

NWAV 52 Miami Full Program

New Ways of Analyzing Variation

Celebrating Variation in Multilingual Contexts

Nov 7–9 2024 | Miami Beach





NWAV 52

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Sponsors



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NWAV 51

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Acknowledgments



The NWAV 52 Organizing Committee wishes to express gratitude to all of our sponsors who in short order helped us raise the funds necessary to bring this event to Miami and Miami Beach. A special thanks are due to FIU's Center for Humanities in an Urban Environment and FIU's College of Arts, Sciences, and Education who provided the personnel and direction necessary to manage the financial side of the conference.

In addition, we received the support of many creative and talented individuals whose unique gifts contributed to the success of our event. We would like to mention them by name.

We are especially indebted to Enrique Menéndez, whom we might call our aesthetic coordinator. Enrique is responsible for designing our website and the conference program you're reading right now, and for curating the Miami-inspired selection of coffee, aguas frescas, and snacks we enjoy throughout the conference.

We wish to thank Héctor Andrade for transforming our ideas for the theme of this conference in the beautiful images found on our website, social media platforms, and around the conference venue.

We are honored to host three esteemed plenary speakers, Shelome Gooden, Almeida Jacqueline Toribio, and Walt Wolfram and wish to express gratitude to them for elaborating their thinking in plenary form at NWAV 52.

Acknowledgments



We wish to thank Dean Ana Luszczynska and Dean Mike Heithaus from FIU's College of Arts, Sciences, and Education for the unwavering support of this undertaking, as well as their commitments to the humanities, interpretive social sciences, and linguistics at FIU.

Thank you to Garth Headly and Emmanuele Bowles whose support ensures that all FIU faculty, staff, and students can attend NWAV plenaries at no cost.

Thank you to William Anderson, Associate Vice President for Research at FIU, whose efforts to provide an initial investment in this conference allowed us to secure a contract with the Miami Beach Convention Center.

Thank you to Alexandra D'Arcy and Robin Dodsworth for helping us make the decision to take on NWAV 52, and for providing guidance at the earliest stages of our work. Thank you to Michael Newman for so generously sharing his experience as the most recent NWAV host.

Thanks to CHUE Program Coordinator Gabe Gonzalez for his assistance with many logistical elements of the conference. Thank you to Gretter Machin for stepping in to assist with conference payments at a moment's notice.

Acknowledgments



Thank you to David Neal and Catalyst Behavioral Sciences for so generously providing support for the Friday night party.

Many thanks to our faculty and student volunteers for their efforts overseeing on-site registration. Thank you Demir Sanal, Andrea Rodríguez, Marisleidi Ramos, Eukene Franco Landa, Olivier Salès, Vanessa Rios, and Eugênia Fernandes.

We owe perhaps our biggest debt of gratitude to Bárbara Quesada and Marta Torres from FIU's College of Arts, Sciences, and Education. Marta created and oversaw our online payment system. Bárbara moved mountains to oversee all of our vendor contracts and worked tirelessly to ensure that we met all of our financial obligations. We could not have pulled this conference off without you!

Finally, we wish to honor those who created this conference 52 years ago, all those who have organized NWAV throughout the years, and each of you who chose to travel to Miami Beach to be with us for NWAV 52.

With gratitude,
NWAV 52 Organizing Committee

Phillip M. Carter, Melissa Baralt,
Jazmine Exford, Andrew Lynch

Welcome



Dear colleagues,

We are so honored to welcome you to Miami and Miami Beach for NWAV 52! This year's program includes 62 concurrent sessions, 4 thematic panels, 3 plenaries, and two poster sessions. Over the course of these three days, nearly 400 scholars will deliver more than 350 papers, posters, and new project launches. And for the first time in the history of this conference, papers and posters will be delivered in Spanish and Portuguese, as well as in English. Much of this work addresses the theme of this year's event – "Celebrating Variation in Multilingual Contexts" – a theme we chose as a nod to the multilingual speech communities of South Florida and those around the world. Thank you for helping us make NWAV 52 a success.

Welcome!

NWAV 52 Organizing Committee

Bienvenido



Estimados y estimadas colegas,

¡Nos sentimos muy honrados de darles la bienvenida a Miami y a la ciudad de Miami Beach en esta 52 edición de la NWAV! El programa de este año incluye 62 sesiones simultáneas, 4 paneles temáticos y 3 plenarias, dos sesiones de pósters. A lo largo de estos tres días, cerca de 400 académicos harán más de 350 presentaciones, pósters y lanzamientos de nuevos proyectos. Y por primera vez en la historia de esta conferencia, las presentaciones y pósters se harán en español y portugués, además de en inglés. Gran parte de este trabajo aborda el tema del evento de este año: “Celebrando la variación en contextos multilingües”, un tema que elegimos como un guiño a las comunidades de habla multilingüe del sur de Florida y de todo el mundo. Gracias por ayudarnos a hacer que esta 52 edición de la NWAV sea un éxito.

¡Bienvenidos y bienvenidas!
Comité científico NWAV 52

Bem-vindo



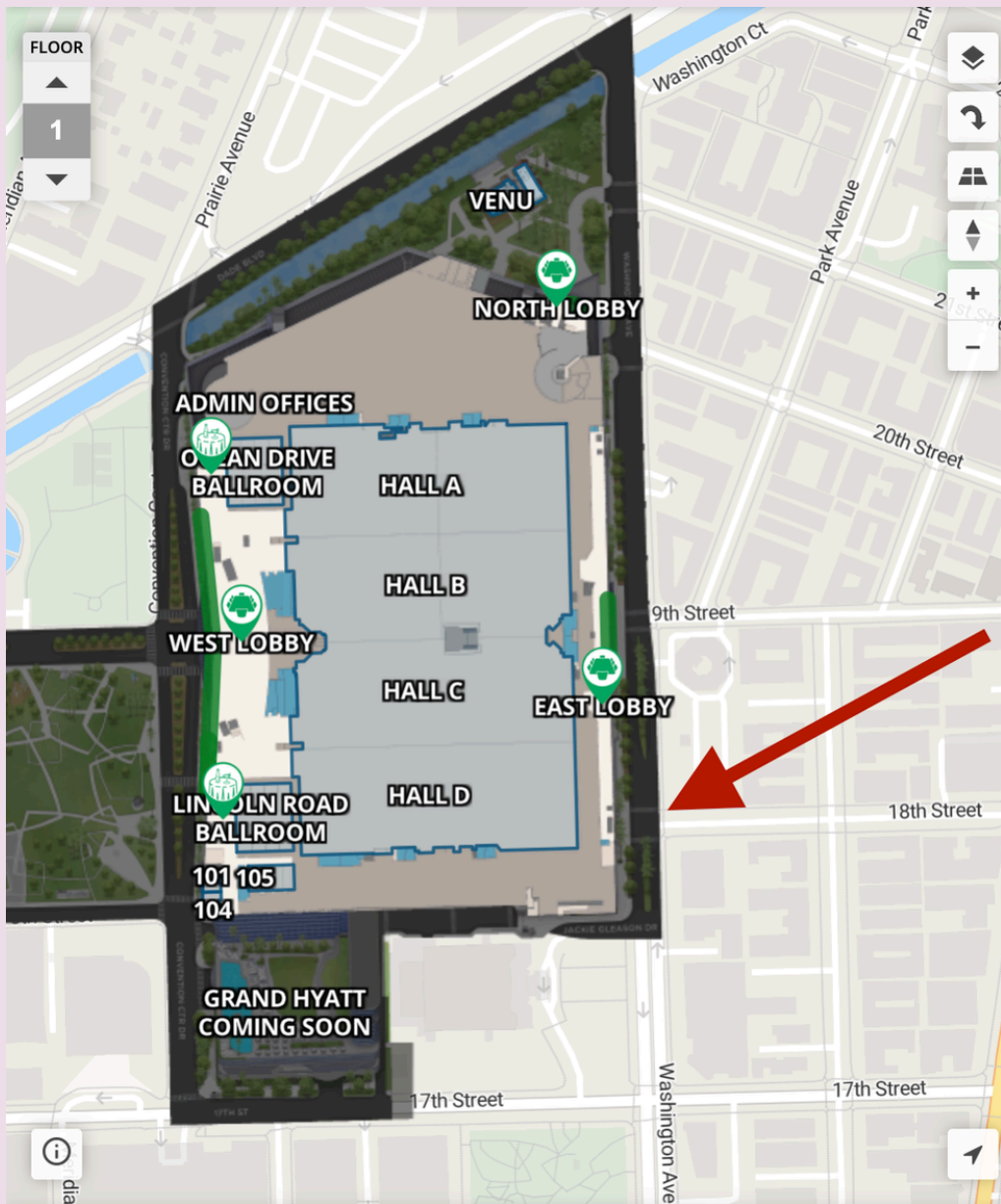
Caros colegas,

Estamos muito honrados em recebê-los em Miami e Miami Beach para o NWAV 52! O programa deste ano inclui 62 sessões simultâneas, 4 painéis temáticos, três plenárias e duas sessões de pôsteres. Ao longo destes três dias, cerca de 400 acadêmicos apresentarão mais de 350 artigos, pôsteres e lançamentos de novos projetos. E, pela primeira vez na história desta conferência, comunicações e pôsteres serão apresentados em espanhol e português, além de inglês. Grande parte deste trabalho aborda o tema do evento deste ano – “Celebrando a Variação em Contextos Multilíngues” – um tema que escolhemos como uma homenagem às comunidades de fala multilíngue do Sul da Flórida e de todo o mundo. Obrigado por nos ajudar a tornar o NWAV 52 um sucesso.

Bem-vindos!
Comissão científica NWAV 52

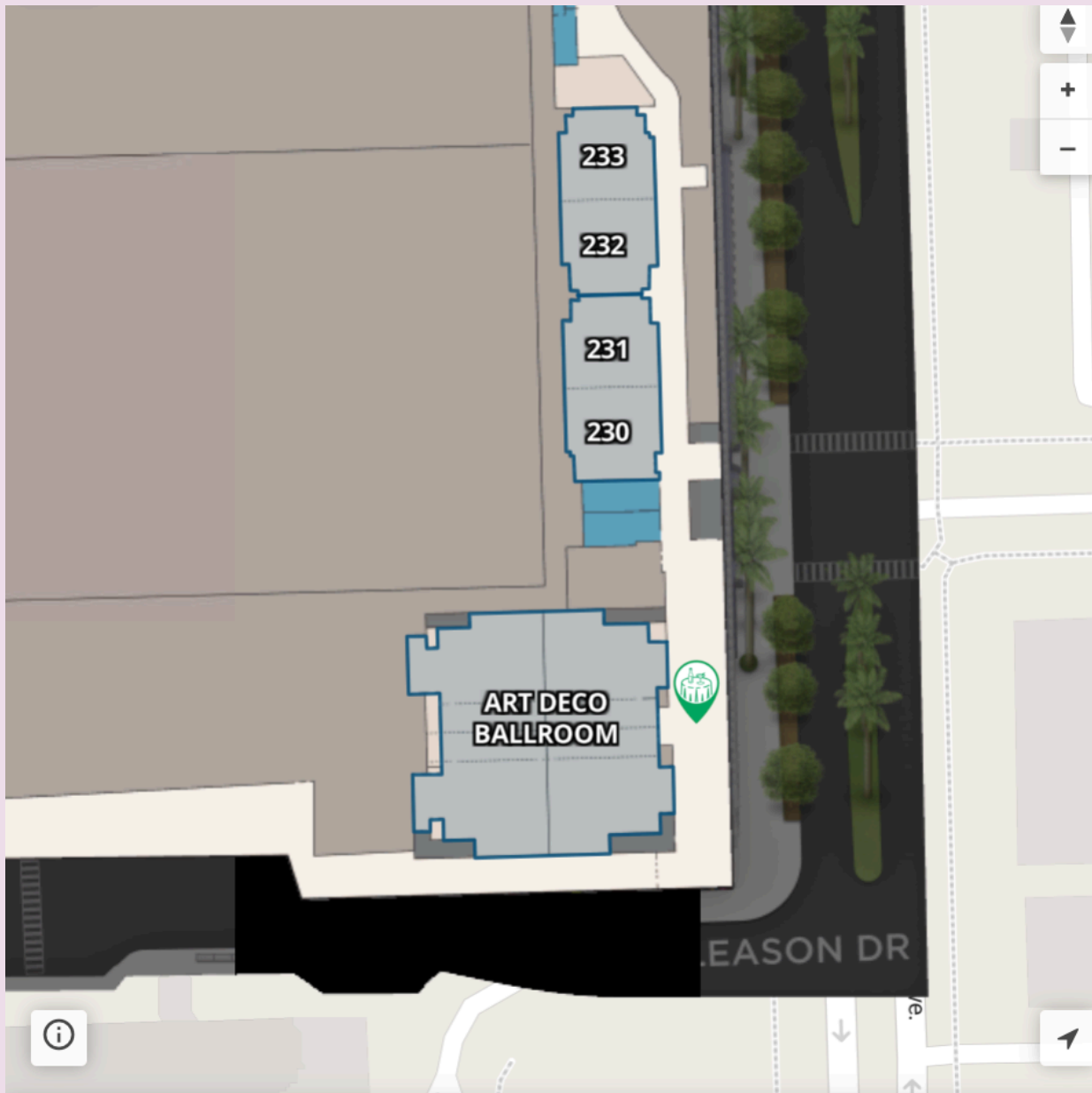
*Miami Beach
Convention Center Maps*

Entrance



Please enter via the Washington Ave and 18th St entrance. It is the south side of the East Lobby. See arrow on map.

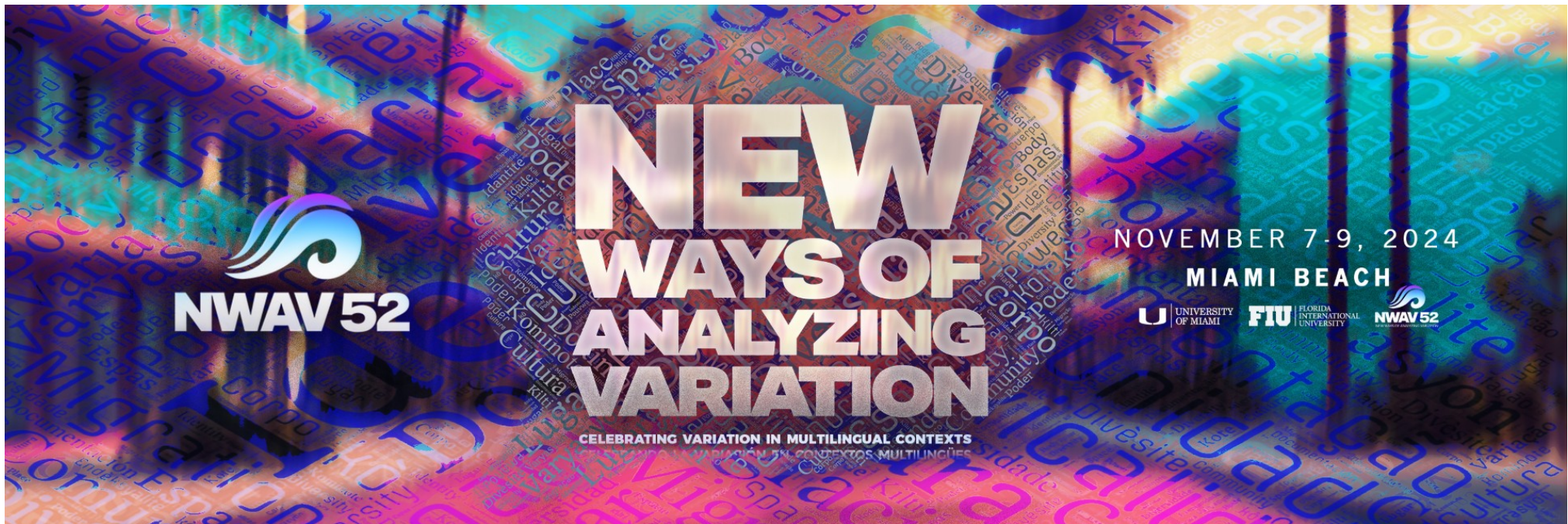
Sessions



NWAV will be on the second floor in the Art Deco ballroom and Rooms 230-232.



Schedule



CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Miami Beach Convention Center

November 7-9, 2024

Thursday, November 7

8:00-9:00	REGISTRATION AND WELCOME RECEPTION			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 1 9:00-10:10	<i>Studies in Prosody</i> Chair: Charlie Farrington	<i>Phonological Variation in Romance Languages</i> Chair: James Walker	<i>Morphosyntactic Variation in English</i> Chair: Robin Dodsworth	<i>Lexical and Morphosyntactic Variation in Spanish</i> Chair: Michael Newman
9:05-9:20	Paul Reed, Regional prosodic variation in Alabama English	Chiara Repetti-Ludlow, Age and acoustic cues: evidence for a change in progress in Italian stop voicing	Carmelo Alessandro Basile, Beyond Schneider's Model: Analysing the production of modal BETTER in Global Englishes	María José Serrano, Variación de la tercera persona del plural no fónica: un estudio sociosituacional

9:20-9:35	Jennifer Lang-Rigal , Using a listener-oriented approach to disentangle prosody: A focus on Argentine dialects of Spanish	Jeffrey Lamontagne and Anne-José Villeneuve , Rhythmic variation isn't going out of style: Style and rhythm in Quebec French	Auromita Mitra, Molly Cutler, Marc Barnard, Valentina Cojocaru, Jessica Goebel, and Laurel MacKenzie , Both (of) the variants show a couple (of) different patterns: Social conditioning of of-variation across multiple linguistic environments	Jesus Adolfo Hermosillo , Different ways to intensify: (Extreme degree) adjectives of taste in Mexican Spanish
9:35-9:50	Chris Lee , Regional variation among Standard Mandarin listeners' perceptual cue weighting for prosodic focus marking: Comparing Beijing, Jilu, and Zhongyuan Mandarin	Delin Deng , Phonological Evidence for the Grammaticalization of genre in Swiss French	Sibylla Leon Guerrero, Bryan Murray, Katherine Rhodes, and Julie Washington , Grammatical judgments by bidialectal African American English-speaking children vary by dialect and grammatical feature	Anahís Samame-Rispa , Bellísimo, riquísimo, muchísimo: a variationist analysis on the use of elative -isimx(s) in Peruvian Spanish
9:50-10:05	Erin O'Rourke , The socioprosodies of Peruvian Spanish Declaratives: An analysis of gender and intonation	Amanda Dalola and Amenah Salman , 🐦Chirps of Change: Using Twitter to Predict Sociophonetic Evolution in French	Sabriya Fisher , Regional & Ethnic Differences in Morphosyntactic Variation among Black Adolescents	Joo Kyeong Kim , The effect of long-term language contact on morphemic '-s' production
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 2 10:20-11:30	<i>Regional Variation in US English I</i> Chair: Nancy Niedzielski	<i>Vowel Shift in Varieties of English</i> Chair: Lacey Wade	<i>Phonological Variation in Spanish</i> Chair: Iraida Galarza	<i>Language and Gender: Style and Performance</i> Chair: Lal Zimman
10:25-10:40	Charlie Farrington , Reconceptualizing social stratification in Detroit in 1966"	James Stanford, George Stain, Monica Nesbitt: Phonological foundations of ethnic divergence , The Low-Back Merger Shift and the African American Vowel Shift as opposite movements	Brandon Baird , Guatemalan Spanish VOTs: L1, L2, and geographical variation	J Calder, Emmett Jessee, Isabelle Altman, Sarah Adams, Ula Adamska, Creola Djarlo, Leilani Spurlock, Maya Stephens, and Forest Stuart , Vowel space as gendered style among nonbinary drag queens in San Francisco
10:40-10:55	Benjamin David Parkhurst and Phillip M. Carter , Spanish-Origin Adverbial Calques in Miami English: Testing Production and Perception	Kaitlyn Owens and Monica Nesbitt , <i>Changing boundaries: Evidence from Northern Cities Shift categorical perception in Michigan</i>	Shulin Liu , Affricate fronting in the casual speech of middle class madrileños: a modern variationist account of an ongoing "change from below"	Liam O'Hare , Language, sexuality, and the cultural regulation of the body in Japan
10:55-11:10	Emma Wilkinson , Situational variation of the place-linked TRAP vowel in a mixed Asian and white Chicagoan: a case study	Rebecca Roeder , <i>/ay/ glide weakening in North Carolina and the origins of the Southern Vowel Shift</i>		PraiseGod Aminu , 'Crossdressing' and Phonetic Variation as Stylistic Differentiation

11:10-11:25	Jesus Adolfo Hermosillo, Jonathan WuWong, Yin Lin Tan, Irene Yi, and Rhea Khapur , A very subjective but really interesting phenomenon: Intensifier Variation and Change in Salinas, California	Keiko Bridwell , <i>Place, Politics, and the Southern Vowel Shift</i>		
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 3 11:40-12:50	<i>Variation in its Sociohistorical Context</i> Chair: Alexandra D'Arcy	<i>Language and Gender I</i> Chair: Timothy Shea	<i>Phonological Variation and Change in English</i> Chair: Rebecca Roeder	<i>Local Language Identities</i> Chair: Jesus Adolfo Hermosillo
11:45-12:00	Daniel Duncan , Placing the needs washed construction in a broader settler-colonial context	Gerald Stell , Between transfers and hypercorrection in Outer Circle Englishes: The case of Namibian English	Kerri-Ann Butcher , Towards a holistic and dynamic approach to the identification of mergers and near mergers: Insights from perception and production of the MOAN-GOOSE merger in East Anglian English	Louis-Geoffrey Gousset , When I'm with the lads, it's all wey aye: the social stratification of wey aye, wey, and aye in Tyneside English
12:00-12:15	Julie Van Ongeval , The Fall of Antwerp (1585) as a punctuated equilibrium in the history of Dutch? Exploring the impact on linguistic variation and change	Line Lloy and Molly Babel , I'm Just Me: A Mixed-Methods Analysis of Phonetic Variation in a Gender Diverse Corpus	Caitlin Halfacre and Rob Drummond , "we'll always be in Lancashire" to "I actually don't mind 'Greater Manchester'" – change in time and change in attitude evidenced by the MOUTH vowel in Greater Manchester	Wesley Lincoln and Meredith Tamminga , Social evaluation of T-flapping as a local feature of Singapore English
12:15-12:30	Christa Schneider , Between Kurrent and Courtesy: French Influences in Bern's Judicial Archives	Laura Griffin , When men speak like that, it's a turn-off: Generation 1.5 Korean-Canadians' Perceptions of Korean Dialects	David Britain, Shaip Jemini, and Laura Mettler , Emerging rhoticity in Nauruan English	Irene Yi and Meghan Sumner , Local exposure and global social effects on perceived linguistic geography: Mandarin accents in China
12:30-12:45	Chaya Nove , The origins of New York Hasidic Yiddish: A lexical exploration	Jessica Shepherd, Betsy Sneller, and Drake Howard , Pronunciation in the [mɪrən]: Post-tonic /t/ flapping in Michigan: a non-white male-led change	Oluwasegun Amoniyan and Shelome Gooden , Socio-phonetic variation in NURSE vowels in Nigerian English	Hodaya Machloul and Roey Gaftor , What sounds like "Tel-Aviv"? An Acoustic examination of phonological variation in imitations of local stereotypes
1:00-2:15	LUNCH BREAK Annual NWAV Business Meeting - Art Deco Ballroom			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 4 2:20-3:30	<i>Variation of Liquids in Spanish and Portuguese</i> Chair: Brandon Baird	<i>Language and Gender II</i> Chair: Jazmine Exford	<i>Regional Variation in US English II</i> Chair: Mary Kohn	<i>Sociolinguistic Variation in Spanish I</i> Chair: Anahís Samame-Rispa

2:25-2:40	Nikolai Schwarz , Phonetics of Liquid Neutralization in Isla Margarita, Venezuela	Lal Zimman, Dozandri Mendoza, Cooper Bedin, Nicky Macias, Kris Ali, and Cedar Brown , Telling a (racio)gender: Morphosyntactic variation and identity attribution in transgender English/Spanish speakers’ “Pear Stories”	Michael Shepherd , Southern Californians say, “Take the 101” and Northern Californians say “Take 101”? Results from the California Freeway Project	Thomas Leslie , Medeyeísmo: Sociophonetic aspects of palatal approximant strengthening in the Spanish of Medellín, Colombia
2:40-2:55	Dinah Callou and Caio Korol , An overview on rhotics in Southern Brazil: border dialects	Geoffrey Tacinelli , Panic! at the pronouns: Syntactic parsing of French neopronoun ‘iel’	Darlene Intlekofer, Cecelia Cutler, and Jade Dong , You Guys, Y’all, or Youse? Multilingual, Ethnic, and Generational Influence on 2PP in New York City English	Jessica Jurado Eraso , Fortition Patterns in lateral consonants: A study of Nariñense Andean Spanish
2:55-3:10	Jose Alvarez Retamales , A third [ɹ] in Puerto Rican Spanish: Implications for variation of coda /r/	Pekka Posio, Gloria Uclés-Ramada, and Sven Kachel , Gender and Amount of Talk in Conflictive Interactions: Using Roleplay Data to Study Variation in Peninsular Spanish	Aaron Dinkin , A Lack of a New York State Accent”: Perceptual Change Echoing Dialect Change	Salvatore Callesano , Social and regional variation of DOM: The case of Spanish ver
3:10-3:25	Vanina Machado and Chandan Narayan , Sociolinguistic Dynamics in a Bilingual Border Community: Investigating the Acoustic Properties of Palatal Liquid Vocalization in Uruguayan Portuguese	Bryce McCleary , Bitch as a discourse marker among Oklahoma City drag performers	Lacey Wade and Tyler Hausthor , What makes a speaker sound Kansan?	Maria Camila Franco Rodriguez , ¿Juntos o revueltos?: SPE variation in Colombians in Philadelphia
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 5 3:40-4:50	Second Language Acquisition and Use Chair: Melissa Baralt	Sociophonetic Studies of Gender and Sexuality I Chair: Erez Levon	Panel 1	Sociolinguistic Variation in Spanish II Chair: Mark Hoff
3:45-4:00	Jingyi Guo , A variationist approach to third language acquisition: Acquiring Spanish variable direct objects by L1 Mandarin L2 English speakers	Em Jessee and J Calder , The cisgender listening subject in sibilant perception	Phillip M. Carter, Christine Mallinson, Mary Kohn, May Chung, Jenn Renn, Marissa Morgan, Jeffrey Reaser, Charlotte Vaughn, Tyler Kendall, and Ben Torbert , A Linguistic Legacy of Broader Impact for the Future of the Field: Panel Session in Honor of Walt Wolfram	Kendra Dickinson , Sociocognitive representations of variable Spanish past participles
4:00-4:15	Falcon Restrepo Ramos and Nofiya Denbaum-Restrepo , The L2 acquisition of the properties of second person singular forms of address in Paisa Spanish	Amber Galvano , Measuring sibilants in speech & sexuality research: beyond spectral moments		Erik Willis, Santiago Árroniz, Iraida Galarza, and Gibran Delgado-Díaz , The variable perception of the compensation of lost coda /s/ in Puerto Rican Spanish: a perception study of Puerto Rican and Mexican listeners
4:15-4:30	Ksenia Gnevsheva, Gan Qiao, and Catherine Travis , Acquisition of sociolinguistic variation by second-language speakers of Australian English: Changes in progress	Joe Pearce , Bringing the participant voice into voice quality: A case study of a trans woman’s experience with her voice		Marisleydi Ramos Borrego , Cuban and Puerto Rican Varieties in Miami-Dade County and New York City: Perceptions and Identity in the Spanish-Language Theater Industry

4:30-4:45	Anthony Brandy, Iraida Galarza, and Caroline Amodeo Williams , Back to the Individual: The Effect of Individual Differences on Gender and Mood Variation in L2 Spanish	Timothy Shea, Hannah White, Joshua Penney, and Felicity Cox , Effects of Sexual Orientation and Attitude to Gender Roles on Australian Males' f0 Metrics		Michael Newman and Víctor Fernández-Mallat , An indexical order analysis of Spanish second person pronoun variation
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 6 5:00-6:10	Panel 2	<i>Sociophonetic Studies of Gender and Sexuality II</i> Chair: Rob Podesva	<i>Phonological Studies of Language Change</i> Chair: Erik Willis	<i>Dialectal Variation</i> Chair: Jeff Reaser
5:05-5:20	Mary Kohn, Charlie Huffman, and Lisa Tatonetti , Creator Gives Us Language: Sharing the Story of Kaánze íe Rematriation	Tomer Schapiro and Roey Gaftar , Place, identity and masculinity: An examination of /t/ release burst duration	Josef Fruehwald , Speaker Normalization of Vowel Formant Tracks	James Walker and Miriam Meyerhoff , Non-finite Complementizers and the Caribbean Creole Continuum
5:20-5:35		Tiasha Datta , Vowel Variation and Queer Identity: A Sociolinguistic Study of Rituparno Ghosh in Bengali	Jeffrey Lamontagne , Approaching phonetics with gravity: Allophone economy in vowel changes	Fiona Douglas and Kerri-Ann Butcher , Mapping English dialects: maintenance, levelling, innovation and community engagement
5:35-5:50		Satchel Petty , Is he gay or is he just Asian?": /s/ spectral moments and racialized sexuality among queer Asian men in Washington, D.C.	David Britain and Hannah Hedegard , Retrograde real-time change in a colonial variety of English: evidence from the Falkland Islands	Miriam Meyerhoff, Carol Aru, Manfred Krifka, Jocelyn Aznar, Tonjes Veenstra , Different patterns of phonological and grammatical variation in Bislama (Vanuatu)
5:50-6:05			Amanda Cardoso, James Crippen, Simone Brown, Omar Lahlou, and Ella Paulin , A multifaceted approach to typologically rare /u/ in Tlingit: Variation and change	Hans Boas, Luke Lindemann, and Matthias Warmuth , On the Predictability of Koiné and New-dialect Formation: Branching Pathways of Feature Developments in Texas German
6:10-6:30	BREAK			
6:30-8:00	PLENARY SPEAKER Art Deco Ballroom	Almeida Jacqueline Toribio , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> U.S. Latinx Spanglishes		

Friday, November 8

8:30-9:00	REGISTRATION			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232

Session 1 9:00-10:10	<i>Studies of Variation and Creole Languages</i> Chair: Kendall Medford	<i>Perceptual Studies of English</i> Chair: Susan Tamasi	<i>Variation in Bi- and Multilingual Contexts</i> Chair: Luana Lamberti	<i>Language Ideologies and Attitudes in Social Context</i> Chair: Salvatore Callesano
9:05-9:20	Xander Johnson , Superstratum and Substratum Influences in Historical Hawaiian Englishes	Danielle Tod , Fabulous toffee aristocrats have the best accents: Attitudinal variation among London-based New Zealanders	Meritxell Feliu Ribas , Bailé or he bailado? Variable Perfective Past Time Reference among Spanish-English Early Bilinguals	Hielke Vriesendorp , Explicit and Implicit Language Attitudes in Multilingual Contexts: The Case of Frisian and Dutch
9:20-9:35	James Grama and Carina Ahrens , Evaluating traditionally “stable” variables in a creole: Variation and change in (th, dh) in Hawai‘i Creole	Marie Bissell , Sound change in perception: Evidence from the American English nasal split /æ/ system	Nicté Fuller Medina , How multilinguals do verbs	Paul Ueda , According to Whom? Place, Vitality and Language Attitudes in Taiwan
9:35-9:50	Kaitlyn Owens and David Tézil , Distance from the lexifier as a predictor of variation in creoles: Evidence from /r/ and /w/ alternation in Haitian Creole	Ke Lin , Cross-Modal Cue-Weighting, Talker information on bilinguals’ VOT sensitivity and voicing contrast perception	Emma Moore and Sadie Ryan , What do monolingual and multilingual young people share in their use of sociolinguistic variation?	Daniel Schreier, Ronja Zimmermann, and Rebekka Haerter , Negotiating and enacting multilingualism in expatriate communities: English in the ‘Fifth Switzerland’ as a case in point
9:50-10:05	Michelle Kamigaki-Baron , Exploring the Social and Linguistic Connections between Pidgin and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i	Jasmine Zeng , The Usage and Function of Comedians’ Creaky Voice in Podcasts	Alicia Megan Brown , Spanish-language origin discourse markers across languages in bilingual Spanish/Basque speech	Ana Carvalho , Unveiling and disseminating Voices from the margins: The making of a sociolinguistic documentary
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 2 10:20-11:30	<i>(Socio)phonetic Variation in Bi- and Multilingual Contexts</i> Chair: Andrew Lynch	<i>(Socio)morphosyntactic Variation in Bi- and Multilingual Contexts</i> Chair: Almeida Jacqueline Toribio	<i>Expression of Grammatical Gender</i> Chair: Panayiotis Pappas	<i>Social Meaning and Place I</i> Chair: Jennifer Sclafani
10:25-10:40	Mariela Abigail Chi Baack , Stop aspiration: A view from Mayan bilingual communities	Eukene Franco Landa , How Do Language Ideologies Influence Ergative Variation in Basque Bilinguals? Insights from Basque Country and Boise, Idaho	Ana Knall , Gender Assignment Variation in Spanish-English Mixed Noun Phrases	Miriam Neuhausen , Identity work in language shift settings: Socio-spatial distance from the Old Order Mennonites
10:40-10:55	Zihe Li , The production and perception of stop consonant voicing in a bilingual context: The case of Jiuhe Naxi	Isabela Calafate , Analyzing variation in bilingual contexts: A holistic view of subjunctive vitality in US Spanish	Keira Colleluori , Declining Grammatical Gender in Irish: A Diachronic Study	Lelia Glass , Social meanings of the Low-Back Merger Shift among young Asian Americans in Georgia
10:55-11:10	Le Xuan Chan and Rebecca Starr , Cross-linguistic Laryngeal Contrasts in a Multilingual Speech Community: Voice Onset Time among multilingual speakers in Malaysia	Sara Hubbel , Syntactic change in progress: A comparative analysis of predicate constituent order variation in bilingual Andean Spanish and Quechua	Gorka Basterretxea Santiso, Ager Gondra, and Sara Gómez Seibane , Does gender agreement exist in Basque? A triangulation study on production and attitudes	Jaime Benheim, Adia Colvin, and Julia Dubnoff , Locat(ING) social meaning: Gender, orientation to place, and local personae in Chicago

11:10-11:25	Brendan Regan and Jazmyn Martinez , The indeterminacy of social meaning linked to ‘Mexico’ and ‘Texas’ Spanish: Examining monoglossic language ideologies among bilingual listeners	Ian Michalski , Variable case-marking with Spanish-Yucatec Maya bilingual compound verbs: Comparing acceptability ratings by Yucatec Maya-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals		Amalia Robinson, Monica Nesbitt, and Xiao Dong , The Phonology of Black Women in Boston (across Age, Ethnicity, and Style)
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 3 11:40-12:50	<i>Regional Variation in US English Vowels</i> Chair: Phillip M. Carter	<i>Variation and Racial/Ethnic Identity I</i> Chair: Rhosean Asmah	<i>Studies of Morphosyntactic Variability</i> Chair: Greg Guy	<i>Presentations</i> <i>Variação no Português Brasileiro</i> Chair: Ana Maria Carvalho
11:45-12:00	Michael Newman and Kovid Pal-Oudouard , Letting the data speak: A cluster analysis of New York City English vowels	Jessi Aaron , Representation, race, and transitivity in colonial Mexico: A quantitative and qualitative analysis	Gladys Camacho Rios , Morphological variation in complex verbs of South Bolivian Quechua folk tales	Nilza Barrozo Dias , Construção contrastiva no português em uso
12:00-12:15	Darlene Intlekofer and Cecelia Cutler , Vowel Mergers in the Melting Pot: Parental Influence and Multilingualism in New York City English	Kaithlyn Massiah , Discourse Analysis of Ethnonyms for Black Italians on YouTube	Suganya Schmura , Discourse Variation in Tamil: Investigating the Grammaticalization of vanthu	Jares Gomes Lima , Fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas no Brasil: Variação em Caravelas, BA
12:15-12:30	Lewis Esposito , Back vowel fronting, covariation, and suburbanization in Sacramento	Kendall Medford , Documenting Haitian Creole variation across the Dominican Republic	Emily Simpson , Kein Bock? Null Problemo! A Study of Variation in Contemporary Non-Standard German Negation	Isabel Pie , Atitudes sobre gênero e sexualidade no Brasil de 2022: Considerações metodológicas a partir de um experimento sociolinguístico
12:30-12:45	Joey Stanley, Jon Forrest, Margaret Renwick, and Lelia Glass , Natural Class Reorganization over Apparent Time by Prelateral /u/ and /oʊ/ in Georgia	Kevin Samejon , Post-colonial Englishes in Asian societies: The case of variable word-final /z/ production in of Philippine English	Griffin Lowry, Jeannene Matthews, and Robin Dodsworth , Continued restructuring of the English quotative system: it’s like	Samuel Gomes de Oliveira , Experimento do Ilustrador: investigando o papel do corpo na significação social da variação linguística
1:00-2:15	LUNCH BREAK			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 4 2:20-3:30	<i>Poster Session I</i>	<i>Variation and Racial/Ethnic Identity II</i> Chair: Kevin Samejon	<i>Studies of Code-switching, Code-mixing, and Style-shifting</i> Chair: Nicté Fuller Medina	<i>Studies of Loanwords</i> Chair: Nicole Holliday
2:25-2:40	Completed Research Projects	Lisa Johnson , Utah Teens' Polynesian Ethnolinguistic Repertoire	Julien Carrier , The emergence of code-mixing in Inuktitut	Matthew Guyton-Docherty , Gendering English Loanwords in Italian: A Contemporary Analysis

Session 6 5:00-6:10	<i>Interacción Social y el Español</i> Chair: Ana Sánchez-Muñoz	<i>Technology, Linguistic Variation, and Speech Recognition</i> Chair: Josef Fruehwald	<i>Panel 4</i>	<i>Variation in Subject Pronominal Expression</i> Chair: Victor Fernández-Mallat
5:05-5:20	Craig Welker , Convergencia a un mediador no presente - Evidencia del español de Juchitán, México	Drew Crosby , “Robotic Cuteness: ChatGPT evaluations of Korean aegyo”	Megan Solon, Matthew Kanwit, and Aarnes Gudmestad , Research at the intersection of second language acquisition and sociolinguistics: A panel in honor of Kimberly L. Geeslin	Gregory Guy , A tale of three continents: Subject pronoun expression in Portuguese dialects
5:20-5:35	Érick Pineda , Explorando la posición variable del clítico de acusativo en el español de los purépechas: Análisis comparativo	Raquel Freitag , Can generative AI be a typical talker? Sociolinguistic fine-tuning of LLMs for varieties of Brazilian Portuguese		Philip Limerick , Spanish pronominal subjects and changes in speech turn
5:35-5:50	Yohana Beatriz Martinez Abreu and Juliana de la Mora , ¿Asere, güey o brother? Variación sociopragmática y geolectal en el uso de extranjerismos en la conversación coloquial	Nicole Holliday “I Don’t Like My Conversations Being Judged By an AI”: Issues of Bias and Quality in Social Feedback Speech Technology		Ka Fai Law , The Metapragmatic Meanings of the Use of Boku: A Case Study of the Japanese Female Singer Ano-chan
5:50-6:05	Nofiya Denbaum-Restrepo, Maribel Fernández Moctezuma, and Falcon Restrepo Ramos , Rechazos del español: una comparación de hablantes monolingües, hablantes de herencia y aprendices	Erin Hall, Lisa Ly, Patrick Nocon, David Ramos, Kendra Tallchief-Stanley, and Jonathan Robinson Anthony , Using automated alignment with Spanish-influenced English data		Xinye Zhnag and Xiaoyun Jin , Synchronic variation in Chinese Mandarin varieties: Subject pronominal expression
6:10-6:30	BREAK			
6:30-8:00	PLENARY SPEAKER Art Deco Ballroom	Walt Wolfram, North Carolina State University Challenging the Canons of Variationism		

Saturday, November 9

8:00-8:30	REGISTRATION			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 1 8:30-9:40	<i>Variation, Discourse, and Social Interaction</i> Chair: Carlos Enrique Ibarra	<i>Language Variation in Media Performances I</i> Chair: Marisleydi Ramos Borrego	<i>Sociophonetic Studies I</i> Chair: Maya Abtahian	<i>Authenticity and Appropriation</i> Chair: Walt Wolfram
8:35-8:50	Lee Jiang , Resistance to singular “they” in Reddit communities	Adelle Lee , From zero to hero: sociophonetic variation in the voicing of Reformed Villains in Japanese anime	Patrick Gehringer , Sociophonetic variation in Albanian nasal-stop sequences & ambiguous partially-nasal subcategories	Matt Garley , Of colleagues and colonizers: Language and authenticity in the Drake-Kendrick beef
8:50-9:05	Yao Wang , Punctuating gender, stance, and style: Perceiving tilde in Chinese digital communication	Danielle Todd and Craig Welker , <i>The serpent’s tongue: Phonological variation and ideological constructions in an invented language</i>	Dragana Rakocevic , Internal and external language variation in Austria. Perception of German sounds by the L1-B/C/M/S-speakers	Christian Ilbury and Rianna Walcott , ‘Gen Z language? Y’all mean AAVE’: The appropriation of African American Vernacular English as an ‘internet vernacular’
9:05-9:20	Michael Shepherd and MJ Jaurena , “Oh sure!” vs. “Oh sure.” Further evidence for characterizing the final period in texting as an ‘anti-exclamation’ mark	Leslie Del Carpio , (In)visibility of Latin American and Caribbean Spanish Morphosyntactic Variation in Closed Captions: The Case of Netflix’s Show La Firma	Ang Wei Ning Shermaine and Lauren Hall-Lew , <i>Depression and Sociophonetic Variation: Singaporeans in the UK</i>	Sonya Fix and Renée Blake , What can appropriation of Black identity tell us about the mosaic of Black expressive resources?: The cases the Rachel Dolezal and Jessica Krug
9:20-9:35	Giang Le, Yinglun Sun, Maliha Jahan, Helin Wang, Thomas Thebaud, Zsuzsanna Fagyal, Mark Hasegawa-Johnson, Laureano Moro-Velazquez, and Najim Dehak , “You are what, Chinese?” Modeling identifications of race, ethnicity, and national origin as stancetaking in a large podcast corpus of American English		Amenah Salman and Amanda Dalola , Elusive Pharyngeals: Exploring Social Variation of Pharyngealized /s/ Production in Jordanian Arabic	Nour Kayali and Ian Schneider , “It actually became a part of the way I speak now”: Locating the repertoire-identity gap in narrativized self-stylizations of mobile American English speakers
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 3321	Room 232
Session 2 9:50-11:00	<i>Identities and Linguistic Perceptions</i> Chair: Dennis Preston	<i>Language Documentation and Revitalization</i> Chair: Zsuzsanna Fagyal	<i>Sociophonetic Studies II</i> Chair: Charlotte Vaughn	<i>Variation in Social Interaction</i> Chair: Sonya Fix
9:55-10:10	Tim Beyer , Eye-tracking Stigma: The Online Integration of Race-Relevant Cues in African American English and Mainstream American English	Ager Gondra Astigarraga , Ideological effects of language revitalization on home language speakers	Xinran Gao , <i>Modelling the Voice Quality of Young Shanghai Wu Speakers</i>	Natalie Rangel , The Social Stratification of Spanish uptalk in Laredo, Texas

10:10-10:25	Miles Sanford , Do you hear “Talk about” or “Taco Bell”: A Raciolinguistic View of the Indexical Orders of /l/ Vocalization	Bryan Kirschen , Models of Variation Applied to the Case of Judeo-Spanish in the Sephardic Landscape of the United States	Rhosean Asmah , Coronal stop deletion in Megan Thee Stallion’s rap and casual speech	Karol Ibarra and Carlos Enrique Ibarra , The Effect of Pitch on the Reduction of the Vocalic Sequence /ea/ in Spanish
10:25-10:40	Guillem Belmar Viernes , He – God – Liquid: Stance-driven variation in choice of pronoun in Sà’án Sàvī ñà ñuù Xnúvikó (Mixtepec Mixtec)	Connor Bechler , Evaluating wav2vec2 Speech Recognition and Forced Alignment on a Multi-Varietal Language Documentation Collection	Drew Crosby and Yoonjeong Seo , Center of Gravity (CoG) as a measure of lateral approximant retroflexion	Oluwasegun Amoniyán , Gestures and (im)politeness in emotional speech in Nigerian English
10:40-10:55	Chantal Marie Loresco De Leon , A rose by any other name would not smell as sweet: how first names impact speech comprehension and linguistic evaluation	Xinyu Liao , Asymmetries in the learnability of new dialect features across the lifespan	Ping Hei Yeung , Constructing Hong Kong English identity through vowel mergers: Indexical meanings of local phonological features in the Outer Circle of English	Wilkinson Daniel Wong Gonzales, Pui Yu Ivy Chan, Xiaohan Zhang, Chui Yin Judy Ng, and Yan Ching Chung , Is uptalk gendered in Hong Kong? What High Rising Terminals (HRTs) in Hong Kong English mean
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 3 11:10-12:20	<i>Variation in/and Data Collection</i> Chair: Sali Tagliamonte	<i>Approaches to Analyzing Linguistic Variation: New Technologies</i> Chair: Ben Parkhurst	<i>Social Meaning and Place II</i> Chair: Jazmine Exford	<i>Language Change in Social Context</i> Chair: Bryan Kirschen
11:15-11:30	Charlotte Vaughn and Abby Walker , “I always think that these are funny”: The experience of being a participant in a speaker perception task	Malte Rosemeyer , Latent Class Analysis as a data-driven approach to mapping meaning change	Talia Sherman and Jaime Benheim , Locating Class in Place: an Analysis of Boston and Rhode Island Personae Performances	Corentin Mazet , The Loi de Position across the ages: comparative study of 16th, 19th, and 21st century data
11:30-11:45	Katie Carmichael and Aarnes Gudmestad , The value of investigating language variation in obsolescing language communities	Jennifer Nycz , Introducing CorMS: the Corpora of Mobile Speakers	Rob Podesva and Emma Moore , “We don’t say [that]. That’s Townies”: The indexical relationship between persona and affect through vocalic variation in Bolton, England	Susan Tamasi and Allison Burkette , Varieties and Varietals: Linguistic Variation as a Reflection of Cultural Change”
11:45-12:00		Dan Villarreal , Trade-offs in computational sociolinguistics methods: Accuracy vs. fairness in forced alignment-based auto-coding	Yiyun Fan , “Your northerners really eat a lot!”: Exploring phonetic variation and regional stereotype construction in China	Mikko Laitinen, Masoud Fatemi, and Mehrdad Salimi , Weak-tie hypothesis in digital networks
12:00-12:15		Josef Fruehwald and Christian Brickhouse , It’s new-fave	Lucas Rubin and Nicholas Henriksen , Performing Andalusian: A case study of distinción, ceceo, and seseo	Alexandra D’Arcy , What is Dad’s job in language change?
12:30-1:30	LUNCH BREAK			
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 4 1:40-2:50	<i>Poster Session II</i>	<i>Approaches to Analyzing Linguistic Variation: Social Context</i> Chair: Ager Gondra Astigarraga	<i>Lexical and Morphosyntactic Variation in Romance Languages</i> Chair: Delin Deng	<i>Language Variation in Media Performances II</i> Chair: Cecelia Cutler

1:45-2:00	Project Launch Posters	Pekka Posio, Gloria Uclés-Ramada, Andrea Carcelén-Guerrero, and Sven Kachel , New Ways of Analyzing Gendered Variation in Spanish: The CoLaGe Corpus for the Study of Language and Gender and Gendered Variation in First-Person Singular Verb Forms	Hélène Blondeau, Françoise Mougeon, Raymond Mougeon, and Mireille Tremblay , Car Talk: The story of char and other variants meaning ‘car’ in Montreal and Welland spoken French	Allison Casar , I Don’t Know But How Dare You: I Love Lucy, codeswitching, and cinematic indexicality
2:00-2:15		Marcelo Lopes de Melo and Christina Gomes , Macro-social categories still matter in assessing variant’s social meaning: researching between and beyond the waves	Kendra Dickinson, Luana Lamberti, and Scott Schwenter , Evaluating variable third-person anaphoric direct objects in Portuguese: A cross-dialectal study	Juan Antonio Cutillas-Espinosa , Indexicality, iconocity and the fictional representation of the accent of Queen Elizabeth II
2:15-2:30		Petter Mæhlum and Yves Scherrer , Written vs. Spoken – Comparing Parallel Dialectal Data with Existing Spoken and Social Media Resources for Norwegian	Mark Hoff , Está obsesionado mío and A differenza tua: Analogical extensions of Spanish and Italian possessive constructions	Atiqa Hachimi and Gareth Smail , Stylized performance of “mock Berber” in a Moroccan Stand-Up comedy talent show
2:30-2:45		Daniel Guarín , Pronominal Address in the Linguistic Landscape of Hispanic Philadelphia: Variation and Accommodation in Multilingual Urban Spaces	Amalia Canes Nápoles and Aria Adli , Reference reactivation: a variationist analysis of the discourse connector y in Spanish	Kara Becker, Grace Anderson, Louis Chase, and Tommy Schacht , Signcraft: Embodied Energy in the Linguistic Construction of Two Gaming Personae
Location	Art Deco Ballroom	Room 230	Room 231	Room 232
Session 5 3:00-4:10	<i>Studies of Dialectal Variation in Speech Communities</i> Chair: Katie Carmichael	<i>Constraints on Variation and Meaning</i> Chair: Jenn Nycz	<i>Morphosyntactic Studies of Language Change</i> Chair: Leslie Del Carpio	<i>Language Variation and the Lifespan</i> Chair: Phillip M. Carter
3:05-3:20	Lee-Ann Vidal Covas , How Salience Influences Dialectal Persistence and Covariation: Insights from Boston's Spanish-Speaking Community	Nicholas Aoki and Georgia Zellou , When multiple talker exposure is necessary for cross-talker generalization: Social co-variation facilitates the emergence of sociolinguistic perception	Hélène Blondeau and Mireille Tremblay , Future Temporal Reference in Montreal French: The Incursion of the Analytic Future in Negative Context	Sali Tagliamonte , Clara grows up: Lifespan change from adolescence to middle-age”
3:20-3:35	Lana Busler, May Chung, and Erik Thomas Mixing and Matching of Linguistic Features by Two Immigrant Groups	James Grama and Isabelle Buchstaller , Sociolinguistically axiomatic?: Testing the relationship among linguistic, social and stylistic constraints	Liberty Notarte Balanquit , Probabilities of Lexicalization: phonological change in Filipino Sign Language cardinal numerals	Annie-Marie Moelders , Age, Gender, and 'Be Like': A Study on Real-Time Speech Reactions across the Life-Span

3:35-3:50	Juan M. Hernández-Campoy and Laura Torrano-Moreno , Dialect Attrition, Leveling and Supralocalization in the Rural World: Combating geographical isolation and ‘loneliness’ through linguistic ‘onlineness’	Cassandra Davenport, June Choe, Annette D’Onofrio, Masaya Yoshida , Social Expectations via Personae in Syntactic Processing	Margaret Lei , Syntactic change in the formation of neutral questions in Cantonese	Madison Morgan , Revisiting a case of language death: An analysis of phonemic nasal vowels in Frenchville French
3:50-4:05	Andrea Hernandez Hurtado and Matthew Kanwit , L2 Immigrant Social Networks, Morphology, and the Lexicon: The Case of Murcia, Spain	Nicolai Pharaο, Erez Levon, Elijah King, and Chrisophe Vies , The body, affect, and the actuation of variation	Yiming Liang and Alexandra Simonenko , Quantify syncretism in subject-verb agreement marking	
4:15-4:30	BREAK			
4:30-6:00	PLENARY SPEAKER Art Deco Ballroom	Shelome Gooden , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Phonological & Phonetic Variation in a Multilingual Caribbean		
6:00-6:15	CLOSING			

Completed Research Posters

Art Deco Ballroom: Friday, November 8 – 2:20-3:30

Presenters	Title
Julia Davydova	Reconstructing American English inputs in a globally available mass media product: Intensifiers in the television series Gilmore Girls
Lucilea Gandra	Mudanças na linguagem, gênero neutro e Feminismo
Dennis Preston and Terumi Imai-Brandle	Japanese vowel devoicing - linguistic factors
Folorunso Emmanuel and Tajudeen Opoola	VARIATIONS IN APHASIC LANGUAGE BEHAVIOURS {A CASE STUDY OF SOME SELECTED BILINGUALS AT THE UCH IBADAN}
Cecelia Culter	Laayli' kuxa'ano'one: code choice, language attitudes, and stances towards the use of Yucatec Maya in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever
James Walker	Speak(ING) Australian English in Melbourne
Xinye Zhnag, Xue Yin, and Yaxin Gu	Variation acquisition in Chinese as a heritage language: Subject pronominal expression
Aaron Dinkin and Meredith Tamminga	Searching for homophony avoidance in English coronal stop deletion
Angelica Aviles Bosques	Understanding Language and Identity in the Miss Universe Puerto Rico Pageant
Nathan Joel Young and Kaosi Anikwe	Autophon.org – Improving access to phonetic forced alignment technology
Gregory Guy, Aria Adli, Robert Bayley, Karen Beaman, Daniel Erker, Rafael Orozco, and Xinye Zhang	Universal vs. language-specific constraints on variation: subject pronoun expression in five languages
Mary Robinson and Karen Corrigan	“I’m always asked am I from Ireland”: Inversion in Embedded Questions in Local and Newcomer Mid-Ulster English
Christina Gomes and Laísa Pereira	Frequency of variants and the cognitive organization of variation in speaker’s linguistic knowledge
Yasmin Crombez, Wim Vandebussche, and Rik Vosters	When the historical, social, and linguistic meet: A study on variation in Heritage Belgian Dutch in 19th and 20th century North America
Yi Luo	Phonetics and Phonological Error Analysis of the /n/-/l/ Merger in Xiang Dialect: Implications for Mandarin and English Pronunciation
Lilja Björk Stefánsdóttir and Anton Ingason	Reinventing an identity for a more liberal audience
Sinae Lee	The use of hedges in conversational speech: Gendered or generational?
Hyunjin Lee	Perceptual Differences between Seoul and Kyungsang Dialect Speakers on Tensification in English Loanword Adaptation in Korean
Erli Tang	Crafting Belonging: Identity and Code-switching Among Chinese International Students in the U.S.

