to see a situation of a variety emerging with the establishment of forts, but rather varieties continuing.