Carina Ahrens and Anne-Marie Moelders	How does [mi] brain make [mi] talk?: An acoustic analysis of First-Person Possessive and First-Person Object
Robert Xu	“They embody bureaucrat”: how character types anchor social meaning for the construction of personae
Jonathan Pye	Analyzing variation in strategies of evaluation: The #BritishLatinos comment section
Marisa Brook	Becoming a “Treehouser”: Identity, power, and language variation in a small online community
Steven Castro Jr.	I am part and I am whole: Raciopragmatics of “part” labels for mixed-race categorization in the Fiji Islands
Emma O’Neil, Jose Antonio Lopez Saenz, Claire O'Neill, Eleni Karamichali, Lora Lynn O'Mahony, Mauro Nicolao, and Amelia Kelly	Expect the Unexpected: Considerations when Collecting Children’s Speech Data for Spanish Voice AI in the Classroom
Sophie Faircloth and Andrea Beltrama	Sarcasm Socially Contextualized: Socio-indexical Information Selectively Modulates the Evaluation of Pragmatic Behavior
Romeo De Timmerman and Stef Slembrouck	Iconicity and indexicality: The manifold social meanings of African American English features in blues music.
Gideon Kortenhoven	I’m Knowin: AAE and the Verb know in the Progressive
Salena Anderson	Stylistic Impacts of Generative AI Use on Multilingual Student Writing: Two Case Studies
Jennifer Sclafani, Jacqueline Sevillano Campo, Wonguk Cho, Elham Khosravian, Chisom Nlebedum, Jasen Sousa, Naomi Yamakawa, and Ibrahim Abuserriah	Voices of Boston: Language diversity, ideologies, and politics in the urban sociolinguistic landscape
Rachel Meyer, Sophia Vellozzi, Ratree Wayland, and Kevin Tan	Variation in Lenition Degree in L2 Spanish: A Machine Learning Approach
Michael Gradoville	A Snapshot of Language Shift in Progress: Individual Multilingualism in Lusophone Africa
Robyn Wright and Daniel Valle	Concordantia Temporum in Peruvian and Spanish Tweets
Elise DuBord	Spanish, English, and Street Art: Artistic expression and commercialization in the linguistic landscape of Calle Cerra (Puerto Rico)
Piero Visconte	Los peyorativos en el español del Caribe Antillano: Un análisis sociolingüístico
Griffin Cahill and Katie Slempp	Neopronomaj vortoj: Variation in gender-inclusive language in Esperanto
Emily Tope	Unplaceably Posh: A sociolinguistic analysis of television’s Moira Rose
Alexis Davis	Black Mecha(linguistics): Addressing antiblackness in automated speech recognition systems
Maria Jussara Abracado de Almeida	The expression of the future in the varieties of Portuguese from Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe: an analysis from the perspective of cognitive sociolinguistics
Uri Horesh, Enam Al-Wer, Najla Alghamdi, and Areej Al-Hawamdeh	Diverging trajectories of change in Arabic interdental
Nancy Niedzielski	The effects of language variety on CV confusions
Harys Dalvi	Monophthongization of Diphthongs in Southern American English: A Perception Study

Gyula Zsombok	Conscious Expression: How Speakers Navigate Inclusive Language In French
Ariel Chan and Grace Wong	What Can Voice Onset Time in Code-Switching Reveal About Bilinguals’ Linguistic and Cultural Identity? (Project Launch)

Project Launch Posters

Art Deco Ballroom: Saturday, November 9 – 1:40-2:50

Presenters	Title
Nathan Nguyen	Vietnamese Perceptual Dialectology: A Pilot Study
Soubeika Bahri	A potential phonological change in an under-studied speech community: Tunisian Tamazight variety of Fahmine.
Toni-Ann Hall	Sociolectal Variation in Jamaican Creole: The Influence of Age and Language Attitudes on 'Seh' and 'Dat' Usage
Abby Killam	Echoes of Digital Voices: The Role of Media Engagement on Intraspeaker Dialectal Variation and Change
Maureen Stone	Status or stigma: Bilingualism and identity in Japan
Modupeola Lawal	TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES AMONG MULTILINGUAL NOVICE TEACHERS OF FRENCH IN THE USA.
Joey Stanley and Hallie Davidson	Social meaning of closure duration in the affrication of /ls/ and /lθ/ in Utah English
Tamaya Levy	Shut yo mouf: /th/ fronting in African American English
Kamilah Kalidheen	Kaaps: An Ideological and Perception Analysis
Nitin Venkateswaran, Rachel Meyer, and Ratree Wayland	Quantifying Degrees of Accentedness Using First Language (L1) Phonological Features
Gilly Marchini	Pre-nuclear peak alignment in Afro-Mexican and non-Afro Mexican Spanish: ethnolectal or phonetic?
Rachel Milito	Measuring voseo to tuteo accommodation among Salvadorans in Washington, DC: considering task, modality, and ethnic orientation
Williams Asamoah Frimpong	"Sticking to what you have": Strategies of preserving home languages in a rural Midwestern community from the Congo.
Paola Hincapié	Hablantes de herencia de español, interpretación legal y variedades lingüísticas en el sistema de justicia juvenil en Florida, EE. UU.
Isaias Ceballos, Patrice Beddor, and Robin Queen	The Relationship between Attitudes and Experience on the Pronunciations of Hispanic Names: A Contribution to the Name Mispronunciation Microaggression
Erine-Caitlin Desir	“Can’t nobody in NYC tell me that children who speak AAL don’t understand NAI constructions”: Investigating the comprehension of Negative Auxiliary Inversion (NAI) constructions by children who speak AAL in NYC
Sidney Gig-Jan Wong	The Interaction of Space, Place, and Linguistic Variation in Social Media

Samantha Perez	Tracing Sibilance: A Sociolinguistic Exploration of Spanish Heritage Language Varieties in Brussels
Fabio Ardolino, Manuela Frontera, Chiara Celata, and Silvia Calamai	Analysing sociolinguistic variation using legacy data: the STOA project
Brianna O'Boyle	Reevaluating Rejection: A Move Analysis of PhD Rejection Letters
Carolyn Siegman	Investigating the malleability of heritage speaker phonology via convergence
Anna-Marie Sprenger	Peasant Thems Can't Get Dykes: Multilingual Practices in Queer Eastern Romania
Petter Mæhlum	Variety-Aware Machine Translation – Investigating Challenges in Machine Translation to and from Norwegian Language Varieties
Alyssa L Frick-Jenkins	“Type Shit”: Discursive borrowing, Black diasporic relationality and musical rendering across Franco/Anglophone contexts
Adam Barnhardt	Patterns of social meanings indexed to Low-Back-Merger Shifted vowels in Michigan
Broderick McCurdy	Touching Base and Circling Back: Key Takeaways from a linguistic deep dive into Mock Corporate speech
Jennifer Kaplan	Non-binary and Trans Francophones' Linguistic Attitudes and Ideologies Towards Inclusive French
Jayce Garner	LDS and Ex-Mormon Perception of “Primary Voice” in LDS Women
Yi Luo and Siyu Liang	MandoEcho: Revolutionizing Mandarin Learning through Generative AI
Emily Sandall	Comparing Measurements of Gender in Sociolinguistic Research: A Test Using F0 and /s/
Ty Gill	A primer into the lexical and phonological origins and roots of Mississippi Gulf Coast French: A study based on Linguistic Atlases
Grace Walters	Passive bilingualism among second-generation South Asian-Americans
Sophia Burnett	Human Inside Project Part 1: I'm not a Robot
Bárbara Citéli and Leila Tesch	A Variação Linguística presente nas Formas de Tratamento em uma Escola Cívico-Militar de Viana-ES, Brasil
Shigeto Kamano	Sentence-Final Constructions and Presupposition in Japanese Dialects
Xiao Dong, Fengming Liu, Monica Nesbitt, and Chien-Jer Charles Lin	Social Perception of Neutral Tone and Rhotacization in Mandarin Chinese: How do Beijing and Taiwan Speakers differ and Does Place Orientation matter?
Thomas Devlin and Ryan Gibson	Acts of complementary identity: an analysis of intraspeaker variation in pop song singing styles
Kaleigh Medlow	What She Say?: Perceptions of African American English Variation Amongst Native Speakers
Andrew Cheng and N. Ha'alilio Solomon	Vowel length and stress patterns among New Fluent Speakers of 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian)
Andrea Rodriguez	Linguistic Landscape and Socioeconomic Breakdown of Language Representation in Miami
Bayleigh Baldwin, Nicholas Aoki, and Georgia Zellou	“Country Talk” in California's Napa Valley
Mikaela Belle Martin and Andrea Beltrama	Black and nerdy: Investigating how race and personae jointly shape pragmatic reasoning
Ke Lin and Sarah Phillips	Seeing Speech: Eye-Tracking Social Influences on Stop Voicing Perception in L2 Listeners

Alana Jones and Alayo Tripp	Value Variation and Black Speech as an Index of Masculinity
Satchel Petty and Esha Mukherjee	On the indexical fields of released-t: Social meaning at the intersections of sexuality, race, and ethnicity
Laura Griffin and Godfrey Enangha Jona	Vowel Deletion in Heritage Cross River Mbembe
Ziyun Chew and Grace LeFevre	Negotiations of Sapphic Identities Through Conversation
Jonathan Wuwong	Migratory Variables: R-lessness Among Cantonese Immigrants in Boston, MA



Abstracts

15-MINUTE PRESENTATIONS

Ideological effects of language revitalization on home language speakers

Ager Gondra Astigarraga

University of Miami, Coral Gables, USA

Abstract (Language of presentation)

Basque is a minority language with different dialects spoken in the Basque Country (Figure 1). One way to revitalize the Basque language was to create a Standard form called *Batua*, for which the Gipuzkoan and Lapuriand linguistic varieties were used. While the ideological effects that the Basque revitalization movement has on *euskaldun berriak* (L2 Basque learners) has been widely studied (Elordui & Aiestaran, 2022; Ortega et al. 2015; Urla et al. 2018; among others), the language ideology of *euskaldun zaharrak* (native speakers) remains unexamined. Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of the ideological effects of language revitalization on diverse segments of Basque society, this study explores the self-perceptions and attitudes of *euskaldun zaharrak*, who were not formally educated in the *Batua* variety (though it co-exists for them alongside their Bizkaian variety). Participants' attitudes and perceptions regarding *Batua* and their Bizkaian variety were quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed. Data was collected through an agreement-based survey, open-ended questions and a semi-structured interview. Results showed that participants' perception of legitimacy differs from that of the new Basque speakers from previous studies. For the present participants, "authenticity," as defined by Gal and Woolard (2001), is not a precursor for "legitimacy." In other words, Basque variety (i.e. dialect vs. standard) was not a mediating factor them for legitimacy. Instead, the legitimacy of a Basque speaker was determined by the mode of language learning: e.g., family transmission vs. formal instruction. Overwhelmingly, participants' ideology showed that learning Basque (whether the standardized *Batua* or a different variety) through family transmission is a requirement for legitimization. Finally, as shown in Table 1, *Language Preference* is a significant predictor for the *Value of Batua* with a large effect ($\beta = .61$), which indicates that participants adhere to conflicting ideologies. The participants who prefer to use Spanish in different contexts are more likely to have a more favorable opinion of *Batua* than those who prefer to use Basque in the same contexts. This study contributes to a better understanding of the effects of Basque language revitalization movements on the ideology of diverse segments of the same linguistic community.

Stop aspiration: A view from Mayan bilingual communities

Mariela Abigail Chi Baack

Pennsylvania State University, State College, USA

Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study documents variable voiceless stop aspiration in Yucatec Spanish in Mayan bilingual communities. Analysis of nearly 6,000 tokens extracted from sociolinguistic interviews with 25 speakers indicates that aspiration of voiceless stops, measured in Voice Onset Time (VOT), is robust, with an overall rate of 41%. Aspiration is conditioned by following phonetic environment as a statistically significant effect and tends to be favored in stressed syllables and word-initial position. As to social factors, men consistently exhibit longer VOT durations across age groups and communities. A novel finding is the absence of an age group effect. Considering the Mayan plosive system, the analyses suggest that aspirated stops are part of a fortition process, as an outcome of indirect contact-induced change.

Speakers may use aspiration and other Yucatec Spanish features as linguistics markers of regional identity, within the dialectically varied linguistic landscape of the area.

Author Translation

Este estudio documenta la variación en la aspiración de las oclusivas sordas en el español yucateco de comunidades bilingües mayas. El análisis de casi 6,000 muestras extraídas de entrevistas sociolingüísticas con 25 hablantes indica que la aspiración de las oclusivas sordas, medida en el Voice Onset Time (VOT, por sus siglas en inglés), es robusta, con un promedio general del 41%. La aspiración está condicionada por el contexto fonético siguiente como un efecto estadísticamente significativo y tiende a ser favorecida en sílabas acentuadas y en posición inicial de palabra. En cuanto a los factores sociales, los hombres muestran consistentemente duraciones más largas de VOT a través de diferentes grupos de edad y comunidades. Un hallazgo novedoso es la ausencia de un efecto de grupo de edad. Considerando el sistema de plosivas mayas, los análisis sugieren que las oclusivas aspiradas son parte de un proceso de fortición, como resultado de un cambio inducido por contacto indirecto. El presente estudio sugiere que los hablantes pueden usar la aspiración y otras características del español yucateco como marcadores lingüísticos de identidad regional, dentro del variado paisaje lingüístico dialectal de la zona. Este estudio documenta la variación en la aspiración de las oclusivas sordas en el español yucateco de comunidades bilingües mayas. El análisis de casi 6,000 muestras extraídas de entrevistas sociolingüísticas con 25 hablantes indica que la aspiración de las oclusivas sordas, medida en el Voice Onset Time (VOT, por sus siglas en inglés), es robusta, con un promedio general del 41%. La aspiración está condicionada por el contexto fonético siguiente como un efecto estadísticamente significativo y tiende a ser favorecida en sílabas acentuadas y en posición inicial de palabra. En cuanto a los factores sociales, los hombres muestran consistentemente duraciones más largas de VOT a través de diferentes grupos de edad y comunidades. Un hallazgo novedoso es la ausencia de un efecto de grupo de edad. Considerando el sistema de plosivas mayas, los análisis sugieren que las oclusivas aspiradas son parte de un proceso de fortición, como resultado de un cambio inducido por contacto indirecto. El presente estudio sugiere que los hablantes pueden usar la aspiración y otras características del español yucateco como marcadores lingüísticos de identidad regional, dentro del variado paisaje lingüístico dialectal de la zona.

Guatemalan Spanish VOTs: L1, L2, and geographical variation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Spanish has been described as a language with short-lag voiceless VOTs (Hualde, 2005), and the majority of sociolinguistic studies that investigate L2 Spanish VOTs analyze speakers whose L1 has long-lag VOTs, e.g., English (Amengual, 2012; Flege & Eefting, 1986, 1987). However, studies in bilingual and language contact contexts have demonstrated that speakers tend to produce longer Spanish VOTs than those produce by monolingual Spanish speakers in non-contact situations, even if the other language spoken by the bilinguals does not have long-lag VOTs (Fowler et al. 2008; Lamy 2016). Although Mayan languages do not have long-lag VOTs in word-initial position (England & Baird 2017), recent sociophonetic analyses have demonstrated that although Spanish-Mayan bilinguals do indeed produce VOTs that are longer than non-contact Spanish monolingual VOTs, there were no significant differences in VOTs between bilingual speakers and monolingual speakers in these studies (Michnowicz & Carpenter, 2013; McKinnon, 2020). The present study analyzes Guatemalan Spanish VOTs among L1 and L2 Spanish speakers from geographically distinct locations within Guatemala. Following the elicitation and analysis methods of Amengual (2012), this study employs a controlled production task to examine Guatemalan Spanish VOTs of 44 participants across three groups: Spanish monolinguals from Guatemala City (eastern Guatemala, near the area studied in McKinnon, 2020), Spanish monolinguals from Quetzaltenango (western Guatemala), and L1 K'iche'-L2 Spanish speakers from Quetzaltenango. Additionally, the K'iche' VOTs of the L2 Spanish speakers group were analyzed in order to interpret

possible L1 transfer. All target words contained a word-initial unstressed /t/ and were followed by either /e/ or /o/. 40 Spanish tokens were produced by each participant and an additional 40 K'ichee' tokens were produced by each L2 Spanish speaker. Results suggest that, overall, Guatemalan Spanish VOTs are longer than monolingual Spanish VOTs in non-contact situations. Additionally, Guatemala City monolinguals' results are similar to those of McKinnon (2020) and have shorter Spanish VOTs than the two Quetzaltenango groups. However, no differences in Spanish VOTs were found between the Spanish monolinguals from Quetzaltenango and the L2 Spanish speakers, also from Quetzaltenango. Moreover, there were no significant differences between Spanish and K'ichee' VOTs for the L1 K'ichee'-L2 Spanish speakers, indicating that word-initial /t/ VOT is the same among both languages in this area of Guatemala. The results of this study suggest that, in concordance with previous studies, Guatemalan Spanish demonstrates longer VOTs than monolingual varieties in non-contact situations. Although it would be erroneous to propose that Guatemala City Spanish is not in contact with Mayan languages, these findings suggest geographical variation in the VOTs of word-initial /t/ as they are closer McKinnon's (2020) eastern Guatemala data than the data from western Guatemala presented in this study. Furthermore, although it may be difficult to quantify the influence of K'ichee' VOTs on Spanish VOTs, these results suggest that the L2 speakers have acquired the same, or similar, Spanish VOTs as the L1 speakers from the same geographical location, which is consistent with previous work (Michnowicz & Carpenter, 2013, McKinnon, 2020).

Identity construction or linguistic accommodation in a dialect contact situation? Empirical evidence and methodological innovation in analyzing constraint hierarchies

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A longstanding debate persists in sociolinguistics as to whether agentive notions of *speaker identity* or automatic forces of *linguistic accommodation* promote language convergence (or divergence), particularly in situations of dialect contact (Trudgill 2008). This dispute centers on the philosophical question as to whether new varieties are actively and consciously “created” by speakers (i.e., “free will”) as they exploit individual linguistic variants in constructing their personal identities (e.g., Eckert 2008; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) or whether new varieties spontaneously and accidentally “emerge” (i.e., “determinism”) through unconscious forces of quasi-automatic linguistic accommodation (e.g., Mufwene 2001; Trudgill 2008). Trudgill (2008:243) claims that if speakers are conveying a shared identity through their use of language, then it “is parasitic upon accommodation and chronologically subsequent to it” (Trudgill 2008:251). Labov (2001:20) agrees that social evaluation and linguistic attitudes play only a minor role in dialect change and that the motivating force is “mechanical and inevitable.” In an attempt to reconcile these two opposing views, Tuten (2008:261) suggests that the dual concepts of identity and accommodation are likely concomitant and interdependent. This study aims to contribute empirical evidence and a new methodological approach to solve this problem by analyzing *identity* and *accommodation* in Swabian, a dialect spoken in southwestern Germany, undergoing pervasive dialect attrition as the result of persistent contact with the standard language. The Swabian corpus comprises 20 linguistic variables gathered via sociolinguistic interviews with 60 speakers – 20 interviewed twice for the panel study and 40 interviewed once for the trend study, providing the opportunity for combined real- and apparent-time analysis. The independent variables of identity and accommodation are operationalized via two composite social measures. The *Local Orientation Index (LOI)* is modeled on Hoffman and Walker's (2010) ethnic orientation index, which combines both *etic* and *emic* perspectives to evaluate speakers' orientation to their local community and their personal dialect identities. The *Interlocutor Accommodation Index (IAI)* is a social network measure that considers the nature of the relationships with whom people

regularly interact and the expectation that speakers automatically accommodate to the speech of their interlocutors (Gal 1979; Milroy 1980; Sharma 2017). Not unexpectedly, these two measures are highly correlated; however, as shown by the Boruta algorithm (see Figure 1), interlocutor accommodation is the stronger constraint. Local orientation lags Swabian interlocutors by a modest 20% in the panel study (IAI = .005 vs. LOI = .004) but by 88% in the trend study (IAI = .008 vs. LOI = .001), demonstrating the retreat of local orientation over the years and the rise of interlocutor accommodation as the most influential factor constraining dialect use in Swabia today. Moreover, interlocutor accommodation is the most powerful constraint in a multivariate analysis of eight different social factors (i.e., recording year, age, gender, community, education, orientation, accommodation, and mobility). The methodological approach presented in this study helps to untangle the colinear factors of personal identity and linguistic accommodation, demonstrating the unique role that each plays in a situation of pervasive dialect contact and leveling.

Author Translation

Um debate de longa data persiste na sociolinguística sobre se as noções agentivas de identidade do falante ou as forças automáticas de acomodação linguística promovem a convergência (ou divergência) da língua, especialmente em situações de contato dialetal (Trudgill 2008). Essa disputa está centrada na questão filosófica sobre se as novas variedades são ativa e conscientemente "criadas" pelos falantes (ou seja, "livre arbítrio") à medida que eles exploram variantes linguísticas individuais na construção de suas identidades pessoais (por exemplo, Eckert 2008; Le Page e Tabouret-Keller 1985) ou se as novas variedades "emergem" espontânea e acidentalmente (ou seja, "determinismo") por meio de forças inconscientes de acomodação linguística quase automática (por exemplo, Mufwene 2001; Trudgill 2008). Trudgill (2008:243) afirma que, se os falantes estão transmitindo uma identidade compartilhada por meio do uso da linguagem, então ela "é parasita da acomodação e cronologicamente subsequente a ela" (Trudgill 2008:251). Labov (2001:20) concorda que a avaliação social e as atitudes linguísticas desempenham apenas um papel menor na mudança de dialeto e que a força motivadora é "mecânica e inevitável". Este estudo tem como objetivo contribuir com evidências empíricas e uma nova abordagem metodológica para resolver esse problema, analisando a identidade e a acomodação no suábio, um dialeto falado no sudoeste da Alemanha, que sofre atrito dialetal generalizado como resultado do contato persistente com a língua padrão. O corpus do suábio compreende 20 variáveis linguísticas coletadas por meio de entrevistas sociolinguísticas com 60 falantes - 20 entrevistados duas vezes para o estudo de painel e 40 entrevistados uma vez para o estudo de tendência, proporcionando a oportunidade de análise combinada em tempo real e aparente. As variáveis independentes de identidade e acomodação são operacionalizadas por meio de duas medidas sociais compostas. O Local Orientation Index (LOI) é modelado no índice de orientação étnica de Hoffman e Walker (2010), que combina as perspectivas etic e emic para avaliar a orientação dos falantes para sua comunidade local e suas identidades pessoais de dialeto. O Interlocutor Accommodation Index (IAI) é uma medida de rede social que considera a natureza dos relacionamentos com os quais as pessoas interagem regularmente e a expectativa de que os falantes se adaptem automaticamente à fala de seus interlocutores (Gal 1979; Milroy 1980; Sharma 2017). Não inesperadamente, essas duas medidas são altamente correlacionadas; entretanto, conforme mostrado pelo algoritmo Boruta (veja a Figura 1), a acomodação do interlocutor é a restrição mais forte. A orientação local fica atrás dos interlocutores da Suábia em modestos 20% no estudo de painel (IAI = 0,005 vs. LOI = 0,004), mas em 88% no estudo de tendência (IAI = 0,008 vs. LOI = 0,001), demonstrando o recuo da orientação local ao longo dos anos e o aumento da acomodação do interlocutor como o fator mais influente que restringe o uso do dialeto na Suábia atualmente. A abordagem metodológica apresentada neste estudo ajuda a desvendar os fatores colineares de identidade pessoal e acomodação linguística, demonstrando a função exclusiva que cada um desempenha em uma situação de contato e nivelamento dialetal generalizado.

Dialect Attrition, Leveling and Supralocalization in the Rural World: Combating geographical isolation and ‘loneliness’ through linguistic ‘onlineness’

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In horizontal and vertical processes of dialect convergence (Auer 2018), the competition between varieties in terms of preference and usage has been traditionally unbalanced in favor of the powerful option because of status, prestige, social functions, written version availability, and codification (Røyneland 2011; Siebenhaar 2011). Contact and interaction between standard and non-standard varieties have historically meant dialect levelling and supralocalization, with subsequent erosion and obsolescence (Auer 2009). Thus, rural dialect attrition usually constitutes a typical linguistic outcome of leveling in contact situations between rural and standard dialects (Britain 2018; Trudgill 1986). The aim of this paper is to present the observation of the processes of attrition of a vernacular feature currently in progress in Ricote, an isolated rural town in Murcia (Spain), as part of the process of vertical convergence toward Castilian Spanish through leveling. In Ricote, the realization of the consonantal variable (ch) in prevocalic position has two variants: the voiced palatal affricate [dʒ], as in *ocho* ([ˈo.dʒo]), which constitutes the non-standard local realization but currently becoming extinct; and the voiceless palatal affricate [tʃ], as in *ocho* ([ˈo.tʃo]), which comes from Standard Castilian Spanish and increasingly expanding in the local community. The apparent-time study carried out correlates variable (ch) with five age-groups and two levels of formality in controlled observation: casual speech (informal) in family conversations and emphatic (formal) through rapid and anonymous surveying (Labov 1966). The results clearly shape typical age-, gender- and style-based patterns of behaviour and provide us with the measurement of its sociolinguistic health and esteem within the local community. Our data suggest that this obsolescence of a dialectal form (by devoicing: [dʒ]>[tʃ]) is part of the general process of dialect leveling after increased mundane mobility and contact. The sound change in progress reflecting dialect leveling is geolinguistically conditioned by the new conception of people’s spatiality in late modernity (Urry 2000; Champion 2009; Merriman 2012), which is currently making the dichotomy urban-rural become blurred. Despite usual results in the industrialized Western World (Eckert 1997) demonstrating the adolescents’ adherence to the vernacular world and its non-standard practices (Cheshire 1978), these data underline the *Ricoteños*’ higher awareness of the status and prestige of the standard variant and lead the dialect leveling process. In terms of motivations, they feel attracted by the opportunities that the national Castilian Spanish sociolinguistic behaviour provides them in the context of their isolated environment. It is a way of combating geographical isolation through linguistic ‘onlineness’, rather than ‘loneliness’, especially after the new possibilities for mobility, connectivity and exocentrism with commuting, and hence contact (Taylor 2003). Additionally, the resulting increased contact through intra-regional mundane mobility is breaking down local networks and routines and causing the leveling of autochthonous dialect forms and the reinforcement of supralocalization. In this way, even in rural world, contact through increased routinized mobility has structural, geographical and, crucially, linguistic consequences in everyday routines at all levels, so that, as Britain (2010, 2013) suggests, the delocalization of our social life and geographical space also conveys the subsequent delocalization of sociolinguistic practices.

Author Translation

En los procesos horizontales y verticales de convergencia dialectal (Auer 2018), la competición entre variedades según preferencia y uso tradicionalmente se ha desequilibrado a favor de la opción poderosa debido al estatus, prestigio, funciones sociales, disponibilidad de versiones escritas y codificación (Røyneland 2011; Siebenhaar 2011). El contacto y la interacción entre variedades estándares y no-estándares históricamente han supuesto nivelación y supralocalización dialectales, con la subsiguiente erosión y obsolescencia (Auer 2009). Por ello, la desaparición de los dialectos rurales suele constituir un resultado lingüístico típico de la nivelación en situaciones de contacto entre dialectos rurales y estándares (Britain 2018; Trudgill 1986). El propósito de este artículo es presentar la observación realizada de los procesos de atrición de un rasgo vernáculo que actualmente se están produciendo en Ricote, un pequeño

pueblo rural aislado en Murcia (España), como parte del proceso de convergencia vertical hacia el castellano a través de la nivelación. En Ricote, la realización de la variable consonántica (ch) en posición prevocálica tiene dos variantes: la africada palatal sonora [dʒ] (*ocho* ['o.dʒo]), la realización local no-estándar en extinción; y la africada palatal sorda [tʃ] (*ocho* ['o.tʃo]), del español castellano estándar y en fase de expansión en la comunidad local. El estudio en tiempo-aparente realizado correlaciona la variable (ch) con cinco grupos etarios y dos niveles de formalidad mediante observación controlada: habla casual (informal) en conversaciones familiares y enfática (formal) mediante encuestas rápidas y anónimas (Labov 1966). Los resultados se ajustan claramente a los típicos patrones de comportamiento basados en edad, género y estilo y nos proporcionan la medición de su salud sociolingüística y su estima dentro de la comunidad local. Nuestros datos sugieren que esta obsolescencia (al ensordecirse: [dʒ]>[tʃ]) es parte del proceso general de nivelación dialectal a raíz de la mayor movilidad y contacto rutinizado. El cambio lingüístico que refleja la nivelación dialectal está condicionado geolingüísticamente por la nueva concepción de la espacialidad de las personas en la modernidad tardía (Urry 2000; Champion 2009; Merriman 2012), que actualmente está desdibujando la dicotomía urbano-rural. frente a los resultados habituales del mundo occidental industrializado (Eckert 1997), que demuestran la adhesión de los adolescentes al mundo vernáculo y a sus prácticas no-estándares (Cheshire 1978), estos datos subrayan la mayor conciencia de los ricoteños por el estatus y prestigio de la variante estándar, liderando el proceso de nivelación dialectal. En cuanto a las motivaciones, se sienten atraídos por las oportunidades que les brinda el comportamiento sociolingüístico nacional castellano en el contexto de su entorno aislado. Constituye una forma de combatir el aislamiento geográfico a través de la “conexión” lingüística, en lugar de la “soledad”, especialmente después de las nuevas posibilidades de movilidad, conectividad y exocentrismo con los desplazamientos y, por tanto, el contacto (Taylor 2003). Además, el aumento del contacto por la movilidad mundana intrarregional está alterando las redes y rutinas locales, provocando la nivelación de formas dialectales autóctonas y el refuerzo de la supralocalización. Así, incluso en el mundo rural, el contacto a través de una mayor movilidad rutinaria tiene consecuencias estructurales, geográficas y, fundamentalmente, lingüísticas en las rutinas cotidianas en todos los niveles, de modo que la deslocalización de nuestra vida social y del espacio geográfico también conlleva la posterior deslocalización de las prácticas sociolingüísticas (Britain 2010, 2013).

Phonological Evidence for the Grammaticalization of *genre* in Swiss French

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates the phonological changes associated with the grammaticalization of the word *genre* in Swiss French, focusing on its use as a discourse marker (DM). The research aims to provide empirical evidence for this process by examining the acoustic properties of the nasal vowel /ã/ in *genre* when used as a DM compared to its original use as a noun.

The innovative use of *genre* as a DM in French has been documented, but acoustic evidence supporting its grammaticalization has not been thoroughly explored. In its original use, *genre* functions as a noun synonymous with "sort" or "type", indicating a category. When used as a DM, *genre* shifts from its grammatical category as a noun to function either as a preposition or an adverb, a transition characteristic of grammaticalization. This shift often involves phonological reduction due to increased usage frequency and reduced risk of misunderstanding. The corpus used is the OFROM corpus ((le corpus Oral de Français de Suisse Romande, (Avanzi et al. 2012-2020), www.unine.ch/ofrom), comprising sociolinguistic interviews with native speakers of Swiss French. The analysis included 2,645 occurrences of *genre*, coded as either DM or non-DM, spoken by 306 native Swiss French speakers from seven Francophone cantons in Switzerland. Our acoustic analysis focused on three key correlates: the first formant (F1), the second formant (F2), and the difference in amplitude between the first formant's strongest harmonic and the low-frequency nasal pole (A1-P0). These measurements were extracted at

multiple time-normalized points within the vowel duration to capture the dynamic nature of nasalization. The results revealed that the nasal vowel /ã/ in DM *genre* is less nasalized than in its non-DM use, indicated by higher A1-P0 values. This reduction in nasality supports the hypothesis that phonological reduction accompanies grammaticalization. Additionally, the F1 values were higher in DM *genre*, suggesting a lower vowel quality. The F2 values indicated a more fronted articulation in female speakers for DM *genre* compared to its non-DM use, while male speakers did not show a significant difference in F2 values between the two. Gender differences in the acoustic properties of /ã/ were notable. Female speakers exhibited higher F2 values in DM *genre*, suggesting a more fronted articulation, while male speakers showed a more pronounced reduction in nasality. This disparity is likely due to different vocal tract structures between genders and aligns with previous research indicating that females often lead phonetic changes. These findings underscore the importance of acoustic correlates in distinguishing between the DM and non-DM uses of *genre*. The observed reduction in nasality and changes in vowel quality provide compelling evidence for the grammaticalization of *genre* in Swiss French. Furthermore, the gender differences observed highlight the role of social factors in phonetic variation and language change. In conclusion, this study contributes to our understanding of phonological reduction as an indicator of grammaticalization and demonstrates the value of acoustic analysis in tracing language change. The findings have implications for future research on discourse markers and grammaticalization processes in other varieties of French and other languages.

Is uptalk gendered in Hong Kong? What High Rising Terminals (HRTs) in Hong Kong English mean

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research primarily in Western contexts shows that High Rising Terminals (HRTs) or “uptalk” conveys various social meanings beyond its “essentialized” feminine meanings (Lakoff 1973), such as politeness and casualness, and can signal solidarity or construct social personas (Britain 1992; Kiesling 2005). Despite this understanding, studies on uptalk’s meanings in non-Western contexts like Hong Kong are scarce, with existing research suggesting that rising tones might index dominance rather than politeness, or femininity (Cheng & Warren 2005), pointing to potential cultural differences in the use/perception of uptalk. The study examines whether there are indeed such differences by investigating the impact of gender on the use of uptalk in Hong Kong English (HKE). It also examines to what extent age, ethnicity, and affect interact with gender in the use of uptalk, aiming to uncover the meanings of uptalk in HKE. A mixed-methods approach was employed, involving a production experiment, an evaluation experiment, and post-experiment interviews with 16 undergraduate students from Hong Kong, focusing on gender’s influence on uptalk. The study acknowledges the complexity of gender beyond binary classifications but initially focuses on the binary male-female distinction for foundational insights. Qualitatively, it was found that uptalk is viewed differently based on gender: women’s uptalk was perceived as indicative of lack of confidence and hesitancy, whereas men’s uptalk was associated with education and confidence. These perceptions shifted when participants were made aware of uptalk as a linguistic feature, highlighting the role of awareness in gendered interpretations of speech. Men were generally less aware of uptalk usage, suggesting women’s significant influence in shaping its gendered connotations. Quantitatively, through Bayesian mixed-effects regression analyses, the study indicated a relatively high probability that uptalk is more prevalent in mixed-gender interactions (median = 0.1, SD = 0.11, $pd = 0.81$) and is particularly associated with femininity (median = 0.63, SD = 0.92, $pd = 0.77$), consistent with previous Western research. This was confirmed by frequentist post-hoc tests, where the differences by

gender ($t(14)=-2.29, p < 0.05$) and gender groupings, particularly for women in same-sex vs, mixed-sex groups ($t(7)=-2.87, p < 0.05$) were significant. Interactions were also observed: women were also found to be more likely to exhibit significantly more uptalk use in mixed-sex settings than men, indicating a stylistic accommodation to the speaker's gender and the gender context (median = 1.3, SD = 0.23, $pd = 1$). This suggests that uptalk is a means for navigating gender(ed) identities in Hong Kong. Factors other than gender, such as 'Chinese' ethnic orientation ($pd = 0.8$) and affect ($pd = 1$), also conditioned uptalk use, attesting to the intersectionality of uptalk with factors beyond gender. Both sets of findings suggest that that women use linguistic forms like uptalk to convey tentativeness for social capital, particularly with men, among other social meanings. They shed light on how gender – in interacting with other social factors – is expressed and negotiated through language variables like uptalk in Hong Kong, contributing to the broader understanding of gender(ed) dynamics and sociolinguistic practices in the region.

Convergencia a un mediador no presente – Evidencia del español de Juchitán, México

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Según Bell (1984), lxs hablantes suelen acomodarse a su destinatario (*addressee*), en lo que se denomina diseño de audiencia, aunque pueden, en determinadas circunstancias, acomodarse a un/a mediador/a (*referee*) que no está presente, con el/la que se identifican y se afilian, en un proceso denominado diseño de mediador. Sin embargo, en la actualidad existe una falta de consenso sobre el grado en que la agencia desempeña un papel en la acomodación. Aunque el modelo de Bell (1984) considera la acomodación como un proceso bastante agentivo, algunxs investigadores, como Trudgill (2008), asumen que la acomodación suele producirse de forma casi automática, independientemente de la identidad de lxs hablantes y del nivel de afiliación con su interlocutor/a. Si Trudgill (2008) tuviera razón, se esperaría que lxs hablantes convergieran también a mediadores con lxs cuales no se afilian y no se identifican. Los resultados de un proyecto sobre la variación en un corpus del español de Juchitán, México, una comunidad indígena bilingüe en el español y el zapoteco del istmo, arrojan luz sobre esta cuestión. Este proyecto investigó la variación en la /s/ implosiva y el género gramatical usado para hablar de referentes muxes (una identidad local, a menudo considerada un “tercer género” entre los hombres y las mujeres). Tras este análisis, se averiguó que los hombres hispanohablantes, con mucha más frecuencia que lxs otrxs hablantes, utilizan la variante retenida de la /s/ y el género gramatical masculino para hablar de referentes muxes. Se compararon también los patrones de variación que emergen cuando lxs hablantes asumen posturas (*stances*) asociadas con la ideología machista y la ideología pro-española local con aquellas que se dan cuando lxs hablantes no mencionan estas ideologías. Ya que la ideología pro-española y la ideología machista perjudican a las mujeres, a lxs muxes y a lxs hablantes del zapoteco, en Juchitán se vinculan comúnmente con los hombres hispanohablantes. Mientras lxs hablantes en el corpus mencionan las ideologías asociadas con los hombres hispanohablantes, convergen hacia ellos (utilizan más género gramatical masculino y /s/ retenida), aun cuando no están de acuerdo con estas ideologías. Incluso, las mujeres hablantes de zapoteco muestran este patrón de convergencia. Es decir, cuando los comentarios vinculados con los hombres hispanohablantes forman parte del discurso, lxs participantes se acomodan a un mediador imaginario, masculino e hispanohablante, con el que no necesariamente se identifican ni se afilian. Por ende, sugiero una revisión de la teoría del diseño de la audiencia de Bell (1984) que lleva a la teoría en una dirección más consistente con el argumento de Trudgill (2008), en el sentido de que la acomodación tiende a ocurrir de forma casi automática. Concretamente, parece que lxs hablantes convergen a menudo hacia mediadores en su discurso, aun si no se afilian con ellxs. Al parecer, la tendencia psicológica de lxs hablantes a converger hacia su interlocutor/a es tan marcada que hasta puede llevar a la convergencia con personas imaginarias con las que lxs hablantes quieren desafilarse.

Author Translation

According to Bell (1984), speakers usually accommodate to their addressee, in what is called audience design, although they may, in certain circumstances, accommodate to a referee who is not present, with whom they identify and affiliate, in a process called referee design. However, there is currently a lack of consensus on the extent to which agency plays a role in accommodation. Although Bell's (1984) model views accommodation as a fairly agentive process, some researchers, such as Trudgill (2008), assume that accommodation typically occurs almost automatically, regardless of speakers' identity and level of affiliation with their interlocutor. If Trudgill (2008) were correct, speakers would be expected to converge also to referees with whom they do not affiliate and do not identify. The results of a project on variation in a corpus of Spanish from Juchitán, Mexico, an indigenous community bilingual in Spanish and Zapotec of the Isthmus, shed light on this question. This project investigated variation in implosive /s/ and grammatical gender used to talk about mux referents (a local identity, often considered a "third gender" between men and women). Following this analysis, it was found that Spanish-speaking men, much more frequently than other speakers, use the retained variant of /s/ and masculine grammatical gender to talk about muxes referents. I also compared the patterns of variation that emerge when speakers assume stances associated with local machista ideology and pro-Spanish ideology with those that occur when speakers do not mention these ideologies. Since pro-Spanish ideology and machista ideology are detrimental to women, muxes and speakers of the Zapotec language, in Juchitán they are commonly associated with the Spanish-speaking men. When speakers in the corpus mention ideologies associated with Spanish-speaking men, they converge toward them (they use more masculine grammatical gender and retained /s/), even when they disagree with these ideologies. Even female Zapotec speakers show this pattern of convergence. In other words, when comments linked to Spanish-speaking men are part of the discourse, participants accommodate an imaginary, masculine, Spanish-speaking referee with whom they do not necessarily identify or affiliate. Thus, I suggest a revision of Bell's (1984) audience design theory that takes the theory in a direction more consistent with Trudgill's (2008) argument that accommodation tends to occur almost automatically. Specifically, it appears that speakers often converge toward referees in their speech, even if they do not affiliate with them. Apparently, the psychological tendency of speakers to converge toward their interlocutor is so marked that it can even lead to convergence with imaginary persons with whom speakers want to disaffiliate.

Latent Class Analysis as a data-driven approach to mapping meaning change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Methods for mapping change in the distribution of a linguistic element over time are among the most important tools in historical linguistics. This is because distributional change is assumed to be concomitant to meaning change; when a linguistic element is used in novel contexts, its meaning has typically changed. To give just one example, consider the Spanish intransitive *ser* + past participle (PtcP) construction, which could be used to express either temporal (1) or resultative meanings (2). On the basis of distributional changes in terms of the predicates appearing as the participle, aspectual morphology on the auxiliary and several other contextual parameters, studies have claimed that over time, *ser* + PtcP was increasingly used to express resultative (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, 2002) or temporal readings (Rosemeyer, 2014). We argue that the apparent contrariness of these findings is due to the mistaken premise that in meaning change, the impact of each predictor variable is independent from each other. In multivariate statistics, this problem is termed multicollinearity (Tomaschek et al., 2018, among many others), and a number of methods have been developed to assess the degree of multicollinearity between predictor variables. In contrast, we propose to view multicollinearity as a theoretical, not merely a methodological, problem. Indeed, different contextual indicators orient towards the same interpretation. This fact can be described as a general property of situated meanings (Linell, 2009), i.e., the emergence of interpretations in context as a result of the combined semantic contribution of different contextual parameters. We use Latent Class Analysis (LCA, Nylund-Gibson and Choi, 2018) to develop a data-

driven description of the situated meanings of *ser* + PtcP in a sample of $n = 2095$ tokens between the 12th and 17th century. The situated meanings of *ser* + PtcP are described as latent classes. They are social concepts that cannot be measured directly, but only indirectly through observation of the speakers' linguistic behavior. The main advantages of using LCA over similar statistical grouping methods such as factor and cluster analysis, as well as behavioral profiles based on co-occurrence tables are that (a) LCA is geared towards the identification of latent classes, not "superficial" correlations between variables in question and (b) LCA is model-based, permitting evaluation of goodness of fit to the data. Results from the LCA allow us to identify eight situated meanings, whose diachronic distribution is visualized in Figure 1. Mixed-effects regression models show a significant increase in the probability of *ser* + PtcP tokens to be assigned to Latent Classes 3 and 8. As both of these contexts instantiate narrative configurations in which *ser* + PtcP serves to express the completed result of an action, our results are consistent with the hypothesis that *ser* + PtcP was gradually ousted from perfective usage contexts and came to be restricted to resultative functions in late texts.

Author Translation

Los métodos para describir cambios en la distribución de un elemento lingüístico a lo largo del tiempo se encuentran entre las herramientas más importantes de la lingüística histórica. Esto se debe a que el cambio distributivo es concomitante con el cambio de significado; cuando un elemento lingüístico se utiliza en contextos novedosos, su significado frecuentemente ha cambiado. Para dar sólo un ejemplo, considere la construcción intransitiva *ser* + participio pasado (PtcP), que podría usarse para expresar significados temporales (1) o resultantes (2). Sobre la base de cambios distributivos en términos de los predicados que aparecen como participio, la morfología de aspecto en el auxiliar y varios otros parámetros contextuales, los estudios han afirmado que con el tiempo, *ser* + PtcP se utilizó cada vez más para expresar lecturas resultativas (Octavio de Toledo y Huerta, 2002) o temporales (Rosemeyer, 2014). Proponemos que la aparente contradicción de estos hallazgos se debe a la premisa errónea de que en el cambio de significado, el impacto de cada variable predictiva es independiente entre sí. En estadística multivariada, este problema se denomina multicolinealidad (Tomaschek et al., 2018, entre muchos otros), y se han desarrollado varios métodos para evaluar el grado de multicolinealidad entre variables predictoras. Por el contrario, proponemos ver la multicolinealidad como un problema teórico, no meramente metodológico. De hecho, diferentes indicadores contextuales orientan hacia la misma interpretación. Este hecho puede describirse como una propiedad general de los significados situados (Linell, 2009), es decir, el surgimiento de interpretaciones en contexto como resultado de la contribución semántica combinada de diferentes parámetros contextuales. Utilizamos el Análisis de Clases Latentes (ACL, Nylund-Gibson and Choi, 2018) para desarrollar una descripción basada en datos de los significados situados de *ser* + PtcP en una muestra de $n = 2095$ ocurrencias entre los siglos XII y XVII. Los significados situados de *ser* + PtcP se describen como clases latentes, definidas como conceptos sociales que no pueden medirse directamente, sino sólo indirectamente a través de la observación del comportamiento lingüístico de los hablantes. Las principales ventajas de utilizar el ACL sobre métodos de agrupación estadística similares, como el análisis factorial y de clúster, así como los perfiles de comportamiento (behavioral profiles), son que (a) el ACV está orientado a la identificación de clases latentes en vez de correlaciones "superficiales" entre variables en cuestión y (b) el ACV se basa en modelos, lo que permite evaluar la bondad del ajuste. Los resultados del ACV nos permiten identificar ocho significados situados, cuya distribución diacrónica se visualiza en el Gráfico 1. Los modelos de regresión de efectos mixtos muestran un aumento significativo en la probabilidad de que los tokens *ser* + PtcP se asignen a las Clases Latentes 3 y 8. Como ambos de estos contextos instancian configuraciones narrativas en las que *ser* + PtcP sirve para expresar el resultado completo de una acción, nuestros resultados son consistentes con la hipótesis de que *ser* + PtcP gradualmente llegó a restringirse a los usos resultativos.

Documenting Haitian Creole variation across the Dominican Republic

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The island of Hispaniola is one of only a handful of islands throughout the world that are shared by two nations with distinct national languages: Haitian Creole in Haiti and Spanish in the Dominican Republic. A long history of dispossession has shaped migratory flows from Haiti to the Dominican Republic. Some scholars estimate that there are upwards of 2 million Haitians and their descendants living in the Dominican Republic (Valdman 2015), composing nearly twenty percent of the Dominican population of 10.8 million people (World Bank 2021). This large-scale migration of Haitians to the Dominican Republic has created diverse communities of Creole speakers inside a Spanish-speaking territory. In this environment, the construction of cultural difference between Haitians and Dominicans is often mediated by language use. However, the study of language contact on Hispaniola has been greatly neglected within sociolinguistic research. Many Dominicans themselves have “...been accustomed to either purposely ignore the presence of Creole in Dominican society or think of it as an invading language” (Valdez 2015), and the contact between the two languages has been almost completely missing from the sociolinguistic literature, outside of the immediate border region (Ortiz-López 2010). The present research examines the early results of the author’s dissertation fieldwork, which is the first-ever large-scale study to document Haitian Creole across the Dominican Republic. The research shows how ethnic stereotypes, nationalism, and demographic shifts have impacted the language choices of Haitians and Haitian-Dominicans in this bilingual context. The author argues that despite the strong societal pressures of assimilation and intense racial and ethnic stereotyping that many Haitians experience in the Dominican Republic, the intergenerational transmission of Haitian Creole remains strong. The author also demonstrates how factors such as geographic location and documentation status have impacted the intergenerational transmission of Creole in this context. These findings not only document the characteristics of the speech community at hand, but also contribute more broadly to discussions within sociolinguistics (Meyerhoff and Walker 2007, 2013) and migration studies (Urbatcsh 2015) which explore how geographic mobility affects linguistic production. By documenting the speech practices and language attitudes of Creole speakers in the Dominican Republic, this research provides a better understanding of how individuals in transnational communities use their language to carve out a space for themselves and sustain emotional and cultural connections to their homeland.

Sociolinguistics Knowledge in High School Classrooms: A Social Justice Perspective

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Understanding the sociolinguistic dimensions of heritage and minority languages has been shown to have positive effects on students’ ethnolinguistic identity, academic confidence, and development of social consciousness (Dee & Penner, 2017; Holguín Mendoza, 2022; Vásquez, 2006). However, most students do not learn about the sociocultural aspects of language until they attend university, and even then, only a small number of students do so (Carter & Sánchez-Muñoz, 2023). This paper argues that exposing students to sociolinguistic issues, particularly those concerning minority and heritage languages (HL), earlier in their education, such as in high school, would have a beneficial impact and should be part of the K-12 curriculum, especially for minoritized students. This paper describes a community-engaged project designed to integrate sociolinguistic principles into high school classrooms. Initiated by faculty and students from a large public university in the Southwest, the project aims to spread sociolinguistics knowledge, focusing on heritage languages, race, power, and identity. Inspired by the service-learning program at University of California at Santa Barbara called *School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society* (SKILLS), our goal is to bring together university faculty and students with local public high school students and teachers to explore sociocultural aspects of language use. Faculty and students collaborate with local high school teachers to help design and facilitate lesson plans in sociolinguistics

that explore topics that are important for social justice. Students explore ways in which social variables (e.g., race, ethnicity, age, identity practices) interact with language variation and how power structures influence hegemonic beliefs about language variation and diversity. The feedback from undergraduate and graduate students and the high schools we have collaborated with so far indicates that this project profoundly impacts heritage language speakers and their communities. By fostering collaboration between university and high school students and teachers, our project seeks to promote critical language awareness and sociolinguistic justice for all.

Author Translation

Se ha demostrado que comprender las dimensiones sociolingüísticas de las lenguas de herencia y minoritarias tiene efectos positivos en la identidad etnolingüística, la confianza académica y el desarrollo de la conciencia social de los estudiantes (Dee & Penner, 2017; Holguín Mendoza, 2022; Vásquez, 2006). Sin embargo, la mayoría de los estudiantes no están expuestos a los aspectos socioculturales del lenguaje hasta que asisten a la universidad, e incluso entonces, solo un pequeño número de estudiantes lo hace (Carter & Sánchez-Muñoz, 2023). Este artículo sostiene que exponer a los estudiantes a cuestiones sociolingüísticas, particularmente aquellas relacionadas con las lenguas minoritarias y heredadas (HL), en una etapa más temprana de su educación, como en la escuela secundaria, tendría un impacto beneficioso y debería ser parte del plan de estudios K-12, especialmente para los estudiantes minorizados. Esta presentación describe un proyecto de participación comunitaria diseñado para integrar principios sociolingüísticos en las aulas de secundaria. Iniciado por profesores y estudiantes de una gran universidad pública del suroeste estadounidense, el proyecto tiene como objetivo difundir el conocimiento sociolingüístico, centrándose en las lenguas heredadas, la raza, el poder y la identidad. Inspirándonos en el programa de la Universidad de California en Santa Bárbara llamado *School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society* (SKILLS), nuestro objetivo es reunir a profesores y estudiantes universitarios con estudiantes y profesores de escuelas secundarias públicas para explorar aspectos socioculturales del uso del lenguaje. Los profesores y estudiantes colaboran con escuelas secundarias locales para ayudar a diseñar y facilitar planes de lecciones de sociolingüística que exploren temas que son importantes para la justicia social. Los estudiantes aprenden acerca de las formas en que las variables sociales (por ejemplo, raza, etnia, edad, prácticas de identidad) interactúan con la variación del lenguaje y cómo las estructuras de poder influyen en las creencias hegemónicas sobre la variación y la diversidad lingüísticas. Los comentarios de los estudiantes de pregrado y posgrado y de las escuelas secundarias con las que hemos colaborado hasta ahora indican que este proyecto impacta profundamente a los hablantes de lenguas heredadas y sus comunidades. Al fomentar la colaboración entre estudiantes y profesores universitarios y de secundaria, nuestro proyecto busca promover la conciencia lingüística crítica y la justicia sociolingüística para todos.

Variación de la tercera persona del plural no fórica: un estudio sociosituacional

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

En español, el referente de la tercera persona del plural puede ser recuperable mediante la correspondencia con la desinencia verbal, como en (1), donde el morfema *-n* en *juegan* ('play') concuerda con el sujeto *los niños* ('boys').

1. Los niños *juegan* al fútbol cuando *salen* del colegio a las cinco

'Boys play football when [they] get out from school'

Sin embargo, en muchos casos no es posible realizar la concordancia entre el morfema de tercera persona del plural y un sujeto léxico o gramatical, puesto que no existe ningún elemento que funcione

como tal en el contexto inmediato. Este es el caso del ejemplo (2), en el que el morfema *-n* de *dicen* no recupera ningún sujeto. Por ello, este fenómeno puede denominarse *tercera persona del plural no fórica*.

1. *Dicen* que gritar ayuda a liberar estrés, y resulta que las plantas también lo hacen

(CIE-TP-133)

En esta investigación estudiaremos la distribución social y comunicativa de la tercera persona del plural no fórica en distintas situaciones sociales y tipos de participantes. Las variantes de la tercera persona del plural no fórica fueron previamente clasificadas de acuerdo a su mayor o menor adscripción al prototipo (ejemplo (2)), en función del grado de desfocalización del agente. Se estableció una construcción prototípica y cinco periféricas. Para ello se utilizará el *Corpus Interaccional del Español* (328,885 words), que contiene varias secciones: conversaciones espontáneas, textos escritos y orales de los medios de comunicación, textos de TV y radio/podcasts y textos de redes sociales y chats (Facebook, X, Instagram, Whatsapp). Los participantes se clasificaron de acuerdo a sus roles sociales, esto es: hablantes particulares, profesionales, periodistas y políticos, y también de acuerdo a su sexo/género. Obtuvimos 963 ejemplos de tercera persona del plural no fórica. El análisis cuantitativo fue realizado mediante el paquete estadístico Rbrul (Johnson 2009). Los resultados indican que las distintas variantes de la tercera persona del plural no fórica se distribuyen de forma desigual entre los distintos textos y entre los participantes. Así pues, por ejemplo, la construcción prototípica (como el ejemplo (2)) tiende a usarse en textos como noticias y estados de redes sociales y es frecuentemente usada entre los periodistas, pues de ellos se espera que mantengan la objetividad en las noticias. También es frecuente entre los hablantes particulares, debido a su participación en redes sociales y textos de internet, como los blogs. Con respecto al sexo/género, se revela como un factor significativo hasta cierto punto; la variante prototípica no se relaciona con ninguno de ellos de forma representativa, pero sí con otras variantes.

Author Translation

Variation of the non-phoric third person plural in Spanish: a sociosituational approach

The referent of the third person plural in Spanish can be recoverable by its corresponding agreement with the verbal ending, as in (1), where the morpheme *-n* in *juegan* ('play') agrees with the subject *niños* ('boys').

1. Los niños *juegan* al fútbol cuando *salen* del colegio a las cinco

'Boys play football when [they] get out from school'

However, in many cases, is it not possible to establish the agreement between the third-person plural morpheme and a lexical or grammatical subject, as there is not any element functioning as a subject in the context which can be recoverable. That is the case of (2), in which the morpheme *-n* in *dicen* ([they] say') does not recover any subject. Thus, such usage can be labeled as *non-phoric third person plural*.

2. *Dicen* que gritar ayuda a liberar estrés, y resulta que las plantas también lo hacen'

[They] say that shouting helps to release stress and it turns out that plants also do that' (CIE-TP-133).

This investigation will study the social and communicative distribution of the variants of the non-phoric third person plural across social situations and participants. The variants of the non-phoric third person plural were previously classified based on a prototypical approach, establishing the prototypical one and five peripherals according to the gradual desfocalization of the agent. For that purpose, it will be used the texts from the *Corpus Interaccional del Español* (328,885 words), which comprises several subsections: spontaneous conversations, oral and written mass media texts, oral and written advertisements, TV and radio/podcast and texts from social media and chats (Facebook, X, Instagram, Whatsapp). Participants in these texts were classified according to their social roles, namely *particular speakers*, *professionals*, *journalists* and *politicians* and also by their sex/gender. We obtained 963 examples of non-phoric third person plural. The quantitative analysis was corroborated by statistical analysis using multiple logistic regression and the mixed-model statistical package Rbrul (Johnson 2009). Results will show that different variants of non-phoric third person plural are unevenly used across texts and the social features of participants. For example, the prototypical construction (as in (2)), is

useful for different sort of communicative purposes: from news in newspapers to statements in social media or internet posts. It is frequently used among journalists, as they are expected to preserve objectivity in news, but also among particular speakers due to their participation in social media and internet texts, like blogs. Regarding sex/gender, it reveals to be a determinant factor to a certain extent. The prototypical variant does not show any relationship with a particular sex/gender, but it does with other variants.

Acquisition of sociolinguistic variation by second-language speakers of Australian English: Changes in progress

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Existing research on the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation in a second language (L2) shows that L2 speakers tend to prefer standard variants and that they acquire some but not all of the first language (L1) patterns of variation (e.g., Adamson & Regan, 1991; Drummond, 2012; Major, 2004; Mougeon, Rehner, & Nadasdi, 2004; Schleef, Meyerhoff, & Clark, 2011). While most studies have focused on stable variables, here we examine changes in progress which might present a greater challenge for acquisition due to differential use across the majority community. The data come from sociolinguistic interviews with Russian and Mandarin L1 speakers in Australia, (30 Russian L1, 30 Mandarin L1; 39 women, 21 men; all well-educated). We selected three variables undergoing change in Australian English, which are at different stages of change and are socially demarcated. These are trap, which is raising pre-nasally, resulting in an allophonic split from pre-obstruent trap, a change led by the working-class; existential *there's* with plural arguments (e.g., *there's lots of people*), a change that was historically led by working-class men but is practically complete now; and prevocalic *the* (e.g., *the other*), for which there is a very recent shift from fleece to schwa, led by women and the middle-class. All instances of these variables were extracted (trap = 1,429; *there's* = 437; prevocalic *the* = 739), and subject to mixed-effects regression analyses, testing the effects of linguistic, social, and L2-specific factors. We find that the L2 speakers use similar variants and are subject to similar linguistic conditioning as what we have observed in previous work in the speech of the Anglo-Celtic majority, and this holds independently of English proficiency and length of residence in Australia. An effect for L1 is found only for *there's*, with Mandarin speakers using *there's* (vs. *there are*) proportionally more than Russian speakers, which may be due to L1 transfer rather than greater acquisition of the variation. The social conditioning, however, does not match that of Anglo Australians: we find no effect for age or occupation for any of the variables, but do find an effect for gender for trap and *there's*, and do not for prevocalic *the*. Specifically, for the more advanced changes, L2 women approximate more closely than L2 men the majority norms in having a split between pre-nasal and pre-obstruent trap (Figure 1) and a higher rate of *there's* (Figure 2). For the most recent change (prevocalic *the*), however, there is a wholesale favouring of schwa, which is the new but still minority variant for the Anglo Australians; we attribute this to the prevalence of schwa in pre-consonantal environments, the most frequent context where *the* arises. Thus, the L2 women are ahead of the L2 men in the acquisition of these more advanced changes (as in Drummond 2011, 2012), despite these changes being led by a group with whom they would not normally identify with, namely working-class Australians. This suggests that L2 speakers may be less attuned to the social evaluation of the changes going on around them.

Superstratum and Substratum Influences in Historical Hawaiian Englishes

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

‘Olelo Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i Pidgin English, and Hawai‘i English collectively form the primary linguistic groups of the Hawaiian Archipelago. ‘Olelo Hawai‘i is an Austronesian language indigenous to the islands, and English was introduced as a colonial language, with contact beginning in 1778. Hawai‘i Pidgin English, an English-lexified creole, solidified around 1896 (Siegel, 2000:202), shortly after English became the primary language of education, around 1878 (Wist 1940:72 in Siegel, 2000:202). Crucially, the colonial Republic of Hawai‘i also outlawed ‘Olelo Hawai‘i in 1896 (Medeiros, 2017:45), marking a dramatic shift in language policy and providing context for the dynamically shifting linguistic landscape in the 20th century. The Linguistic Atlas of Hawai‘i contains field notes from eight interviews of Hawai‘i English speakers aged 18 to 50, conducted by students of Claude M. Wise of Louisiana State University in 1949 and 1950. The Atlas interviews were conducted in American Standard English to document Hawai‘i Englishes; however, this small group of speakers represent a diverse set of substratum and superstratum languages, and the English they spoke is indicative of that. Three speakers are ethnic Hawaiian, three are mixed Asian-Hawaiian (2 Chinese, 1 Filipino), and two are East Asian (1 Chinese, 1 Japanese). While ‘Olelo Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i Pidgin English, and Hawai‘i English have all been studied extensively, little work has been done examining superstrate and substrate influences on Hawai‘i English. Drager (2012) provides an overview of Hawai‘i Pidgin English and Hawai‘i English, and Siegel (2000) discusses substrate influences in Hawai‘i Pidgin English. Odo (1970) presents the two languages as a dialect continuum between basilect and more prestigious forms. However, Reynolds (1999) demonstrates a lack of mutual intelligibility between Hawai‘i Pidgin English and American Standard English, which suggests that Hawai‘i English is a separate dialect that is distinct from both. The data from the Linguistic Atlas interviews appear to confirm this. The field notes from each interview are being compiled and analyzed for notations of variable vowel realizations and vowels typically not present in the American Standard English vowel inventory (Yoshida). Initial analysis of the data shows that all lax vowels (except for schwa) may be raised, and mid and back vowels may be lowered. For example, one ethnic Hawaiian speaker’s data includes 34 instances of English ‘he.’ The vowel is variably realized as /i/, /ɪ/, and /ɘ/. Of these, 16 were /i/, 3 were /ɪ/, and 15 were /ɘ/. Hawai‘i Pidgin English speakers generally produce /ɪ/ for both English vowels /i/ and /ɪ/ (Drager, 2012: 66), and ‘Olelo Hawai‘i does not have a phonemic tense-lax distinction (Elbert & Pukui, 1979:14), suggesting substrate or superstrate influence from one or both languages. Further exploration of the data will examine variable realizations alveolar of consonants as well as aid in understanding the linguistic influences on Hawai‘i Englishes. Initial data review shows significant and varied substratum and superstratum influence on these Englishes and provides a unique historical insight into the development of contemporary Hawai‘i Englishes at a pivotal point in the archipelago’s linguistic and political history.

Author Translation

Hawaiano, el pidgin inglés de Hawái y el inglés colectivamente forman las lenguas principales del archipiélago hawaiano. Hawaiano es un idioma austronesiano y el indígena de las islas; el inglés fue introducido como idioma colonial, con contacto desde el año 1778. El pidgin inglés de Hawái es una lengua criolla con base léxica inglesa y que se estabilizó alrededor del año 1896 (Siegel, 2000:202), menos de veinte años después del cambio en idioma primario de educación al inglés, cerca del 1878 (Wist 1940:72 en Siegel, 2000:202). Además, la República de Hawái colonial prohibió el uso del hawaiano en 1896 (Medeiros, 2017:45), que señala un cambio radical en política de lenguaje y provee contexto para los cambios dinámicos que ocurrían en el archipiélago durante el siglo XX. El Atlas Lingüístico de Hawái consiste en respuestas de ocho personas, entre 18 y 50 años de edad, a una encuesta administrada por estudiantes de Claude M. Wise de la Universidad Estatal de Luisiana en los años 1949 y 1950. La encuesta fue administrada en el inglés estándar norteamericano para documentar los dialectos del inglés en Hawái, pero este grupo pequeño representa una variedad de diversos idiomas sustratos y superestratos que aparecen en el inglés que hablaron. Tres de los participantes son hawaianos, tres son mestizos asiáticos (2 chinos, 1 filipino), y dos son asiáticos (1 chino, 1 japonés). El hawaiano, el pidgin inglés de Hawái y el inglés de Hawái se han estudiado mucho, pero poco trabajo académico investiga el efecto de los idiomas sustratos y superestratos en el inglés de Hawái. Drager (2012) presenta un resumen del inglés de Hawái y del pidgin inglés de Hawái, y Siegel (2000) trata de efectos sustratos en el pidgin inglés de

Hawái. Odo (1970) presenta a los dos idiomas como continuo de dialectos entre un basilecto y unos más prestigiosos. Por otro lado, Reynolds (1999) revela una falta de inteligibilidad entre el pidgin inglés de Hawái y el inglés estándar norteamericano, que sugiere que el inglés de Hawái es otro dialecto distinto de los dos otros. Los datos de las entrevistas del Atlas Lingüístico de Hawái confirman esto. Los apuntes de cada entrevista están siendo compilados y analizados para anotaciones de realizaciones variadas de vocales y de vocales típicamente no presentes en el inglés estándar norteamericano (Yoshida). Análisis preliminar de los datos revela que todos los vocales laxos, menos la schwa, se pueden realizar con la lengua elevada. Además, los vocales centrales y traseros se pueden realizar con la lengua hundida. Por ejemplo, la entrevista de un participante hawaiano incluye la palabra inglesa ‘he’ en 34 instancias. El vocal se realiza como /i/, /ɪ/, e /ɪ/. De esas 34 instancias, 16 son /i/, 3 son /ɪ/, y 15 son /ɪ/. Generalmente, la gente que habla el pidgin inglés de Hawái hace el vocal /ɪ/ por los vocales ingleses /i/ e /ɪ/ (Drager, 2012: 66), y el hawaiano no distingue fonémicamente entre vocales tensos y laxos (Elbert & Pukui, 1979:14), que sugiere un efecto sustrato o superestrato de uno o los dos idiomas. Análisis preliminar también revela una variedad de efectos sustratos y superestratos de los dialectos de inglés de Hawái, y ofrecen una perspectiva única histórica del desarrollo de los dialectos de inglés contemporáneos de Hawái, en un momento clave de la historia lingüística y política del archipiélago.

Vowel space as gendered style among nonbinary drag queens in San Francisco

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Dimensions of speaker identity like gender and sexuality have been shown to correspond with vowel space size in binary ways, with women often exhibiting larger vowel spaces than men (e.g., Munson et al 2006), and queer men exhibiting larger vowel spaces than straight men (e.g., Rogers and Smyth 2003). However, research has also shown how specific gendered styles involve particular vowel spaces; e.g., the youthful and femme-coded California Valley girl exhibits a compressed vowel space, resulting from an iconic lowered jaw (Pratt and D’Onofrio 2017; D’Onofrio et al 2019). Such California vowels have also been shown to index queer identity for AMAB (assigned-male-at-birth) speakers (Podesva 2011). These findings together suggest that femininity and (AMAB) queerness can be indexed by either of two contrasting vowel spaces: a large, hyperarticulate vowel space, or a compressed vowel space resulting from an embodied articulatory setting. Still, relatively little research has examined how transfeminine and nonbinary speakers’ vowel spaces compare to these established gendered patterns. Here, we examine the vowel spaces of 8 AMAB San Francisco (SF) drag queens who identify as nonbinary in daily life and identify with femininity both on- and offstage. The data come from recorded conversations during which the queens visually transformed into their drag personae. For each speaker, F1 and F2 were measured for all vowel tokens over 75 ms, measurements were Nearey normalized, and mean values were calculated for each of 14 vowel classes (following Pratt 2023). Vowel space size was calculated for each speaker as the area of a Euclidean polygon whose borders are the means of the most peripheral vowel classes. The 8 queens exhibit relatively compressed vowel spaces, even when compared with Californians in previous research (e.g., Pratt 2023, D’Onofrio et al 2019). This suggests that these queens embody a more youthful and casual type of femininity, akin to that of the California Valley Girl, rather than a normative and hyperarticulate type of femininity that would exhibit a larger vowel space. However, within this subset of queens, those who perform in the more normative and mainstream neighborhood of the Castro exhibit a significantly larger vowel space ($p < 0.05$) than those who perform in the fringe community in the SoMa neighborhood. These findings echo those in a California high school (Pratt 2023), in which students on the social fringes exhibited smaller vowel spaces than more normative students who were the center of the school’s partying scene. Taking these findings together with previous research, we argue that the socioindexical potential of vowel space in California involves fractal recursion, in which: fringe femininity (like Valley Girls and SF queens) involves a smaller vowel space than normative femininity;

and among fringe groups like the SF queens, relatively normative queens exhibit larger vowel spaces than hyper-fringe queens. We argue that the articulation of gendered vowel space is more complex and nuanced than a binary system mapping large vowel spaces to femininity, and opposing types of feminine-coded vowel spaces can meaningfully and recursively contrast with each other in a particular social semiotic landscape.

What do monolingual and multilingual young people share in their use of sociolinguistic variation?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Young people are remarkably adept at using linguistic variation to align themselves with particular groups and social identities ([Eckert 2000](#)) and to present themselves as having certain qualities or attitudes ([Alam 2015](#); [Gates 2019](#); [Kirkham 2011](#)). What is less clear is whether this linguistic behaviour can be acquired when young people learn a new language. In this paper, we explore how young people who live in liminal spaces between linguistic varieties acquire and use linguistic variation in their social practice. We begin by considering how monolingual young people use the linguistic resources made available to them in childhood (i.e. in first language acquisition) to negotiate their place in the social order. The data comes from a 2 year ethnographic study of 27 high school students in a north-west English town. Generalised linear mixed effects modelling of 2888 tokens of a localised variable known as ‘levelled *were*’ (e.g. *it was/were really good*) (Fig.1) shows adolescent social group to correlate better with this factor than social class or parental place of birth. Furthermore, diachronic analysis (Fig.2) shows young people using this variant to create and reflect increasing distance between social groups as the cohort ages. This data exemplifies the dynamism with which young people adapt linguistic variation when they have access to it (through first language acquisition), and they are motivated to employ it. We next consider whether young people who acquire variation via second, rather than first, language acquisition are able to use it to position themselves in the same way as monolinguals. Our second dataset comes from an eight-month ethnographic study of 21 high school students in a central Scottish city. Logistical regression analysis of 1440 tokens of Scots negation – *-nae* (e.g. *I wouldnae say that*) and *no*’ (e.g. *I’ve no opened it*) – shows that young Polish immigrants generally mirror the gender and speech context patterns of native Glaswegians (Figs.3-4). Perhaps more significantly, length of residence, age of onset, or integrative motivation do not significantly improve the fit of a mixed-effects logistic regression model of the Polish immigrants’ data. On the other hand, qualitative data suggests that school orientation does interact with use of Scots negation. Several questions arise from the possibility that social practice determines both monolingual and multilingual young people’s use of at least some linguistic variables. Whilst we know that some types of linguistic feature are easier to adapt than others ([Kerswill 1996](#)), what precise mechanisms determine how acquisition of variation interacts with new language use? Secondly, our Scottish data suggests that some areas of the indexical field may be more accessible to migrants than others ([Maegaard & Pharao 2021](#)). To understand this, how can we better model the linguistic practice, experiences, knowledge, understanding and self-perception of young people from a range of linguistic backgrounds? We conclude by outlining a new research council funded participatory study which is working collaboratively with young people in Scotland to understand how young migrants come to understand and express local identity in a new language.

Social meanings of the Low-Back Merger Shift among young Asian Americans in Georgia

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Overview: Across the USA, the supralocal Low-Back Merger Shift (Becker, 2019) is displacing White-associated regional accents (Nesbitt & Stanford, 2021; D’Onofrio & Benheim, 2020; Renwick et al., 2023, a.o.). The pan-regional LBMS is also somewhat pan-ethnic, found among Black (King, 2021), Latine (Benheim, 2023), and Asian American (Hall-Lew, 2009; Cheng et al., 2023; Wong & Hall-Lew, 2014, a.o.) speakers. Contributing to research on Asian American speech (Hall-Lew, 2009; Newman & Wu, 2011; Cheng et al., 2023, a.o.), this paper demonstrates that the LBMS is advancing among Asian American college students (N=54) in Atlanta, compared to White (N=123) and Black (N=23) peers; and analyzes metalinguistic commentary to uncover the social meanings driving this pattern.

Data: We gathered sociolinguistic interviews, reading passages, and demographic data from students at an Atlanta university. Audio was orthographically transcribed and force-aligned; formant measurements were extracted using DARLA (Reddy & Stanford 2015). All reported results are statistically significant in (mixed-effects) linear regressions in R.

Results (see graph p. 2): Consistent with prior work, we find that Asian Americans lead the LBMS with the lowest Euclidean distance between LOT and THOUGHT and the lowest/backest TRAP (denoted using Wells’ 1982 lexical sets); but subvert the LBMS with backer GOAT and a lower/backer prenasal HAND. The backing of GOAT, also found among Black peers, may serve as an ethnic marker (Bauman, 2016); while lower/backer HAND may be driven by the lowering/backing of its allophone TRAP, since Asian Americans do not differ from White speakers in the Euclidean distance between TRAP/HAND. In the first large-scale description of South Asian Americans’ speech, this paper finds no significant differences between South (N=35), East (N=14), or Southeast Asian (N=4) speakers, nor those with parents from India, China, or Korea, consistent with metalinguistic commentary recognizing (pan-)Asian American identity as a meaningful category. Contradicting a claim from Labov (2001), researchers have argued that minoritized groups do, in fact, participate in White-associated regional sound changes (Fought, 1999; Hall-Lew, 2009; King, 2021). But this paper finds that Asian Americans show a pan-regional, pan-ethnic pattern rather than a White regional one.

Metalinguistic commentary (see quotes p. 2): Such commentary reveals that the LBMS evokes elite education and multiculturalism (Hall-Lew, 2009; Wong & Hall-Lew, 2014; D’Onofrio & Benheim, 2020, a.o.) – social meanings sought by upwardly mobile people of multiple regional and ethnic backgrounds – whereas White regional “ethnolects” such as the “Southern accent” are linked to provincial insularity. Asian Americans dis-affiliate from the (White) “Southern accent,” so they may lead the LBMS in Atlanta because they categorically reject its alternative. The LBMS may be rising pan-regionally and pan-ethnically precisely because it is coded as pan-regional and pan-ethnic and thus evokes a cosmopolitan, multicultural persona.

Discussion: Studying ethnicity as a demographic category, this paper represents the first wave of sociolinguistics (Eckert, 2012). But it illuminates a third-wave question about the social meaning of the LBMS and the White-associated regional accents that it displaces.

Between transfers and hypercorrection in Outer Circle Englishes: The case of Namibian English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Traditionally considered ‘interference varieties’ (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 159), Outer Circle Englishes pose a specific challenge if one looks at them from a variationist lens. Much of that challenge is methodological: How can one systematically decide whether a given feature comes from native

languages? And what to make of features that happen to not mirror native languages? Are they random deviations from native language patterns or do they target one homogenous model? This paper proposes to answer these questions using Namibian English as a case study of an emergent English variety prone to a wide range of transfers from native languages at the phonetic level. The study that this paper reports on involves one hundred informants, ethnolinguistically representative of Namibia's population, young and urban. The dataset that the study uses is multilingual: It comprises the informants' whole native language vowel systems (Afrikaans, Otjiherero, Oshiwambo, Khoekhoegowab) combined with their realization of English vowels, experimentally elicited via word and text reading tasks. This data elicitation approach makes it possible to compare realizations of English vowels with their closest native language equivalents for each individual. Specifically focusing on the examples of English diphthongs (FACE, GOAT, MOUTH, PRICE), the analysis shows that, even though all individuals do adjust their English vowels away from native language vowels, it turns out that women do it significantly more than men. The outcome of these contrasting behaviours is that young women sound more 'ethnically neutral' than their male peers, a strategy that one can liken to what Labov (2001: 241) saw as 'ethnic hypercorrection'. The extent to which English vowel realizations sound more 'ethnically neutral' varies across ethnic groups and social classes, though always with a salient White/Non-White divide. In addition, hypercorrection does not lead to random outcomes: They show that individual varieties are likely focusing around a norm loosely tied to South African English via population groups that constituted the intermediate non-European social class during colonial times. The analysis proceeds with a socio-economic and historical analysis of Namibian gender ideologies to contextualize the 'ethnic hypercorrection' strategy that Namibian women deploy and why it happens to target the formerly intermediate non-European social classes. Finally, the paper concludes with reflections on the role played by women in spreading English in the Outer Circle and what it means for variation in Outer Circle Englishes and their potential for developing high-status norms.

Ethnoracial slurs and indexical meaning: Social motivations for lexical variation in ethnic label use

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research about Albanian migrants in Greece has shown that the ethnic label *Αλβανός* [alvanos] 'Albanian.masc' is used in Modern Greek as an ethnoracial slur (e.g., Ntelifilippidi 2014) in addition to being the standard way to refer to a person of Albanian ethnicity. In this paper I explore the strategies that Albanian migrants employ in navigating the ethnoracial slur when referencing their ethnicity. To answer this question, 36 semi-structured ethnographic interviews with Albanian migrants in Greece were conducted in the summer of 2023. 21 of the participants were first-generation migrants having migrated to Greece after the age of 15. The rest were second-generation migrants who were born or were raised in Greece from a young age. The data were transcribed and thematically and discursively analyzed to identify patterns of ethnic label use in Greek. In the interviews subjects immediately commented on the slur meaning of [alvanos] 'Albanian.masc' and [alvan-i/-iða] 'Albanian.fem' and pointed to the indexical field of the terms. This field is constituted by associations with criminality, illiteracy, and low-prestige manual work, and overlaps with the stereotypes that circulate in Greece about Albanian migrants. Participants' aversion to the ethnic labels is motivated by their function as stigmatizing, racializing, and Othering devices, which constantly remind their recipients that they do not belong. Findings also show that migrants exhibit lexical variation with regard to the ethnic labels they claim for themselves. First-generation migrants accept and use *Αλβαν-ιða* [alvaniða] 'Albanian.fem' as an appropriate label for Albanian women despite recognizing its use as a slur. For second-generation migrants the slur potential of [alvaniða] is reason enough to reject it and to seek alternative labels that do not carry offensive meanings. The lesser-used *Αλβαν-ή* [alvani] 'Albanian.fem' is mobilized to perform this task. Additionally, first-

generation migrants proudly reclaim [alvanos] and [alvaniða] in an effort to exorcise their offensive potential by identifying as “100%” or “pure Albanian”. Second-generation migrants, on the other hand, opt for “from Albania” in their self-identifications. This strategy allows subjects to not fully ascribe to Albanianess and, in this way, to evade the negative indexical associations that come with the ethnicity. At the same time, the non-commitment of ‘from Albania’ allows subjects to make a covert claim to Greekness, and hence a covert claim to dual ethnic identity. Sociolinguistic work has shown that speakers mobilize linguistic recourses to construct social identities (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). These recourses are used by speakers to align with ethnoracial categories and are also used by listeners to racialize speakers, that is, to categorize them in ethnoracial groups (Alim et al. 2016). In this paper I show that social agents mobilize lexical variation for their ethnic self-identifications constructing nuanced identities related to their migratory generation. The paper also adds to the ethnoracial slur literature by investigating slurs that are also the standard (non-offensive) forms which reference an ethnicity. Social agents navigate this situation by reclaiming or rejecting ethnic labels and self-identify by referencing nationality and, thus, shifting focus away from ethnicity.

The cisgender listening subject in sibilant perception

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speech perception research has shown that listeners’ categorical boundaries for sibilants shift depending on the speaker’s gender identity (Strand & Johnson 1996). However, previous work has not utilized trans identity to better explore the ways that gender influences sibilant perception; either cisgender identity of the speakers was assumed, or transgender identity was not the explicit target of the study. It is imperative to understand gender in speech through the inclusion of transgender, nonbinary, and gender non-conforming speakers, without pathologizing their voices. By taking this approach, we can also see how the cisgender listening subject (Calder & Steele 2024) negotiates trans voices through the representations of /s/ in perception. In this study, cisgender participants (N=90) were tasked with two-alternative forced choice tasks with the words ‘sod’ and ‘shod’ for a male and female speaker. Tokens were created through synthesizing a nine-step fricative continuum in equal Bark units and concatenating these with recordings of a cisgender man and woman whose voices were normed for gender. While all participants listened to the same recordings, half (N=43) were told that they were listening to a transgender man and transgender woman, and the other half (N=47) were not told anything about the trans/cis gender status of the speakers. Participants were also asked survey questions after the 2AFC tasks, including whether they personally knew any transgender people. Listeners’ categorizations suggest that they expect trans women to produce a higher frequency /s/ than cisgender women ($p<0.05$) (Figure 1). This is particularly salient when listeners do not have personal familiarity with a trans person ($p<0.001$), with the above difference magnified and with trans men now being expected to produce a lower frequency /s/ than cisgender men (Figure 2). Transgender people here are expected to produce more gender-differentiated forms than what is expected for presumably cisgender people, which suggests that transgender speakers are expected to do more vocal work to index their gender identities. However, when the listener does personally know someone transgender, these differences diminish, and transgender and presumably cisgender speakers of a given gender identity are expected to produce sibilants similarly. Personal familiarity alters where the perceived categorical boundaries are for transgender speakers; yet, neither perception necessarily aligns with what we know about sibilant production for American trans speakers. Previous studies that have compared /s/ production between transgender and cisgender speakers have shown that transgender women produce a more fronted /s/ than cisgender men, but not quite as fronted as cisgender women, and results for transgender men’s /s/ production are varied (Hazenbergh 2012; Podesva & Van Hofwegen 2016; Zimman 2013). The cisgender listening subject expects hyper-normative sibilants from transgender speakers, regardless of the production patterns that trans speakers may exhibit.

A rose by any other name would *not* smell as sweet: how first names impact speech comprehension and linguistic evaluation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Social information from various sources – including photos, written labels, written biographies – can shift how listeners perceive a speaker (e.g., D’Onofrio, 2019; Niedzielski, 1999; Strand, 1999; Vaughn, 2019). Names are another source with demonstrated consequences on everyday life (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Tinkler et al., 2019), but their influence on speech perception is less known. Further, it is unclear how social information – informed by numerous sources simultaneously – impacts linguistic perception and evaluation, as prior work has mainly investigated single aspects of social information. This study asks: How might listeners account for multiple, potentially *conflicting*, sources of social information (i.e., written biographies and written first names) to inform speech comprehension and social evaluation? 64 English-speaking participants in the U.S. heard sentences in L1 American English or L2 Mandarin-accented English mixed in -2 dB speech-shaped noise and were asked to transcribe these sentences. They then evaluated “speakers” on perceived foreign accentedness and intelligibility using 9-point scales. The four “speakers” were depicted by pairings of a written biography describing U.S. nationality or non-U.S. nationality and a written first name depicting individuals perceived as racially Asian or White (how these stimuli were viewed were assessed in a norming task). Primary measures were transcription accuracy and ratings of foreign accentedness and intelligibility. Overall, L1 English speech led to higher transcription accuracy and was viewed as less foreign accented and more intelligible compared to L2 English speech. Written biography and name types interacted significantly in predicting transcription accuracy. Participants given “Asian-sounding” names had lower transcription accuracy with the U.S. biography than those with the non-U.S. biography. Conversely, “White-sounding names” improved accuracy with the U.S. biography compared to the non-U.S. biography (see Figure 1). Moreover, only written first names significantly predicted social attributes ratings: “Asian-sounding” names led to “speakers” being evaluated as more foreign accented and less intelligible relative to “White-sounding” names, regardless of the voice heard. A perceived social congruence account (e.g., McGowan, 2015) supports the transcription accuracy results. Specifically, stereotypes (e.g., Lippi-Green, 1994) may have led listeners to expect congruence between L1 English speaker status, “White-sounding” names, and the U.S. biography. When those expectations mismatched, transcription accuracy decreased. Additionally, it seems that “Asian-sounding” names were penalized in a way that “White-sounding” names were not in speech comprehension, extending to evaluations of intelligibility and foreign accentedness. Altogether, these findings suggest that negative linguistic bias (e.g., Lippi-Green, 2012) underlies the effect of the written first names used here on the measures in this study, especially since nationality as cued by written biographies did not significantly affect these evaluations. Ultimately, this study demonstrates that listeners indeed incorporate multiple sources of social information in speech comprehension. Interestingly, written names impacted sociolinguistic evaluations but not written biographies, suggesting that cues from the names were prioritized by listeners. Lastly, this study has illustrated that written first names -- a novel type of social prime for the paradigms here – can affect speech comprehension and linguistic evaluation, contributing to a further understanding of the influence of social information on speech perception processes.

Reassessing Causes for Variation in Heritage Language Input: A Critical Linguistic Perspective

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Learning and maintaining a heritage language has benefits beyond environment usefulness and serving as a means of communication, as it provides a speaker with a sense of identity, agency, and belonging. Previous findings indicate that acknowledging the benefits of bilingualism, fostering positive language attitudes and beliefs, and applying universal consistent motivation, are all factors that can help to ensure heritage language retention and maintenance. However, not much research has focused on factors that deter successful language transmission and acquisition through a critical linguistic perspective. Power dynamics, language ideologies, and capitalistic demands all play a role in how a language is acquired, retained, and valued in society. This qualitative study aims to investigate heritage language maintenance and transmission efforts, as well as heritage language development and retention strategies, within a multi-generational Czech family of five living in southern Ontario, Canada. The objective was to determine which factors impacted successful inter-generational heritage language transmission in isolation from community support networks, and what factors act as potential obstacles for language acquisition and maintenance. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with first- and second-generation speakers of the family to assess individual language history, beliefs, attitudes, teaching, learning, development, and expectations for future generations, as well as strategies and efforts of transmission. Qualitative analysis confirmed findings from previous literature. There were four primary contributing factors: positive language expectations and beliefs, consistent target language input, at home education and learning, and recurring family trips to the Czech Republic. By using consistent and repetitive language learning strategies and keeping positive and constant expectations and attitudes, this family was able to successfully transmit Czech to the second generation and are in the process of transmitting it to a third generation. These findings show that even in isolated language environments, a single family can productively transmit a heritage language to younger generations. However, five primary detracting factors were also identified: access to financial resources, lack of maternal fluency, demanding occupational circumstances, negative language attitudes, and potential loss of learner motivation. These factors currently interfere with the current transmission to the 3rd generation, and impact heritage Czech acquisition negatively. This presentation focuses on bringing awareness to the effects of these detracting factors. It aims to answer the following questions: If we already know what factors ensure successful transmission, acquisition, and maintenance, how can we identify obstacles and overcome them in this critical linguistic context? What detracting factors can families control and what detracting factors are caused by external forces, mitigating the chances for success? The implications from this research are transferrable to other heritage language populations in isolation from community support networks. Additionally, this research shows how the critical linguistic relationship between language and power occurs in the context of heritage language acquisition and maintenance.

Sociophonetic variation in Albanian nasal-stop sequences & ambiguous partially-nasal subcategories

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Partially-nasal segments composed of a nasal and oral component are attested in several variations such as prenasalized consonants, poststopped nasals and orally released stops. They additionally share many featural similarities with other nasal-stop sequences such as singleton nasals, singleton stops, and nasal-stop clusters (Maddieson & Ladefoged 1993). While there is some documentation that variants such as poststopped nasals and prenasals do not co-occur in a language and therefore are not overtly phonologically contrastive (ibid.), there is very little perceptual work concerning these nasal-stop sequences (e.g. Beddor & Onsuwan 2003). Many descriptions of languages in the Austronesian, Bantu or Mandarin languages choose one partially-nasal category or the other, but without perceptual research it is

unclear if these categories are perceptually significant. It is therefore ambiguous whether these separate partially-nasal categories exist or if they are artifacts of previous samples and methodologies. This has generated some debate on what does and does not qualify under these categories (e.g. Downing 2005; Morrison 2009) while it remains unclear if the stated categories actually matter to speakers. I have conducted acoustic, aerodynamic, and folk linguistic surveys of Albanian nasal-stop sequences, with samples from both the Tosk and Gheg Albanian varieties. Participants generated both local and formal/scholastic speech in the phonetic survey. In the folk linguistic survey, participants provided language attitudes and geographically placed variants of Albanian nasal-stop sequences from the audio of a sentence played aloud. An example of the variants tested is found in (1).

- 1) a. prenasal [ᵐbaj][1] b. syllabified [ᵐbaj] c. nasal [maj] d. stop [baj]

Analysis found that both within and across speakers the phonetic features of these sequences were highly variable and often inconsistent with the clear-cut categories found elsewhere in the literature. While not phonetically consistent or phonologically contrastive, the sociolinguistic results had distinct language attitudes towards partially-nasal [#^NT], syllabified [#^NT], nasal [#N] and stop [#T] variants. For geographic results, see Figure 1. The intense variability of the partially-nasal categories combined with the sociolinguistic knowledge about the more distinct variants suggests that the partially-nasal variants in Albanian are phonologically grouped in a single underspecified category but are nonetheless socially contrastive to other nasal-stop combinations. This demonstrates the permeability of the partially-nasal categories established in previous literature when examined both phonetically *and* perceptually. If Albanian has only a broad partially-nasal category, then it is possible that other languages may also have this more nebulous treatment of partially-nasal segments than previously supposed, meriting future investigation into the phonetic production, perception and social usage of these sounds.

[1] Used here to represent the partially-nasal category

Introducing CorMS: the Corpora of Mobile Speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

When someone moves to a region where a different language is spoken, the influence is often clear: that person learns a new language, or at least enough of the new language to be understood. A vast literature on Second Language Acquisition examines how people take up new languages as well as the linguistic and social details of this process. (Ortega 2009). What about when someone moves to a place where they speak the same *language*, but a different *dialect* of that language? A much smaller body of research on Second Dialect Acquisition (SDA) suggests that people do adopt some (though not all) features of that new dialect, depending on a complex set of development, linguistic, and social-attitudinal factors (Siegel 2010, Nycz 2015, Oushiro 2020). A significant obstacle to the study of SDA is the relative lack of large, accessible corpora of language data from mobile people who share a movement history: any researcher interested in this topic must first undergo the time- and resource-intensive process of recruiting their own participants, collecting data and processing that data before any analysis can take place. Those who have done the fieldwork and amassed the recordings may not be able to carry out every possible analysis of that data, limited by time, interest, or their own expertise; students or early-career researchers with an SDA research question but (as yet) no data of their own may be stymied before they can even start. The **Corpora of Mobile Speakers (CorMS)** aims to facilitate SDA research by providing a place where scholars interested in this topic can increase the impact of their own data and benefit from the data collection of others. CorMS currently houses recordings of 59 mobile speakers of North American English: these include 31 natives of Toronto (Canada) living in New York City (United States) at time of recording, and 28 natives of New York City living in Toronto. A key goal of CorMS is to make data as accessible as possible across different platforms and users. Accordingly, all audio, transcript, and

metadata files associated with the site use non-proprietary formats (such as wav, csv) or those which can be easily opened in free software (ELAN, Praat) and converted to other formats. We propose poster presentation that will introduce the CoRMS website and corpora to build awareness of this resource for immediate research and teaching applications. As CoRMS will be readily accessible via its website, the presentation will consist of a laptop or tablet open to the site for browsing, a poster providing site stills and explanatory text for larger groups of viewers, and the presence of the CoRMS PI who can give the project "elevator pitch" and answer questions. We hope to expand CoRMS to include recordings and transcripts representing speakers (and signers) of other languages and dialects with different mobility histories, and believe the participants at this year's multilingualism-focused NWAV will be a great audience of potential contributors to (and users of) the corpora.

New Ways of Analyzing Gendered Variation in Spanish: The CoLaGe Corpus for the Study of Language and Gender and Gendered Variation in First-Person Singular Verb Forms

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The purpose of this talk is (1) to present a new corpus resource for the study of sociolinguistic variation in Spanish, the *CoLaGe Corpus for the Study of Language and Gender*, produced within the research project *Gender, Society and Language Use: Evidence from Mexico and Spain*, and (2) to showcase a study conducted with the *CoLaGe* to analyze gendered variation in the use of first-person singular (1SG) verb forms. While Language and Gender studies are a well-established field in the Anglosphere (for overviews, see Mulac, Bradac, and Gibbons 2006; Plug et al. 2021), they have received relatively little attention in Hispanic linguistics. The *CoLaGe* corpus aims at providing data for disentangling aspects of gender, sexuality and society by analyzing two speaker communities sharing a language but differing with regard to social parameters (Valencia/Spain and Guadalajara/Mexico; see, e.g., Hausmann et al., 2014; Social Watch, 2012; INEGI, 2006). Methodologically, our goal is to enrich the notion of “gender” as a sociolinguistic variable by combining linguistic and social-psychological methods. For instance, we elucidate whether gender differences in language use are better accounted for by using scalar social-psychological measures such as the Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale (Kachel, Steffens & Niedlich, 2016) instead or alongside discrete gender variables. The *CoLaGe* consists of various data types: sociolinguistic interviews, role-plays simulating conflictive situations, picture description tasks, and social-psychological surveys, providing us with a rich linguistic dataset complemented with multifaceted information about the informants’ gender, sexuality, values, and attitudes. The informants were selected from two age categories (30–40 and 60–70), keeping socioeconomic background constant to increase comparability. The *CoLaGe* totals 111 hours of recorded speech from 127 informants and over a million words of transcribed corpus data to be published by the end of 2025. One of our case studies based on the *CoLaGe* analyzes gender differences in the use of grammatical persons in the sociolinguistic interviews. Previous research (see Argamon et al., 2003; Posio, 2016; Posio, Kachel & Uclés-Ramada, 2024) has attributed higher usage frequency of 1SG verb forms to women as opposed to men. At first, this seems to apply to our data as well: normalized frequencies of 1SG per 10,000 words were significantly higher for women ($M_{\text{women}} = 351.47$, $SE = 9.67$) than for men ($M_{\text{men}} = 306.39$, $SE = 9.77$). However, focusing on how gender interacts with age (30–40/60–70), country (Mexico/Spain), and interview part (non-gender related vs. gender-related topics), a different picture emerges. The gender difference is modulated by these factors and occurs only for the older Spanish women producing significantly more 1SGs than older Spanish men, $F(1,103) = 17.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .15$ ($M_{\text{women}} = 421.77$, $SE = 20.81$; $M_{\text{men}} = 297.31$, $SE = 20.81$). For all Mexican speakers and the younger Spanish speakers, the gender difference was not significant: all $F_s(1,103) < .89$, all $p_s > .347$, all $\eta^2 < .01$. Thus, instead of confirming an overall

gender difference, our findings stress the importance of addressing specific contextual and sociolinguistic settings where such a difference occurs.

Gender and Amount of Talk in Conflictive Interactions: Using Roleplay Data to Study Variation in Peninsular Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Although gender differences in the amount of talk are a recurrent topic in language and gender studies, the existence of such differences is debatable, partially due to the incommensurability of different studies (see James & Drakich 1993, Mulac, Bradac, & Gibbons 2006; Plug et al. 2021). Context seems to be decisive for the emergence of gender differences: for example, men speak more than women in specific institutional settings (e.g., Bäck & Debus 2019, Jarvis et al. 2021). Despite extensive previous research, gender differences in language use in conflictive situations, particularly in Spanish, have received little attention. The current study is part of the research project *Gender, society, and language use: Evidence from Mexico and Spain*, focusing on gendered variation in Spanish and problematizing and enriching the notion of ‘gender’ by combining sociolinguistic and social-psychological methodologies. The study focuses on gendered variation in the amount of talk in conflictive situations in Peninsular Spanish. The participants ($n = 51$, self-identified as women or men and pertaining to two different age groups, 29-41 and 60-70) were instructed to participate in two role plays (see Félix-Brasdefer, 2018) simulating conflictive situations varying in the level of social proximity (dispute about a parking fine between friends vs. complaining to a neighbour about noisy renovation work) with a same-gender interviewer. In addition to the informants’ gender identity, we modelled their gender-role self-concept, i.e., self-perceived masculinity and femininity, using the Traditional Masculinity-Femininity Scale (Kachel, Steffens, & Niedlich, 2016) to test whether scalar measures could account better for gendered variation than discrete gender categories. Amount of talk was represented by the number of words and turns, and the mean length of turns produced by the informants. In addition, we analysed the amount of overlapping talk and the use of discourse particles indicating interactionality between speakers (see Briz 1998). Based on previous research, we hypothesized that speakers identifying as men or having a more masculine gender-role self-concept talk more, particularly in conflicts with larger social distance between the speakers. We found evidence that both gender and gender-role self-concept was associated with speakers’ amount of talk, but each gender component accounted for different types of variation. As expected, men produced more turns and words than women, whereas participants with a more feminine gender role self-concept produced fewer but longer turns. Men’s speech also contained significantly more overlaps and interactional discourse markers than women’s. A qualitative analysis of the data revealed gender differences in the orientation towards the conflict, explaining why these differences occur: women tended to collaborate to end the conflict as soon as possible, whereas men typically continued the conflict even after finding a solution. In addition to deepening our understanding of conflictive discourse and gender differences, our study shows that the use of scalar gender variables can provide a more nuanced picture of gendered linguistic behaviour than discrete categorizations of speakers. Moreover, the results underline the importance of contextual and societal factors in accounting for gendered variation in language use.

‘Crossdressing’ and Phonetic Variation as Stylistic Differentiation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Rhoticity (non-prevocalic /r/) is not a characteristic feature of Nigerian English (Gut 2008; Jowitt 2018). Nigerian English is a non-rhotic dialect. Hence, the association of non-rhoticity with Nigerian identity makes rhoticity a material for (re)presentation, differentiation, and dissociation. The dominant ideology of gender in Africa is that gender and sex are co-emergent, exist and manifest in binary forms, and intersect with defined cultural practices (Atanga et al. 2013). However, Nigerian crossdressers (as they are called by Nigerians and self-address) explicitly challenge the rigid binary of gender. Nigerian crossdressers are individuals who were assigned male at birth but express themselves in ways associated with femininity (e.g., through their dress, hair, makeup, and language/voice). Like the hijras of India (Hall 1997), Nigerian crossdressers denaturalize gender and destabilize the links between bodies and stereotyped performances of such bodies. Consequently, Nigerian crossdressers face extreme marginalization and vilification and turn to TikTok for self-expression and affirmation of their gender identities. Rhoticity and hyper-rhoticity (i.e., *africa* ([æfɾɪkɑː]) and *best* ([bɜːst])) are key parts of Nigerian crossdressers' gender performativity, and there are metalinguistic awareness and metapragmatic commentaries on this linguistic style (Figure-1). In this paper, therefore, I show how rhoticity serves as a "register shibboleth" (Silverstein 2022: 15), embodying persona differentiated along salient ideological dimensions in Nigeria. Furthermore, I argue that Nigerian crossdressers recontextualize and use rhoticity to dissociate from Nigerian identity and align with a foreign (American) identity to (re)claim agency (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). And that this condition of foreignness is predicated upon the idea of circumventing the social space that invalidates and marginalizes their voices, identities, and agency in favor of spaces that not only validate their identities and gender expressions but also facilitate economic transcendence. This argument shares similarities with Gaudio's (1997) study showing how a Nigerian gay man, a '*dan daudu* (a man who acts like a woman), appropriates enregistered labels (i.e., chocolate queen) reserved for American gay men to reposition himself from a marginalized identity to an agentive one. Gaudio's finding supports the argument that gender-non-conforming individuals in Nigeria use foreign (or Western) linguistic features to (re)invent agency. Data for this study consists of 20 TikTok videos from five Nigerian crossdressers' accounts, for a total of 100 videos (Table-1). Videos with minimal background noise were downloaded, converted to WAV, and loaded into Praat. I performed acoustic and auditory analyses of their (n=524) elicitations of non-prevocalic /r/ (Figure-2). In the acoustic analysis, F3 lowering, F3 to F2 proximity, and lower F3 frequency on Praat were correlates of rhoticity (Figures-3-4). For auditory analysis, an inter-rater reliability test was performed by a Nigerian English native speaker (the author) and an American English native speaker with 85% agreement on rhotacized variables across the videos.

Essentially, I show how rhoticity is imbued with socio-ideological implications in Nigeria and how Nigerian crossdressers disrupt the assumption that gendered linguistic practices necessarily conform to traditional binary patterns in normative ways. I show how gender is policed but is also a manifestation of sociolinguistic style in Nigeria.

Placing the *needs washed* construction in a broader settler-colonial context

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

One well-known regional syntactic feature of white Englishes in the US and UK is the '*needs washed*' construction (NWC, 1). Commonalities in usage and shared constraints on acceptability of the NWC between Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the US Midland suggest that it first appeared in the UK and was brought to North America via Scots-Irish migration.^[5,7] Like the US, other Anglophone settler-colonial countries, including Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, also saw high levels of migration from Scotland and NI.^[1,2,6,11] If migration to the US was the source of the NWC there, we would thus expect to find it in these other countries. However, the NWC has only been anecdotally attested in these other settler-colonial countries.^[1,3,8,9,10] Given the relative lack of positive evidence, this paper utilizes a grammatical

acceptability survey to establish whether the NWC is present in them. Three test sentences for each of 21 matrix verbs (63 total) previously found to be licit as NWC matrix verbs (2),^[5] alongside 37 filler sentences, were rated for acceptability on a five-point Likert scale by participants recruited via Prolific from Australia (n=111), Canada (n=117), and NZ (n=70). Participants were native English speakers raised in the relevant country. Matrix verbs were coded for lexical frequency, semantic category, and syntactic type (Raising vs. Control vs. Exceptional Case Marking) following prior surveys.^[4,5] For each country, linear mixed effects regression modeled constraints on acceptability, while the Getis-Ord G_i^* geospatial statistic illustrated regional patterns in acceptability. A substantial minority of participants rated the NWC acceptable with matrix *need* (Australia: 10.8%, Canada: 28.2%, NZ: 17.4%). Linear regression shows that constraints on acceptability in Australia, Canada, and NZ mirror those found in the US and UK:^[5] the construction is more acceptable when the matrix verb is a frequently occurring Raising verb related to volition/sentiment (all results significant at $p < 0.05$). The geospatial analysis showed that in Canada the NWC was accepted in historical Upper Canada (excluding Toronto), which saw migration both from NI and the early United States.^[6,11] In NZ, it was accepted in the Southland and Otago regions, which saw migration from Scotland.^[1] Australia had no clear regional patterns. The results confirm anecdotal reports that the NWC is a minority syntactic feature in each of the settler-colonial countries tested. The shared constraints on acceptability and their similarity to previous results suggest that the NWC in these countries arises from the same source as in the US and UK. Meanwhile, the geospatial results indicate that Scots/Scots-Irish migration is a likely source of the feature in Canada and NZ. As much of Australia also saw Scots/Scots-Irish migration,^[2] it is possible that this migration was sufficient to contribute the NWC as a minority feature of Australian English while not being concentrated enough in any one region to display regional patterns. In this sense, the NWC appearing in these three countries results from the same processes of migration and settler colonialism that established it as a minority feature of American English.

An indexical order analysis of Spanish second person pronoun variation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Quantitative studies of Spanish second person singular (2PS) typically rely on Brown and Gilman's (1960) semantic model to explain T/V variation (Carricaburo 2015). On that model, T forms like *tú* and *vos* primarily express solidarity and secondarily speaker's greater power, while V forms like *usted* do the opposite. However, Silverstein (2003) raises theoretical objections to Brown and Gilman's approach, proposing instead a discourse-based model where V provides 1st order indexicality of deference and 2nd order norms of honorification. Recent qualitative studies apply Silverstein's model to Spanish 2PS, explaining uses of V that Brown and Gilman's model cannot, such as reducing proximity between male friends in Colombia (López López 2019) and mitigating directives addressed at younger relatives in Chile (Fernández-Mallat 2020). This theoretical shift is unapparent in quantitative Spanish 2PS research. We suggest that theoretical development in quantitative work has been hindered by incompatible research designs that impede cross-variety comparisons, overreliance on metalinguistic commentary for data collection, and lack of attention to qualitative findings. To address those issues, we introduce a quantitative instrument that minimizes the focus on form by asking 690 participants to translate 48 photographed scenes depicting conversational turns with embedded English *you* (see Figure 1). This approach allows for stratification by potential factors like gender, age, and status, and ensures cross-site comparability by deploying the instrument across Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Spain, the USA, and Venezuela. We analyzed 31,711 instances of 2PS using mixed-effects regression models with *usted* as application value. A participant-level model incorporating fixed effects of country, gender, and age, and random effects of participant and scene, revealed an apparent-time decrease in rates of *usted* and inter-country variability. Specifically, Colombia and Costa Rica exhibited higher proportions of *usted* compared to other countries (see Figure 2). Additionally, country-specific scene models, with

fixed effects including relative gender, age, distance, status, and affect, and the same random effects, demonstrated that greater distance and higher addressee status increased *usted* usage across all countries, except Costa Rica where status effects were unobserved. In Colombia and Costa Rica, gender dynamics and affect significantly influenced the use of *usted*, with male-to-male interactions and negative affect promoting it. Relative age was significant only in Costa Rica, where (surprisingly) younger addressees were more likely to be addressed with *usted* (Table 1 summarizes significant factors influencing usage). We conclude that, rate differences aside, *usted* functions similarly across sites, providing a 1st order index of interpersonal difference, observable in the distance and status effects. Gender effects in Colombia and Costa Rica can be understood as 2nd order indexing of reduced closeness in male homosocial relationships, consistent with López López's (2019) findings and reminiscent of Kiesling's (2004) analysis of *dude*. Additional effects related to affect and age suggest that *usted* similarly mitigates potentially face-threatening acts, aligning with Fernández-Mallat's (2020) analysis. Theoretically, this conclusion supports a modified Silverstein model where difference replaces deference as the 1st order index. 2nd order indexes are context- and culture-dependent, with higher overall rates of *usted* indicating greater indexical flexibility.

Author Translation

Los estudios cuantitativos sobre la variación T/V de la 2PS en español suelen basarse en Brown y Gilman (1960) (Carricaburo 2015). Según BG, las formas T como *tú* y *vos* expresan solidaridad y mayor poder del hablante, mientras que las formas V como *usted* hacen lo contrario. Silverstein (2003) plantea objeciones teóricas a BG, y propone un modelo donde V proporciona una indexicalidad de primer orden de deferencia y normas de honorificación de segundo orden. Estudios cualitativos recientes aplican este modelo a la 2PS en español, dilucidando usos de V que BG no explica, como reducir la proximidad entre amigos masculinos (López López 2019) y mitigar mandatos dirigidos a parientes más jóvenes (Fernández-Mallat 2020). Este cambio teórico no se aprecia en la investigación cuantitativa. Sugerimos que el desarrollo teórico en estudios cuantitativos es obstaculizado por diseños de investigación incompatibles que impiden comparaciones interdialectales, la dependencia de métodos metalingüísticos y la falta de atención a hallazgos cualitativos. Para abordar esas limitaciones, implementamos un instrumento cuantitativo que minimiza el enfoque metalingüístico al pedir a 690 participantes que tradujeran 48 escenas fotografiadas que representan turnos de habla que incorporan el pronombre inglés *you* (ver Figura 1). Esta técnica permite una estratificación según múltiples factores sociales y garantiza la comparabilidad al implementar el instrumento en Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, México, Puerto Rico, España, EE.UU. y Venezuela. Analizamos 31,711 instancias de 2PS utilizando modelos de regresión con *usted* como valor de aplicación. Un modelo "participante" que incorpora efectos fijos de país, género y edad, y efectos aleatorios de participante y escena, reveló una disminución en tiempo aparente de *usted* y variabilidad entre países. Específicamente, Colombia y Costa Rica mostraron las proporciones más altas de *usted* (ver Figura 2). Además, modelos "escénicos" específicos a cada país, con efectos fijos que incluyen género, edad, distancia, estatus y afecto relativos, y los mismos efectos aleatorios, demostraron que una mayor distancia y un estatus más alto del destinatario promueven el uso de *usted* siempre, excepto en Costa Rica. En Colombia y Costa Rica, la dinámica de género y el afecto influyeron significativamente en el uso de *usted*, promoviéndolo en interacciones masculinas y en contextos de afecto negativo. La edad relativa fue significativa solo en Costa Rica, donde los destinatarios más jóvenes tenían más probabilidades de ser tratados de *usted* (véase Tabla 1). Concluimos que *usted* funciona de manera similar en todos los sitios, proporcionando un índice de primer orden de diferencia interpersonal. Los efectos de género en Colombia y Costa Rica pueden entenderse como un índice de segundo orden que reduce la cercanía en interacciones homosociales masculinas, en consonancia con López López (2019) y evocando el análisis de *dude* de Kiesling (2004). Los efectos adicionales relacionados con el afecto y la edad sugieren que *usted* también mitiga amenazas potenciales a la imagen social como en Fernández-Mallat (2020). Teóricamente, esta conclusión respalda un modelo modificado de Silverstein donde la diferencia sustituye a la deferencia como índice de primer orden. Los índices de segundo orden dependen del contexto y la cultura.

Identity work in language shift settings: Socio-spatial distance from the Old Order Mennonites

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Despite their shared nomenclature, Mennonite communities are themselves heterogenous. In this study, I investigated how Mennonites in Ontario linguistically perform different Mennonite identities. I conducted 40 sociolinguistic interviews in 2018-19 with 54 speakers affiliated with communities ranging from the traditional “horse and buggy” Old Order Mennonites to the mainstream Conference Mennonites. While the former object to modern technology, cars, and the internet, the latter make full use of modern amenities. The degree of bilingualism in the different communities indexes this social continuum; while the Old Orders still use Pennsylvania German as a first language, the Conference Mennonites have shifted to English. For the latter group, English is the only way to signal their Mennonite identity. I explored the following three linguistic variables: the archaic consonant / ʌ ~ w/, the Pennsylvania German consonant clear /l/ (in coda position), and participation in the vowel allophony of Canadian Raising (with higher diphthong onsets of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ in pre-voiceless contexts). In order to account for the social and linguistic complexities of the individual speakers, I developed the social variable *socio-spatial distance from the Old Orders*. I base the term on Stuart-Smith et al.’s (2007: 255) inclusion of the “local socio-spatial history” in the analysis of linguistic variation. The notion captures the three dimensions of social mobility, dialect contact, and network density. I propose that the greater a speaker’s socio-spatial distance, the greater is their social mobility, contact with English, and social network. The variable is broken down into the following four categories constructed broadly around life stages and/or generations:

- affiliated with the Old Order church
- left the Old Orders as a child/teenager
- left the Old Orders as an adult
- (grand-)parents left the Old Orders

The identification of the age groups is based on linguistic and social grounds. Language acquisition drastically changes in these phases: the critical period, i.e. the “period of decline in language learning ability” (Labov 2007: 349), ranges from childhood to teenage years. Socially, these periods also represent important life stages in the Old Order community. Children remain unbaptised, and teenagers make the decision to be baptised or leave the community. As baptised adults, Old Order Mennonites are met with social expectations that are different from (unbaptised) children and teenagers. The variable is statistically significant in all three sociophonetic case studies. Surprisingly, speakers with the closest and the greatest distance pattern similarly, while the two middle groups—speakers who left as children/teenagers or adults—produce significantly different variants. These speakers use linguistic features that signal both their Mennonite heritage and integration in mainstream society—and linguistically move away from both. My findings suggest that in lesser-studied multilingual communities, locally relevant social variables can reveal findings that might otherwise not emerge. The results illustrate how speakers with conflicting identities, e.g. those who left the Old Orders, produce language and contribute to an emerging body of research on the linguistic negotiation of conflicting identities (Levon 2015; Jones 2018; VanderStouwe 2023).

Clara grows up: Lifespan change from adolescence to middle-age

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A key issue in the study of lifespan change is to disentangle style shifts from system changes (e.g. Grama et al., to appear). In this paper, I contribute to this question by studying change in progress in real time from 2003-2024. The data comprise conversations between sisters in an intimate setting, focussing on ‘Clara’, born in 1986. The quotative system is the feature under investigation for two reasons: 1) it has undergone momentous transformation in English over the same period and 2) the incoming variant, *be like*, is nonstandard. Sociolinguistic theory would predict decreasing use of *be like*, i.e. age grading.

1. So, they *’re like*, “no” and we *’re like*, “yeah”. (Clara, age 16)
2. I *’m like*, “I did it already” and he *’s like*, “oh”. (Clara, age 37)

The dataset is unique among panel studies in being sufficiently extensive (2608 tokens and more than 60 data points per year over 21 years) to test not only the yearly rate but also the constraints operating on the system at each time point, e.g. grammatical person, tense, temporal reference, etc. The methodology employed is comparative sociolinguistics (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001) and triangulates several statistical techniques using R (2022). Following Tagliamonte & Baayen (2012) and Gries (2018) conditional inference tree analysis is used to identify temporal break points, random forests to substantiate the importance of these junctures across predictors and mixed effects modelling (lme4) to corroborate statistical significance and interactions between time and linguistic predictors to assess change in constraints across time. The results reveal that the frequency of *be like* is virtually the same at age 16 (77%) as at 37 (80%). Importantly, the constraints operating on its use remain stable across the lifespan. As Clara graduates from high school, becomes a registered nurse, pursues graduate credentials, gets married and has two children her quotative system remains remarkably stable. This study furthers knowledge in several areas. First, it provides evidence from one of the most substantial panel studies to date and the most detailed treatment of the quotative system over the lifespan. Second, it contributes to widening the scope lifespan studies of linguistic change to a recent and often reviled innovation, adding to other lifespan studies of phonetic and phonological features (Sankoff & Blondeau, 2007; Bauernfeind et al., 2023; Grama et al., 2023) and grammatical features (e.g. Sankoff & Blondeau, 2007; Evans Wagner & Sankoff, 2011; Sankoff, 2019). Further, it demonstrates that at least some linguistic features are not subject to lifespan instability (Sankoff & Evans Wagner, 2006; Buchstaller, 2015). In this case the results demonstrate that an innovation that is acquired in childhood and advances in adolescence endures, at least to age 37. This finding provides support for Labov’s (2001) incrementation model of linguistic change and corroborates earlier research extending its application to levels of grammar beyond phonology (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2009). Finally, this work calls for comparative research on features with contrasting profiles of social meaning (e.g. Brook et al., 2018) and comparison between different cultural situations.

Representation, race, and transitivity in colonial Mexico: A quantitative and qualitative analysis

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In historical studies, we often lament our inability to access the many voices that seem absent or underrepresented. At the same time, especially in contexts of conflict or inequality, the surviving words must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt, as these texts were generally created to justify certain agendas to the wider world. Alternative ways of analyzing these texts can shed new light on how minoritized social groups were viewed by the authors. In colonial contexts, linguistic patterns may provide unique insight into the colonizers’ worldview and, thus, the lived colonial experiences of colonized peoples. This paper examines quantitative patterns of transitivity alongside qualitative analysis to explore the representation of two groups—Spaniards and Indigenous people—in texts from 16th- and

17th-century New Spain (present-day Mexico). Here, 433 examples from 176 written documents dating from 1535 to 1697 (word count = 182,500) from *Documentos lingüísticos de la Nueva España: Altiplano central* (Company Company, 1994) are used. As Aaron (2024) has noted, “not easily analyzable via anecdotal observation, transitivity can offer us clues about how referents’ roles are construed within a text” (p. 1). According to Matu (2008), transitivity allows speakers to “encode in language their mental picture of reality” (p. 201), revealing ideological assumptions transmitted through these texts, making transitivity an “essential tool in the analysis of representation” (Fowler, 1991, p. 70) that goes beyond lexical choice (Nair & Talif, 2013). This paper takes a novel approach to sociolinguistic variation in historical texts. Instead of examining the production of different social groups – most of which are inaccessible or very infrequent in historical data – I look at the implications of the implicit representation of these groups as expressed through grammar. Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) multifaceted model of transitivity, which is both structural and semantic, is used to explore the representation of these two groups, particularly with regard to their perceived agency and character. The factors examined included number of participants, agency (operationalized as grammatical role), kinesis, aspect, mood, punctuality, volition, object individuation, and object affectedness. Chi-squared tests were used to test for significance. With higher rates of higher transitivity for European subjects for all measures in which differences were found, except kinesis (Table 1), the transitivity patterns cooccurring with native people reveal that they were portrayed primarily as weakened subjects—and at times victims—of Spanish tyranny, yet, in their kinetic animalism, as powerful and frightening would-be cannibals. These patterns reflect the dualistic nature of the perception of Indigenous peoples in Mexican colonial society, also seen in the qualitative analysis, which reveals that Indigenous referents often appeared as both dangerous heathens and victims, as in (1). Despite the overall ineffectualness of the Indigenous referent in these data, there is a space in which the Spanish still portrayed Indigenous actors as more powerful: in their bodies. This study demonstrates how the quantitative application of Hopper and Thompson’s transitivity can uncover meaningful differences in social representations of diverse populations, particularly in historical texts.

Author Translation

En los estudios históricos, a menudo lamentamos nuestra incapacidad para acceder a las muchas voces que parecen ausentes. Al mismo tiempo, especialmente en contextos de conflicto o desigualdad, las palabras que sobreviven deben tomarse con el proverbial grano de sal, ya que estos textos se utilizaban para justificar ciertas agendas. El análisis alternativo de estos textos puede arrojar nueva luz sobre cómo los autores percibían a los grupos minorizados. En contextos coloniales, los patrones lingüísticos pueden proporcionar una visión única de la visión del mundo de los colonizadores y, por tanto, de las experiencias de los pueblos colonizados. Este trabajo utiliza la transitividad para explorar la representación de españoles e indígenas en textos de la Nueva España de los siglos XVI y XVII (actual México). Se analizan 433 ejemplos de 176 documentos escritos que datan de 1535 a 1697 (182.500 palabras) de *Documentos lingüísticos de la Nueva España* (Company Company, 1994). Como señaló Aaron (2024), “no fácilmente analizable a través de la observación anecdótica, la transitividad puede ofrecernos pistas sobre cómo se interpretan los roles de los referentes dentro de un texto” (p. 1). Según Matu (2008), la transitividad permite a los hablantes “codificar en el lenguaje su imagen mental de la realidad” (p. 201), revelando los supuestos ideológicos transmitidos por estos textos, lo que hace de la transitividad una “herramienta esencial en el análisis de la representación” (Fowler, 1991, p. 70) que va más allá de la elección léxica (Nair & Talif, 2013). Este trabajo adopta un enfoque novedoso de la variación sociolingüística en los textos históricos. En lugar de examinar la producción de diferentes grupos sociales —que pueden ser inaccesibles o muy poco frecuentes—, me fijé en las implicaciones de la representación implícita de estos grupos a través de la gramática. Se aplica el modelo multifacético de transitividad de Hopper y Thompson (1980), tanto estructural como semántico, para explorar la representación de estos dos grupos, sobre todo con respecto a su agencia y carácter percibidos. Se codificaron número de participantes, agencia (rol gramatical), quinesia, aspecto, animacidad, puntualidad, volición, individuación del objeto y afectación del objeto. Se utilizaron pruebas de Chi-cuadrado para comprobar la significación.

Con transitividad más alta con sujetos europeos en todas las medidas excepto en la quinesia (Tabla 1), se ve que los indígenas fueron retratados principalmente como sujetos debilitados —y a veces víctimas— de la tiranía española, pero, en su animalismo quinésico, como poderosos y temibles posibles caníbales. Estos patrones reflejan la naturaleza dualista de la percepción de los pueblos indígenas en esa sociedad, también vista en el análisis cualitativo, como en (1). A pesar de la ineficacia general del referente indígena, hay un espacio en el que los españoles todavía retrataban a los actores indígenas como más poderosos: en sus cuerpos. Este estudio demuestra cómo la aplicación cuantitativa de la transitividad de Hopper y Thompson puede descubrir diferencias significativas en las representaciones sociales de poblaciones diversas, particularmente en textos históricos.

Non-finite Complementizers and the Caribbean Creole Continuum

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Early studies of English-based creoles used the distribution of the non-finite complementizers *to* (1a) and *for/fi/fu* (1b) to place individual speakers on a (post-)creole continuum, ranging from the most basilectal to the most acrolectal (Bickerton 1971, 1973; Washabaugh 1977; Winford 1985). However, these studies assumed that variation reflected alternation between discrete language varieties rather than inherent variability in linguistic system. While variationist methods have since been applied to an increasing number of grammatical variables (for an overview, see e.g. Meyerhoff 2021), non-finite complementizers have yet to be (re-)examined.

1. a) You only want **to** see her when it is dark. (28/7:37)
- b) Yeah, who want **for** go there, who got money **for** go to them. (11/46:01)
- c) Sometime I want **Ø** go night church. (8/2:45)

This paper returns the focus of grammatical variation in creoles to non-finite complementizers, to test the prediction that individual speakers can be placed on a continuum. From sociolinguistic interviews with 26 speakers from four villages (Hamilton, Mount Pleasant, Paget Farm and La Pompe) on the eastern Caribbean island of Bequia, we exhaustively extracted 2,236 non-finite clauses and coded the complementizer as *to* (1a), *for* (1b) or zero (1c), as well as for its matrix-clause verb and that verb's semantic class. Additionally, the relationship of verbal arguments between the matrix and subordinate clause was coded as one of four types: subject control (2a), subject control with an intervening object (2b), object control (2c) or exceptional case marking (2d).

2. a) I_i don't want [$\emptyset$ _i **to** hear jokes]. (3/44:59)
- b) I_i can't even get money [$\emptyset$ _i **for** buy it]. (24/56:01)
- c) We got worse days_i [$\emptyset$ _i **to** come]. (107/36:18)
- d) If you want [them **for** spend the whole night] ... (11/3:36)

Overall results show that *to* is the preferred variant in all villages, ranging between 66% and 92%. The zero variant also occurs in all villages, though at very low rates (8%-17%). The *for* variant similarly occurs at low rates and is never used in Mount Pleasant. Preliminary multivariate analysis of the linguistic constraints suggests that matrix verb class is the strongest predictor of the *for* variant, regardless of overall rate of use. The relationship of verbal arguments is also important, with *for* favoured with subject control and disfavoured with subject control with object. However, a cross-tabulation of these two linguistic factor groups shows that they are not independent of each other, and that individual matrix verbs exert the strongest effect. While villages differ in rates of complementizer use, there is a high

degree of individual-speaker variation, but the linguistic conditioning for each speaker does not allow them to be neatly placed on a linear continuum.

Author Translation

Os primeiros estudos sobre crioulos de base inglesa usaram a distribuição dos complementizadores não finitos *to* (1a) e *for/fi/fu* (1b) para colocar falantes individuais em um continuum (pós-)crioulo, estendendo-se do mais basilectal ao mais acrolectal (Bickerton 1971, 1973; Washabaugh 1977; Winford 1985). No entanto, estes estudos assumiram que a variação refletia a alternância entre variedades linguísticas distintas, em vez da variabilidade inerente ao sistema linguístico. Embora os métodos variacionistas tenham sido aplicados desde então a um número crescente de variáveis gramaticais (ver, por exemplo, Meyerhoff 2021), os complementizadores não finitos ainda precisam ser (re)examinados.

1. a) You only want **to** see her when it is dark. (28/7:37)
- b) Yeah, who want **for** go there, who got money **for** go to them. (11/46:01)
- c) Sometime I want **Ø** go night church. (8/2:45)

Este artigo enfoca a variação dos complementizadores não finitos em crioulos para testar a predição de que falantes individuais podem ser colocados em um continuum. A partir de entrevistas sociolinguísticas com 26 falantes de quatro aldeias (Hamilton, Mount Pleasant, Paget Farm e La Pompe) na ilha de Bequia, no leste do Caribe, extraíram-se todas as 2.236 ocorrências de orações não finitas, cujo complementizador foi codificado como *to* (1a), *for* (1b) ou zero (1c). Os dados também foram codificados de acordo com o verbo da oração matriz e sua classe semântica. Além disso, a relação de argumentos verbais entre a matriz e a subordinada foi codificada como: controle de sujeito (2a), controle de sujeito com objeto interveniente (2b), controle de objeto (2c) ou marcação de caso excepcional (2d).

2. a) I_i don't want [Ø_i **to** hear jokes]. (3/44:59)
- b) I_i can't even get money [Ø_i **for** buy it]. (24/56:01)
- c) We got worse days_i [Ø_i **to** come]. (107/36:18)
- d) If you want [them **for** spend the whole night] ... (11/3:36)

O conjunto de resultados mostra que *to* é a variante preferida em todas as aldeias (66% a 92%). A variante zero também ocorre em todas, mas em taxas muito baixas (8%-17%). Semelhantemente, a variante *for* ocorre poucas vezes, mas nunca é usada em Mount Pleasant. A análise preliminar das restrições linguísticas sugere que a classe do verbo matriz é o preditor mais forte da variante *for*, independentemente da taxa geral de uso. A relação dos argumentos verbais também é importante: *for* é favorecido nos casos de controle do sujeito e desfavorecido quando se trata de controle do sujeito com o objeto. Contudo, uma tabulação cruzada destes dois grupos de fatores linguísticos mostra que eles são interdependentes e que os verbos matriciais individuais exercem o efeito mais forte. Embora as aldeias difiram nas taxas de utilização de complementizadores, é elevado o grau de variação individual entre falantes; por outro lado, o condicionamento linguístico para cada falante não permite que eles sejam ordenados em um continuum linear.

Synchronic variation in Chinese Mandarin varieties: Subject pronominal expression

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In variationist analysis, some widely investigated features, such as the presence/absence of subject personal pronouns, have been shown to be constrained by similar or different internal and external factors across communities and even languages (Guy et al. forthcoming). From the perspective of historical

linguistics, this type of synchronic and typological variation across multiple communities can offer a window into the pathway of diachronic language change (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968; Labov 1994; Tagliamonte 2006). Following this approach, this study focuses on Subject Pronoun Expression (SPE) by native and heritage speakers in local and overseas Chinese Mandarin communities and compares the SPE variation patterns to explore cross-dialectal language variation and change. Most previous studies (e.g., Jia and Bayley 2008; Li, Chen, and Chen 2012; Nagy et al. 2003; Zhang 2021) have focused on Chinese SPE by speakers from a single local community, therefore more or less limiting the sociolinguistic interpretations of the variable. To examine SPE variation across Mandarin varieties, natural speech were collected from speakers in Harbin (monolingual, local), Shanghai (multilingual, cosmopolitan), Taiwan (multilingual, cosmopolitan), and California (multilingual, heritage). In total, 22333 tokens have been elicited from 89 speakers (65 females, 24 males, aged 18-54). From the perspective of linguistic-structural, cognitive-discursive, and social-stylistic constraints, nine control variables are considered. Multivariate analysis reveals that linguistic constraints like person and number of the subject and clause type significantly affect SPE use. In regard to social factors, age, gender, and origin of the speakers are significant. The results also demonstrate that psycholinguistic/discursive hints such as priming and reference continuity are important predictors. Specifically, female and younger speakers prefer to use overt pronouns in the main clause when the pronoun in the previous clause is different and overt. Regional differences have also been observed ranging from the highest rate by US-born heritage speakers to the lowest rate by Harbin monolingual speakers. Overall, Mandarin data exhibits 62% overt pronoun use. Compared with other pro-drop languages, regional differences identified in Mandarin data have also been found in Spanish, ranging from 21% in Spain (Enríquez 1984; Cameron 1993) to 45% in the Caribbean (Cameron 1993). The regional differences, especially the high rates by heritage and cosmopolitan speakers, may be attributed to language contact with English and the characteristics of the multilingual cosmopolitan communities (Erker 2017). Additionally, younger Chinese speakers in multilingual communities (Shanghai, Taiwan, and California) tended to use more overt pronouns, which also resembles findings in Madeira Portuguese, Caribbean, and European Spanish (Beaman 2021; Otheguy and Zentella 2012; Orozco and Guy 2008). The gender effect is observed across all Mandarin communities in that women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate, and this echoes the gender preference of SPE in Spanish and Portuguese (Alfaraz 2015; Duarte and Marins 2021). This study contributes to the current knowledge of SPE across Chinese Mandarin varieties. The contrastive analysis of the variable not only provides more evidence to explore the synchronic variation across Mandarin-speaking communities but also leads to implications for the typological investigation of the structural change.

Sociolinguistic Dynamics in a Bilingual Border Community: Investigating the Acoustic Properties of Palatal Liquid Vocalization in Uruguayan Portuguese.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates the vocalization of the palatal liquid among Riverense Spanish-Uruguayan Portuguese bilinguals ($n=30$) residing on the Uruguay-Brazilian border. Specifically, we examine the leniting production of the lateral approximant as a front glide (e.g., /mu'æer/ as /mu'jer/, “woman”), a phenomenon previously documented among Uruguayan Portuguese speakers and analyzed by Carvalho (2003a, 2003b). This dynamic bilingual community in the city of Rivera, Uruguay, experiences significant linguistic insecurity and stigmatization regarding their hybrid variety of Uruguayan Portuguese. Numerous studies have shown that various sociolinguistic factors influence language use and attitudes, which in turn shape phonetic realizations in both Portuguese and Spanish (i.e. Carvalho 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006; Waltermire 2008, 2010, 2012; Gradoville et al 2024). Building on Carvalho's foundational observational descriptive research, our study aims to add to her analysis by providing a detailed acoustic investigation of the phenomenon as a function of various sociolinguistic factors. We systematically

measure the impacts of preceding and following segments on vowel quality and transitions to identify potential innovative patterns. To account for sociolinguistic distribution and variation, we control for a spectrum of factors including age (as a continuous variable), socioeconomic background, place of residence, gender, identity, linguistic attitudes, and patterns of language use. Preliminary results indicate the existence of a phonetic continuum in Riverenses' realization of <lh> words in Uruguayan Portuguese; more precisely, a detailed examination of spectrographic features (formant structure, amplitude, duration) shows Uruguayan Portuguese speakers range from the standard BP Portuguese-like [ʎ] through [j], [li], to [l], reflecting varying degrees of palatalization and assimilation. In addition, a strong influence of gender, identity, and socioeconomic background is seen in the vocalization of the palatal liquid. Specifically, participants who exhibit more instances of glide patterns tend to identify as male, have a positive attitude towards local Portuguese and culture, come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, and feel more Uruguayan than Brazilian. Conversely, participants who identify as female, come from higher socioeconomic background, and hold more negative attitudes towards local language and culture favor the Portuguese-like [ʎ] and its Spanish-like version [lj]. The neutralized production [l] appears in younger speakers, signaling a change in progress. We argue that Riverenses' strong bilingualism and the historical linguistic contact between Portuguese and Spanish in the region contribute to the observed continuum, where speakers navigate between Brazilian and Spanish articulatory norms. Understanding these phonetic variations sheds light on the dynamic interplay of language contact and phonological adaptation in border regions, illustrating how social and identity factors shape speech variation and how linguistic influences give birth to innovative forms.

Author Translation

Este estudio investiga la vocalización de la líquida palatal en bilingües Riverenses (n=30) hablantes de español y portugués uruguayo que residen en la frontera entre Uruguay y Brasil. Específicamente, examinamos la lenición de la aproximante lateral como una semivocal (por ejemplo, /mu'ʎer/ como /mu'jer/, "mujer"), un fenómeno previamente documentado entre hablantes de portugués uruguayo y analizado por Carvalho (2003a, 2003b). Esta dinámica comunidad bilingüe en la ciudad de Rivera, Uruguay, experimenta fuerte inseguridad lingüística y estigmatización respecto a su variedad híbrida del portugués uruguayo. Numerosos estudios han demostrado que varios factores sociolingüísticos influyen en el uso y las actitudes lingüísticas de estos hablantes, lo que a su vez moldea las realizaciones fonéticas tanto en su portugués como en su español (e.g., Carvalho 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006; Waltermire 2008, 2010, 2012; Gradoville et al 2024). Basándonos en la previa investigación descriptiva y observacional de Carvalho, nuestro estudio tiene como objetivo ampliar su análisis proporcionando un análisis acústico del fenómeno en función de varios factores sociolingüísticos. Medimos sistemáticamente el impacto de segmentos anteriores y siguientes mirando la calidad vocálica y las transiciones para identificar potenciales patrones innovadores. Para dar cuenta de la distribución y variación sociolingüística, controlamos una serie de factores que incluyen la edad (como variable continua), el nivel socioeconómico, el lugar de residencia, el género, la identidad, las actitudes lingüísticas y los patrones de uso de la lengua. Los resultados preliminares indican la existencia de un continuo fonético en la realización de palabras con <lh> en portugués uruguayo por parte de los Riverenses; más específicamente, un examen detallado de las características espectrográficas (estructura de formantes, amplitud, duración) muestra que la pronunciación de los hablantes de portugués uruguayo se mueve entre la forma estándar del portugués brasileño [ʎ] hasta [j], [li], y [l], reflejando diferentes grados de palatalización y asimilación. Además, se observa una fuerte influencia del género, la identidad y el nivel socioeconómico en la vocalización del palatal líquida. En particular, los participantes que muestran más instancias de la semivocal tienden a identificarse como hombres, tienen una actitud positiva hacia el portugués local y la cultura, provienen de un nivel socioeconómico más bajo y se sienten más uruguayos que brasileños. De contrario, los participantes que se identifican como mujeres, provienen de un nivel socioeconómico más alto y tienen actitudes más negativas hacia la lengua y la cultura local prefieren la pronunciación similar al portugués [ʎ] y su versión similar al español [lj]. La producción neutralizada [l] aparece en hablantes más jóvenes, como posible evidencia de un cambio en progreso. Argumentamos que el fuerte bilingüismo de los Riverenses y el contacto lingüístico histórico entre el portugués y el español en la región contribuyen al continuo observado, donde los hablantes navegan entre las normas articulatorias brasileñas y españolas. Estudiar esta variación fonética nos permite entender la dinámica

interactiva del contacto lingüístico y la adaptación fonológica en regiones fronterizas, mostrando cómo los factores sociales e identitarios moldean la variación del habla y cómo las influencias lingüísticas dan lugar a formas innovadoras.

The Social Stratification of Spanish *uptalk* in Laredo, Texas

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores the sociolinguistic role of *uptalk* (also known as high rising terminals) in the local Spanish of Laredo, Texas. It particularly focuses on the interrelationship between *uptalk*, area of residence, and the self-identification as a *fresa*. High rising terminals (HRTs) are known to be characteristic to *fresas*, a Mexican cultural group that refers to individuals who belong to privileged social classes, live expensive lifestyles, and speak Spanish distinctively (Chaparro, 2016; Cordova Abundis & Corona Zenil, 2002; Martínez Gómez, 2018; Urteaga & Ortega, 2004). This cultural group is well known in Laredo and carries the same social definition as it does in Mexico. Through an ethnographic study, it was determined that area of residence and the *fresa* identity are significant markers of social class in this border town. Three socially and economically defined areas were identified in Laredo: north, south, and west. The south and the west areas were commonly associated with lower-class individuals, while the north was associated with social prestige. Through the analysis of 45 sociolinguistic interviews, the study finds that north area Laredoans produce significantly more HRTs than their west and south counterparts. The participants' area of residence was the most significant predictor, followed by self-identification as a *fresa*, and reported financial difficulties. My results show that there is social variation in *uptalk* production in the local Spanish of Laredo. As a border town, Laredo is home to many heritage Spanish speakers and little has been done to explore these bilinguals' intonation and Mexican American Spanish *uptalk*. My study shows that *uptalk* exists in the Texas borderlands, along with the Mexican cultural group known as *fresas*, a group which may be influencing this speech community's local Spanish.

Abstract (Translation)

Este estudio investiga el rol sociolingüístico de *uptalk* (la elevación del tono de voz o '*high rising terminals*') en el español de Laredo, Texas. En particular el estudio se enfoca en la interrelación entre *uptalk*, la área de residencia y la autoidentificación de *fresa*. La elevación del tono de voz ha sido característico en el grupo cultural Mexicano conocido como los *fresas*. Estos grupos son vistos como gente de alta clase social, con estilos de vida costosos y quienes hablan el español de manera única (Chaparro, 2016; Cordova Abundis & Corona Zenil, 2002; Martínez Gómez, 2018; Urteaga & Ortega, 2004). Este grupo cultural es muy conocido en Laredo y también tiene la misma definición social como en México. Después de realizar un estudio etnográfico se determinó que la área de residencia y la identidad *fresa* son marcadores importantes de la clase social en esta ciudad fronteriza. En Laredo se identificaron tres áreas de manera social y económica: el norte, el sur y el oeste. El sur y el oeste típicamente se asocian con gente de clase baja, mientras que el norte es visto con más prestigio social. Al analizar 45 entrevistas sociolingüísticas, el estudio muestra que los Laredenses del norte producen *uptalk* significativamente más que el sur y el oeste. La área de residencia de los participantes fue el predictor más significativo. Estos resultados demuestran que sí hay variación en la producción de *uptalk* en el español de Laredo. Como ciudad fronteriza, en Laredo hay muchos hablantes de herencia y poco se ha hecho para investigar la entonación de estos bilingües y el *uptalk* en su español. Mi estudio revela que *uptalk* existe en la frontera de Texas al igual que el grupo conocido como *fresas*, un grupo que posiblemente esté influyendo el español de esta comunidad lingüística.

Natural Class Reorganization over Apparent Time by Prelateral /u/ and /oʊ/ in Georgia

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Conventional wisdom holds that back-vowel fronting is common for GOOSE /u/ and GOAT /oʊ/ among White speakers across the United States, while their prelateral variants POOL and GOAL remain backed (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). The major regional exception to this patterning is in the South, where fronting has historically affected both GOOSE and POOL (Thomas 2005; Thomas 2001; Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Conversely, Southern prelateral GOAL remains backed, despite otherwise widespread fronting of GOAT. The phonetic patterning of back vowels has implications for phonological organization (Fruehwald 2017): what natural classes are evidenced? We evaluate this question in a sample of speech from Georgia. Comparing allophones of /u/ and /oʊ/ across generations, genders, and ethnicities, we find realignment of back vowels across natural classes.

The traditional Southern patterning of back vowels has faded in recent decades, such that younger White speakers are expected to show a split system more closely resembling other areas of the United States. For Black speakers in the South and elsewhere, the canonical African American Vowel System does not show fronting of back vowels in any context (Thomas 2007). Some regional varieties of AAL show fronting of GOAT, GOOSE, or both, but never in a pre-lateral context (Eberhardt 2009; Childs, Mallinson & Carpenter 2009). Our dataset includes sociolinguistic interviews with 120 White Georgians, born 1933–2003, and 44 Black Georgians, born 1932–2004. Recordings were orthographically transcribed and force-aligned. Vowels' F1 and F2 were measured at 5 time points, from 20% – 80% of vowel duration. Data were treated by removing stopwords and outliers, followed by normalization. We restricted analysis to non-post-coronal tokens for /u oʊ/, in pre-obstruent position (BOOT/GOAT) or prelateral position (SPOOL/JOLT). We built Generalized Additive Mixed Models (GAMMs) to model formant trajectories, treating speaker year of birth as a smooth, alongside several nonlinear random effects. Predicted values were used to generate vowel trajectories at 10-year increments (Figure 1). Results show substantial reorganization of back vowel systems for both White and Black speakers across apparent time. For all groups, BOOT is consistently fronter than BOAT. For the oldest White speakers, prelateral vowels have similar F2 to pre-obstruent allophones. However, Gen-Z shows a split between pre-obstruent and prelateral vowels, primarily due to prelateral backing. The oldest Black speakers have a split between BOOT/SPOOL, but not BOAT/JOLT. BOOT and SPOOL are backed by Gen-X, but BOOT alone fronts further for Gen-Z. In contrast, BOAT remains static over time, and JOLT backs slightly for Gen-Z. We interpret these results in light of the incoming Low Back Merger Shift in Georgia (Renwick et al. 2023): the low back merger and fronting of back vowels empty a portion of the vowel space, fostering new groupings of back vowels (Thomas 2019). Young White and Black speakers are converging on systems in which preobstruent /u, oʊ/ are fronted, while /ul, oʊl/ are phonetically backed and behave as a natural class of prelaterals that is not exhibited by older generations.

Author Translation

Sabe-se que a anteriorização de vogais posteriores é comum pela GOOSE (/u/) e GOAT (/oʊ/) entre os falantes brancos de inglês nos Estados Unidos, no entanto suas variantes prelaterais, POOL e GOAL, ficam posteriores (Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2006). A exceção regional a esta padrão se encontra no sul, onde GOOSE e POOL são anteriorizadas (Thomas 2005; Thomas 2001; Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Por outro lado, no Sul GOAL prelateral fica posteriorizada apesar da anteriorização difundida de GOAT em outros contextos. A padrão fonética de vogais posteriores tem implicações na organização fonológica (Fruehwald 2017): quais classes naturais são evidenciadas? Avaliamos esta questão numa amostra de discurso da Geórgia. Comparando alofones da /u, oʊ/ através das gerações, gêneros, e etnias, demonstramos uma

reorganização de classes naturais no sistema de vogais posteriores. No sul, o padrão tradicional de vogais posteriores desapareceu em décadas recentes, de tal modo que se espera que os brancos mais jovens tenham um sistema dividido que se assemelha mais como as outras áreas nos Estados Unidos. Pelos falantes negros, a sistema vogal dos afro-americanos não tem anteriorização em nenhum contexto (Thomas 2007). Algumas variedades regionais da inglês vernáculo afro-americano mostram anteriorização da GOAT e/ou GOOSE, mas nunca num contexto prelateral (Eberhardt 2009; Childs, Mallinson & Carpenter 2009). Temos entrevistas sociolinguísticas com 120 Georgianos brancos, nascidos 1933–2003, e 44 Georgianos negros, nascidos 1932–2004. Gravações foram transcritas ortograficamente e alinhadas. As F1 e F2 foram medidos em 5 pontos de tempo, de 20% a 80% de duração. Somente analisamos o /u, ʊ/ antes das consoantes obstruentes (BOOT, GOAT) ou posição prelateral (SPOOL, JOLT) que não são precedidas por consoantes coronais. Construímos modelos mistos aditivos generalizados para modelizar trajetórias de formantes, tratando o ano de nascimento como curva suave assim como vários efeitos aleatórios não-lineais. Os valores previstos foram utilizados para gerar trajetórias vogais em incrementos de 10 anos (figura 1). Os resultados mostram reorganização substancial dos sistemas de vogais posteriores por falantes brancos e negros em tempo aparente. Pelas pessoas mais velhas, vogais prelaterais têm um F2 semelhante aos alofones dos preobstruentes, e a /u/ é mais anterior do que a /ʊ/. Porém, Geração Z (nascido 1998–2005) mostra uma divisão entre as vogais prelaterais e preobstruentes, principalmente devido a posterização prelateral. Os negros mais idosos têm uma divisão entre BOOT/SPOOL, mas não BOAT/JOLT. BOOT e SPOOL são posteriorizadas por Geração X (nascido 1963–1982), mas somente BOOT é anteriorizada por Geração Z. Em contraste, BOAT permanece estática em tempo e JOLT é posteriorizada um pouco por Geração Z. Interpretamos estes resultados em face da mudança de fusão posterior-aberta em Geórgia (Renwick et al. 2023): a fusão posterior-aberta e anteriorização das vogais posteriores esvaziam uma porção do espaço vocálico, fomentando novo grupos de vogais posteriores (Thomas 2019). Falantes brancos e negros mais jovens convergem em sistemas no qual a /u, ʊ/ preobstruente é anteriorizada, no entanto /ul, ʊl/ é posterizada foneticamente, e agem como uma classe natural de prelaterais que não se-exibe em gerações mais velhas.

Continued restructuring of the English quotative system: *it's like*

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Previous studies of quotative *be like* (Gardner et al. 2020, D'Arcy 2017) often mention rare occurrences of quotative *it's like*, as in examples 1-2 from Raleigh, NC:

- (1) *It was like* "You're gonna do what?"
- (2) I'm more Southern than I thought I was, *it's like* "Oh I don't know if I like this."

Quotative *it's like* is normally excluded from quantitative analyses because most quotative verbs cannot take an expletive subject (**it said*). In a qualitative analysis, Fox & Robles (2010) argue that *it's like* reports 'affect-laden, responsive attitude[s]'. The expletive subject normalizes the attitude, giving the sense that 'anyone in this situation' would react similarly (734). This paper reports a quantitative analysis of *it's like* in Raleigh against the backdrop of the full quotative system, especially other forms of *be like* (*I'm like, she was like*). All quotative constructions were coded in conversational data from 111 Raleigh natives. Of 2051 quotatives, 115 are *it's like*. The apparent-time change in the quotative system reproduces patterns in previous studies (Figure 1). The 'non-AAE speakers' panel in Figure 1 includes 75 White speakers and 8 speakers born after 1998 whose parents immigrated from African countries; these 8 speakers (triangles in Figures 1, 2), like their White peers, predominantly use *be like*. Among the 33 AAE speakers, *be like* has become the dominant quotative verb, but *say* remains frequent. In both panels in Figure 1, *it's like* rises beginning around 1950, and the rise is steeper for non-AAE speakers. Building on Fox & Robles' conclusion that *it's like* introduces 'affect-laden' attitudes, we consider whether *it's like* in

Raleigh is used chiefly to report thought and hypothetical speech. D'Arcy (2021) argues that the initial ascent of quotative *be like* reflected the growing tendency to report *thought*. In Raleigh, reported thought rises in frequency after 1950. The function of *it's like* must be considered in relation to this rise. Figure 2 shows the proportion of reported thought that each quotative verb occupies. Among White speakers, *think* initially predominates but is overtaken by *be like*. In the 1980s, *be like* plateaus and *it's like* overtakes both *think* and zero. In contrast, the 8 speakers with African parents produce only 10 *it's like* tokens; *be like* and zero are more frequent. Similarly, among AAE speakers, *be like* remains the strongly dominant form for reporting thoughts; there are only 10 *it's like* tokens. Mixed effects logistic regression models for White speakers confirm that *it's like* more often reports thought than speech, relative to *be like* ($p<.001$); this is consistent with Fox & Robles. However, the interaction between birthyear and thought vs. speech is not significant; rather, **time reference** interacts with birthyear: *it's like* increasingly reports present-time thoughts, relative to *be like* ($p<.05$; fitted values in Figure 3). On the basis of these results and on Fox & Robles' account, we suspect that for White speakers, *it's like* is increasingly the vehicle for reporting current or ongoing, enduring emotion-laden attitudes and thoughts.

How Do Language Ideologies Influence Ergative Variation in Basque Bilinguals? Insights from Basque Country and Boise, Idaho [¿Cómo Influyen las Ideologías Lingüísticas en la Variación del Ergativo en Bilingües de Euskera? Perspectivas del País Vasco y Boise, Idaho]

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

English and Spanish follow the nominative-accusative case-marking system. That is, intransitive and transitive subjects carry the Nominative $-\emptyset$ mark (1a-b), whereas, in transitive sentences, they mark the object with the Accusative case (1b) to distinguish the arguments. If the object were not marked ($-\emptyset$), it would be ungrammatical (1c). However, Ergative-Absolutive languages, such as Basque, follow a different pattern where they mark the subject to distinguish it from the other arguments. Thus, intransitive subjects carry the Absolutive $-\emptyset$ mark (2a), whereas transitive subjects are marked with the Ergative case marker $-k$ (2b). If both the subject and the object were marked with the same Absolutive $-\emptyset$ mark, it would not be grammatical (1c/2c). Given the different strategies in these two kinds of languages, this paper aims to answer whether there is variation in ergative marking in two bilingual communities: Basque-Spanish bilinguals from the Basque Country ($N=23$) and Basque heritage speakers (HS) or Basque-English bilinguals from Idaho ($N=17$). A quantitative data collection method was employed in this study, for which two tasks were designed: (1) an Acceptability Judgment Task, where participants were presented with both unmarked and marked utterances and asked to rate their grammaticality, and (2) an Elicitation Task, where speakers produced a sentence describing giving images. The results of both tasks showed significant differences between and across groups ($p=0.01$). In Task 1, sociolinguistic factors such as acquisition type ($p<0.001$), schooling ($p<0.001$), sibling order ($p<0.001$), gender ($p<0.001$), subject/object animacy ($p<0.001$ in both cases) had a statistically significant impact on accurately rating grammatical sentences. In Task 2, HS's generation and the phonological context also play a role. Lastly, the grammaticality of both tasks has been influenced by subject type ($p<0.001$) and ideological factors such as considering oneself native ($p=0.002$), rejecting the new speaker/traditional speaker binarism ($p=0.003$), and considering ergative marking an authenticity trait in the community ($p=0.01$) also contributed to following the norm, leading to a higher perception and production of marked subjects. The most significant differences between both groups lie in factors related to their experiences and perceptions. Specifically, Basque HS who had access to schooling, self-perceived as native, self-rated their Basque knowledge high and had some metalinguistic knowledge were the ones to differentiate the most from the rest of their peers, and to behave more similarly to motherland Basques. In conclusion, the findings of this study underscore the interplay between language acquisition, schooling (cf. Gondra et al.,

2024), identity (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2022), semantic characteristics of the subjects (cf. Du Bois, 2017; Gondra et al., 2024), metalinguistic knowledge and self-perceived nativeness. This study demonstrates how socializing in the speaker community's language, especially in the heritage one, and self-perceiving as an authentic member influences the preservation of features praised as native-like. Ultimately, this research contributes to a first exploration of how language contact shapes linguistic structures in a minority language in two very different sociolinguistic environments, a heritage and a local one, and how the communities' language ideologies play a relevant role even among the descendants of Basque migrants (HS).

Author Translation

El inglés y el castellano siguen el sistema de marcación de caso nominativo-acusativo. Los sujetos intransitivos y transitivos llevan la marca nominativa $-\emptyset$ (1a-b), mientras que, en oraciones transitivas, el objeto se marca con el caso acusativo (1b). Si el objeto no estuviera marcado ($-\emptyset$), sería agramatical (1c). Sin embargo, las lenguas ergativo-absolutivas, como el *euskera*, siguen un patrón diferente: los sujetos intransitivos llevan la marca absoluta $-\emptyset$ (2a), mientras que los sujetos transitivos se marcan con el ergativo -k (2b). Si tanto el sujeto como el objeto estuvieran marcados con la misma marca absoluta $-\emptyset$, no sería gramatical (1c/2c). Dadas estas diferencias, este artículo pretende responder si hay variación en la marcación ergativa en dos comunidades bilingües: bilingües euskera-castellano del País Vasco (N=23) y hablantes de herencia vasca (HH) o bilingües euskera-inglés de Idaho (N=17). Para ello, se empleó un método de recolección de datos cuantitativos con dos tareas: (1) una de juicio de aceptabilidad, donde se presentaron a los participantes enunciados marcados y no marcados y se les pidió que calificaran su gramaticalidad, y (2) una de elicitación, donde los hablantes producían una oración describiendo imágenes de dar. Los resultados mostraron diferencias significativas entre y dentro de los grupos ($p=0.01$). En la tarea 1, factores sociolingüísticos como el tipo de adquisición ($p<0.001$), la escolarización ($p<0.001$), el orden de nacimiento ($p<0.001$), el género ($p<0.001$), y la animacidad del sujeto/objeto ($p<0.001$) influyeron en la calificación de las oraciones gramaticales. En la tarea 2, la generación de HH y el contexto fonológico también fueron relevantes. La marcación de sujeto en ambas tareas fue influenciada por el tipo de sujeto ($p<0.001$) y factores ideológicos como considerarse nativo ($p=0.002$), rechazar la dicotomía nuevo hablante/hablante tradicional ($p=0.003$), y considerar la marcación ergativa un rasgo de autenticidad en la comunidad ($p=0.01$). Las diferencias más significativas entre ambos grupos se relacionan con sus experiencias y percepciones. Los HS euskera con acceso a la escolarización, que se percibieron a sí mismos como nativos, autoevaluaron su conocimiento del euskera como alto y tenían algún conocimiento metalingüístico, se diferenciaron más de sus compañeros, comportándose de manera más similar a los vascos de la madre patria. En conclusión, los hallazgos de este estudio subrayan la interrelación entre la adquisición del lenguaje, la escolarización (cf. Gondra et al., 2024), la identidad (Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2022), las características semánticas de los sujetos (cf. Du Bois, 2017; Gondra et al., 2024), el conocimiento metalingüístico y la percepción de lo nativo. Este estudio demuestra cómo la socialización en la lengua minoritaria de la comunidad, especialmente en la de herencia, y la autopercepción como miembro auténtico de la comunidad influye en la preservación de rasgos valorados como nativos, fomentando la socialización en la lengua minoritaria. Esta investigación contribuye a una primera exploración de cómo el contacto lingüístico moldea las estructuras lingüísticas en una lengua minoritaria en dos entornos sociolingüísticos diferentes, uno de herencia y otro local, y cómo las ideologías lingüísticas de las comunidades juegan un papel relevante incluso entre los descendientes de migrantes vascos (HH).

According to Whom? Place, Vitality and Language Attitudes in Taiwan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The Taigi language activist Tiun Hok-chu once remarked that “We are Taiwanese Kaohsiung, they are Chinese Taipei—that’s a big difference” referring to both a geographic and cultural divide between largest cities situated in the north and south of Taiwan (Klötter 2005:219). Despite this difference, there is a strong trend in studies of Taigi language vitality to treat Taiwan as a single entity, with all English-language literature known to the author taking participants in the north and central regions (e.g. Sandel et al. 2006; Chen 2010; Yueh 2017), as shown in Figure 1, or utilizing online/broadcast media (e.g. Klötter 2009; Lin 2017; Su 2005, 2009). Oftentimes, the attitudes of the sample population are assumed to be representative for the views of all Taiwan. This has led to pessimistic outlooks for the future of Taigi, as research make dire claims about the future of Taiwan, such as Chen (2010:96) remarking that a large degree of language shift seems inevitable, noting that non-Mandarin languages were failing to maintain any domain usage in daily life. However, Taiwan is not a monolithic identity, and the place of the research matters. The Taiwan North-South divide has an association with the usage of Mandarin and Taigi, a divide which remains in the popular pathos of Taiwanese people (Su 2005:67-68; Ding 2016: 69). This issue of place has been raised in variationist sociolinguistics as well, such as Carmichael (2023:2) urges sociolinguists to “consider place to be symbolic, socially constructed, and culturally defined, as much as it is physically delimited.” The present project examines this consideration of place and applies it to the case of Taigi, thereby reexamining previous claims of language vitality and language attitudes in Taiwan. To investigate the relationship between place and language orientation, a sample of 49 participants from Taiwan were sampled in an online survey using Likert scale items during the summer of 2023. Participants responded to 18 Likert scale items and a survey, with these questions being broken down into factors such as Social & Political Standing of Taigi, Taiwan Orientation, as well as North and South Orientation. The model of best fit was “SocioPolitical ~ NSAffinity + birth_region + PlaceO” with a R-squared value of 0.3282, $p = 0.001$. This model implies that individuals who are born in the South, see Taiwan as a unique entity and for possess orientation for the South are more likely to see Taigi as having important political and social use. When taken into context with the finding that those born in the south are more likely to have a stronger orientation to the south ($p < 0.05$), which also follows from common sense, the data in this research suggest that Taigi is still seen to be an important part of daily life, both socially and politically. Furthermore, this underscores the importance of adopting a theory of place in sociolinguistic investigations.

Sociocognitive representations of variable Spanish past participles

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This project investigates variable participles and participle-derived forms in Spanish. Some Spanish participles exhibit widespread variation between Latinate irregulars like *despierto* for *despertar* (‘to awaken’), and regularized counterparts like *despertado* (Laurent 1999), while others tend towards maintenance of irregular forms with fewer attestations of regularization (e.g., *muerto* vs. *morido* for *morir*, ‘to die’). This analysis employs corpus data and experimental measures to explore usage patterns, degree of perceived acceptability, and social evaluation of these forms. Results show that lexeme frequency and grammatical context constrain this variation in production, and that speaker perceptions align with these patterns. Importantly, this work lends additional support to usage-based and sociocognitive models of grammar, which account for language variation both through processes of human cognition and social structures (Bybee 2006; Campbell-Kibler 2016; Schmid 2015; *inter alia*). Production data were collected from the Spanish Web 2018 corpus (Kilgarriff & Renau 2013) and were coded for verb lexeme frequency (tokens/million words in the corpus, and grammatical context: (1) adjectives modifying nouns, with ‘to be’ verbs (2) *estar*, and (3) *ser*, and (4) in perfect constructions ($n=6,064$). Subsequently, 2 experimental instruments were used. In Experiment 1, 231 respondents rated sentences using past participle forms across grammatical contexts on a 7-point acceptability scale ($n=1,848$). In Experiment 2, 68 respondents evaluated the speakers of the same target sentences along 6

adjectival continua (*educated, eloquent, friendly, intelligent, lazy, and rich*; $n=2,880$). All data sets were submitted to mixed-effects regression in R (R Core Team 2022). Analysis of corpus data revealed that this variation is conditioned by verb lexeme frequency ($p<0.001$), whereby more frequent verbs showed lower rates of regularization. Furthermore, inferential analysis revealed a significant relationship between grammatical context and participle form ($p<0.001$). In perfect constructions, regularized participles occurred more frequently (48%, $n=1394$) than irregular forms (18.7%, $n=593$). With *ser*, regularized forms once again occurred more frequently (19.3%, $n=560$) with than irregulars (10.6%, $n=335$). Conversely, irregulars occurred more often as adjectives (61.1%, $n=1931$) compared to regularized participles (28%, $n=812$), and with *estar* (9.5%, $n=300$) where regularized forms had a rate of 4.6% ($n=138$). Experimental results show that though irregulars were deemed more acceptable than regularized forms overall ($p<0.001$), there was no significant difference in perfect constructions ($p=0.94$), an effect amplified among higher-frequency verbs. Results of the social evaluation task show that while regularized variants are less likely than irregular forms to be associated with *rich, eloquent, educated, and intelligent* speakers, ratings are once again impacted by grammatical context and frequency. These results support the simultaneous storage of linguistic and social information in mental representations of language, namely, information related to frequency, conditioning environments, and social perceptions. That the same constraints found in production data are mirrored in the evaluative tasks suggests that speakers are explicitly or implicitly aware of usage-based constraints on use. These findings provide support to the notion that usage-based analyses must consider not only frequency as a central component of language variation and change, but also the relationships between form and function, and the roles of perceived grammatical acceptability and social evaluation.

Constructing Hong Kong English identity through vowel mergers: Indexical meanings of local phonological features in the Outer Circle of English

Ping Hei Yeung

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

As inhabitants of a former British colony in East Asia, Hongkongers have developed myriad ways to construct their linguistic identities. Some identify themselves as speakers of ‘Hong Kong English’ (HKE), the local variety of English, others as speakers of non-local Inner Circle varieties like ‘British’ or ‘American English’, which are often seen as more prestigious than HKE, or even as speakers of no specific variety at all (Groves, 2011; Hansen Edwards, 2019, 2023). However, one may question whether their self-identification faithfully reflects their language production. Do English speakers in Hong Kong really speak what they claim to speak? Through a phonetic analysis of sociolinguistic interviews and word list reading tasks from 39 fluent English speakers from Hong Kong (22 women, 17 men, aged 18-58), this study examines the relationship between vowel production and identification with HKE. The target sociolinguistic variables are the merger of high front vowels FLEECE and KIT, and the merger of low back vowels LOT and THOUGHT. Both have been described as characteristic features of HKE (Deterding et al., 2008; Hung, 2000, 2012), but they are either absent or realized with a different phonetic target in Southern British English and American English, the two varieties with the most overt prestige in Hong Kong (Chan, 2016). 16,310 FLEECE tokens, 15,160 KIT tokens, 8,046 LOT tokens, and 3,836 THOUGHT tokens from the interviews, and 566 FLEECE tokens, 579 KIT tokens, 570 LOT tokens, and 576 THOUGHT tokens from the word list were analyzed. The Lobanov-normalized F1 and F2 measurements were tested for statistical significance using linear mixed effect regression models (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) and Pillai scores derived from multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) in R (Hay et al., 2006; Nycz & Hall-Lew, 2013). The results indicate a partial alignment between linguistic identity and vowel production, which are presented in Figure 1 and 2. Speakers who fully identify with HKE exhibit a significantly greater degree of merger between the two high front vowels than speakers with partial or no affiliation to the variety, but no such correlation can be found for the low back vowels. Speakers regardless of their linguistic identity exhibit a high degree of merger between LOT and

THOUGHT by realizing both as a mid back vowel, which is consistent with previous descriptions of HKE. Thus, the high front merger is used by English speakers in Hong Kong to index HKE identity but not the low back merger. Despite the stigmatized status of HKE, not all of its phonological features are avoided by English speakers in Hong Kong who do not identify with it. This study provides insights on how identity construction impacts pronunciation in the ‘Outer Circle’ of World Englishes, former British and American colonies where indigenized English varieties and non-local prestige varieties coexist in the linguistic landscape (Kachru, 1985).

The Fall of Antwerp (1585) as a punctuated equilibrium in the history of Dutch? Exploring the impact on linguistic variation and change.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In his punctuated equilibrium model, Dixon (1997) considers significant historical events as critical external punctuations in language change, after which periods of linguistic stability resume. Dixon’s model has already been successfully applied to the history of English, illustrating how language-external events like the Norman Conquest and the English Civil War triggered periods of accelerated linguistic change (Raumolin-Brunberg 1998, Nevalainen et al. 2020). Yet, research concentrating on other languages remains largely absent, especially within the field of dialect contact, which has primarily emphasized linguistic and demographic factors over broader sociohistorical determinants of change (Kerswill 2020). To address this research gap, this paper examines how the Spanish recapture of Antwerp (1585) during the Eighty Years’ War, commonly referred to as the Fall of Antwerp, influenced the dialect contact situation in this Southern-Dutch city. Before 1585, Antwerp thrived as one of Europe’s most prosperous and largest cities, experiencing significant immigration and therefore intensive dialect contact. However, following the events of 1585, the city underwent considerable socio-economic decline and emigration, causing its population to decrease by more than half (De Meester 2011: 15-35). Focusing on this socially disruptive event allows us to explore the impact of both social continuity and discontinuity on dialect contact processes. To assess this impact, we conducted a corpus linguistic study using the newly compiled Early Modern Antwerp Corpus (1560-1650). This corpus comprises 432 handwritten informal letters totaling approximately 271,748 words. Based on these letters, we examined the extent to which the development of six ongoing linguistic changes in Early Modern Dutch (clause negation, verbal cluster order variation, schwa apocope, the prefix *ge-* in past participles, spelling of word-final /k/, spelling of /y/ in onset) differed before versus after 1585. To analyze this, we relied on conditional inference trees as well as on random forests, incorporating year of writing while at the same time controlling for other sociolinguistic factors, such as gender and profession. The results of most variables suggest that the Fall of Antwerp resulted in a brief period of heightened linguistic instability, marked by an evident increase in linguistic variation. Around 1620/1630, when the socio-economic situation in Antwerp began to stabilize again, this instability returned into more stability, aligning with Dixon’s model (1997). However, contrary to previous research on English, the increased instability following the Fall did not accelerate the ongoing linguistic changes but rather caused a temporary slowdown. The acceleration of most of these changes clearly happened during the intensive period of dialect contact and mixing, when more than half of Antwerp’s population consisted of immigrants, mostly from the Northern Netherlands, England and the German-speaking lands (cf. De Meester 2011). During this period, the Antwerp dialect clearly evolved into a more simplified and focused variety, suggesting that the intensive dialect contact rather than the Fall of Antwerp should be seen as a so-called punctuated equilibrium in the history of Dutch.

Explorando la posición variable del clítico de acusativo en el español de los purépechas: Análisis comparativo

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Los clíticos de acusativo en español presentan una posición variable cuando son argumentos en estructuras verbales perifrásticas del tipo [verbo flexionado + infinitivo/gerundio]. En estas construcciones, el clítico de acusativo puede ocupar la posición proclítica (p. ej., "Nomás cuando la quiero abrazar"; "Los venían persiguiendo") o enclítica (p. ej., "Yo mejor quiero venderlos y ya no quitarlos"; "Porque andábamos pescándolos, ya capturándolos"). En el español contemporáneo la proclisis, también llamado *clitic climbing*, o muestra índices de uso más altos en variedades tanto monolingües (Schwenter y Torres-Cacoulllos 2014; Requena 2020) como bilingües (Shin et al. 2017; Villamar Moreno 2018). En estas variedades, la posición proclítica tiene funciones informativas o pragmáticas, como la de introducir nuevos referentes o topicalizar referentes, mientras que las perífrasis más gramaticalizadas (por ejemplo, *ir* + *infinitivo* con valor de futuro o *poder* + *infinitivo*) tienden a favorecer la enclisis. Este trabajo analiza la posición variable del clítico de acusativo en el español de la zona lacustre de Michoacán, México. En esta comunidad, el español ha estado en contacto estrecho con el purépecha, mostrando variaciones morfosintácticas inducidas por dicho contacto. Utilizando un corpus de datos naturales y un enfoque basado en el uso, se sometieron a un análisis probabilístico en R (Core Team, 2021) 119 cláusulas con clíticos de acusativo (65% proclíticos y 35% enclíticos). Los resultados del análisis muestran divergencias con las restricciones semántico-pragmáticas observadas en otras variedades: ni la topicalidad, ni el nivel de animacidad del referente, ni el nivel de gramaticalización de la estructura perifrástica parecen operar con la misma magnitud. En cambio, se sugiere la influencia de comportamientos inducidos por el contacto lingüístico, destacando la importancia de la definitud del referente y el sujeto gramatical, factores que son determinantes en las relaciones gramaticales de la estructura transitiva en la lengua purépecha. Palabras clave: *contacto lingüístico, clítico de acusativo, objeto directo, purépecha, variación morfosintáctica, clitic climbing*

Author Translation

Accusative clitics in Spanish exhibit variable positioning when they function as arguments in periphrastic verbal structures of the type [conjugated verb + infinitive/gerund]. In these constructions, the accusative clitic can occupy the proclitic position (e.g., "Nomás cuando la quiero abrazar" 'Only when I want to hug her'; "Los venían persiguiendo" 'They were chasing them') or the enclitic position (e.g., "Yo mejor quiero venderlos y ya no quitarlos" 'I'd rather sell them'; "Porque andábamos pescándolos, ya capturándolos" 'Because we were fishing them'). In contemporary Spanish, proclisis, also known as clitic climbing, shows higher usage rates in both monolingual (Schwenter and Torres-Cacoulllos 2014; Requena 2020) and bilingual varieties (Shin et al. 2017; Villamar Moreno 2018). In these varieties, the proclitic position serves informational or pragmatic functions, such as introducing new referents or topicalizing referents, while more grammaticalized periphrases (e.g., *ir* + infinitive with future value or *poder* + infinitive) tend to favor enclisis. This study analyzes the variable position of accusative clitics in the Spanish of the lake region of Michoacán, Mexico. In this community, Spanish has been in close contact with Purépecha, exhibiting morphosyntactic variations induced by this contact. Using a corpus of natural data and a usage-based approach, 119 clauses with accusative clitics (proclitics = 65%; enclitics=35%) were subjected to a probabilistic analysis in R (Core Team, 2021). The results of the analysis show divergences from the semantic-pragmatic restrictions observed in other varieties: neither topicality, nor the animacy level of the referent, nor the level of grammaticalization of the periphrastic structure seem to operate with the same magnitude. Instead, the influence of behaviors induced by language contact is suggested, highlighting the importance of referent definiteness and grammatical subject, factors that are determinant in the grammatical relations of the transitive structure in the Purépecha language.

Spanish pronominal subjects and changes in speech turn

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

An often-overlooked factor governing the variation of null and overt subject pronouns in Spanish (e.g. *ella vive ~ vive*) is that of speech turn (Orozco 2023), that is, whether the pronominal production occurs within the same turn or at the beginning of a new turn in the conversational interaction (exceptions include Bentivoglio 1987; Martinez 2012; Alfaraz 2015; Orozco 2020, 2023; Perez Cordoba y Camacho 2021; Manjón Cabeza et al. 2016; Ávila & Segura Lores 2022). The present investigation aims to explore this factor utilizing a corpus of immigrant Spanish spoken in the Atlanta metro area (Author YEAR), drawing from a sub-sample of 20 sociolinguistic interviews with Mexican speakers. The study seeks to uncover the potential significance of speech turn in subject pronoun variation in this group of speakers, including its relative importance compared to other well-established and highly predictive internal predictors (e.g. person/number, switch reference, morphological ambiguity), its interactions with these other predictors, and the pragmatic motivations associated with pronoun usage in speech turn initial environments. The analysis was carried out by means of multivariate and cross-tabulation analyses in *Rbrul* (Johnson 2009), as well as conditional inference tree analysis using *Language Variation Suite* (Scrivner & Díaz-Campos 2016). Findings indicate that speech turn is on par with or stronger than other well-established predictors of SP variation, namely those of switch reference, morphological ambiguity, and verb class. In fact, the current sample features Speech Turn as a stronger predictor than both morphological ambiguity and verb class, a rather striking finding given the strong predictive power reported on for these two factors in previous research (See Table 1 below). Regarding its patterning, different speech turns promote overt SPs at a rate of 44% while same-turn environments promote null SPs (25%, See Table 2 below). In terms of interactions with other predictors, the speech turn effect is dependent on particular person/number of the subject, same vs. switch reference, morphologically ambiguous vs. unambiguous verbs, and mental vs. other verb classes) (See Table 3 and Figure 1 for an example). These data suggest that speech turn as a governing factor in the variation of pronominal subjects is just as important as other oft-cited factors and also reveals new patterns for the interplay between speech turn and other factors. Thus, the dialogical interactive piece in the production of SPs should continue to be explored in future research on subject variation.

Evaluating variable third-person anaphoric direct objects in Portuguese: A cross-dialectal study

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Both Brazilian (BP) and European Portuguese (EP) permit definite/specific anaphoric third-person null direct objects (DOs) (Cyrino 1997; Raposo 1986). There is variation, however, between null and overt pronominal variants. Example (1) shows the null variant, frequent in BP and EP (a), the clitic variant, found in EP but rare in spoken BP (b), and the tonic pronoun variant, found in BP but not EP (c). Production research has shown that the choice between variants in both varieties is constrained by semantic-pragmatic features such as animacy and specificity (Barbosa et al. 2005; Cyrino 1994; Cyrino & Matos 2002; *inter alia*). We analyze speaker evaluation of these forms via an experimental task to further elucidate the factors constraining this variation, explore potential dialectal contrasts, and examine the degree to which constraints on use of DO forms in both varieties are also present in evaluation. Experimental items consisted of syntactic minimal pairs, varying by DO form (EP: null, clitic; BP: null,

tonic), animacy (animate, inanimate), and specificity (specific, non-specific). We created experiment versions balanced by each of the experimental conditions, and participants evaluated items based on a 7-point Likert Scale of acceptability. We constructed nested mixed-effects cumulative linking models for the EP and BP data sets using the ‘ordinal’ package (Christensen 2022) in R (R Core Team 2023), with the aforementioned factors and participant demographic characteristics as potential predictors of acceptability, with participant as a random intercept, and used likelihood ratio tests to determine the best-fit model for each subset. 215 Portuguese-speaking participants completed the experiment (n=1752). For both data sets, the best-fit models included three-way interactions between DO, animacy, and specificity. The null variant more likely to be rated more favorably, across experimental conditions and varieties (p<0.01). In EP, there was no significant difference in evaluation of the null variant with animate, non-specific referents, and referents that were only inanimate *or* only non-specific (p>0.05). In BP, there was no difference between evaluations of null objects with inanimate, non-specific referents, and those with inanimate, specific referents (p>0.05). EP clitic pronouns received their most favorable relative scores in the presence of animate and/or specific referents (p<0.01). BP data followed the similar pattern, whereby the tonic variant was rated most favorably when referring to animate, specific referents (p<0.001). A novel result of this research is that the null DO variant is always evaluated more favorably than its overt counterparts, a result that aligns with the notion that more frequent, “default” linguistic forms are less pragmatically constrained than competing forms (Dahl 1985). Additionally, that the overt variants in each variety are subject to similar constraints highlight the dynamicity of language change (Bybee 2010), such that even though tonic pronouns are supplanting BP’s former clitics, this new pronominal option has conserved the same referential features expressed by the clitics. Finally, that the patterns of variation previously found for anaphoric DOs in production in both varieties are reflected in gradient experimental evaluations, supports usage-based views (Bybee 2009) that linguistic change is gradual, and therefore evaluations are probabilistic.

Language Choice and Code-Switching in Online Communication: a Case Study of Bilingual Social Media Users from Miami, Florida

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study aims to explore Language preferences and Code-Switching (CS) behaviors among bilingual Spanish-English Twitter (now X) users in Miami, Florida. CS is defined as the use of multiple languages (or dialects) in a single conversation, as shown in the examples (1 + 2) (Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 2002, Bullock & Toribio 2009, Müller 2017, Gumperz & Hymes 1972, Auer & Eastman 2010, Fricke & Kootstra 2016, Lipski 2014):

(1) FLA: creo que la hija de Laura **is gonna get baptised on Sunday**.

‘I think that Laura’s daughter **is gonna get baptised on Sunday**.’

(2) pero en todas las escuelas si tú quieres ir de **school counsellor you have to have a masters in psychology en en behavioural education or one of these things like that**

‘but in all the schools if you want to become a **school counsellor you have to have a master's in psychology, in behavioural education or one of these things like that**.’

(Deuchar et al. 2014, <http://bangortalk.bangor.ac.uk/sastre11.mp3>, English in bold). CS is considered a spontaneous phenomenon that requires a representation of at least two grammars or language systems (Müller 2017). Thus, it needs to be distinguished from language or lexical borrowing, such as English words in Spanish (e.g., *el sándwich*, *el doctoral*, etc.) as in (3) (Knauer 2021) or discourse constructions such as *well*, *so*, *you know*, *by the way*, etc. as in (4) (Poplack 1980, Lipski 2005):

(3) DIE: y sacar el **doctoral**. ‘And get the doctoral’

(4) DIE: **so** es todo tecnología. ‘**So**, it’s all about technology’

(Deuchar et al. 2014, <http://bangortalk.bangor.ac.uk/sastre11.mp3>)

The primary objective of this study is to calculate the proportion of English and Spanish tweets posted by bilingual users tweeting in English and Spanish and to calculate the amount of English words in Spanish tweets posted by bilingual Spanish-English social media users. In addition, the type of CS in social media communication will be analyzed. The second objective is to investigate the question of whether the location context in Miami (Florida) such as the city center, beaches, and coast influences the language choice behavior of bilingual users. The dataset comprises tweets from 2017 to 2021 from Miami (author 2022). The sample of over 18 thousand tweets includes geolocated tweets from users who tweet in both languages. Findings reveal that bilingual users who tweet the same amount in English and Spanish predominantly tweet from affluent tourist areas, not representative of the general Hispanic population. Linguistic analysis shows that English words in Spanish tweets often represent borrowing and conventionalized expressions as in (3) and (4) (see Appendix for further examples) rather than spontaneous code-switching as in (1) and (2). This study highlights the discrepancy between online and offline language use among bilinguals in Miami. The research underscores the importance of considering biases in social media data. The findings have implications for language technology development and offer a methodological framework for future research on bilingualism and digital communication.

Contact-induced variation and change in Dutch: A corpus-based study of French loan suffixes in historical Dutch

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Language contact and multilingualism have emerged as key topics in historical sociolinguistics, challenging traditional language histories characterized by a focus on one language by default, where language contact and multilingual repertoires are often sidenotes to the dominant monolingual narrative (Hüning et al. 2012, Rutten et al. 2017, Pahta et al. 2018, Franceschini et al. 2023). In the history of Dutch, one such recurring ‘sidenote’ concerns the long-term contact situation with French. Contact-induced variation and change is often subsumed under the label ‘Frenchification’, yet there is a striking discrepancy between the persistent discourse about Frenchification and the lack of empirical investigations quantifying French influence on Dutch. The discourse on Frenchification dates back to beginnings of the Dutch metalinguistic tradition in the sixteenth century. Traditional language histories often repeat this discourse and situate the peak of French influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with a strong focus on the southern part of the language area (present-day Flanders), where contact was supposedly most intense. Nonetheless, previous research (Rutten & Vosters 2023) based on a corpus of private and business correspondence from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has shown that at least morphological borrowings occur most often in the social circles directly surrounding contemporary language commentators, thus raising doubts about the broader-scale reliability of metalanguage as an indicator of French influence. In this presentation, we will report on a large-scale follow-up study of French loan suffixes in Early and Late Modern Dutch. Drawing on the newly developed *Historical Corpus of Dutch* (Van de Voorde et al. 2023), spanning four centuries and covering three genres and four regions, both in the southern and the northern Low Countries, we analyze the distribution of 36 French-origin suffixes which have entered Dutch through lexical borrowings. Examples include both suffixes part of French borrowings (cf. examples 1-2) as well as French-origin suffixes attached to a Germanic base (cf. examples 3-4). We attested 7,979 loan suffix items (1.72% of all lexical items), representing 1,084 unique lexical types. For our analysis, we ran a generalized linear Poisson regression model (cf. output in 5) with the suffix frequency per document in the corpus as an outcome variable, and *period*, *region* and *genre* and the *interaction between period and genre* as significant predictors. Contrary to what metalinguistic discourse suggests, we do not find a significant overall

increase of loan suffixes across the centuries, but we observe strong genre-specific developments instead. In addition, we do not find a significant divide between the northern and the southern Low Countries, but rather a more fine-grained distribution across regions within the north and the south. Based on these results, we will challenge the commonplace notion of Frenchification as a monolithic representation of the historical language contact situation, arguing for a more fine-grained and empirically informed assessment of the influence of French on Dutch, across genres, regions and centuries. In doing so, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of the multilingual history of the Low Countries.

Author Translation

El contacto lingüístico y el multilingüismo han surgido como temas clave en la sociolingüística histórica, desafiando las historias lingüísticas tradicionales caracterizadas por centrarse en una sola lengua por defecto y en las que el contacto lingüístico y los repertorios multilingües son a menudo notas al margen de la narrativa monolingüe dominante. En la historia del neerlandés, una de esas "notas secundarias" recurrentes se refiere a la situación de contacto a largo plazo con el francés. La variación y el cambio inducidos por el contacto se engloban a menudo bajo la etiqueta "afrancesamiento". Sin embargo, existe una discrepancia sorprendente entre el constante discurso sobre el afrancesamiento y la falta de investigaciones empíricas que cuantifiquen la influencia del francés en el neerlandés. El discurso sobre el afrancesamiento se remonta a los inicios de la tradición metalingüística neerlandesa. Las historias lingüísticas tradicionales a menudo repiten este discurso y sitúan el punto álgido de la influencia francesa en los siglos XVIII y XIX, con un fuerte enfoque en la parte sur del área lingüística, donde supuestamente el contacto fue más intenso. No obstante, investigaciones previas basadas en un corpus de correspondencia de los siglos XVII y XVIII han demostrado que al menos los préstamos morfológicos se producen con mayor frecuencia en los círculos sociales directamente alrededor de comentaristas lingüísticos contemporáneos, planteando dudas sobre la fiabilidad a mayor escala del metalenguaje como indicador de la influencia francesa. En esta ponencia, presentaremos un estudio de seguimiento a gran escala de los sufijos de préstamo franceses en el neerlandés moderno temprano y tardío. Basándonos en el recién desarrollado Corpus Histórico del Neerlandés, que abarca cuatro siglos y cubre tres géneros y cuatro regiones, tanto en el sur como en el norte de los Países Bajos, analizamos la distribución de 36 sufijos de origen francés que han entrado en el neerlandés a través de préstamos léxicos. Entre los casos analizados se incluyen tanto sufijos que forman parte de préstamos franceses (1-2) como sufijos de origen francés unidos a una base germánica (3-4). Analizamos 7979 sufijos de préstamo (1,72%), que representan 1084 tipos léxicos. Para nuestro análisis, ejecutamos un modelo de regresión lineal de Poisson generalizado (5) con la frecuencia de sufijos por documento en el corpus como variable de resultado, y el periodo, la región, el género y la interacción entre periodo y género como predictores significativos. Contrariamente a lo que sugiere el discurso metalingüístico, no encontramos un aumento global significativo de los sufijos de préstamo a lo largo de los siglos. Sí observamos cambios importantes dependiendo del género. Además, no encontramos una división significativa entre los Países Bajos septentrionales y meridionales, sino más bien una distribución más finamente detallada entre regiones tanto del norte como del sur. Basándonos en estos resultados, desafiaremos la noción común de afrancesamiento, abogando por una evaluación más detallada y empíricamente informada de la influencia del francés en el neerlandés, a través de géneros, regiones y siglos. Con ello pretendemos contribuir a una mejor comprensión de la historia multilingüe de los Países Bajos.

Does gender agreement exist in Basque? A triangulation study on production and attitudes

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Basque and Spanish are two languages in contact in the Basque Autonomous Community. One of the linguistic aspects they diverge in is grammatical gender: Spanish produces grammatical gender agreement (GGA) (RAE, 2016), while Basque does not^[1] (Euskaltzaindia, 2002). Interestingly, some western Basque varieties exhibit Spanish-style gender marking with some adjectives derived from Spanish (i.e., *txulo/a* ‘arrogant’) and adjectives that are not borrowed from any language (i.e., *gixajo/a* ‘poor’). In both cases -a is used to express reference to female entities, whereas -o is used for males (Di Garbo & Miestamo, 2019; Hualde et al., 1994). This GGA production in western Basque varieties has been categorized as minimal and limited to oral production (Euskaltzaindia, 2002). However, no empirical study has been conducted to explore the (in)existence of such production in Basque. Thus, with the aim of delimiting the (in)existence of GA in Basque, the present study triangulates production and attitudinal data. Twenty native speakers of a western variety of Basque completed a production task in which they were prompted to finalize sentences to see the use of masculine vs feminine morphology with female referents. They also completed a matched-guise test in which they expressed their opinions towards the use of masculine vs feminine morphology with female referents by using a 6-point semantic differential scale with the following adjectives: *Basque/Spanish native speaker*, *Natural sounding sentence*, *Age*, *Effect of Spanish*, *Level of education*, *Respect*, and *Inclusive*. This study considers the impact of two independent predictors: adjectives’ linguistic origin (Basque vs Spanish), and whether the participants would say the presented sentences in imaginary contexts. Results for the production task show that all participants always use the feminine morphology to finish the sentences that refer to a female person. Statistical results (factor analysis and ordered logistic regressions) for the matched-guise suggest that speakers that use the feminine morphology are perceived as more natural, Basque native speakers, educated, and younger than those who use masculine morphology. In terms of linguistic origin, Spanish derived adjectives are seen as more respectful and inclusive than those with Basque origin. In conclusion, although Basque is claimed to have no grammatical gender (Alberdi, 1995; Euskaltzaindia, 2002; Padilla-Moyano, 2018; Trask, 2003), this paper demonstrates that GGA is part of the participants’ Basque grammar. Furthermore, it shows that GGA is not limited only to adjectives derived from Spanish (Euskaltzaindia, 2002; Laka, 1996; Padilla-Moyano, 2018; Parafita Couto et al., 2015; Trask, 2003), as the participants also used the Spanish-style gender marking with adjectives not derived from Spanish. Finally, it indicates that GGA in Basque, in fact, is not rejected by the participants. Instead, they perceive it as natural, respectful, and an intrinsic aspect of Basque language.

[1] Certain varieties of Basque show GGA in the verbal domain with familiar second-person singular pronoun, *hi* (Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina, 2003). The variety spoken by the participants does not.

Author Translation

El euskera y el español son dos lenguas en contacto en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca. Uno de los aspectos lingüísticos en los que difieren es en el género gramatical: el español produce concordancia de género gramatical (CGG) (RAE, 2016), pero el euskera no (Euskaltzaindia, 2002). Sin embargo, algunas variedades occidentales del euskera muestran CGG al estilo español al usar adjetivos que derivan del español (i.e., *txulo/a* ‘chulo’) y con algunos adjetivos que no derivan de ninguna lengua (i.e., *gixajo/a* ‘pobre’). En ambos casos se usa -a para expresar referencia a entidades femeninas, mientras que se usa -o para masculinos (Di Garbo & Miestamo, 2019; Hualde et al., 1994). Esta producción de CGG en variedades occidentales del euskera ha sido categorizada como mínima y limitada a la producción oral (Euskaltzaindia, 2002). No obstante, ningún estudio empírico ha analizado la (in)existencia de dicha producción en el euskera. Consecuentemente, con el objetivo de delimitar la (in)existencia de la CGG en el euskera, este estudio triangula datos de producción y actitudes lingüísticas. Veinte hablantes nativos de una variedad occidental del euskera completaron una tarea de producción en la que debían finalizar oraciones para comprobar el uso de la morfología masculina vs femenina con referentes femeninos. También completaron una tarea de pares ocultos en la que debían expresar su opinión hacia el uso de la morfología masculina vs femenina con referentes femeninos usando escalas de diferencial semántico con 6 puntos: *Hablante nativo del euskera/español*, *Una oración natural*, *Edad*, *Efecto del español*, *Nivel de educación*, *Respeto*, e *Inclusividad*. Este estudio considera el posible impacto de dos variables independientes: el origen lingüístico de los adjetivos (euskera vs español), y si los participantes dirían las oraciones presentadas en algún contexto imaginario. Los resultados de la tarea de producción indican que

todos los participantes siempre hacen uso de la morfología femenina para finalizar las oraciones que se refieren a una mujer. Los resultados estadísticos (análisis factorial y regresiones ordinales) para el test de pares ocultos demuestran que los hablantes que usan la morfología femenina son percibidos como más naturales, hablantes nativos del euskera, educados, y más jóvenes que los que usan la morfología masculina. En términos de origen lingüístico, los adjetivos derivados del español son considerados como más respetuosos que los adjetivos del euskera. En conclusión, aunque se afirma que el euskera no tiene género gramatical (Alberdi, 1995; Euskaltzaindia, 2002; Padilla-Moyano, 2018; Trask, 2003), este estudio demuestra que la CGG es parte de la gramática vasca de los participantes. Además, también muestra que la CGG no está limitada solo a adjetivos que derivan del español (Euskaltzaindia, 2002; Laka, 1996; Padilla-Moyano, 2018; Parafita Couto et al., 2015; Trask, 2003), ya que los participantes también usan la marcación de género del estilo español con adjetivos que no se originan en el español. Por último, los resultados sugieren que la CGG en euskera, de hecho, no es rechazada por los participantes. Por el contrario, lo perciben como natural, respetuoso, y un aspecto intrínseco del euskera.

Eye-tracking Stigma: The Online Integration of Race-Relevant Cues in African American English and Mainstream American English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speech sounds convey not just linguistic information: a speaker's voice also provides information about their perceived social attributes (e.g., age, gender, race) which dynamically modulates the processing of incoming speech. Here, we use eye-tracking to investigate the time course of when race-relevant visual and voice cues are integrated as listeners process utterances in African American English (AAE) and Mainstream American English (MAE). AAE and MAE share many linguistic features but also exhibit some systematic differences. AAE is a stigmatized language variety in the United States, which can influence how AAE-speakers are perceived. Here, we capitalize on these linguistic and social features to investigate how 72 college-aged MAE-speakers, who reported little exposure to AAE, process sentences that are:

1. **Grammatical** in both varieties ($n = 16$, e.g., Troy has been playing tag),
2. Grammatical in AAE, but not in MAE ($n = 16$, e.g., Troy been playing tag), or
3. Ungrammatical in both varieties ($n = 16$, e.g., Troy have been playing tag).

We recorded participants' eye-movements across all trials. At the start of each trial, participants saw faces of two potential speakers (one African American, one European American) and then heard a sentence (uttered by either an AAE- or MAE-speaker) while scanning the faces. After the sentence ended, instructions to select the most likely speaker appeared alongside the faces. This provided us with behavioral data (speaker selection and the speed of speaker selection) and with *looking patterns* which illustrate when race-relevant cues are integrated to inform behavior.

Behavioral *results* show that participants treated utterances by the AAE-speaker differently than those of the MAE-speaker. Participants selected the African American face significantly less often and more slowly when the AAE-speaker uttered grammatical sentences compared to grammatical-AAE and ungrammatical sentences. In contrast, when uttered by the MAE-speaker, participants selected the European American face at similar rates and speeds regardless of the grammaticality of the sentence. Average *looking patterns* and trial-relevant timing are shown in Figure 1. Eye-tracking revealed significantly more looks to the face which matches voice cues beginning 400ms after sentence onset (Segment 2b, Box 1). Race-relevant voice cues and linguistic information were integrated differentially during early sentence processing (Segment 2c). When uttered by the AAE-speaker, grammatical-AAE and ungrammatical sentences resulted in more looks to the African American face; however, grammatical

sentences yielded significantly fewer looks to the African American face beginning at 900ms after sentence onset until speaker selection (Box 2). When uttered by the MAE-speaker, grammatical and ungrammatical sentences resulted in fewer looks to the African American face; however, grammatical-AAE sentences elicited significantly more looks to the African American face 1000-1300ms after sentence onset (Box 3). Participants quickly integrated race-relevant visual and voice cues. As early as 900ms, AAE elicited ideas about grammaticality which led participants to be slower and less accurate in their behavioral responses.

Pronominal Address in the Linguistic Landscape of Hispanic Philadelphia: Variation and Accommodation in Multilingual Urban Spaces

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores pronominal address forms in the linguistic landscape of Hispanic Philadelphia, examining how Spanish-speaking communities use second-person singular pronouns (*tú*, *usted*, *vos*) across three Hispanic neighborhoods and virtual spaces, contributing to our understanding of language contact, dialect accommodation, and the evolution of pragmatic norms in diasporic settings. The study's objectives were i) to identify which pronouns of address are employed in the linguistic landscape and ii) to determine the variables influencing their usage. A corpus of 250 signs was analyzed, considering variables such as *location*, *authorship*, *language composition*, and *speech act*. Chi-squared tests and logistic regression were used to assess the impact of these variables on pronoun choice. Key findings reveal that only “*tú*” and “*usted*” are present in the linguistic landscape, with “*tú*” slightly more prevalent (55.2%). Notably, the study found that *Language composition* ($p = 0.035$) and *speech act* ($p < 0.001$) significantly influence pronoun selection, while *location* and *authorship* do not. Bilingual signs tend to favor “*usted*”, whereas monolingual signs prefer “*tú*”, suggesting intriguing patterns of linguistic accommodation and pragmatic adaptation in bilingual contexts. In terms of *speech acts*, requests are more likely to use “*usted*”, while invitations and persuasive messages favor “*tú*”, highlighting how pragmatic functions shape pronominal choice in public discourse. The absence of “*vos*” in public signs reaffirms how *voseante* communities shift towards “*tú*” when they interact and share the same social spaces with *tuteante* variants, such as Salvadorians or Guatemalans when they encounter Mexicans (Rivera-Mills, 2011; Woods & Rivera-Mills, 2012) or Nicaraguans when they encounter Cubans (Sorenson, 2016). Previous studies have been conducted in oral settings, but our study suggests that this accommodation also happens in written interaction. Furthermore, the reduction from three to two pronouns aligns with Fernández-Mallat and Newman (2022, p. 241), who mention that “speakers could borrow 2ps patterns from English by, for example, eliminating one of the variants”. These findings were consistent across the three explored areas, as location was not determined to impact pronominal usage. Pronominal usage in this context not only helps us understand how diasporic Hispanic communities engage and converge in their linguistic practices but also sheds light on our shared pragmatic background in everyday interactions within and across speech communities. As mentioned by Placencia and Powell (2020, p. 40), the label ‘speech act’ reflects an interest in spoken language, but nowadays, we also convey different speech acts in written language as well, especially in digital communication. Hispanic communities in Philadelphia share some pragmatic connotations regarding which pronoun to use for different purposes. These results offer valuable insights into the processes of linguistic convergence and divergence in multilingual urban spaces. While there is no evidence of a new speech community emerging, the study reveals a convergence in pronominal use across diverse Hispanic neighborhoods, suggesting linguistic accommodation in written language.

Author Translation

Esta presentación muestra los resultados de un estudio sociolingüístico que explora las formas de tratamiento en el paisaje lingüístico de las comunidades hispanas, investigando cómo se utilizan los

pronombres de segunda persona del singular (tú, usted, vos) en tres barrios hispanos y diferentes espacios virtuales. Los objetivos del estudio fueron i) identificar qué pronombres de tratamiento se emplean en el paisaje lingüístico y ii) determinar las variables que influyen en su uso. Se analizó un corpus de 250 letreros, considerando variables como la *ubicación*, la *autoría*, la *composición lingüística* y los *actos de habla*. Se utilizaron pruebas de chi-cuadrado y regresión logística para evaluar el impacto de estas variables en la elección de pronombres. Nuestros resultados señalan que solo “tú” y “usted” están presentes en el paisaje lingüístico, con una ligera prevalencia de “tú” (55.2%). Así mismo, el estudio encontró que la *composición lingüística* ($p = 0.035$) y el *acto de habla* ($p < 0.001$) influyen significativamente en la selección de pronombres, mientras que la *ubicación* y la *autoría* no lo hacen. Los letreros bilingües tienden a favorecer el “usted”, mientras que los monolingües prefieren el “tú”, lo que sugeriría patrones de acomodación lingüística y adaptación pragmática en contextos bilingües. En términos de *actos de habla*, los letreros con solicitudes o peticiones tienden a usar “usted”, mientras que las invitaciones y mensajes persuasivos favorecen el uso de “tú”, destacando cómo las funciones pragmáticas moldean la elección pronominal en el discurso público. La ausencia de “vos” en los anuncios público, a su vez, reafirman cómo las comunidades voseantes se inclinan hacia “tú” cuando interactúan y comparten los mismos espacios sociales con dialectos tuteantes, como los salvadoreños o guatemaltecos cuando se encuentran con mexicanos (Rivera-Mills, 2011; Woods & Rivera-Mills, 2012) o los nicaragüenses cuando se encuentran con cubanos (Sorenson, 2016). Estudios previos se han realizado en entornos orales, pero nuestro estudio sugiere que esta acomodación también ocurre en la interacción escrita. Además, la reducción de tres a dos pronombres concuerda con Fernández-Mallat y Newman (2022, p. 241), quienes mencionan que “los hablantes podrían tomar prestados patrones de 2ps del inglés, por ejemplo, eliminando una de las variantes”. Estos hallazgos fueron consistentes en las tres áreas exploradas, ya que no se determinó que la *ubicación* impactara en el tratamiento pronominal. Como mencionan Placencia y Powell (2020, p. 40), la etiqueta 'acto de habla' refleja un interés en el lenguaje hablado, pero hoy en día también transmitimos diferentes actos de habla en el lenguaje escrito, especialmente en la comunicación digital. Estos resultados nos ofrecen ideas valiosas sobre los procesos de convergencia y divergencia lingüística en espacios urbanos multilingües. Si bien no hay evidencia de una nueva comunidad de habla, el estudio revela una convergencia en el uso pronominal en diversos barrios hispanos, sugiriendo una acomodación lingüística en el lenguaje escrito.

He – God – Liquid: Stance-driven variation in choice of pronoun in Sà'án Sàvĩ ñà ñuù Xnúvúkó (Mixtepec Mixtec)

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper presents an analysis of the use of third person pronouns in unplanned naturalistic speech by speakers of Sà'án Sàvĩ ñà ñuù Xnúvúkó (or Mixtepec Mixtec), particularly the way in which speakers refer to Saint Mark, the patron saint of the village of Yucunani. Sà'án Sàvĩ ñà ñuù Xnúvúkó (*mix* - Otomanguean) is spoken in the municipality of San Juan Mixtepec, in Oaxaca, Mexico, by about 9,000 speakers (Eberhard, Simons & Fenning 2019). Sà'án Sàvĩ ñà ñuù Xnúvúkó presents a rather complex pronominal system, with ten different third person pronouns. The choice of pronoun generally depends on the referent, the level of formality and politeness towards the referent and the addressee, and the need to clarify reference. In example (1), for instance, the speaker uses the third person pronoun for female humans to show respect to both the referent and the addressee—as opposed to using the generic pronoun, typical for topical arguments. In the same example, the speaker uses the third person pronoun for animals in the second Intonation Unit (Chafe 1994), which helps establish a different referent. An analysis of a 3 hour-long corpus of unplanned naturalistic speech recorded in the municipality of San Juan Mixtepec in 2022 shows an interesting case in which speakers' choice of pronoun—and hence the variation of pronouns to express the same referents—is conditioned by their beliefs and their own stance towards Catholicism, Protestantism, and Pre-Hispanic practices: referring to Catholic saints. When talking about

Catholic saints, the choice of pronoun largely depends on the speaker's alignment with Catholicism or Protestantism. Speakers who identify as Catholic tend to use the third person pronoun for deities for Saints, as can be seen in examples (2). This is also the case when referring to the statues of the Saints used in processions around the villages (3). On the other hand, Protestants reserve the third person pronoun for deities just for God, and they refer to Saints using either the male human or the female human pronouns. These are typically used to show respect towards the referent, as one would typically use a generic pronoun for most human referents in colloquial contexts. Catholic rites have a long tradition of syncretism in Mexico, featuring several elements of pre-Hispanic practices (Norget 2009). Following this tradition, many Catholic Saints were associated with pre-Hispanic deities or physical spaces such as mountains or rivers. Saint Mark is associated with the rain in Catholic tradition, and so it is locally linked to the deity of the rain (*sàvi*) and, as such, can be referred to as 'liquid' (4), particularly when speakers want to emphasize a connection with their land and their history.

This data shows how speakers use pronominal forms in creative ways that go beyond, and may even seem to hinder, referent tracking. This variation is explained by the speakers' stance towards the referent (Kiesling 2009) towards the referent, and it encodes much about the speaker's ideological positionality and even their belief system.

Modern Greek in Western Canada: maintenance and postvernacularity

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recently there has been renewed interest in heritage languages in North America, especially those which have moved into the phase of postvernacularity as their speakers are entering their fourth generation since the extensive waves of migration of the late 19th century (Dorian 2014; Salmons & Wilkerson 2019; Brown & Hietpas 2019). One of the interesting questions that arises is how do communities handle the shift from language maintenance to postvernacularity. The Greek speaking communities of Western Canada allow us to investigate this question because, although many Greeks moved to Canada during the age of great migration, the bulk of Greek immigration to Canada happened after 1945. Thus, the first-generation speakers who established the language maintenance infrastructure are still alive and even active in the community while a changing of the guard has also been taking place. We employ the findings of two major studies on the Greek communities of Western Canada to examine how Greek language use has changed from the establishment of these communities to today. The first set of data come from an oral history project of Greek immigration to Canada during the period 1945 to 1975. There are 183 interviews with first generation Greeks from the major communities in Western Canada: Victoria, Vancouver, Regina, Edmonton and Calgary. The data also include archival material such as photographs, community anniversary publications and personal publications by individual members. The second dataset comes from a study in the same communities which focused on the cross-generational transmission of Greek as a heritage language in Western Canada. As part of the experimental procedures, second generation Greeks and their children completed a questionnaire designed to assess the language environment both inside and outside the home. In addition, the participants took standardized tests (a word finding test) to determine their proficiency in Greek. Finally, the study also collected conversational and narrative speech samples. In our paper, we will discuss the reasons for Greek immigration to Canada (betterment, political asylum, war refugees). We will then address the issue of verticalization of these communities and how this has affected linguistic behavior. The interesting perspective that the Greek communities offer is that verticalization is not only affected by the host English-speaking community, but also by pressure from political changes in Greece itself. Furthermore, the chapter will provide an extensive examination of postvernacularity phenomena by using spoken, and discursive evidence from our conversational data, visual evidence in our archival material, and performative evidence from metalinguistic discussions with our participants about their use of both Standard Greek and their local dialect. We will conclude by considering the impact of the latest group of immigrants from Greece to

western Canada, which was caused by the economic crisis of 2010. As a better educated, more cosmopolitan group with strong ties to their families and friends who remained in Greece, they seem poised to reinvigorate the efforts of language maintenance and thus change the future of Greek in western Canada.

Southern Californians say “Take the 101” and Northern Californians say “Take 101”? Results from the California Freeway Project

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The conventional wisdom is that Southern Californians use *the* before freeway numbers (e.g., “Take the 101”) and Northern Californians do not (e.g., “Take 101”) (Geyer, 2001). However, when a San Francisco columnist decried *the*-usage creeping into Bay Area English (Simon, 2000a), one lifelong resident responded “we’ve ALWAYS called it the 101” (Simon, 2000b). This suggests the SoCal/NorCal *the*/Ø distinction may not be categorical, contrary to what Geyer (2001) implied. It is a well-known stereotype, though, mentioned by Northern and Southern Californians in Bucholtz and colleagues’ (2007, 2008) perceptual dialectology of California and featured prominently in Saturday Night Live’s *The Californians* (Michaels, 2012, et seq.). Surprisingly, no empirical research on Californians’ freeway-related usage has been published. We developed an online direction-giving task that (to avoid lexical effects) used a fictitious map featuring freeway numbers from nowhere in California. We then elicited spoken and written directions from 140 participants representing Southern California (88) and the Bay Area (52). Ages were 18-65 (mean 28.7, SD 10.5); 69 (49.3%) were female, 69 (49.3%) male, 2 (1.4%) non-binary; 44 (31.4%) were White, 38 (27.1%) Hispanic/Latinx, 30 (21.4%) Asian/Pacific Islander, 7 (5.0%) Black, 20 (14.3%) multiple races, 1 non-response. Each grew up and lived in their city/town from age 5 or earlier, living elsewhere less than a year, if at all. We coded 4,001 valid tokens (2,474 from Southern Californians, 1,527 from Bay Area participants; 2,018 spoken, 1,983 written). Many tokens (38.8%) represented neither *the*- nor Ø-usage, being full forms (e.g., “Take Highway 101”). Geyer (2001) mentions only Northern Californians using full forms, but 62.5% of Southern Californians (and 73.1% of Bay Area participants) used at least some. A binary logistic mixed-effects model, with participant as a random factor, showed no main effect of region. Full forms were significantly more frequent in written directions, $F(1, 3996) = 22.25, p < .001$, consistent with writing tending to be more context-free than speech (Stubbs, 1980), and this difference was significantly larger in the Bay Area, as evidenced by the interaction between region and modality, $F(1, 3996) = 5.23, p = .02$. Full forms were also less frequent later within each set of directions, arguably for similar reasons (i.e., after context was established), $F(1, 3996) = 24.22, p < .001$. Regarding *the*- vs. Ø-usage, the average Southern Californian used *the* before 74.0% of freeway numbers, and the average Bay Area participant before 27.6%. Another binary logistic mixed-effects model confirmed a significant main effect of region, $F(1, 2444) = 34.56, p < .001$. In both regions, *the*-usage was significantly more frequent in spoken directions, $F(1, 2444) = 7.52, p = .006$, and significantly less frequent later within each set of directions, $F(1, 2444) = 5.54, p = .02$. There was no evidence of geographic variation *within* either region, and no effects of age, gender, or ethnicity. Thus, although Southern Californians use *the* before freeway numbers much more than Northern Californians, freeway-related usage is more varied, more complex (varying systematically even within sets of directions), and far less categorical than the literature suggests.

Author Translation

La sabiduría convencional es que los californianos del sur usan «the» ante números de autopistas («Take the 101») y los del norte no («Take 101») (Geyer, 2001). Es un estereotipo común. En la dialectología perceptual de California de Bucholtz y colegas (2007, 2008), lo mencionaron participantes del norte y del sur. También se destacó en «The Californians» de Saturday Night Live (Michaels, 2012). Sin embargo, no

se ha publicado ninguna investigación empírica sobre el uso lingüístico de los californianos relativo a las autopistas. Desarrollamos una tarea en línea en que los participantes dieron indicaciones usando un mapa ficticio con números de autopistas de ninguna parte de California (para evitar efectos léxicos). Obtuvimos indicaciones habladas y escritas de 140 participantes (88 del sur de California y 52 del Área de la Bahía). Los participantes eran de 18 a 65 años de edad (media 28,7; DE 10,5); 69 (49,3%) eran mujeres, 69 (49,3%) hombres, 2 (1,4%) no binarios. Cada uno vivió en su ciudad o pueblo desde los 5 años o antes, viviendo en otro lugar menos de un año, si es que acaso. Los datos incluyen 4.001 ejemplos de números de autopistas (2.474 de californianos del sur y 1.527 de participantes del Área de la Bahía; 2.018 hablados y 1.983 escritos). Muchos (38,8%) no representaron ni uso de «the» ni uso de Ø, siendo formas completas («Take Highway 101»). Geyer (2001) sólo menciona que los californianos del norte utilizan formas completas, pero la mayoría de nuestros participantes utilizaron al menos algunas (62,5% de los californianos del sur y 73,1% de los participantes del Área de la Bahía). Una regresión logística binaria multinivel, con el participante como factor aleatorio, mostró que las formas completas eran significativamente más frecuentes en las instrucciones escritas que en las habladas, lo que coincide con la tendencia de la escritura a ser más contextualizada (Stubbs, 1980). Fue así en ambas regiones, pero la diferencia fue significativamente mayor en el Área de la Bahía, como lo demuestra una interacción significativa entre región y modalidad. Las formas completas también fueron menos frecuentes más adelante dentro de cada serie de instrucciones, probablemente por razones similares (es decir, a medida que se estableció más contexto). En cuanto al uso de «the» versus Ø, el participante promedio del sur de California usó «the» ante un 74,0% de los números de autopistas y el participante promedio del Área de la Bahía ante un 27,6%. Otra regresión logística binaria multinivel confirmó que esto era significativo. El uso de «the» también fue significativamente más frecuente en las direcciones habladas (versus las escritas) en ambas regiones y significativamente menos frecuente más adelante dentro de cada serie de instrucciones. No hubo evidencia de variación geográfica adentro de ninguna de las regiones, ni efectos de edad, género o etnia. Para resumir, aunque los californianos del sur usan «the» ante números de autopista mucho más frecuentemente que los del norte, el uso en ambas regiones es más variado, más complejo y mucho menos categórico que se implica en la literatura.

The effect of long-term language contact on morphemic ‘-s’ production

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Previous studies have demonstrated that the sound system of heritage speakers often diverges from that of homeland native speakers, particularly at a fine-grained level [1]. However, the reasons for this divergence remain largely unexplored [8]. It is not clear whether this divergence arises primarily from the bilingual nature of heritage speakers or from language changes induced by prolonged contact with the societal majority language. This study addresses this by comparing Spanish-English bilinguals in the U.S. with bilinguals in Mexico, aiming to tease apart the effects of long-term language contact at the community level from those of individual bilingualism. This paper examines the realization of the plural morpheme following word-final /s/. In English, it is realized as /əz/ (e.g., *dress+es*), while in Spanish, it surfaces as /es/ (e.g., *luz+es* ‘lights’). According to previous literature, the English fricative has a higher center of gravity (COG) than the Spanish fricative (6-7 kHz for English [2, 6]; 5-6 kHz for Spanish [7]). Additionally, a higher percent voicing and a shorter segmental duration are predicted for English than for Spanish. Four groups of participants were recruited: i) 19 early bilinguals in the U.S. (BU), ii) 21 early bilinguals in Mexico (BM), iii) 10 English monolinguals in the U.S. (MU), iv) 21 Spanish monolinguals in Mexico (MM). The experiment took the form of a ‘wug test’ [4], producing the target sequence ‘number + plural noun’ (e.g., *two dresses* (en.), *tres luces* (sp.)). Using Praat [5], we marked the fricative segments (i.e., /z/ and /s/) and extracted acoustic measurements (i.e., COG, percent voicing, and segmental duration). Statistical analyses were conducted using linear mixed effects models in R [3, 9]. Our results showed a significant effect of group on both COG (normalized using z-score) and percent

voicing. Specifically, MM produced the Spanish /s/ with the lowest COG, followed by BM and then BU. Conversely, BM produced the English /z/ with a lower COG than both BU and MU. Regarding percent voicing, contrary to our expectations, MM had the highest percent voicing, followed by BM, and then BU. Likewise, BM demonstrated the highest percent voicing for the English /z/. Group was not a significant factor for segmental duration. Within each bilingual group, there was no language effect observed on COG and duration. However, interestingly, BU produced the English fricative with a higher voicing compared to the Spanish fricative, which aligns with our initial prediction that the English fricative would have a higher percent voicing. Although the difference did not reach statistical significance, BU's Spanish fricative was longer than the English fricative, also consistent with our prediction. Taken together, speakers in the U.S. tend to produce the morphemic '-s' as more fronted and less voiced than speakers in Mexico. Notably, BM's measurements lie between those of MM and MU, while BU's measurements tend to converge with those of MU. This suggests potential effects from both individual bilingualism and long-term language contact. Our next step is to consider individual differences in linguistic background, including factors such as language dominance and proficiency.

***Bailé* or *he bailado*? Variable Perfective Past Time Reference among Spanish-English Early Bilinguals**

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Perfectivity past time reference in Spanish can be expressed using two different forms: the preterit (*bailé*, 'I danced') and the present perfect (*he bailado*, 'I have danced'). Previous variationist studies in monolingual contexts have identified several key linguistic and social factors that influence the use of the preterit and the present perfect, demonstrating that these forms represent variable structures in Spanish that overlap functionally (Geeslin et al., 2013), and that there are large-scale regional differences in their uses (Howe & Schwenter, 2008; Kempas, 2009; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullós, 2008). However, the constraints of use of the Spanish present perfect in Spanish-English bilinguals are less clear due to scarce research on its acquisition and development (Corbett et al., 2020; Markle LaMontagne, 2011). The present work is an exploratory variationist study that examines perfective past time paradigms usage among 28 adult Spanish-English early bilinguals in the United States, considering both linguistic and social factors, through a contextualized preference task (n=504) and a sociolinguistic questionnaire. In the task, participants were presented with contextualized stories followed by two sentences that differed in the verb form and were asked to choose their preferred form. Bayesian multinomial logistic regression in RStudio (R Core Team, 2022) revealed that temporal reference and family origin, but not lexical aspect, predicted form choice. First, the preterit was overall preferred ($\beta = 0.751$, HDI = [0.712, 0.787]) compared to the present perfect ($\beta = 0.113$, HDI = [0.088, 0.142]). Second, bilinguals showed sensitivity to the constraints identified in previous monolingual studies, namely region of origin within the Spanish-speaking world and temporal reference. Specifically, the present perfect was disfavored in all contexts by Spanish speakers with no familial ties to Spain ($\beta = 0.015$, HDI = [0.001, 0.186]), who preferred the preterit ($\beta = 0.873$, HDI = [0.661, 0.959]). Conversely, those participants with two parents from Spain exhibited a more Peninsular-like pattern, thus having a higher probability of choosing the present perfect ($\beta = 0.303$, HDI = [0.03, 0.74]) in hodiernal and temporally vague contexts. Third, different patterns of use emerged among those participants with parents from Spain, being the present perfect less likely to be chosen by those participants with one Peninsular Spanish-speaking parent ($\beta = 0.053$, HDI = [0.003, 0.293]) compared to those with two parents. These differences might be attributed to input quantity. The findings have several implications. They indicate that Spanish-English early bilinguals can acquire the distinction between the perfective past time paradigms and show the complexity of the usage of these forms, which is governed by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. In addition, they reveal systematic variation in heritage grammars akin to monolingual native speakers, especially for those participants with

two Spanish-speaking parents, which suggests that heritage grammars are governed by systematic variation (Shin, 2022). This contrasts with previous studies on other morphosyntax aspects, in which different patterns between monolinguals and bilinguals were attributed to incomplete acquisition, attrition, simplification, and/or overgeneralization (Markle LaMontagne, 2011; Montrul, 2002; Silva-Corvalán, 2014; Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017), and highlights the importance of studying variation.

Author Translation

La perfectividad en español puede expresarse usando dos formas: el pretérito indefinido (PI, *bailé*) y el pretérito perfecto compuesto (PPC, *he bailado*). Estudios variacionistas en contextos monolingües han identificado varios factores lingüísticos y sociales clave que impactan el uso del PI y el PPC, demostrando que estas formas representan estructuras variables que se superponen funcionalmente (Geeslin et al., 2013), y que existen diferencias regionales en sus usos (Howe & Schwenter, 2008; Kempas, 2009; Schwenter & Torres Cacoullós, 2008). Sin embargo, los factores que afectan al uso del PPC en bilingües español-inglés son menos claros debido a la escasa investigación sobre su adquisición y desarrollo (Corbett et al., 2020; Markle LaMontagne, 2011). Este estudio variacionista exploratorio examina el uso de los paradigmas perfectivos en 28 adultos bilingües español-inglés en los Estados Unidos, considerando factores lingüísticos y sociales, a través de una tarea de preferencia contextualizada ($n=504$) y un cuestionario sociolingüístico. En la tarea, se presentó a los participantes historias contextualizadas seguidas de dos oraciones que diferían en la forma verbal y se les pidió que eligieran su forma preferida. La regresión logística multinomial bayesiana en RStudio (R Core Team, 2022) reveló que la referencia temporal y el origen familiar, pero no el aspecto léxico, predecían la elección de la forma. El PI fue la opción preferida ($\beta = 0.751$, HPDI = $[0.712, 0.787]$) comparado con el PPC ($\beta = 0.113$, HPDI = $[0.088, 0.142]$). Los bilingües mostraron sensibilidad hacia los factores identificados en estudios monolingües, es decir, la región de origen dentro del mundo hispanohablante y la referencia temporal. Específicamente, el PPC no fue favorecido en ningún contexto por hispanohablantes sin vínculos españoles ($\beta = 0.015$, HPDI = $[0.001, 0.186]$), que prefirieron el PI ($\beta = 0.873$, HPDI = $[0.661, 0.959]$). Por el contrario, aquellos con dos padres de España mostraron un patrón más peninsular, con mayor probabilidad de elegir el PPC ($\beta = 0.303$, HPDI = $[0.03, 0.74]$) en contextos hodiernos y temporalmente indeterminados. Además, surgieron diferentes patrones de uso entre aquellos con progenitores españoles, siendo el PPC menos probable de ser elegido por participantes con un padre hispanohablante peninsular ($\beta = 0.053$, IDH = $[0.003, 0.293]$) en comparación con aquellos con dos progenitores. Estas diferencias podrían atribuirse a la cantidad de *input*. Los hallazgos tienen varias implicaciones. Indican que los bilingües español-inglés pueden adquirir la distinción entre los paradigmas perfectivos y muestran la complejidad de uso de estas formas, que se rige tanto por factores lingüísticos como extralingüísticos. Además, revelan variación sistemática en las gramáticas de herencia similar a las de los monolingües, especialmente para aquellos participantes con dos padres hispanohablantes, lo que sugiere que las gramáticas heredadas se rigen por variación sistemática (Shin, 2022). Esto contrasta con estudios previos sobre otros aspectos morfosintácticos, en los que los diferentes patrones entre monolingües y bilingües se atribuyó a una adquisición incompleta, erosión lingüística, simplificación o sobregeneralización (Markle LaMontagne, 2011; Montrul, 2002; Silva-Corvalán, 2014; Silva-Corvalán & Enrique-Arias, 2017), y destaca la importancia de estudiar la variación.

***Está obsesionado mío* and *A differenza tua*: Analogical extensions of Spanish and Italian possessive constructions**

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Several variationist studies have analyzed the use of tonic possessives (TP) in Spanish locative constructions (*cerca mío/avs. cerca de mí* ‘close to me’). However, scholars have yet to fully explore a related case of variation wherein speakers apply TP to a variety of syntactically similar yet semantically varied verbal constructions (e.g. *me acuerdo tuyo/de vos* ‘I remember you’). Building upon Bertolotti (2014, 2017), Mare (2015), Casanova (2020, 2023), I expand the documented inventory of such verbal constructions which variably allow for TP including, most notably, cases where TP is used in lieu not of *de* but of other prepositions (*preocupado mío/por mí* ‘worried about me,’ *apoyarse mío/en mí* ‘to lean on me’, etc.) which demonstrate further extensions of the possessive pattern. Given the infrequency of TP with these verbs, I pair data from the Spanish Web Corpus (esTenTen18; Jakubíček et al. 2013) with tweets. My qualitative analysis is grounded in Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2019, Goldberg & Herbst 2021), which emphasizes the importance of speakers’ linguistic experiences and pattern-forming and pattern-extending abilities. My analysis makes several theoretical contributions related to analogy, constructional relationships, and linguistic creativity (Goldberg 2019). First, my data demonstrate further spread of TP in verbal constructions, in terms of type frequency, than previously observed. Second, my analysis adds support to claims about the role of analogy in TP (Bertolotti 2014, 2017; Marttinen Larsson & Bouzouita 2022). These authors present instances such as *la casa de él/suya* ‘his house’ and *al lado mío* ‘next to me’ as the basis upon which TP spreads to other constructions; I discuss several additional (*Lo que me gusta tuyo/de vos* ‘what I like about you’, *Lo único que te quedaste mío* ‘the only thing of mine you kept’, *Recibí un regalo tuyo/de vos* ‘I received a gift from you’, etc.) which are more frequent and more widely accepted and thus promote further analogical extension through greater constructional coverage, both in terms of semantic diversity and of higher type and token frequency (De Smet 2012, Suttle & Goldberg 2011). I complement this treatment of Spanish verbal constructions with analysis of two adverbial constructions in Italian, *a differenza mia/di me* ‘unlike me’ and *al contrario mio/di me* ‘in contrast to me.’ Using tweets and the Italian Web Corpus (itTenTen20; Jakubíček et al. 2013) I demonstrate that in these constructions as well, possessives have spread via analogy; unlike these verbal constructions, however, the possessive has now overtaken the standard prepositional variant in overall frequency with *a differenza*. Furthermore, neither of these Italian constructions adheres to the strong Spanish preference for 1SG and 2SG possessives consistently observed in previous work (Author 2020, Marttinen Larsson 2023, Salgado & Bouzouita 2017) and thus present a valuable point of cross-linguistic comparison. I explore a few preliminary Construction Grammar-informed explanations, as well as various implications for the grammatical description of both Spanish and Italian possessives.

When Does Enregisterment Start? Heritage Repertoire, School Children and Social Differentiation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociolinguistic research on children often focuses on how youth acquire language and whether they participate in established patterns of variation (c.f. Eckert 2000). In multilingual contexts, there has been an increased interest in heritage languages’ shift and maintenance (García & Otheguy, 2020). However, such work often highlights parents’ attitudes toward home languages (e.g., Park & Sarkar, 2007), or how parents enact family language planning (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen & Wang 2018). Less examined is children’s agency in their linguistic repertoires. Similarly, although much research has examined enregistered personae (c.f., Agha 2003), less understood are children’s engagement with their circulation. This paper focuses on how children in one of the three remaining local Greek schools of Istanbul negotiate multilingualism and the enregisterment of their heritage varieties. The Istanbul Greek (IG) community is a heterogenous indigenous minoritized group with ~2,000 speakers remaining in Turkey. Ethnographic accounts demonstrate multiple linguistic features speakers perceive as distinct from Standard Modern Greek (SMG) (Hadodo, 2023). Despite certain features forming supralocal isoglosses, such as lateral velarization also found in Northern Greek, more frequent and advanced usages have led

them to become indexical of IG. Interviews with 130 IG-speakers demonstrate that lateral velarization, accusative usage for the historic dative, and particular lexical items are among the most salient IG features. These and other linguistic features are tied to other social differences including sartorial and culinary practices that have led IG-speakers to enregister themselves as generally more sophisticated and cosmopolitan than SMG-speakers (Hadodo, 2023). However, younger children have not necessarily been socialized with these exact social meanings. IG schools have been consolidated, with three separate buildings now serving as combined middle and high schools. As part of a two-month long ethnography in one of these blended schools, I interviewed 26 students (19 IGs and 7 mainland Greeks, 15 middle-schoolers and 11 high-schoolers) mostly in pairs. Turkish is most students' dominant language, yet many still employ Greek in specific contexts. Following elicitation tasks and discourse across speech types, nearly all IG children participated in the most salient IG features but with substantial variation across structural levels for the students. Unsurprisingly, middle schoolers were less aware of dialectal differences than older students, however children across grades pointed to a few students considered more "emblematic" IG speakers. Older children were more likely to engage in metapragmatic discourse enregistering IG, circulating a more polite, cosmopolitan IG persona. This is partially due to more exposure and direct experience with SMG; travels to Greece, mainland Greek media and migrant students from Greece, all of which help position IG as distinct from SMG. Consequently, students who positively evaluated this enregisterment use more IG forms, whereas those who are ambivalent/negative towards the IG persona use less. These findings support a developmental trajectory to social meaning while highlighting individuals' agency in their evaluation of and participation in dialectal variation (Imuta & Spence 2020). Moving forward, centering children's intersubjectivity could provide nuance in understanding enregisterment practices, as well as within attitudinal research concerning heritage and endangered language varieties.

Author Translation

La investigación sociolingüística sobre niños suele centrarse en cómo los jóvenes adquieren el lenguaje y si participan en patrones de variación establecidos (c.f. Eckert 2000). En contextos multilingües, ha habido un mayor interés en el mantenimiento de las lenguas heredadas (García & Otheguy, 2020). Sin embargo, este tipo de trabajo frecuentemente destaca las actitudes de los padres hacia las lenguas maternas (e.g., Park y Sarkar, 2007) o cómo los padres implementan la planificación lingüística (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen y Wang 2018). Menos examinada es la agencia de los niños en sus repertorios lingüísticos. De manera similar, aunque muchas investigaciones examinan personas enregistradas (cf. Agha 2003), se comprende menos cómo los niños participan en su circulación. Este artículo se centra en cómo los niños de una de las tres escuelas griegas locales restantes en Estambul negocian el multilingüismo y enregistran su variedad patrimonial. La comunidad griega de Estambul (IG) es un grupo minoritario indígena heterogéneo con ~2.000 hablantes que permanecen en Turquía. La etnografía demuestra múltiples rasgos lingüísticos que los hablantes perciben como distintos del griego moderno estándar (SMG). A pesar de ciertas características que forman isoglosas supralocales, como la velarización lateral que también se encuentra en el norte de Grecia, los usos más frecuentes y avanzados las llevaron a convertirse en índices de IG. Las entrevistas con 130 hablantes IG demuestran que estas y otras características lingüísticas están ligadas a otras diferencias sociales, incluidas las prácticas sartoriales y culinarias, que llevaron a los IG a enregistrarse como más sofisticados y cosmopolitas que los griegos SMG. Sin embargo, los niños no necesariamente han sido socializados con estos significados sociales. Las escuelas IG se han consolidado, con tres edificios separados que ahora sirven como escuelas intermedias y secundarias combinadas. Como parte de etnografía en una de estas escuelas mixtas, entrevisté a 26 estudiantes (19 IG y 7 griegos continentales, 15 estudiantes secundarias y 11 intermedias), en parejas. El turco es el idioma dominante de la mayoría de los estudiantes, pero muchos emplean el griego en contextos específicos. Como se esperaba, los estudiantes intermedias eran menos conscientes de las diferencias dialectales que los mayores; sin embargo, todos señalaron a algunos estudiantes considerados hablantes de IG más "emblemáticos". Los mayores eran más propensos a participar en discurso metapragmático, haciendo circular la persona IG más educada y cosmopolita. Esto se debe en parte a mayor experiencia directa con SMG; viajes a Grecia, los medios de comunicación de Grecia y estudiantes inmigrantes de Grecia, todo lo cual ayuda a posicionar a IG como distinto. Consecuentemente, los estudiantes que evaluaron positivamente esta matrícula utilizan más formas de IG, mientras que

aquellos que son ambivalentes/negativos hacia la persona IG utilizan menos. Estos hallazgos respaldan una trayectoria de desarrollo hacia el significado social y al mismo tiempo resaltan la agencia de los individuos en su evaluación y participación en la variación dialectal (Imuta y Spence 2020). En el futuro, centrar la intersubjetividad de los niños proporcionaría matices en la comprensión de las actitudes sobre las variedades lingüísticas en peligro de extinción.

Retrograde real-time change in a colonial variety of English: evidence from the Falkland Islands

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recent panel studies investigating linguistic change in real time have uncovered a number of ways in which language structures change across the lifespan, including the stability predicted by the apparent time model, change in the direction of the community as a whole, but also retrograde change, where the panel speakers opt for more conservative forms as they age (e.g. Sankoff 2018). We present here evidence of such retrograde change from a panel study conducted on the English of the Falkland Islands (FIE) in the South Atlantic Ocean, anglophone since colonial settlement in 1833. Our panel is the result of two fieldwork trips in 1997 and 2020 that together collected over 200 hours of recordings (almost 1 million words of transcribed data) from 131 speakers. 24 Islanders were recorded at both time points, of which we use data – transcribed into ELAN and force-aligned using WebMaus – from 16 in this paper: 8 who were between 15 and 35 years old in 1997 and 8 who were between 40 and 62 years old in 1997. We present the results of the analysis of two linguistic variables from our panel corpus here:

(1) The emergence of a TRAP-BATH /a-/ɑ:/ split: While older islanders show a considerable overlap between the qualities of TRAP and BATH, typical of the Scottish and South-Western dialects that dominated the 19th century settlement dialect mix, the community trend today is towards the split typical of south-eastern England. The youngest islanders showing distinct variants for both vowels. Using Bhattacharyya's Affinity measurements to assess the degree of merger of the two vowels, we find, in an analysis of 1242 tokens, that the degree of merger is greater in the 2020 panel data than in 1997 – rather than pushing forward with the split, our panel speakers are stepping back from it and retreating.

(2) The realisation of the MOUTH diphthong /au/ is highly variable in FIE. Traditionally FIE has Canadian Raising of /au/ with higher nuclei before voiceless consonants than elsewhere. The community trend today shows that a) Canadian Raising is slowly dying out; b) the nucleus and offglide of /au/ is lowering and backing; c) the length of the diphthong is increasing. Our acoustic analysis of 960 tokens from the panel speakers showed some nucleus and offglide lowering and backing and somewhat longer diphthongs in the 2020 data, but their use of Canadian Raising is getting stronger over time, i.e. the distance between pre-voiceless and pre-elsewhere nuclei is *greater* in 2020 than in 1997.

For these two variables, therefore, we have identified retrograde change among panel speakers of Falkland Island English, as well as conservative movement towards the community norm. We conclude with a discussion of the social, economic and political situation in the islands – economic decline, conflict with Argentina, and post-conflict economic boom – which may help explain why we find such evidence of increased conservatism.

Author Translation

En recientes estudios de panel que investigaban el cambio lingüístico en tiempo real, se han descubierto diversas formas en que las estructuras lingüísticas cambian a lo largo de la vida, incluyendo la estabilidad que predice el modelo de tiempo aparente, el cambio en la dirección de la comunidad en su conjunto, así como también el cambio retrógrado, en el que los hablantes del panel optan por formas más conservadoras a medida que envejecen. Presentamos aquí evidencias de cambio retrógrado a partir de un

estudio de panel sobre el inglés de las Islas Malvinas (IIM), en el sur del Océano Atlántico. Nuestro panel es el resultado de dos recogidas de datos mediante trabajo de campo realizadas en 1997 y 2020, en los que se recopilaban más de 200 horas de grabaciones procedentes de 131 hablantes. Se grabó a 24 isleños en ambos momentos, de los cuales utilizamos los datos de 16 en esta presentación: 8 que tenían entre 15 y 35 años en 1997 y 8 que tenían entre 40 y 62 años en 1997. Presentamos aquí los resultados del análisis de dos variables lingüísticas de nuestro corpus de panel:

(1) Aparición de una distinción TRAP-BATH /a/-/ɑ:/. Mientras que los isleños más mayores muestran un considerable solapamiento entre las cualidades de TRAP y BATH, típico de los dialectos escoceses y del suroeste que dominaban la mezcla dialectal de los asentamientos del siglo XIX, la tendencia de la comunidad actual es hacia la división típica del sureste de Inglaterra. Los isleños más jóvenes muestran variantes diferenciadas para ambas vocales. Utilizando las medidas de afinidad de Bhattacharyya para evaluar el grado de similitud de las dos vocales, descubrimos que el grado de similitud es mayor en los datos del panel de 2020 que en los de 1997 – nuestro panel de hablantes parece estar volviendo a la fusión y retrocediendo en la distinción.

(2) La realización del diptongo /au/ es muy variable en el IIM. Tradicionalmente, el IIM presenta el fenómeno denominado “Cierre Canadiense” de /au/, con núcleos más cerrados ante consonantes sordas que en otros contextos. En la actualidad, la tendencia de la comunidad muestra que a) el cierre canadiense está desapareciendo lentamente; b) el núcleo y la semivocal de /au/ están bajando y retrocediendo; c) la longitud del diptongo está aumentando. Nuestro análisis acústico mostró un núcleo y una semivocal algo más abiertos y posteriores y diptongos algo más largos en los datos de 2020, pero su uso del Cierre Canadiense se está reforzando con el tiempo: la distancia entre los núcleos ante sorda y en otros contextos es mayor en 2020 que en 1997.

Para estas dos variables hemos identificado un cambio retrógrado entre los hablantes de las islas, así como un movimiento conservador hacia la norma de la comunidad. Concluimos con una discusión de la situación social, económica y política en las islas - declive económico, conflicto con Argentina y auge económico tras el conflicto - que puede ayudar a explicar por qué encontramos muestras de un aumento del conservadurismo lingüístico.

Emerging rhoticity in Nauruan English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In this paper we investigate incipient rhoticity – the realisation of postvocalic /r/ - in the English of Nauru, an equatorial Micronesian island of the Western Pacific. Despite its small size – only Monaco and the Vatican are smaller independent nations - Nauru has a complex colonial history: Germany, Japan, the UK, Australia and New Zealand were all implicated in exploiting Nauru’s phosphate reserves in the 80 years before independence in 1968. Its Anglophone rulers were all nations whose citizens were overwhelmingly non-rhotic, and whose teaching models were non-rhotic too. Older Nauruans, born during the economic boom enabled by phosphate mining, are indeed largely non-rhotic, but a recent investigation suggested that while ‘Nauruan English is mostly non-rhotic...younger speakers also start using a rhotic realisation of /r/...but not consistently so’ (Author3 2017: 46-7). Given that a number of other nativising L2 ‘Outer Circle’ Englishes (all with largely non-rhotic former colonial powers) have also been reported as demonstrating emergent rhoticity (e.g. Brunei and Singapore (Salbrina & Deterding 2010) and Tonga (Tod 2024)), this was a claim that we wished to investigate empirically for Nauru. Our analysis is based on recordings of 34 hours of sociolinguistic ‘interviews’ collected in 2017 from 38 Nauruans. A subsample of the larger corpus was used for the investigation of rhoticity: 16 speakers, 8 male, 8 female, split equally into two age groups (16-30 – i.e. born in the aftermath of Nauru’s financial crisis of the late 1980s) and 31-65 (i.e. brought up before it). 250 tokens of postvocalic /r/ were extracted from the recordings of each speaker, a total of 4000. These were then coded for age and gender, as well as for a

range of internal linguistic constraints, such as, following Nagy and Irwin (2010), morphological and phonological position of /r/ in the lexeme, the preceding vowel, and word frequency. We included word-final prevocalic tokens, since Micronesian (and other Pacific) Englishes tend to use glottal stops to resolve vowel#vowel hiatus (Author1 & Other 2024). Inferential statistics were conducted in R Studio using the lme4 package. Results did indeed show a statistically significant increase in the use of rhoticity across apparent time (older 4.3%, younger 17.3%), led by younger female Nauruans. Rhoticity was also significantly more frequent in word final contexts (versus morpheme but not word final, and morpheme internal), before vowels in the following word (as opposed to before consonants or pauses), and after the SQUARE and NURSE vowels. Word frequency was not significant. We conclude by attempting to account for why Nauruan English is becoming rhotic, considering the roles of: a) substrate influence from Nauruan; b) contact with incipiently rhotic Pasifika communities in Australia and New Zealand; c) transnational contact with Nauruan diaspora; and d) the influence of global mass media.

Language, sexuality, and the cultural regulation of the body in Japan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recent research in sociolinguistics has argued that stylistic variation is not achieved solely through manipulation of the speech signal, but may be shaped by strategies of bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1984), particularly articulatory setting of the jaw (Levon & Holmes-Elliott, 2024, 2024a; Pratt, 2020; Pratt & D'Onofrio, 2017). This approach stresses the embodied nature of speech (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016), exploring how voices and bodies interact in the production of sociolinguistically meaningful styles (Eckert, 2008; Calder, 2018; Zimman, 2017). I continue this line of enquiry, focusing specifically on how voices and bodies are mobilised to conform to dominant cultural models of conduct. In this paper, I present an analysis based on ethnographic interviews in Japanese with fourteen gay and bisexual Japanese men, comprising approx. 10 hours of participant speech, collected over 6 months of fieldwork in Japan in late 2023 and early 2024. This is part of a larger project investigating how these men consolidate or compartmentalise their sexual identity in respect to broader structures of normative power and status in Japanese society. In Japan, although cross-dressing "queen" personalities occupy a prominent space in entertainment media, these queer personas are characterised by behavioural and linguistic "excess", and otherwise little space is afforded to expressions of LGBT identity in everyday life, where conformism and hierarchy prevail (Maree, 2020). I show that the men in my study who are in middle-class employment in mainstream corporate and public institutions speak with a smaller vowel space. This is measured by the polygon area of the Nearey-2 normalised mean F1 and F2 values of the five Japanese vowels, in both short and long realisation, calculated with the phonR package in R (Nearey, 1977; McCloy, 2016; R Core Team, 2024). I analyse this as the result of a more closed jaw setting, which compresses the height of the vowel space. I argue that the qualia (Gal, 2013) of this closed jaw hexis are symbolic of a restrained professional persona that projects a "masculine ease" (Kiesling, 2017) corresponding to the confirmist setting of their work, which confers them status and economic security. In contrast, the men in my study with a larger vowel space - which I argue arises from a more open jaw setting - work in low-prestige service and administrative work with restricted access to power, and where their position is less at stake if they deviate from this heteronormative professional conformity. This is important, as it offers evidence for articulatory setting as a stylistic resource beyond English, all while revealing how regimes of power that maintain binaries of heteronormative vs. queer, restraint vs. excess regulate both language and the body in ways that are inseparable.

When I'm with the lads, it's all wey aye: the social stratification of wey aye, wey, and aye in Tyneside English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Background. *Wey aye* (meaning “Yes, of course!”) (1) is a stereotypical Tyneside English (TE) phrase, highly indexical of localness. Its component words see independent use: *wey* is a local equivalent of *well* (2), while *aye* is a widespread alternative to *yes* in British dialects (Howe 2019). *Aye* is associated with working-class (WC) communities (Smith *et al.* 2013) and seen as a marker of local identity (Ryan 2014). *Wey* and *wey aye*, despite its stereotype status (Labov 1972), have escaped the notice of variationist sociolinguistics. This paper asks which sociolinguistic factors influence the use of these three dialectal TE features, and whether their use is intertwined.

Methods. We draw on data from the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of TE (DECTE, Corrigan *et al.* 2012), a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 161 TE speakers. DECTE comprises three subcorpora from different decades (1970s, 1990s, 2000s). Using AntConc (Anthony 2006), we retrieved all occurrences of *wey aye* (n=36), *wey* (n=168), *well* (n=3721), *aye* (n=2826), its standard competitor *yes* (n=3341), and its supra-local informal competitors *yeah* (n=5613) and *uh-huh* (n=1156) (3). We used mixed-effects logistic regression with speaker as a random effect to determine which factors condition *wey/well* usage, and multinomial logistic regression for *yes*-word variant choice (all reported results significant at $p < 0.05$). Independent variables included speakers’ social class, education level, occupation, gender, date of birth, and subcorpus.

Results. *Wey aye* is used to express emphatic agreement, almost exclusively by (primarily WC) men. It has a functionally equivalent negative counterpart, *wey no* (n=9). *Wey* is primarily used by WC speakers, but is severely receding. Over time, it loses almost all its ground to *well*. *Wey* indeed accounts for 10% of all *wey/well* tokens in the oldest subcorpus, but barely 1% in the most recent.

Modelling suggests *aye* is socially stratified, like *wey aye* and *wey*. Compared to *yes*, *aye* is favoured by WC blue-collar workers without a university degree. Men favour both *yeah* and *aye*, while non-WC women tend avoid *aye* (4). All variants of *yes* are losing ground to *yeah* over time, but while *uh-huh*, formerly socially stratified, is progressively abandoned, *aye*’s core speakerbase (WC speakers and men) is staying faithful to it. (Lower-)middle-class speakers tend to prefer *yeah* more and more to fulfil *aye*’s functions as an informal *yes*-word. All three features covary to some extent. Higher rates of use of *wey* and *aye* are associated with increased likelihood of using *wey aye*. These rates skyrocket among *wey aye* users: 18% for *wey* and 60% for *aye*, far above the overall rates of 3% and 22%, respectively. However, because *wey aye* and *wey* decline over time, this covariation is mostly restricted to older subcorpora. Metalinguistic comments in DECTE suggest *wey*, *aye*, and *wey aye* hold character-type (Moore 2023: 61) social meanings, evoking the stereotypical “broad-accented” working-class Tynesider, ideologically linked to friendliness and authenticity. These salient social meanings may only benefit groups that are “licensed” to use these variants: men and WC speakers. They are undesirable to other groups, partly explaining the features’ social stratification.

Mixed attitudes toward the heritage language in Hungarian weekend schools in Cleveland: Evidence from classroom observation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Weekend schools for languages without K-12 education in the U.S. are initiatives of parents/volunteers to provide children with some education in their heritage language (HL). Because these organizations seek to expand the use of the HL from informal to educational settings, they are unique research sites. Yet, few studies have been conducted in weekend schools (Doerr & Lee, 2009; Lawton & Logio, 2009). Students

enrolled in official programs are reported to have mixed attitudes toward their HL due to the standard/mixed language ideologies of the instructors (Del Carpio & Ochoa, 2022; Gasca Jiménez & Adrada-Rafael, 2021). However, we do not know about the attitudes in weekend schools where the teachers are volunteers from the ethnic community. Previous research on Hungarian, a language without K-12 education in the U.S., has focused on adults (Kontra, 1990; Bartha, 2005; Fenyvesi, 2005), while the HL transmission between generations has received less attention. Few studies have addressed children's grammar (Bolonyai, 1998, 2007), parents' perspectives (Szilágyi & Szécsi, 2020, 2023), and teachers' translanguaging (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020). There are no linguistic studies on the largest Hungarian-American community, the close-knit ethnic group in/around Cleveland where the HL has been transmitted through generations with high linguistic vitality. This paper investigates the language attitudes in two Hungarian weekend schools in the Cleveland area. Classroom observations were conducted between October 2023 and May 2024 in eight classes of 42 students (ages: 6-17) and nine teachers. School A had first-second-generation teachers and students, while School B had first-to-fourth-generation speakers. A total of 48 hours of observation resulted in a corpus of 28,690 words of field notes on the subjective reactions to linguistic interference, code-switching, and -mixing. The results of a qualitative analysis suggest that weekend-school teachers and students have mixed attitudes but with different characteristics from those of participants in official programs. Teachers preferred to speak in Hungarian. They used code-mixing rather than switching between the two languages. They often applied code-mixing as a pedagogical tool, even if they introduced it as "mangol", the Hungarian equivalent of "Hunglish". They were more judgmental of code-switching than of code-mixing. Students showed the opposite pattern for both, occasionally labeling the instances of code-mixing as "cute/funny". First-generation students and teachers explicitly identified Hungarian as their "first/real" language/identity. Students were more interested in the Hungarian culture than in the language. Their investment in cultural knowledge and their linguistic insecurity in the HL were higher in School B. Adolescents talked more about their linguistic "limitations" than younger children. They did so without comparing their HL to any variety, whereas their teachers occasionally asked the fieldworker about the "correct" variants. (The fieldwork was conducted by the researcher who arrived from Hungary two and a half years prior and has been attending the events of the local Hungarian community ever since.) For the teachers, the homeland varieties rather than the standard variety served as models. Sometimes, they corrected the grammar or vocabulary of the children's HL, referring to "Hungarian as spoken in Hungary".

The value of investigating language variation in obsolescing language communities

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

As linguistics more broadly, and variationist sociolinguistics more specifically, broach questions of inclusivity and diversity (cf Hudley, Mallinson, & Bucholtz 2024), we draw attention to the limited language contexts that have been traditionally examined using variationist tools – mainly Western, literate, monolingual, dominant language contexts. Sociolinguistic variation in obsolescing language varieties (and minoritized languages on the whole) has largely remained on the margins of the field. A standout body of work in this tradition is Nancy Dorian's (1977, 1994, 2010, *inter alia*) research on East Sutherland Gaelic – yet this research agenda has remained peripheral to variationist sociolinguistics, as many readers seemed to interpret this work as demonstrating the exceptionalism of such contexts and as illustrating the ways that variationist tools are not appropriate for language death situations (cf Wolfram 2004). In this paper, we demonstrate how assumptions from mainstream variationist sociolinguistics at the time of Dorian's publications (from the 1970s to the 2010s) affected the reception of her work and continue to shape how researchers approach sociolinguistic variation in obsolescing language contexts. In our analysis, we identify three main misinterpretations that have influenced research up until recently:

- (1) Over-exotification of language death contexts compared to 'healthy' speech communities

(2) Interpretation of Dorian's (1994) 'personal pattern variation' to mean random/unsystematic variation

(3) The idea that the language use of 'semi-speakers' (Dorian 1977) does not fit any of our existing understandings of language variation and change (as regular, predictable, and rule-governed) and their language practices are thus outside the scope of what sociolinguists should study (these speakers are not ratified 'members of the speech community').

Via a dataset on Louisiana French, an obsolescing dialect of French spoken in South Louisiana, we illustrate how some of these assumptions can lead to exclusion of speakers, variables, even entire communities. We show how methodological and conceptual tools from the fields of variationist sociolinguistics and second language acquisition can be fruitfully extended to the study of an obsolescing language (Authors 2019, 2022, 2024). This work, which has focused on variation in first-person-singular subject forms, has led to important observations relevant to variationist sociolinguistics more generally, such as the complex and systematic nature of this variation and to critical reflections on the nature of speech communities. We conclude by connecting with a crucial line of research that has recently challenged many of these faulty assumptions (Abtahian 2020; Kasstan 2020; Kantarovich et al 2021; Lee 2022; Mayeux 2024; inter alia) and urged variationist sociolinguists to broaden their investigations to include obsolescing language communities. Following up on calls issued at NWAV 48 (Kasstan & Stanford: "What's so standard about standards?"), we reflect on the following questions: How can we improve our theories about sociolinguistic variation by expanding the diversity of contexts in which we study variation? What tools are best suited to these contexts, and how can they be adapted or expanded upon? What assumptions might hinder these goals and warrant further reflection? Our analysis of Louisiana French aims to provide some initial empirical insights on these issues.

The impact of cognitive load on style-shifting in German-English bilinguals

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While language transfer is a relatively well-studied phenomenon in bilingual speech research, we know little about how cognitive demands can impact the speech production of bilinguals. Previous sociophonetic research on monolinguals has found that an increased cognitive load can disrupt speech convergence processes (Abel and Babel 2017). Recent research by Sharma and McCarthy (2018) found that an increase in cognitive load can lead to an increase in vernacular features in monolinguals. Building on this work, we examine how cognitive load and formality affect language transfer at the phonetic domain, examining three variables shown to be sensitive to language transfer in German-English bilinguals: word-final light /l/ (De Leeuw et. al. 2012; 2019), word-final devoiced /d/ (Özaslan and Gabriel 2019; Grijzenhout 2000), and monophthongal GOAT (Wells 1982) (Hickey 2020; König and Gast 2007). We recorded ten German L1-English L2 bilinguals completing two speech tasks: reading and recalling a text, under varying cognitive load conditions (see Sharma and McCarthy 2018). The high cognitive load condition included a distractor task whereby speakers were instructed to read or recall a text out loud while simultaneously concentrating on arithmetic calculations. The low cognitive load condition consisted of speakers simply reading or recalling a text out loud without a distractor task. After the experimental component was complete, casual sociolinguistic interviews were conducted. We found that all three phonetic variables examined show the same cognitive load effect – a mixed effects logistic regression found greater load conditions led to significantly higher rates of the German-accented variant ($p < 0.001$). To our knowledge, cognitive load has never been examined in a bilingual context in a controlled experimental setting. Thus, this paper shows that diverted attention can lead to an increase in L1 transfer and cause speakers to default to a more L2-accented style. In terms of the impact of formality, we found that the casual interview elicited significantly higher rates of German-accented /d/ and /l/ than formal read or recalled speech ($p = 0.021$). These findings provide at least some evidence that rates of German-accentedness are somewhat driven by level of formality (Labov 1966). However, no formality

effect was found for monophongal GOAT ($p = 0.586$). Overall, we found robust attentional load effects whereby greater cognitive load led to significantly higher rates of German-accented speech for all three variables. A formality effect was found for some but not all variables. Together, these findings suggest that language transfer is both cognitively *and* socially driven. This paper concludes that future research on language transfer and multilingualism could benefit from considering cognitive factors alongside social ones.

When multiple talker exposure is necessary for cross-talkers generalization: Social co-variation facilitates the emergence of sociolinguistic perception

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Background: The speech signal abounds with talker-specific and socio-indexical structure [1]. Talkers vary idiosyncratically within the same social category [2] and systematically across categories [3]. Moreover, listeners often leverage their knowledge of talker-specific and socio-indexical variation during speech perception [4]. What is unclear is how sociolinguistic perception arises - when a social variant is initially heard, how do listeners learn that, rather than being a talker-specific trait, this feature is characteristic of a broader social group and can generalize to other group members?

Methods: All listeners completed an exposure phase (phrase-final keyword identification) followed by a test phase (categorization along a *buy-pie* continuum for a novel female and male talker in separate blocks). Experiment 1 ($n = 383$) exposed listeners to *talker-specific co-variation*, where a single female talker produced a /p/ to [b] shift ("The novel is now in *brint*") and a single male talker was unshifted. Experiment 2 ($n = 386$) presented *socially-structured co-variation* during exposure, where two female talkers were shifted and two male talkers were unshifted. For both experiments, certain listeners were placed in control conditions (no phonetic shift in exposure).

Hypotheses: This study adjudicated between two hypotheses. A *similarity-based generalization account* claims that cross-talkers generalization should occur when the exposure and test talkers are sufficiently similar acoustically [5]. Listeners should group speakers by gender, not because they belong to the same social category, but due to their shared acoustic properties (e.g., fundamental frequency) [6]. Critically, multi-talkers exposure should be unnecessary for adaptation to novel talkers, so generalization should occur for both Experiments 1 and 2. A *social co-variation account* states that generalization should only ensue when a phonetic shift is associated with a social group (not just an individual talker), and listeners are tested on a speaker from the same social category [7]. If listeners are exposed to just one talker, then the shift could be an ungeneralizable idiosyncrasy. However, participants with multi-talkers exposure can more readily recognize the co-variation between the shift and social category membership (gender). This logic predicts that generalization should only occur in Experiment 2, not Experiment 1.

Results: Figures 1 and 2 display the results for Experiments 1 and 2, respectively. We find: (1) no evidence of generalization in Experiment 1 (no difference in *buy-pie* response between the novel female and male); (2) robust generalization in Experiment 2 (greater *pie* response for the novel female than the novel male), but only when the novel female block is presented first (i.e., the effect was short-lived). Post-hoc analyses further rule out similarity-based generalization, demonstrating a lack of generalization across all possible exposure-test talker combinations in Experiment 1, unlike Experiment 2.

Conclusion: Supporting a *social co-variation account*, multiple talkers per social group appears indispensable for socially-mediated, cross-talkers generalization in certain instances. This work expands our theoretical understanding of both perceptual adaptation and sociolinguistic perception, shifting ongoing discourse about talker variability from a binary debate ("Is multi-talkers exposure necessary for generalization?") to a more nuanced discussion ("Under what conditions is multi-talkers exposure necessary for generalization?").

Varieties and Varietals: Linguistic Variation as a Reflection of Cultural Change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Wine drinking is, by nature, a sensory experience and part of that experience is negotiated and created by the language used to describe a wine's taste, smell, feel, and appearance. These descriptions are often rather opaque and unhelpful (e.g. what do pencil shavings taste like? how can structure be velvety?), traditionally serving a gate-keeping function that made "good wine" seem unattainable or unapproachable to the masses. Previous work on oinoglossia, or "wine talk," such as Silverstein (2003, 2006, 2016) and Leher (2009) has highlighted the cultural significance of this specific lexicon. More recently, however, there has been a call by industry leaders to democratize, decolonize, and demystify the language of wine to make the product accessible to a wider range of consumers (e.g. Caputo 2023; De Leon 2020; Saladino 2023). Shifts in the language being used to describe wine can therefore have an effect on who has access to (and who feels as though they have access to) this \$400,000,000 global industry. This paper takes a mixed methods approach to explore the cultural significance of variation and change within the oinoglossic arena, combining quantitative and qualitative analyses of corpus data. The corpus in question is comprised of wine descriptions written by industry experts for a public audience comprised of the Daily Picks section of *Wine Spectator* from 2010 to 2023, for a total of ~670,000 words over ~12,000 entries. Two entry extracts, one from 2010 and one from 2022, are included below as a) and b). Entries were coded for the types of adjectives and verbs used, the perceived formality of sentence structure, the presence of non-standard orthography, etc. Entries were also analyzed for correlations between oenologic variables (region, varietal, wine maker) and specific descriptive terms for taste and smell, both traditional (e.g. *blackberry jam*, *vanilla accents*, *tobacco*) and contemporary (e.g. *handsome*, *friendly*, *sleek*), paying attention to how the use of these descriptors have changed over time. Selected corpus entries will be subject to qualitative analysis in effort to demonstrate the connections between the macro-level trends in word choice and micro-level statements about taste and smell descriptors as well as structural metaphors. We found that even though there have been definite shifts from formal/traditional wine-related language to more casual speech, most of the newer entries continue to follow a formulaic style that is reminiscent of the gate-keeping language used previously. Additionally, variations in the language of different editors often reflect traditional descriptions of particular countries, regions, and varietals. Oinoglossic variation reflects both industry and consumer ideologies with regard to who drinks wine and who creates the systems of knowledge that surround wine tasting and drinking.

Beyond Schneider's Model: Analysing the production of modal BETTER in Global Englishes

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Over the past two decades, Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model has emerged as the leading framework for classifying World Englishes. This model suggests that English varieties develop through a common path consisting of five distinct stages, shaped by dynamic relationships involving historical, political, and linguistic factors. Concurrently, at least since Goldberg (1995, 2006), construction grammar (CxG) has gained prominence as a theoretical framework in linguistics. CxG centres on constructions – non-compositional form-meaning pairings that structure a mental network known as the "construct-i-con". Recently, CxG has been extended to sociolinguistic variation and World Englishes. For instance, Brunner and Hofmann (2020, 2022) apply CxG to analyse new semi-schematic constructions in English varieties, correlating these developments with Schneider's model stages. They argue that as a variety progresses

towards the latter phases of Schneider's model, it is more likely to generate specific constructions, suggesting that "older" Phase 5 varieties like US or Canadian English are more prone to produce semi-schematic constructions than Phase 3 varieties like Philippine or Hong Kong English. This paper challenges Hofmann and Brunner's hypothesis by analysing the modal construction BETTER (in the forms *had better*, *'d better*, and plain *better*) across 20 English varieties using data from the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE). A "grammaticalization index" (Loureiro Porto 2019) for this construction is calculated, focusing on its production with impersonal subjects, as shown in (1), which Denison and Cort (2010: 379) and van der Auwera and De Wit (2010: 133) describe as a sign of advanced grammaticalization and a manifestation of the emergence of new intersubjective and optative meanings.

- (1) I am waiting, it ***had better be*** just what the doctor ordered.
(GloWbE, Singapore, posted by: *Liza*, 10/23/2012)

Contrary to the predicted maturity-based development, the present study finds that Singapore English, even though placed by Schneider in a lower phase compared to British or US English, exhibits the highest level of grammaticalization for the BETTER construction. While optative uses appear 0.67 times per 1 million words in the Singaporean dataset, in US and British English these uses correspond to 0.57 and 0.3 occurrences per 1 million words, respectively. This suggests that the stage a variety occupies in Schneider's model alone does not account for the production and grammaticalization level of constructions. The analysis proposes that substrate influence, such as a parallel construction in Mandarin (i.e. *zuì hǎo*), the main adstrate language spoken in Singapore alongside English, may drive the diffusion and grammaticalization of BETTER in this particular variety. This finding underscores the importance of considering linguistic ecologies and language contact dynamics when studying constructions in postcolonial varieties of English. It warns against generalizing solely based on the evolutionary trajectory of these varieties in relation to British or US Englishes. Instead, a cautious, "slow owl" approach (as advocated by Fillmore 1970 and Cappelle 2024) should be adopted to study the reshaping of a construct-i-con in multilingual contexts. This reflects the complex realities of postcolonial English varieties, each taking a unique trajectory rather than strictly following their historical predecessors.

Author Translation

A lo largo de las últimas dos décadas el Modelo Dinámico de Schneider (2007) se ha planteado como el marco principal para clasificar los *World Englishes*, indicando que las variedades del inglés se desarrollan en cinco etapas determinadas por vínculos dinámicos relacionados con factores históricos, políticos y lingüísticos. Paralelamente, desde Goldberg (1995, 2006), la gramática de construcciones (CxG) ha ido adquiriendo importancia como un marco teórico de la lingüística. La CxG se centra en las construcciones, es decir combinaciones no-composicionales y de forma y significado que estructuran una red mental llamada "construct-i-con". Recientemente la CxG ha sido extendida a la variación sociolingüística y a los *World Englishes*. Por ejemplo, Brunner y Hofmann (2020, 2022) emplean la CxG para analizar nuevas construcciones en las variedades del inglés vinculando estos desarrollos a las fases del modelo de Schneider. Ellos defienden que las variedades en fases avanzadas del modelo de Schneider tienden a generar más construcciones semi-esquemáticas que aquellas en fases iniciales. Este artículo cuestiona la hipótesis de Hofmann y Brunner analizando la construcción modal BETTER (más precisamente, las formas *had better*, *'d better* y *better*) en 20 variedades del inglés. Con este objetivo se han empleado los datos del *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (GloWbE). Para esta construcción se determina un 'gramaticalization index' (Loureiro Porto 2019) que se centra en su producción con sujetos impersonales como se muestra en (1) que Denison y Cort (2010: 379) y van der Auwera y De Wit (2010: 133) describen como un signo de gramaticalización avanzada y la demostración de la necesidad de nuevos significados intersubjetivos y optativos.

- (1) I am waiting, it ***had better be*** just what the doctor ordered.
(GloWbE, Singapur, publicado por: *Liza*, 10/23/2012)

El presente estudio revela que el inglés de Singapur, aunque sea colocado por Schneider en una fase más baja en comparación con el inglés británico o estadounidense, muestra el nivel más alto de gramaticalización para la construcción BETTER. Los usos optativos aparecen 0,67 veces en 1 millón de palabras dentro del conjunto de datos singapurense, comparado con 0,57 en el inglés estadounidense y 0,3

en el británico. Estos datos dan de pensar que la fase que una variedad ocupa dentro del modelo de Schneider por sí sola no tiene en cuenta el nivel de producción y gramaticalización de las construcciones. En conclusión, el análisis propone que la influencia del sustrato, como una construcción paralela en mandarín (*zuì hǎo*), puede fomentar la difusión y la gramaticalización de BETTER en esta variedad específica. Esto destaca la importancia de considerar las dinámicas de contacto entre los idiomas al estudiar las construcciones en las variedades post-coloniales del inglés. Asimismo, desaconseja la generalización basada únicamente en la trayectoria evolutiva de estas variedades en relación con la variedad británica o la estadounidense del inglés. En cambio, debería adoptarse un enfoque prudente y “slow-owl” (Fillmore 1970; Cappelle 2024) para estudiar la reconfiguración de una “constructo-i-con” dentro de contextos multilingüísticos, reflejando las complejas realidades de estas variedades, cada una con una trayectoria única.

“Oh sure!” vs. “Oh sure.” Further evidence for characterizing the final period in texting as an ‘anti-exclamation’ mark

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Paralinguistic cues, including the phonetic features that constitute ‘tone of voice,’ are central to spoken language (Burgoon and Hoobler 2002). Writing lacks tone of *voice*, but as texting evolved—into what McWhorter (2013) has called “fingered speech”—conventions developed substituting other paralinguistic cues, including capitalization, letter repetitions, and punctuation (Kalman and Gergle 2014). Unpunctuated texts became the norm, and final periods became rare and pragmatically marked (Baron and Ling 2011). Now, when texts responding to invitations end with a period (vs. without punctuation), the respondent is rated as less sincere (Gunraj et al. 2016), less interested, and as feeling more negatively about the activity (Houghton et al. 2018). Houghton and colleagues (2018) characterized period-final responses as conveying “abruptness,” but last NWAV, we presented results showing that when young people were asked to read period-final responses aloud, they read them with significantly *longer* duration (and lower pitch) than unpunctuated ones. Our interpretation-turned-hypothesis was that period-final responses convey not abruptness but lack of enthusiasm—that the final period in texting had evolved into a sort of ‘anti-exclamation,’ conveying roughly the opposite of what an exclamation point conveys. To test this hypothesis, we developed another experiment, with text-message stimuli featuring an invitation, request, or offer followed by a period-final, exclamation-final, or unpunctuated (control) version of the response. We recruited 66 native English speakers (36 female, 30 male), ages 18-26 ($M = 20.0$, $SD = 1.78$), none of whom participated previously. As before, participants read aloud one version of each conversation—conveying whatever ‘tone of voice’ they perceived in it—then rated (on a 7-point Likert scale) how positively/negatively the respondent felt about the invitation, request, or offer. Linear mixed-effects models (with participant and item as random factors) showed that period-final responses were read with significantly longer duration, $F(1, 658) = 5.31$, $p = .021$, and lower pitch, $F(1, 658) = 38.90$, $p < .001$, than unpunctuated controls, and were rated significantly more negatively, $F(1, 658) = 12.80$, $p < .001$, all of which replicates our previous findings. Exclamation-final responses, by contrast, were read with significantly *higher* pitch than unpunctuated controls, $F(1, 658) = 186.66$, $p < .001$, and rated significantly more positively, $F(1, 658) = 589.95$, $p < .001$. Unlike readings of period-final responses, readings of exclamations did not differ significantly in duration from controls but had significantly greater pitch variance, $F(1, 658) = 10.02$, $p = .002$, and peak intensity, $F(1, 658) = 244.18$, $p < .001$. Periods also had subtler effects than exclamation points, lowering pitch by .86 semitones relative to controls, whereas exclamations points raised pitch by 3.20 semitones, and lowering ratings by .42 points (on the 7-point scale), whereas exclamation points raised ratings by 1.59 points. Thus, compared to unpunctuated controls, period-final texts were read more slowly, with lower pitch, and rated more negatively, whereas exclamation-final texts were read more loudly, with higher, more dynamic pitch, and were rated more

positively. We argue that these findings support characterizing the final period in texting as a (relatively subtle) ‘anti-exclamation’ mark.

Author Translation

Las señales paralingüísticas, incluyendo los detalles fonéticos que constituyen el «tono de voz», son fundamentales para el habla (Burgoon y Hoobler 2002). La escritura carece de tono de voz, pero a medida que evolucionó la mensajería de texto, se desarrollaron convenciones que sustituyen otras señales paralingüísticas, tales como la capitalización, la repetición de letras y la puntuación (Kalman y Gergle 2014). Los textos con punto final se volvieron raros (Baron y Ling 2011), y ahora, cuando un texto que responde a una invitación tiene punto final, se percibe al respondiente como menos sincero (Gunraj et al. 2016), menos interesado y con sentimientos más negativos hacia la actividad (Houghton et al. 2018). Según Houghton y colegas (2018), las respuestas con punto final transmiten «abruptness» (brusquedad), pero en NWAV 2023, mostramos que cuando los jóvenes las leen en voz alta, las leen con una duración significativamente *mayor* (y un tono más bajo) que las no puntuadas. Nuestra interpretación (y nueva hipótesis) fue que el punto final en mensajes de texto se había convertido en una especie de «anti-exclamación», transmitiendo aproximadamente lo contrario de lo que transmite el signo de exclamación. Para probar esta hipótesis, desarrollamos otro experimento, con mensajes de texto que incluyeron una invitación, solicitud u oferta seguida de una versión de la respuesta con punto final, con signo de exclamación final o sin puntuación (control). Reclutamos a 66 hablantes nativos de inglés (36 mujeres, 30 hombres), de 18 a 26 años (media 20,0; DE 1,78), ninguno de los cuales había participado previamente. Como antes, leyeron en voz alta una versión de cada conversación y evaluaron qué tan positiva o negativamente sentía el respondiente hacia la invitación, solicitud u oferta. Modelos lineales de efectos mixtos (con participante y mensaje como factores aleatorios) mostraron que las respuestas con punto final se leyeron con una duración significativamente mayor, y un tono más bajo, que los no puntuados, y se evaluaron significativamente más negativamente, todo lo cual replica nuestros resultados previos. Las respuestas con exclamación final, por otro lado, se leyeron con un tono más alto que los no puntuados y se evaluaron más positivamente. A diferencia de la lectura de respuestas con punto final, la de las exclamaciones no difirió significativamente en duración respecto a los controles pero mostró variabilidad de tono e intensidad máxima significativamente mayores. Además, el punto tuvo efectos más sutiles que el signo de exclamación, bajando el tono en 0,86 semitonos respecto a los controles, mientras que la exclamación lo aumentó en 3,20 semitonos, y reduciendo las evaluaciones en 0,42 puntos, mientras que la exclamación las aumentó en 1,59 puntos. Para resumir, en comparación con los textos no puntuados, los con punto final se leyeron más lentamente, con un tono más bajo, y se evaluaron más negativamente, mientras que los con signo de exclamación final se leyeron más fuerte, con un tono más alto y dinámico, y se evaluaron más positivamente. Argumentamos que estos hallazgos apoyan la caracterización del punto final en mensajes de texto como una «anti-exclamación».

Both (of) the variants show a couple (of) different patterns: Social conditioning of *of*-variation across multiple linguistic environments

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A longstanding question in sociolinguistics is whether social evaluation of a variant is consistent across linguistic environments. It is traditionally assumed that external factors (such as social evaluation) and internal factors (such as linguistic environment) do not interact in the conditioning of variation (Labov 1993, 2001:28, 2010:265), but this has largely gone untested (Maddeaux & Dinkin 2017). In this paper, we report on a study of a single variable alternation in English – between *of* and Ø – that is instantiated in

several distinct linguistic environments. We find that its social patterning differs by environment, suggesting a counterexample to the proposed independence of external and internal constraints. Variation between *of* and $\emptyset$ (“*of*-variation”) has been documented in a variety of linguistic environments: in prepositional phrases with *out* (1) and *off* (2), with certain quantifiers (3–6), and in inverted degree constructions (7). Though variationist studies of *of*-variation in isolated environments exist (e.g. Estling 1999, 2000; Nylund & Seals 2010; Vartiainen & Höglund 2020), no study has yet examined the patterning of *of*-variation across multiple environments. We examine *of*-variation in environments (1)–(7) in the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov and Rosenfelder 2011). The corpus consists of sociolinguistic interviews with speakers of Philadelphia English from a variety of economic, educational, and ethnic backgrounds. Corpus data was collected between 1973 and 2012. Tokens were identified with Python scripts. After omitting environments with low token counts (*off*: $n=178$, *both*: $n=38$, *half*: $n=131$, inverted degree constructions: $n=9$), we ultimately analyze *of*-variation after *all* ($n=1492$), *couple* ($n=546$), and *out* ($n=401$) using mixed-effects logistic regression in R. To assess whether social conditioning differs across environments, we modeled data from all three environments together and tested the significance of by-environment interactions. The three environments significantly differ in variant rates, with *out* showing the highest rate of the *of* variant (72%), followed by *couple* (30%), and then *all* (3%). Additionally, two demographic predictors significantly interact with environment: speaker year of birth and speaker years of schooling. *All* shows no effect of year of birth, and *out* does not significantly differ from this; however, *couple* does ($p=0.037$), showing change in apparent time away from *of*. Concerning schooling, *all* shows increased *of* use among more educated speakers ($p=0.022$), *out* does not significantly differ from this, and *couple* shows the opposite pattern ($p=0.022$). Taken together, the results demonstrate different social patterning of *of*-variation after *all* versus *couple*. This is underscored by evidence from prescriptive grammars: after *all*, the *of* variant is denounced by prescriptivists; after *couple*, it is the $\emptyset$ variant that is seen as nonstandard (Bernstein 1977, Garner 2022). This suggests that, contra Labov (2001:28), social sensitivity to *of*-variation shows linguistic sensitivity. The environments do not constitute a unified linguistic variable, despite the surface similarity of *of*– $\emptyset$ variation across them (cf. Dinkin 2016). We close by proposing future perception work that can shed more light on the differing social evaluations of *of*-variation across environments, and by recognizing the implications that *of*-variation has for the syntax and semantics of the environments involved.

L2 Immigrant Social Networks, Morphology, and the Lexicon: The Case of Murcia, Spain

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research on social networks (SNs) – the interactions individuals share with others – has shed important light in helping explain differential use of variable linguistic forms for expert (i.e., native) speakers (Milroy, 1987; Sharma & Dodsworth, 2020). In recent years, SNs have gained further attention and helped inform the acquisition of variation in second languages (L2s; e.g., Kennedy Terry, 2017; Kennedy Terry & Bayley, 2024; Pope, 2023). Nevertheless, such research on L2 populations has tended to focus on students studying abroad and on the acquisition of standard language varieties. Consequently, we turn our focus to a non-student immigrant population residing in the under-studied Region of Murcia, Spain and the extent to which these residents select local, nonstandard variants in L2 Spanish. Murcian Spanish (MuSp) was widely influenced by Panocho, a divergent evolution of Hispanic Latin, and differs from the more standard Peninsular Spanish (StSp) in its phonology, morphology, and lexicon. For instance, speakers from this area will most likely palatalize diminutive endings, producing *animalico* instead of *animalito* ‘little animal’ (Authors, XXXX; Hernández-Campoy, 2008; see Table 1). The current study focuses on whether L2 international residents in the Region of Murcia select or produce salient regional features of MuSp and how their SNs may correlate with such responses. This study addresses both lexicon and morphology in multiple tasks in the investigation of MuSp features. Effects of immigrants’

first language, residence, and identity are considered, along with demographic characteristics of their reported local interactants. Thirty immigrants who had been residing in Murcia for an average of 7.76 years (see Table 2) completed four tasks: recognition, production, preference, and SN descriptions. Participants revealed evidence of regional *lexical* production (10.0%) and preference (47.5%), although they showed comparatively higher rates of StSp. Similarly, on the *morphological* side, the palatalized diminutive *-ico* (production 14.2%, preference 19.0%) was also present in responses. Social Network Analysis revealed correlations between participants' preference for local variants and characteristics of their relationships with interactants. Generally, when residents were more immersed in the culture (i.e., had more Murcian alters [i.e., relationships]) they produced and preferred more regional features, and this was especially the case when alters were from smaller towns, had less formal education, and held a positive opinion of MuSp. These findings support our earlier work on 168 expert speakers in the region (Authors, XXXX), who, when they held these demographic characteristics themselves, also showed preference for the local variants on the same tasks. The first systematic account of the acquisition of L2 Spanish lexicon and morphology in the Region of Murcia, this project contributes to our growing knowledge of the acquisition of variation, exploring how stigmatized varieties may affect L2 development for immigrant residents. Results shed light on the role of SNs in language acquisition, the acquisition of understudied and nonstandard varieties, and the role of immersion on language acquisition. Future work will continue to illuminate the linguistic systems of marginalized varieties, language development by immigrant residents, and important connections between social networks and patterns of language variation and change.

Author Translation

La investigación de redes sociales (SNs por sus siglas en inglés) – las interacciones entre individuos – ha aportado información sobre el uso diferencial de variables lingüísticas en hablantes nativos (Milroy, 1987; Sharma & Dodsworth, 2020). Recientemente, las SNs han recibido más atención en la investigación de la adquisición de la variación en segundas lenguas (L2s; e.g., Kennedy Terry, 2017; Kennedy Terry & Bayley, 2024; Pope, 2023). Sin embargo, la población de L2 se ha centrado mayoritariamente en estudiantes en el extranjero y en la adquisición de variantes estándar. Por consiguiente, nos centramos en una población inmigrante no estudiantil que reside en la Región de Murcia, España, y cómo estos residentes seleccionan variantes regionales, i.e., no estándares, en español como L2. El panocho, una evolución divergente del latín hispano, influyó significativamente el español murciano (MuSp), el cual difiere del español peninsular más estándar (StSp) en la fonología, morfología y el léxico. Por ejemplo, los hablantes de este área tenderán a palatalizar los sufijos diminutivos, produciendo *animalico* en vez de *animalito* (Authors, XXXX; Hernández-Campoy, 2008; Tabla 1). Nuestro estudio se centra en la selección y/o producción de léxico y morfología del MuSp en residentes internacionales con español como L2 y en cómo sus SNs pueden corresponder con sus respuestas. Se consideran los efectos de la primera lengua de los inmigrantes, su residencia e identidad, junto con rasgos demográficos de sus interlocutores locales. Treinta inmigrantes que llevan residiendo en la Región de Murcia un promedio de 7,76 años (Tabla 2) completaron cuatro tareas: reconocimiento, producción, preferencia y descripción de SNs. Los participantes mostraron producción (10,0%) y preferencia (47,5%) de *léxico* regional, aunque los porcentajes del StSp fueron comparativamente más altos. De igual manera, en términos de *morfología*, también hay evidencia del uso del diminutivo palatal *-ico* (producción 14,2%, preferencia 19,0%). El análisis de las SNs reflejó correlaciones entre la preferencia de los participantes por las variantes locales y las características de sus interlocutores. Generalmente, cuando los residentes estaban más inmersos en la cultura (i.e., tenían más interlocutores murcianos), produjeron y prefirieron más rasgos regionales, especialmente cuando los interlocutores eran de pueblos, tenían menos nivel educativo, y una opinión positiva sobre el dialecto. Estos hallazgos apoyan nuestra investigación con 168 hablantes expertos de la Región (Authors, XXXX), los cuales mostraron preferencia por las variantes locales cuando compartían esta información demográfica. Este proyecto, el primero en informar sobre la adquisición del español como L2 en la Región de Murcia centrándose en la morfología y el léxico, contribuye a la creciente área de investigación de la adquisición de la variación, explorando la influencia de las variedades estigmatizadas en el desarrollo de una L2 en residentes inmigrantes. Los resultados informan del papel de las SNs y de la inmersión en la adquisición de lenguas y la adquisición de variantes no estándares. Futuras investigaciones continuarán explorando los sistemas lingüísticos de variantes marginalizadas, el

desarrollo de la lengua en residentes inmigrantes, y las conexiones importantes entre las SNs y los patrones de variación y cambio de la lengua.

Age, Gender, and 'Be Like': A Study on Real-Time Speech Reactions across the Life-Span

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research on linguistic behavior across the lifespan has greatly benefitted from analyses that focus on the social perception of linguistic variables produced by speakers as they age (Bülow et al. to appear, Wagner to appear). What has not been subject to linguistic scrutiny are the effects of speaker and listener age on such age-related perceptions (but see Mechler to appear). We equally know very little about the evaluation of naturalistic speech data from the same speakers at different stages in their lives. My analysis relies on the “real-time reactions to speech tool” by Montgomery & Moore (2018). This tool allows me to capture reactions to one male and one female speaker from the Northeast of England who were recorded at two points in their lives (aged 27/29 at T1 and 36/43 at T2). The analysis of responses of over eighty participants focuses on attitudinal ratings and real-time reactions to linguistic stimuli, including:

- (i) which variants are reacted to,
- (ii) the contingent nature of such reactions (socio-demographic factors such as age and gender and attitudinal characteristics of speaker and listener).

My findings show that speaker age and gender significantly influence perceptions. Overall, the participants were sensitive to the real-time age differences between T1 and T2 for both speakers, whereby they tended to overestimate the speakers' age by three years (cf. Worstbrock & Braun 2024). Results furthermore corroborate findings by Mechler (to appear), who has shown that young female speakers tend to be rated as less intelligent when compared to male speakers. Somewhat surprisingly, however, in my study, the young female speaker was not rated as the friendliest. The linguistic variable I focus on is quotative *be like*, a variant linked to youthful, girly speech (see Figure 1). While for the male speaker, reaction frequencies (measured in the number of clicks) remained relatively consistent across both recordings ($p=0.2523$), reaction frequency to *be like* rose significantly for the older female speaker ($p=0.0304$). I interpret this as a reflection of surprisal (Rácz 2013) due to the consistent association of this feature with younger speakers. It also ties in with expectations based on the linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu & Boltanski 1975), which assume that speakers produce lower rates or vernacular forms during the middle aged years, when conformity to hegemonically sanctioned norms is valued. Furthermore, listener age seems to play a decisive role in interaction with speaker gender: younger participants reacted to *be like* more frequently for the female speaker, while the clicks for the male voice sample were mostly produced by older speakers (see Cole 2021). Overall, the results of my perceptual panel approach provide novel insights into the complex ways in which socio-demographic characteristics of speakers and listeners affect linguistic perception.

Evaluating traditionally “stable” variables in a creole: Variation and change in (th, dh) in Hawai‘i Creole

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Pidgin (known to linguists as Hawai‘i Creole) is an English-lexified creole spoken by some 600,000 speakers across the Hawaiian Islands. While recent work has identified a number of changes in progress in the vowel system (Grama 2015, 2023) and in discourse-pragmatic *like* (Stabile 2019), little is known about how purportedly diachronically “stable” or traditional variables behave in Pidgin. This paper focuses on variation of interdental fricatives (here referred to as canonical (th) and (dh)). In English, these variables are classically stable, contingent on speaker age, gender, and socio-economic status (see, e.g., Labov 2001). Stop realizations of (th, dh) are a typical feature of English-lexified creoles worldwide (Haspelmath 2003), and in Pidgin, these realizations are attested alongside a coronal flap and fricative variants (Sakoda & Siegel 2008). Our study is the first to circumscribe this variation via a quantitative analysis of the diachronic development of this variable. Analysis of variation in canonical (th, dh) by local Pidgin speakers from Hawai‘i is conducted by drawing on two trend corpora recorded 30 years apart: a subset of the Bickerton collection recorded in the 1970s (Bickerton & Odo 1976) and a comparable corpus recorded in the 2000s (Siegel 2004). Speakers ($n=32$) are evenly balanced across age (old v. young) and gender (men v. women). In combination, these corpora allow for the investigation of (th, dh) over real- and apparent time. We analyze approximately 8,500 tokens of (th, dh), considering social factors (i.e., gender, age), alongside grammatical category (i.e. function, content) and position in the syllable (i.e., initial, medial, final). Patterns are probed with generalized mixed effects models (Bates et al. 2015) and classification trees (Hothorn & Zeileis 2015). Analysis indicates that stop variants are overwhelmingly the most common for canonical (th, dh), alongside fricatives, flaps, and an as-yet-unattested elided variant. For canonical (dh), two separate changes in progress are evident. In function words, (dh)-stopping shows a decrease in the young 2000s speakers, with a concomitant rise in the flap and the elided variant. Fricative forms remain a stable, minority form. In content words, we identify a change in progress towards fricative forms; however, this change is reversed in 2000s speakers, suggesting a shift away from prescribed English norms that coincides with a shift in the overt prestige of Pidgin (compare patterns reported in Cajun English; Dubois & Horvath 1998). Canonical (th), by contrast, appears to be a stable variable. In medial and final position, we observe a cline, where stops are preferred over fricatives, which are preferred over the elided variant. In initial position, women produce higher rates of fricatives than men, but men show age-graded behavior. These findings indicate that pressures operative in the social hierarchies of lexifiers are not necessarily transferred to creoles, even if those hierarchies are reproduced and maintained by sustained colonizer presence (consider Trask 2000). Moreover, our findings contribute to a growing body of research that problematizes decreolization—the model through which most historical work on Hawai‘i Creole has framed change—as a primary model of language change.

Depression and Sociophonetic Variation: Singaporeans in the UK

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociophonetics has not engaged with the decades of research on acoustic cues to clinical depression (e.g., Newman & Mather, 1938; Szabadi, et al., 1976; Tolkmitt, et al., 1982; Stassen, et al., 1998; Trevino, et al., 2011; Helfer, et al., 2013; Miley 2020). And despite research on depression taking place across different languages and cultures (e.g., Wasserzug, et al., 2023; Taguchi, et al., 2018; Lee, et al., 2021), none of the clinical studies consider sociocultural or language-specific factors. This paper presents a sociophonetic study that incorporates a measure of depression, and argues for a Crip Linguistics perspective (Henner & Robinson 2023; Hall-Lew 2024). Drawing on work on acoustic cues to depression, and descriptions of Singapore English (Deterding 2007; Starr 2021), we consider vowel space area (based on open /i/, open /u/, and /ɒ/), vowel duration (all except filled pauses), and pause duration (within utterances). Clinical research posits that speakers with depression should produce longer vowels (e.g., Trevino, et al., 2011), longer pauses (e.g., Szabadi, et al., 1976; Stassen, et al., 1998), and “less articulatory effort,” with vowels closer to “resting position” (Tolkmitt, et al., 1982: 221, 220), resulting in

a compression “of the average formant space” (Helfer, et al., 2013: 2127). Miley (2020) found that Northeastern British English /æ/ and /ɒ/ were higher for speakers with depression than speakers without. 15 Singaporeans studying in the UK were recruited through personal networks: 6 men and 9 women between ages 19 and 24. Speech and demographic data came from sociolinguistic interviews and two reading passages. Data on depression came from responses to the Beck Depression Inventory (Beck, et al., 1961, 1988). 13 speakers have Beck scores between 0 to 7, and two have Beck scores of 20 (Borderline Clinical Depression is 17-20). The phonologically balanced reading passages differed by affect, one happy and one sad. Speech was transcribed and automatically phone-aligned (McAuliffe, et al., 2017). Vowel formants, vowel durations, and pause durations were automatically extracted (Rosenfelder, et al., 2011). Beck score does not correlate with vowel space area, but style and affect are significant predictors. /ɒ/ is lower for read speech. /i/ is fronter for read speech, and fronter for the positive affect passage than the negative one. These results build on previous sociophonetic findings for affective meaning and /i/ anteriority (e.g., Wan, et al., 2024). Both vowels and pauses are longer in interviews than in read speech. The two speakers with Beck scores of 20 have longer vowels in interview speech than the other speakers, and longer pauses in both interview and read speech than all but one of the other speakers. Pause durations are also longer in the sad passage than the happy passage, suggesting a new indexical analysis of clinical accounts (beyond 'depression'). Finally, speakers with higher Beck scores show less robust stylistic variation, which could be equally explained by neurophysiological accounts of depression (lack of motor control as a symptom) and indexical accounts of style (lack of affect as socially meaningful), or both. We will discuss how to disentangle these accounts.

Locat(ING) social meaning: Gender, orientation to place, and local personae in Chicago

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The social meanings of linguistic features are determined through their co-occurrence in styles (Coupland 2007), which are associated with social types or personae (D’Onofrio 2020). Speakers’ production of features associated with a region can be mediated by orientation to that place, or “rootedness” (Reed 2020). Work on rootedness has largely focused on features that are primarily associated with place, but less is known about the relationship between orientation to place and features that are not region-specific. This paper builds upon work on style and rootedness by considering the production of two variables associated with a local persona, one place-linked (raised/froneted TRAP) and one less specific to place (velar v. alveolar ING), among Chicago-area adolescents. Results suggest that gender and rootedness condition the use of both variables. Previous work has found that ideologies connect the Chicago “accent” to a local persona that is gendered male and classed as working class (Author 2023; Hallett & Hallett 2014). In meta-linguistic commentary in the present sample, raised/froneted TRAP is associated with working class speakers with stereotypically masculine interests and professions (sports fans, tradesmen), and this commentary extends to other class-linked features that are not unique to Chicago, including alveolar ING. Data come from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in 2020-2022 with 31 white adolescents from the Chicago area (24 girls, 7 boys), age 15-18 at the time of interview. Participants were asked whether or not they intended to remain in Chicago in adulthood (post-college). Those who expressed a desire to stay were coded as “rooted” (N=13); those who were ambivalent or expressed a desire to leave were coded as “non-rooted” (N=18). Word-final ING was coded binarily (alveolar v. velar) and submitted to logistic regression models. Lobanov-normalized midpoint F1 and F2 values for TRAP were submitted to linear mixed-effects regression models. All three variables show significant main effects of gender (all $p < 0.01$), such that boys produce more alveolar ING and more Chicago-like TRAP vowels (lower F1, higher F2) than girls, as expected given previous work on these variables (Trudgill 1974; Author 2023). Additionally, all three variables show a significant interaction between gender and orientation to Chicago: “rooted” boys produce more alveolar ING tokens ($p = 0.03$) and more Northern

Cities-shifted TRAP vowels (both $p < 0.01$) than “rooted” girls and all “non-rooted” participants. Taken together, these results suggest that both the gendered (male) and placed (Chicago) associations of this local persona structure speakers’ engagement with its linguistic style. Since the gendered associations preclude its utility for girls’ identity construction, we observe them using these features less overall, regardless of rootedness. For boys, however, this persona is relevant to those who plan to stay local, and hence we observe raised/fronted TRAP and alveolar ING co-occurring in the speech of precisely these speakers. Importantly, while ING is not itself a “regional” feature, its implication in the “Chicago-accented” persona leads it to vary along lines of rootedness in this sample. This suggests more broadly that “non-regional” features can become ideologically place-linked via their appearance in styles associated with local personae.

Weak-tie hypothesis in digital networks

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Abstract

This study tests the weak-tie hypothesis of linguistic change in digital networks. The hypothesis, which predicts that weak-tie environments promote change, is one of the cornerstones of variationist sociolinguistics (Milroy & Milroy 1985, 1992; Dodsworth & Benton 2017). It however relies on evidence that leaves open questions, both theoretical and empirical. First, the participant observation methods limit the analysis to networks with sizes “between 30 and 50 individuals” (Milroy & Milroy 1992: 5), while average human networks, both online and offline, are considerably larger (McCarty et al. 2001, Dunbar 2020, Laitinen & Lundberg 2020). Second, previous studies mainly focus on close-knit urban working-class settings or rural communities, and the model “cannot be easily operationalized in situations where the population is socially and/or geographically mobile”, as is the case in contemporary societies (Milroy 1992: 177). The hypothesis therefore needs to be tested with a more diverse set of networks and communities. Various studies have investigated change in digital networks, but mainly in computational linguistics, and they have therefore lacked the methodological rigor of variationist approaches (Eisenstein et al. 2014; Del Tredici & Fernández 2018; Zhu & Jurgens 2021).

This study, funded by the Research Council of Finland, is operationalized in two research questions:

1. Does the weak-tie hypothesis hold in large-scale data from social media?
2. Can we improve the predictive power of the weak-tie hypothesis using quantitative evidence from social media?

We first present an algorithmic method that is used to establish a network strength (NS) score for digital networks. The score indexes how strongly or loosely connected people in an ego network are, and the algorithms, adopted from the graph theory, have not been used in variationist studies. The empirical part uses large data from Australia, UK, and US. The datasets contain 8.7 billion words of user-generated texts from 5,775 human ego networks. The mean network size is 60, and all the networks have been labeled with NS scores. To answer the research questions, we present observations of three types of ongoing linguistic change. First, we use emerging lexical items in 2020–2022 (e.g. *oomfies*, *watchalong*, *girlies*). Second, the results show how contractions of verbs (e.g. *will* > *’ll*) and negators (*not* > *n’t*) are used in networks, and we also observe an ongoing grammatical change in the increase of need *to* V-inf. The linguistic items not only differ in complexity, but also represent different stages of change (actuation in neologisms, diffusion in contractions and the semi-modal). The results show that digital online networks are highly similar to offline networks when it comes linguistic change. Weak-tie networks show systematically higher frequencies of incoming linguistic features than strong-tie networks. More important is the fact that evidence also enables us to suggest a revision to the weak-tie hypothesis. The difference between weak- and strong-tie is diluted once the network size grows to be large (according to our observations around >60–70 people). Large-scale online data have substantial potential for

variationist network studies and can contribute to re-thinking the role of social network size in language variation and change.

“Your northerners really eat a lot!”: Exploring phonetic variation and regional stereotype construction in China

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Abstract

Stereotypes profoundly shape individual perceptions of specific groups, manifesting through distinctions such as gender, age, and regional varieties. In this study, building upon Podesva’s (2007) micro-level approach, I examine the linkage of phonetic variants to their associated social meanings in interactional speech. I emphasise the regional stereotypes in China that are widely recognised and commonly perceived. Specifically, I focus on individual phonetic variations in Mandarin Chinese retroflexes to investigate the construction of regional stereotypes and how cultural knowledge in the interactional speech context reinforces these stereotypes in a deeper level. Mandarin Chinese is renowned for its rich set of retroflex sibilants in different regional contexts. There are three main pairs of alveolar-retroflex sibilants: /ʃ/ (sh), /ʈʂ/ (zh), and /ʈʂʰ/ (chi), which correspond to their alveolar counterparts /s/ (s), /ts/ (z), and /tsʰ/ (c) (Chang & Shih, 2015). Retroflex consonants are articulated at the coronal place of articulation and often characterised by a distinct “r”-like quality (Fu & Monahan, 2021). Northern Mandarin typically features pronounced retroflexes, while Southern Mandarin often lacks these retroflexes or substitutes them with their alveolar counterparts (Carden, 2016). Mandarin spoken by residents in the central inland areas, often referred to as Central Mandarin, exhibits characteristics that are somewhat intermediate between Northern and Southern accents, but is often observed to be closer to Southern Mandarin in terms of the absence of pronounced retroflexes. The data for this study was sourced from ten YouTube videos from the official account “Knows a bit of Cantonese” (粵知一二). This account focuses on creating context-based videos that highlight the cultural differences from people from Guangdong, a typical southern province in China, and regions in the northern parts. It gained its initial popularity with a series of videos titled “Differences between the North and South” (南北差异). For this study, ten videos under this series were selected. The main character in these videos, Guo Jia Feng, who was born and raised in Guangdong, played multiple roles to mimic regional stereotypes. Each video attracted a variety of audience, recognising and validating the stereotypes portrayed by Guo, which underscores the success of his performance. To analyse the phonetic variations in Guo’s portrayal of regional stereotypes, I first focused on the retroflex sibilants in his mimicked speech and compared them to the standardised measurements. The measurement of retroflex pairs in acoustic analysis is often realised by Center of Gravity (CoG). Chuang and Fon (2010) have shown that retroflexes have a lower spectral CoG, while their respective alveolar consonants have a relatively higher CoG. Second, I examined the audience’s comments under each video. Guo has provided a rich cultural context for each role he played, such as differences in appetite, college-entrance examinations across provinces, and pyjama styles from different regions. These cultural contexts have been strongly recognised by the audience. This dual approach underscores the significance of integrating phonetic analysis with cultural context in interactional speech to understand how linguistic features and cultural knowledge together shape social perceptions and reinforces stereotypes.

The Loi de Position across the ages: comparative study of 16th, 19th, and 21st century data

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Most accounts of syllable-based mid-vowel alternation (open syllables favor mid-high vowels, closed syllables favor mid-low vowels), also called *Loi de Position* (described in Tranel, 1987, among others), agree on a diachronic change centered around either etymological length (e.g. Morin, 1986, 1988), syllable structure (e.g. Spence, 1988), or both (e.g. Montreuil, 1995). A major obstacle these studies have faced is data availability: the difference between mid-high and mid-low vowels is rarely available in spelling. As such, previous studies focused on specific words and authors' own intuitions and pronunciations. In this project, I attempt to trace the evolution of this diachronic change by comparing the state of the *Loi de Position* in three time periods using quantitative methods. First, I look at 16th-century data through the work of Peletier, a proponent of orthographic reforms of the time who wrote three texts using his own spelling, which differentiates [e] from [ɛ] (N = 46,987). Then, I focus on 19th-century data (N = 6,511) via the phonetical transcriptions of 20 short texts by Passy, one of the main contributors of the creation of the IPA. Finally, I use my own data collected for the third time period, the 21st century, which includes both reading and spontaneous word productions containing a variety of mid vowels (N = 2,740). Through mixed-effects regression models, I analyze the effect of syllable structure and syllable position on mid-vowel height. I find that mid-vowel height is generally predictable from syllable structure: in all three periods, we find a general preference for mid-high vowels in open syllables and mid-low vowels in closed ones. However, we see differences in its application in these time periods. In the 16th century, we see a preference for the *Loi de Position*, especially in final syllables, which are significantly different from non-final ones ($p < 0.001$). In the 19th century, there is a strong significant effect in final syllables ($p < 0.001$), and a tendency for non-final ones. Finally, we find a similar situation in the 21st-century production data, with mid vowels in closed syllables having a significantly higher F1 than in open syllables ($p < 0.001$). In the production data, we also note that underlyingly mid-high vowels in closed syllables are lower in the vowel space than underlyingly mid-low vowels in open syllables, supporting this effect of the *Loi de Position*. The results for these three periods of time suggest an evolution of the *Loi de Position*: it started as a tendency for final syllables to favor mid vowels consistent with the *Loi de Position*, and it then developed to a distributional effect in final syllables that appear to be affecting non-finals ones as well. These results for the three time periods studied here are consistent with the analysis of previous studies for the evolution of French (e.g. Morin, 1986). However, while most analyses (e.g. Spence, 1988) refute a synchronic *Loi de Position* and restrict it to a historical evolution of the mid vowel system, this study shows the a *Loi de Position* pattern for each time period.

Fabulous toffee aristocrats have the best accents: Attitudinal variation among London-based New Zealanders

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

When individuals migrate to a new country, language attitudes formed in the homeland are inevitably flexed and shaped by socio-cultural experiences in the new setting. The current study explores the impact of the diasporic experience on language attitudes in a dialect contact setting, reporting on variation in language attitudes among young New Zealanders who have recently migrated to London for their "OE" (overseas experience), an extended journey abroad that has long been a rite of passage for New Zealanders (Bell 2002). While many studies have examined New Zealanders' attitudes towards their own and other dialects of English (e.g. de Bres & Nicholas 2021; Bayard et al 2001; Bayard 1990, 1991, 2000; Vaughan & Huygens 1990), none have considered the impact of migration and dialect contact in a diaspora setting on these attitudes. This study seeks to explore:

1. Do attitudes towards NZE held by New Zealanders in the diaspora reflect those of locally-based New Zealanders?
2. How do individual experiences of migration shape variation in language attitudes in the London-based New Zealand diaspora?

Both direct and indirect methods were employed to elicit language attitudes including (1) a verbal guise experiment, (2) a survey, and (3) informal interviews in which the verbal guise task and questionnaire were debriefed. Four guises were evaluated on five-point Likert scales reflecting eight *status*- and *solidarity*-based traits. Guise speakers were educated females aged 30-35 who spoke NZE, SSBE, London (Estuary) English, and GenAm. The survey included 10 direct questions on dialect and identity, also answered on five-point Likert scales. 30 New Zealanders aged 18-35 participated in the study, all based in London for their OE. Results from the verbal guise experiment reveal positive attitudes towards NZE, which received the highest overall rating (mean=3.94). Despite previous research pointing to ongoing linguistic insecurity among New Zealanders (de Bres & Nicholas 2021) and higher status attributed to RP (e.g. Bayard 1991, 2000; Gordon & Abell 1990), pairwise comparisons reveal no significant difference in status-based ratings for SSBE and NZE ($p=.104$). NZE was, however, rated more favourably than London English for status ($p<.05$). No significant differences in ratings were found for solidarity. There appears to be a link between positive attitudes towards NZE in the diaspora and both a sense of pride in speaking NZE (mean=4.10) and strong identification as a New Zealander (mean=4.47), confirmed via qualitative analysis of the interviews. Several participants, however, reported disliking their own accent in the survey. Qualitative analysis of interview content revealed that these individuals perceive their own accent as an obstacle in upward social mobility and integration into desired professional networks. These results highlight the dynamic nature of language attitudes in diasporic settings and the sensitivity of language attitudes to the individual's migration experience. In addition, this study shows how a mixed-methods approach provides a more nuanced understanding of the factors that shape attitudes in migration contexts. I discuss the implications of these findings for language attitudes research, particularly in migration settings involving dialect contact, which remain under researched.

Author Translation

Al migrarse a un nuevo país, las experiencias socioculturales en el nuevo entorno inevitablemente modifican y moldean las actitudes lingüísticas formadas en el país de origen. Este estudio explora el impacto de la experiencia diaspórica en las actitudes lingüísticas en un entorno de contacto dialectal, es decir, las actitudes lingüísticas entre jóvenes neozelandeses recién inmigrados a Londres para su *overseas experience* (experiencia internacional, abreviado "OE"), un largo viaje al extranjero y rito de paso para los neozelandeses (Bell 2002). Aunque muchos estudios han examinado las actitudes de los neozelandeses hacia su propio dialecto y otros dialectos del inglés (Bres & Nicholas 2021; Bayard et al 2001; Bayard 1990, 1991, 2000; Vaughan & Huygens 1990), ninguno ha considerado el impacto de la migración y el contacto dialectal en la diáspora sobre estas actitudes. Este estudio pretende explorar:

1. ¿Reflejan las actitudes hacia el inglés neozelandés ("NZE") en la diáspora las de los neozelandeses residentes en el país?
2. ¿Cómo influyen las experiencias migratorias individuales en las actitudes lingüísticas de la diáspora neozelandesa en Londres?

Se emplearon métodos directos e indirectos para obtener información sobre las actitudes lingüísticas: (1) un experimento de pares ocultos, (2) una encuesta y (3) entrevistas informales. Se evaluaron cuatro pares en escalas Likert de cinco puntos que reflejaban ocho rasgos de *estatus* y *solidaridad*. Los pares eran de mujeres cultas de entre 30 y 35 años que hablaban NZE, "SSBE" (inglés británico meridional estándar), inglés (estuario) de Londres e inglés norteamericano general. La encuesta incluía diez preguntas directas sobre dialecto e identidad, también respondidas en escalas Likert de cinco puntos. Participaron 30 neozelandeses de entre 18 y 35 años, en Londres por su OE. Los resultados del experimento revelan actitudes positivas hacia el NZE, que recibió la valoración global más alta (media=3,94). Aunque previamente se encontraba una inseguridad lingüística permanente entre los neozelandeses (Bres & Nicholas 2021) y un mayor estatus atribuido al inglés estándar (Bayard 1991, 2000; Gordon & Abell

1990), las comparaciones por pares no revelaron diferencias significativas en el estatus para el SSBE y el NZE ($p=.104$). Sin embargo, el NZE se valoró más que el inglés de Londres en cuanto al estatus ($p<.05$). No se encontraron diferencias significativas en la solidaridad. Los vínculos entre las actitudes positivas hacia el NZE en la diáspora, el orgullo de hablarlo (media=4,10) y una fuerte identidad neozelandesa (media=4,47), se confirmaron en el análisis cualitativo de las entrevistas. Sin embargo, este análisis también reveló que algunos percibieron su propio acento como un obstáculo para ascender socialmente e integrarse en las redes profesionales. Esto pone de relieve la naturaleza dinámica de las actitudes lingüísticas en entornos diaspóricos y la sensibilidad de las actitudes lingüísticas a la experiencia migratoria individual. Además, se muestra cómo los métodos mixtos proporcionan una comprensión más matizada de los factores que conforman las actitudes en contextos migratorios. Se discuten las implicaciones del estudio para la investigación de las actitudes lingüísticas, en particular en los contextos, todavía poco investigados, de migración y contacto dialectal.

Locating Class in Place: an Analysis of Boston and Rhode Island Personae Performances

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Satirized performances of dialect simultaneously draw upon enregistered features while perpetuating the process of enregisterment (Agha 2003; Pratt & D’Onofrio 2017). The link between place and class strengthens through performances which tie regional varieties to social stereotypes (Johnstone 2013). While many studies find that different class distinctions are represented through place-based linguistic features, this paper argues that class distinctions are mapped onto place and not the reverse. We present a qualitative analysis of two comedians’ stylizations of personae from the northeastern United States. We argue these comedians use class-associated features—such as non-rhoticity and alveolar ING—to construct personae rooted in a lower SES in any given region. By mapping these indexically lower-class features onto place, these comedians construct personae that conform to enregistered stereotypes of lower SES individuals from these regions. Data were gathered from 7 videos by New England-based comedians Shannon Fiedler and Marc Mendes. Fiedler produces an ongoing series of performances of place-based personae: “Boston Girl,” “Rhode Island Girl,” “Connecticut Girl,” and “Manhattan Woman.” Fiedler’s performances of Boston and RI are predominantly non-rhotic and involve alveolar ING, while performances of NYC and CT are invariably rhotic with velar ING productions. Fiedler’s rhoticity boundary aligns with New England’s rhoticity boundary—CT is rhotic whereas Boston and RI are not (Labov et al. 2006). However, NYC is often stereotyped as having non-rhotic, semiotically low-class varieties—a stereotype that Fiedler defies. Fiedler’s performance also relies on non-linguistic features which semiotically link class to place, such as drinking cheap (high-alcohol-volume) beer, attending Red Sox games, and going to Dunkin’ Donuts. Thus, we argue that these performances are grounded in ideologies about class rather than place. The “Boston Girl” could just as easily be Harvard-educated and spend her time at expensive coffee shops; “RI girl”—like rhotic CT Girl—could have gone to a prep school by the coast; “Manhattan woman” could be from Queens and ride the subway, but Fiedler picks an affluent woman and locates her in Manhattan, maintaining the rhoticity rate of her (affluent-woman) CT performance. We find this pattern, again, in comedian Marc Mendes, who style-shifts between different Rhode Island and Boston personae, using non-rhoticity and alveolar ING. To style-shift from a persona located in one lower-class region of RI vs another, Mendes keeps rhoticity rates constant, and uses his speech content to reflect a place difference. Inversely, rhoticity rates increase when Mendes occupies a wealthier persona within RI. The arbitrariness of the sign, as well as the socioeconomic diversity of these regions are well represented throughout these performances. While being marketed as performances of place, we argue these stylizations rely upon linguistic resources to index class distinctions in service of semiotically lower-class personae. The chosen location merely augments the indexicality of these features so each performance feels specific to the region. Invoking details about the landmarks in these regions

makes the performance seem authentic to the region, even when rhoticity and velar ING rates have remained constant. Thus, we argue these performances construct and locate class in place.

Letting the data speak: A cluster analysis of New York City English vowels

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Automated data extraction and acoustic analysis of large linguistic corpora supports richer portraits of sociolinguistic variation in diverse urban communities than previously possible. The CUNY Corpus of New York City English (CUNY-CoNYCE) (Tortora, et al., in progress) currently has DARLA vowel outputs of 214 interviews with demographic information encoded. Here we present results of our effort to understand the distribution of NYCE vowel features, in particular regarding age and ethnicity, based on those outputs. Our work builds on prior findings regarding vowel changes in progress (Haddican, et al. 2012, 2022) by extending them to more vowels and more participants. Hypothesis generation poses a major challenge for research in such corpora because potential sociolinguistic associations can escape researchers' intuition and observations. Moisl (2015, 2020) proposes using cluster analysis—i.e., unsupervised groupings of data points by similarities—to overcome these limitations. We discuss challenges including alternative clustering algorithms and the effects of different normalization methods. Here we use ANAE normalization and, following Moisl, agglomerative clustering, which joins the most similar data points and then most similar combinations of points successively until all points are joined. The dendrogram in Figure 1 presents the output of the clustering with age and racialized groups coded. Greater height represents less similarity. The splits above halfway up show three large clusters:

- c2.1 trends older (median YoB=1971) and is primarily White but with older Blacks.
- c1.1 is the largest, youngest (median YoB=1993) and most diverse. It contains many Latinx and other non-Whites including almost all young Blacks. Unlike other groups, older White and Black cluster members concentrate in subcluster c1.1.2.
- c1.2 (median YoB=1986), a little older than c1.1, is heavily Latinx.

To conclude: Linguistically, clustering identifies new vowel variables such as face and fleece retraction, which suggests systemic connections between these vowels and their lax pairs. Socially, it identifies complex intersections of different and similar patterns in demographically similar groups, as with CR vs. the other variables. Consequently, it suggests avenues for research. These include identifying factors that unite linguistically similar groups with different demographic profiles and differentiate those with distinct linguistic profiles despite being demographically similar. We suggest researchers working with large urban corpora incorporate clustering as an exploratory technique to reveal perhaps unexpected patterns of sociolinguistic variation.

Performing Andalusian: A case study of *distinción*, *ceceo*, and *seseo*

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study adopts a third-wave approach (Eckert, 2019) to examine variable usage of the coronal fricatives /s/ and /θ/ in Andalusian Spanish, spoken in southern Spain. We explore how individual speakers leverage the sociolinguistic variation present among *ceceo*, *seseo*, and *distinción* to construct identities within this highly stigmatized and stereotyped dialect (Henriksen et al.,

2023). Unlike *distinción*, which maintains a contrast between /s/ and /θ/ (e.g., *casa-caza* ‘house’-‘hunt’) and is typical of north-central Spain, *ceceo* and *seseo* merge the two coronal fricatives in favor of /θ/ or /s/, respectively. Our research, diverging from prior studies (e.g., Regan, 2020), emphasizes sociolinguistic identity performance, analyzing the three systems in interactive settings to reveal how social meanings are negotiated through language use. We performed a case study of [Joaquín Sánchez Rodríguez](#), a renowned soccer player from Andalusia with a prominent social-media presence. Joaquín’s living experiences in the Cádiz and Seville provinces, where *ceceo* and *seseo* intersect, along with his exposure to *distinción*, the national standard, provide a rich linguistic backdrop for this study. We performed an auditory analysis of Joaquín’s variable usage of the /s/ and /θ/ phonemes from 49 YouTube videos spanning four social contexts of varying formality: joke-telling on social media, guest appearances on prime-time TV, interactions on his own TV show, and speeches at press conferences. First, we coded 1,666 instances of syllable-initial orthographic <s, ce, ci, z>, and tagged each production as alveolar /s/ or interdental /θ/. Joaquín’s predominant system is *distinción*, with Joaquín’s most frequent pattern being that he uses /s/ in <s> contexts and /θ/ in <ce, ci, z> contexts (Figures 1 and 2). However, *seseo* and *ceceo* were most common in joke-telling (66.0% and 23%, respectively) of the four contexts. Next, we conducted a discursive analysis of all *ceceo* and *seseo* occurrences and assessed their indexical values—labeled as ‘genuine’, ‘uneducated’, or ‘humorous’—or their occurrence in the individual lexemes *dice* (“s/he says”) or *entonces* (“then”). Figures 3 and 4 visualize Joaquín’s usage of *ceceo* and *seseo* in mosaic-plot format. While Joaquín primarily shifts into *seseo* when using the word *dice* in joke-telling, he uses *ceceo* to convey themes of rural simplicity, humor, and genuineness across all four social contexts. The major finding of this study is that speakers’ usage of *ceceo* and *seseo* is not only driven by macro-social factors (Regan, 2020), but also by discursive elements that leverage stereotypical views of Andalusian identity, in addition to previously unreported lexical factors (i.e., *dice/entonces*). Often-stigmatized linguistic features such as *ceceo* and *seseo* thus enable Andalusian speakers to style-shift in social interactions, highlighting how sociolinguistic variation is dynamically used to perform regional identity. We further demonstrate how Joaquín occasionally breaks from these scripts to engage in ‘real me’ moments (Sharma, 2018), which we identified through a discursive analysis of his *ceceo* tokens that index genuineness. Overall, our study connects the linguistic patterns of a single Andalusian speaker to the broader socio-cultural context and social stereotypes associated with the Andalusian accent.

Declining Grammatical Gender in Irish: A Diachronic Study

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

After decades of declining usage in favor of English, Irish has been acquiring new speakers through all-Irish schools. How well these speakers acquire Irish has been a point of interest for linguists (Duibhir 2009, Frenda 2011, McGuigan 2016), with studies showing “correct” application of grammatical gender features as low as 13.5% (McGuigan 2016). This would mean Irish has undergone a dramatic grammatical change. However, such research typically involves synchronic comparison of new speakers to traditionally native speakers, rather than comparison of current speakers to earlier ones. To better assess the situation, I conducted a diachronic study, tracking gender marking on nouns following definite articles in two corpora spanning 1915-2022. Irish is morphologically gendered, with masculine and feminine nouns. Gender can be realized through two initial consonant mutations: lenition and eclipsis (Stenson 2019). Lenition changes stops and [m] into fricatives and changes [s] and [t] into [h]. Eclipsis voices voiceless consonants and nasalizes voiced consonants. I studied initial consonant mutation triggered by the definite article *an* (*na* before plural and feminine nouns). The specific mutation depends on case, gender, and number. Irish has four cases, but only the common (nominative and accusative) and genitive are relevant here. With singular masculine nouns, *an* triggers no mutation in the common case and lenition in the genitive. With singular feminine nouns, *an* triggers lenition in the common case and no mutation in the genitive. With plural nouns (regardless of gender), *an* triggers no mutation in the common

case and eclipsis in the genitive. I divided the 1915-2022 data into three time periods: 1) from around the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 until the opening of the first modern Irish-language schools in 1972, 2) from 1972 until the passage of Official Language Act of 2003, and 3) from 2003 until 2022. Post-*an* nouns representing each period were then pulled from the corpora, and each noun's realization was coded as canonical or non-canonical based on its case, number, and gender. Binary logistic mixed-effects models, with speaker and noun as random factors, confirm that there was no decline between the first and second periods $F(1, 463) = 0.004$, $p = 0.949$, but a significant decline between the second and third periods $F(1, 556) = 11.586$, $p < .001$. Instances of the feminine noun *Gaeilge* "Irish language," for example, are 97% canonical in the earliest time period, 90% in the second, and 74% in the third. Likewise, instances of the masculine noun *baile* "town" are 94% canonical in the earliest time period, 96% in the second, and 78% in the third. Expanding the scope of the data analyzed thus allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how new Irish speakers are affecting Irish grammar. My results suggest Irish gender marking was fairly stable throughout the 20th century and the 21st century in fact brought a significant decline in canonical gender usage. However, the decline is not nearly as drastic as previously reported.

Experimento do Ilustrador: investigando o papel do corpo na significação social da variação linguística

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Este trabalho investiga o papel do corpo no estudo da significação social da variação linguística por meio do *ingliding* no português brasileiro falado em Porto Alegre, processo entendido como prática estilística que cria ditongos centralizados a partir de vogais tônicas. Estudos da significação social da variável revelaram associação entre o processo e certas características, como: menor formalidade; ser mais descolado, malandro, expansivo, metido, esnobe, rico; ser menos sério, preocupado, reservado, esforçado, sociável, honesto, modesto. Considerando os achados, elaborou-se a hipótese de que os significados sociais do *ingliding* possam ter intersecções com características comumente atribuídas a disposições corporais distensas. Para realizar a investigação, foi proposto um experimento *online* de percepção, a partir da *matched-guise technique* (Lambert et al., 1960), chamado de Experimento do Ilustrador. O experimento, realizado com 283 ouvintes brasileiros, apresentou duas ilustrações para que os participantes escolhessem qual combinava mais com cada pessoa ouvida. Os desenhos, compostos de silhuetas de uma mesma pessoa, se distinguem pelas disposições corporais: uma tensa, outra distensa. Os resultados indicam, conforme se suspeitava, que o falar com *ingliding* é mais associado a posturas corporais distensas. Além disso, revelam que as mulheres são menos associadas a posturas distensas, o que embasa a interpretação de que a percepção dos ouvintes é influenciada por concepções arraigadas de papéis de gênero. Por meio de associação icônica, a própria realização física da vogal com *ingliding* pode estar por trás de intersecções nos significados sociais relacionados a usos distensos do corpo, já que o processo resulta de uma configuração articulatória relaxada. Em suma, a oposição tensão-distensão, presente nos esquemas corporais, se mostra significativa para compreender os significados sociais do *ingliding*. O processo é mais associado a características relacionadas com usos distensos do corpo, típicas da *hexis* corporal de classes mais altas (Bourdieu, 2015 [1979/1982]), e amplamente percebidas como opostas a traços de polidez, refinamento e respeitabilidade (Agha, 2006). Propõe-se, portanto, que o *ingliding* esteja integrado a usos estilísticos do corpo, sendo um processo registrado (Agha, 2006) que pode criar diferentes *personae* (Eckert, 2008). Assim, o ditongo centralizado possui diferentes significados sociais que têm algo em comum: são relacionados com o corpo relaxado e com os significados sociais do corpo como um todo, os quais podem constituir o cerne dos campos indexicais do *ingliding*. Esses resultados reforçam a importância de considerar a configuração articulatória e a configuração de maxilar (Pratt, 2018) em estudos linguísticos, que devem tratar a corporificação como aspecto central (Podesva, 2021) às

análises variacionistas. O Experimento do Ilustrador é um caminho multimodal possível para incluir a corporificação nos estudos de percepção.

Author Translation

This work investigates the role of the body in the study of the social meaning of language variation through ingliding in Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Porto Alegre, a process understood as a stylistic practice that creates centering diphthongs from stressed vowels. Studies centered on the social meaning of the variable showed an association between the process and certain traits, such as: less formality; being more cool, sly, expansive, conceited, snobbish, or wealthy; being less serious, concerned, reserved, hardworking, sociable, honest, or modest. Considering the findings, it is hypothesized that the social meanings of ingliding may intersect the characteristics commonly attributed to relaxed body postures. To carry out this investigation, an online perception experiment was proposed, based on matched-guise technique (Lambert et al., 1960), which was called the Illustrator Experiment. The experiment, which was responded to by 283 Brazilian listeners, presented two illustrations for the participants to select which one best matched the person heard in the recording. The drawings, composed of silhouettes of the same person, have different body postures: one tense and the other relaxed. The results indicate, as suspected, that speaking with ingliding is more associated with relaxed body postures. In addition, they reveal that women are less associated with relaxed body postures, which builds the interpretation that listeners' perception is influenced by ingrained conceptions of gender roles. Through an iconic association, the own physical realization of the inglided vowel may lie behind intersections in the social meanings related to relaxed uses of the body, since the process results from a relaxed articulatory setting. In sum, the tension-distension opposition, present in body schemas, seems to be significant to understand the social meanings of ingliding. The process is more associated with characteristics related to relaxed uses of the body, typical of the bodily hexis of the upper-class (Bourdieu, 2015 [1979/1982]), and widely perceived as opposing traits of politeness, refinement, and respectability (Agha, 2006). I propose, therefore, that ingliding is integrated into stylistic uses of the body, being an enregistered (Agha, 2006) process that can create different personae (Eckert, 2008). Thus, the centering diphthong has different social meanings that have something in common: they are related to the relaxed body and the social meanings of the body as a whole, which may constitute the core of the indexical fields of ingliding. These results reinforce the importance of considering the articulatory setting and the jaw setting (Pratt, 2018) in linguistic studies, which should treat embodiment as a central aspect (Podesva, 2021) in variationist analyses. The Illustrator Experiment is a possible multimodal tool to include the embodiment in perception studies.

The Usage and Function of Comedians' Creaky Voice in Podcasts

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study analyzes two millennial comedians' usage of creaky voice in the podcast "Seek Treatment with Cat and Pat" to understand the ways creak contributes to conversational comedic performance. Close friends Cat Cohen and Pat Regan format their unscripted and conversational podcast comedically, so they can openly discuss topics that vary from pop culture and humorous anecdotes to serious and personal issues. My analysis counters the societal negative connotations of creaky voice, demonstrating its use to convey stance on a topic, to emphasize speaking styles, and to add humor to serious topics while maintaining the comedic tone of the podcast. I measured the frequency and function of creak by first selecting a 10-minute snippet of an hour-long podcast episode, and then coded binary voice quality (creaky vs. modal) by syllable for a 4-minute segment of the data. Then, I categorized creak occurrences for each speaker: *humor/banter creak*, *reaction creak*, and *topic creak*. Finally, I separated the podcast data by discussion topics: *Taylor Swift* and *Medical Diagnosis*. I was then able to categorize the various ways the speakers use creak and analyze its function in each topic -- how speakers use *topic creak* to convey stance on a topic, how speakers use *humor/banter creak* to establish persona and humor, and how

speakers use *reaction creak* to create safe spaces for both the comedians' interactions as well as safe spaces for the audience. While discussing Taylor Swift's advice on creative work, Pat first uses *topic creak* convey affective stance [1] to self-deprecatingly demonstrate his past emotions of doubt and uncertainty towards his work, and to separate and contrast those negative emotions from his now positive perception of it. In response, Cat uses *humor/banter creak* to mitigate a face threatening act [2] in order to soften Swift's advice for Pat to better receive it. She also uses mock creak to portray creak's distinctive stylistic personas, such as "white girl" [3] or "valley girl" [4] and how this can affect the perception of Pat, his style, and the stereotypes that exist surrounding him [5]. In the topic *Medical Diagnosis*, Cat and Pat discuss Cat's serious medical diagnosis and use *topic creak* to lighten the tone and downplay the situation [6] & [7] and use *humor/banter creak* to gain closeness to the audience. Pat also reinforces closeness with Cat by using creak humorously to comfort her and reframe her negative emotions. While creaky voice has been criticized greatly in popular media discourse [8], my analysis of creak usage explains Cat and Pat's intent -- creak can convey humor, stance, and detachment towards a topic, and can be used to maintain closeness with each other and the audience. Categorizing the data by topics allows me to identify the different types of creak used and their contributions to topic discussion, comedic purpose, and social meaning. This analysis demonstrates how creak creates humor, positivity, and spaces of safety when the topics at hand may threaten the opposite.

"I Don't Like My Conversations Being Judged By an AI": Issues of Bias and Quality in Social Feedback Speech Technology

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Social Feedback Speech Technologies (SFSTs) are designed to provide feedback to speakers about how they sound to others. Such technologies, as part of growing interest in "AI"-enabled programs, have seen a recent, rapid expansion, and are now integrated into videoconferencing software programs such as Zoom. To date, there has not been independent research about how these technologies evaluate different types of speakers from diverse linguistic and social backgrounds. There is, however, cause for concern about fairness in both training data and machine learning algorithms employed by such systems, as well as questions about whether these technologies provide realistic feedback to listeners (Bender et al. 2021, Zellou and Holliday 2024). The current study evaluates the functions and outputs of two different SFST systems with the aim of addressing the following: 1. Do these SFST systems display bias in their ratings of speakers from different regional, ethnic, and gender groups? 2. Do the systems' qualitative evaluations of speech rate, filler use, and "non-inclusive" language seem to be based on objective, repeatable criteria? I conducted an experiment with 98 ethnically and gender diverse students in California, designed to test how these systems work for speakers from different backgrounds. Participants were recorded in a sound booth in two different Zoom call contexts with the same researcher. In the first context, participants and the researcher read a scripted conversation. In the second, I asked the participants about their backgrounds as well as their opinions about videoconferencing. While results are more similar across speaker groups in the scripted conversations, LASSO regression models for SFST scores by L1, Gender, Race, and Region show differences between groups in the interview context. These are reported as model parameter coefficients. For sentiment, the SFST systems downgrade Black participants (-0.922), L2 English speakers (-1.004) and males (-3.45). For Engagement, they downgrade Asian speakers (-0.121) and male speakers (-0.279). One system, the Zoom Revenue Accelerator, rated 99% of all participants as using too many fillers and speaking too quickly in both contexts, calling into question its reliability, while the other system, Read.AI, showed much more variation in its scores for speech rate and filler use. Read.AI, however, negatively evaluated 58% of participants who self-identified as neurodivergent, claiming that they used "non-inclusive" language, despite the fact that flagged terms were those that participants used to describe themselves (e.g. OCD). These results show that like other LLM systems which demonstrate gender and racial biases (Holliday and Reed 2022, Yeung et al 2023), videoconference-based SFST

systems also systematically downgrade speakers from marginalized groups. This research represents an important first step in addressing algorithmic bias as well as the potential for SFST systems to perpetuate linguistic discrimination and create harms for speakers who do not conform to algorithmic models of idealized language use. Additionally, since SFSTs are built on unknown training data, they are likely to amplify existing inequality and create disparate impact on marginalized groups and individuals across contexts (Koencke et al. 2020, Bender et al. 2021, Holliday and Zellou 2024).

I Don't Know But How Dare You: I Love Lucy, codeswitching, and cinematic indexicality

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While television does not always capture an ‘accurate’ picture of multilingual speakers, it can give us a lens on the language ideologies of producers, directors, writers, and (intended) audiences. *I Love Lucy* (1951-1957) is one of the most influential shows in the history of American television. It pioneered syndication, the three-camera sitcom, and the portrayal of multiethnic families in popular media. *I Love Lucy* also featured significant multilingual play between its English and Spanish-speaking leads, Lucy and Ricky. In this paper I use discourse analysis to examine the textual and metalinguistic implications of the use of (untranslated) Spanish-English code switching within the show. I demonstrate how Lucy and Ricky take stances on English, Spanish, and monolingualism, and how Desi Arnaz, as Ricky, aligns himself with Spanish speakers in the show’s audience via metalinguistic commentary in Spanish. I also analyze the raciolinguistic and indexical construction of Ricky Ricardo as the “hot-tempered” Latino type and the ways in which that construction is both reified and challenged through language choice and metalinguistic commentary. Drawing on the concepts of cinematic indexicality (Androutsopoulos 2012) and Mock Spanish (Hill 2009), the listening subject (Inoue 2008; Flores & Rosa 2015) and the metatext surrounding the production of *I Love Lucy*, I analyze a scene from the season one episode “Fred and Ethel Fight” for explicit and implicit metalinguistic stances (Jaffe 2009) on Spanish, English, and bilingualism. I find that the scene complicates the seeming ease through which *I Love Lucy* draws humor from linguistic mockery and aligns Ricky, through untranslated switches to Spanish, with Spanish-speaking viewers. Ricky’s explicit commentary, which remains inaccessible to monolingual English speaking characters and viewers, elevates bilingualism over the monolingualism of his wife and friends and equates it with educational accomplishment. Lucy’s, however, relegates Ricky’s L2 English to the butt of a joke. Through this layered back-and-forth the scene simultaneously reifies and challenges dominant, English-centric language ideologies.

A third [ɹ] in Puerto Rican Spanish: Implications for variation of coda /r/

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Puerto Rican Spanish coda /r/ has two mainstream realizations, [r] and [l]: the first is the underlying tap realization, the latter is stigmatized as traditionally indexical of lower socioeconomic status and lower education levels. The lateral realization is also associated with “sounding from the island” (Valentín Marquez, 2007). On the island, a newer variant, approximant [ɹ], emerges. I seek to understand how PRS speakers use the novel variant compared to the two more attested allophones [l] and [r]. Previous work claims that neutralization to [l] is the final stage of coda /r/ (Navarro Tomás, 1948; Navarro Tomás, 1974; Lipski J. M., 1986). Recent work (López Morales, 1983; Paz, 2005, Simonet, Rohena-Madrado and Paz,

2008; Beaton, 2015) problematize these claims as more variants of the coda /ɾ/ are recorded, namely the approximant [ɹ]. Taken together, these studies suggest that coda /ɾ/ is still undergoing change. The current study focuses on the spread of this variant in Puerto Rico by age and gender. This sample consists of 10 women and 6 men in three age groups 18-25, 25-50, and 51+. I examined these sixteen interviews conducted by Chente Ydrach, a popular Puerto Rican celebrity, for his podcast, "Masacote." I used acoustic measurements (F3 at 20 time points of the vowel + liquid token) and auditory discrimination tasks to distinguish realizations of coda /ɾ/. First, I use Generalized Additive Mixed Effect Models (GAMM) to analyze coda /ɾ/ acoustic properties. Afterward, I run a Bayesian Multinomial model to analyze the proportions of realizations of the variable between its three variants: taps, laterals and approximants. The result of the GAMM provides a statistically significantly different trajectory of F3 between laterals and approximants, providing evidence that these two categories are distinct for speakers of PRS. Upon confirmation that the liquid allophones are distinct in their acoustic qualities, I move on to a usage-based analysis of the data. The Bayesian Multinomial model shows two main findings: results for Phonological context of the token and for age of the speakers. Laterals are the preferred choice for all the speakers in the sample, with varying usage of the two alternatives. The findings for phonological context show that lateral rates are affected by token position, the largest effect being by tokens in word-final position followed by a vowel, drastically increasing tap rates from 10% in word internal context to close to 50%, raising questions about the envelope of variation for this variable. The second finding is for age, with younger speakers having an increased rate of laterals compared to adults 51+. In turn, this raises questions about changing attitudes toward the lateral and Puerto Rican identity. This work motivates the usage of more complex computational methodologies that allow analysis of ternary variables. In addition, this project provides an updated account of this variable that has been undergoing change since sociolinguistic work began on the island in the 50s and is being affected by the rapid introduction and adoption of a third variant.

Author Translation

La /ɾ/ en posición coda tiene dos realizaciones principales en el español puertorriqueño principales, [ɾ] y [l]: la primera es la vibrante simple que es la realización subyacente, mientras que la segunda, lateral, está estigmatizada tradicionalmente como característica de un bajo estatus socioeconómico y niveles educativos más bajos. La realización lateral también se asocia con "sonar de la isla" (Valentín Marquez, 2007). En la isla, emerge una variante nueva, aproximante [ɹ]. Mi objetivo es entender cómo los hablantes del español puertorriqueño utilizan esta nueva variante en comparación con los dos alófonos más conocidos [l] y [ɾ]. Estudios anteriores afirman que la neutralización a [l] es la etapa final de la /ɾ/ en coda (Navarro Tomás, 1948; Navarro Tomás, 1974; Lipski J. M., 1986). En cambio, investigaciones más recientes (López Morales, 1983; Paz, 2005; Simonet, Rohena-Madrado y Paz, 2008; Beaton, 2015) encuentran más variantes de /ɾ/ en posición coda, incluyendo la aproximante [ɹ]. En conjunto, estos estudios sugieren que la /ɾ/ coda todavía está en proceso de cambio lingüístico. El presente estudio se centra en la difusión de esta variante en Puerto Rico según edad y género. La muestra consiste en 10 mujeres y 6 hombres distribuidos en tres grupos de edad: 18-25, 25-50 y 51+. Se analizan dieciséis entrevistas realizadas por Chente Ydrach, una celebridad puertorriqueña popular, para su podcast "Masacote". Se usan diferentes métodos para analizar las medidas acústicas (F3 en 20 puntos en el transcurso de la vocal + consonante líquida) y un experimento de discriminación auditiva para distinguir las realizaciones de la /ɾ/ coda. Para el análisis primero se emplean Modelos Aditivos Generalizados de Efectos Mixtos (GAMM) para analizar las propiedades acústicas del coda /ɾ/. Luego, uso un modelo multinomial de inferencia bayesiana para analizar las proporciones de realizaciones de la variable entre sus tres variantes: vibrantes simples, laterales y aproximantes. Los resultados del GAMM muestra una trayectoria significativamente diferente de F3 entre laterales y aproximantes, que indica que estas dos categorías son distintas para los hablantes del español puertorriqueño. Tras confirmar que los alófonos líquidos son distintos en sus cualidades acústicas, se pasa al análisis de proporciones de uso de las variantes. El modelo multinomial de inferencia bayesiana revela dos hallazgos principales: resultados para el contexto fonológico de la realización y efectos relacionados a la edad de los hablantes. Los laterales son la opción preferida para todos los hablantes de la muestra, con uso variable de las dos alternativas. Los resultados para el contexto fonológico muestran que las tasa de laterales se ve afectada por la posición en la palabra de la /ɾ/ coda, siendo la mayor influencia en la proporción cuando la /ɾ/ coda

se encuentra en posición final de palabra seguida por una vocal, lo que aumenta drásticamente la tasa de vibrantes simples de un 10% dentro de una palabra a cerca del 50%. Esto plantea preguntas sobre los parámetros de variación para esta variable. El segundo hallazgo es sobre edad, se encuentra en este modelo que los hablantes más jóvenes tienen una tasa aumentada de laterales en comparación con los adultos de 51 años o más, lo que sugiere cambios en las actitudes hacia el lateral y la identidad puertorriqueña. Este trabajo motiva el uso de metodologías computacionales más complejas que permitan el análisis de variables ternarias. Además, este proyecto ofrece un análisis actualizado de esta variable que lleva en proceso de cambio desde que comenzaron los estudios sociolingüísticos en la isla en los años 50 y está siendo influenciada por la rápida introducción y adopción de una tercera variante.

Asymmetries in the learnability of new dialect features across the lifespan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction

In second dialect (D2) acquisition, the adoption of D2 features can be modulated by socio-indexical factors, such as place identity, social saliency, and affect (Nycz, 2013). Linguistic complexity also matters. More complex phonological rules, such as the short-a tensing that exhibits surface opacity with exceptional lexical items in Philadelphia English, are harder for newcomers to acquire than a simple rule like t-voicing in North American English that is only conditioned by low-level phonetic motivation and applies automatically without exceptions (Payne, 1980; Chambers, 1992). Meanwhile, some sociolinguistic variables involve interaction between two grammatical domains (e.g., morphology-phonology), and these variables with a more complex set of internal constraints might be harder to acquire than a variable that is exclusively conditioned by a single grammatical domain. Accordingly, by a case study of a Taiwanese actress Annie Yi who moved to mainland China in the 2000s, this paper further examines whether a D2 neutral tone (T0) variable conditioned by both morphology and phonology in the theoretical literature is less accessible for acquisition than a phonological (ng) variable.

Methods

Following Mackenzie (2017), this study used longitudinal speech data from Annie Yi, selecting two interviews (about 50 minutes each) from 2005 and 2019 with the same interviewer (a speaker of standard/northern Mandarin). Two native speakers of Northern/standard Mandarin were recruited and perceptually coded the sociolinguistic variables. The syllable-final (ng) variables were coded as alveolar [n] or velar [ŋ] (the canonical form in standard/northern Mandarin). (T0) tokens were distinguished between a neutral tone [T0] (the canonical form in standard/northern Mandarin), characterized by tonal undershoots in less stressed syllables, and a full tone [FT] with underlying tonal targets in the four Mandarin citation tones.

Results & Discussion

Yi accommodated the D2 features in mainland China by increasing her rate of the [ŋ] variant over 14 years (controlling for the immediate phonological environment), while her rate of the [T0] variant remained unchanged. A closer examination of the regression models showed that, against the description of (T0) as a morphophonological variable in my initial hypothesis based on the theoretical literature, (T0) seems to be a morphological variable that is exclusively conditioned by the morphosyntactic constraint of grammatical class – suffixes favor neutral tone [T0] variants. What makes (T0) harder to undergo change than the (ng) might be due to the more complex variable contexts that (T0) involves – (T0) operated over contexts from lexical components of grammar in word formation (e.g., suffixation and compound formation) to post-lexical components in syntactic operations and sentence organization (see examples (1) and (2)). In contrast, the syllable-final (ng) variable is conditioned by the preceding segment, thus

operating within the syllable edge and word boundary at the lexical level. Therefore, Yi might update her representation of (ng) at a faster rate by replacing the nasal place associated with certain lexical items.

Theoretical implications

The complexity of variable rules can manifest through the grammatical loci and contexts hosting the variables, potentially triggering an asymmetry in a mobile speaker's later-life learning of new D2 features.

Author Translation

Nan akizisyon yon dezyèm dyalèk (D2), adopsyon karakteristik D2 yo ka enfliyanse pa faktè sosyo-endeksik tankou idantite plas, saliyans sosyal, ak afèktif (Nycz, 2013). Konpleksite lengwistik gen yon gwo enpòtans. Règ fonolojik ki pi konplèks, tankou tensing short-a ki montre opasite sifas ak atik leksikal eksepsyonèl nan Anglè Filadèlfi, pi difisil pou nouvo moun akeri pase yon règ senp tankou t-voicing nan Anglè Nò Ameriken ki sèlman enfliyanse pa motivasyon fonetik nivo-ba e ki aplike otomatikman san okenn eksepsyon (Payne, 1980; Chambers, 1992). Kèk varyab sosyolengwistik enplike entèraksyon ant de domèn gramè (pa egzanp, morfoloji-fonoloji), ak varyab sa yo ki gen plis kontrent entènyen ka pi difisil pou akeri pase yon varyab ki sèlman enfliyanse pa yon sèl domèn gramè. Dapre sa, avèk yon etid ka yon aktris Taywànèz Annie Yi ki te deplase nan Lachin kontinantal nan ane 2000 yo, papye sa a egzamine si yon varyab ton neytral D2 (T0) kondisyonnen pa tou de morfoloji ak fonoloji nan literati teyorik la mwens aksesib pou akizisyon pase yon varyab fonolojik (ng). Sèvi ak metòd Mackenzie (2017), etid sa a te itilize done lapawòl longitudinal Annie Yi, li te chwazi de entèvyou (apeprè 50 minit chak) soti nan 2005 ak 2019 avèk menm entèvyou a (yon moun k ap pale Mandarin nò/estanda). Yo te rekrute de natif-natal k ap pale Mandarin nò/estanda pou kodifye varyab sosyolengwistik yo pèseptivman. Varyab final silabik (ng) yo te kodifye kòm alveolar [n] oswa velar [ŋ] (fòm kanonik nan Mandarin nò/estanda). Token (T0) yo te distenge ant yon ton neytral [T0] (fòm kanonik nan Mandarin nò/estanda), karakterize pa tounsous tonik nan silab ki mwens strès, ak yon ton plen [FT] ak sib tonik andedan kat ton sitasyon Mandarin yo. Yi te adapte karakteristik D2 nan Lachin kontinantal lè li te ogmante to itilizasyon varyan [ŋ] pandan 14 ane (kontwòl pou anviwònman fonolojik imedya), pandan ke to itilizasyon varyan [T0] li te rete chanje. Yon egzamen pi pre nan modèl regresyon yo te montre ke, kont deskripsyon (T0) kòm yon varyab morfofonolojik nan ipotèz inisyal mwen an baze sou literati teyorik, (T0) sanble yon varyab morfolojik ki eksepsyonèlman kondisyonnen pa kontrent morfosentaktik klas gramè - sifiks favorize varyan ton neytral [T0]. Sa ki fè (T0) pi difisil pou akeri pase (ng) se kontèks varyab ki pi konplèks ke (T0) enplike - (T0) opere sou kontèks konpozan leksikal gramè nan fòmasyon mo (pa egzanp, sifiksasyon ak fòmasyon konpoze) rive nan konpozan pòs-leksikal nan operasyon sentaktik ak òganizasyon fraz (gade egzanp (1) ak (2)). An kontrè, varyab final silabik (ng) kondisyonnen pa segman ki vin anvan, konsa opere nan kwen silab ak limit mo nan nivo leksikal. Se poutèt sa, Yi ka mete ajou reprezantasyon li nan (ng) a yon vitès pi rapid lè li ranplase plas nenal asosye ak sèten atik leksikal. Konpleksite règ varyab ka manifeste atravè loki gramè ak kontèks k ap òganize varyab yo, ki potansyèlman ka lakòz yon asimetri nan aprantisaj yon moun k ap deplase karakteristik D2 nan lavi pita.

Rhythmic variation isn't going out of style: Style and rhythm in Quebec French

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Abstract

Introduction. Studies on rhythm traditionally aim to classify languages (e.g. Abercrombie 1967; Auer 1991), but recent work increasingly examines how rhythm may pattern differently depending on style or register, notably in French (e.g. Kaminskaja 2023). Quebec French therefore offers an ideal test case to investigate phonological and stylistic variation in prosody, particularly given the especially large diglossic tendencies described for French (as argued for morphosyntax; e.g. Massot & Rowlett 2013). This dialect retains prosodic features that increase syllable duration variability (e.g. vowel class and coda effects on

syllable prominence, see Lamontagne & Goad 2022), whereas non-final syllables have gotten proportionally shorter in European varieties that remain a reference for (hyper)formal speech in Quebec (cf. Léon & Jackson 1971; Boula de Mareuil et al. 2008; Martin 2011). The current paper probes the conditioning of rhythm in Quebec French to determine whether predictors of rhythm play comparable roles across speech contexts (casual conversation; televised interviews), arguing for gradient stylistic variation rather than categorical diglossia.

Methods. We use mixed-effects linear regression and conditional inference trees to analyse syllable durations in conversational Quebec French (531 046 syllables; *Phonologie du français contemporain* corpus; Durand, Laks & Lyche 2002) and in televised interviews (121 612 syllables; Villeneuve 2017). To test whether categorically different prosodic systems are followed in different contexts, we coded syllable position, vowel weight (light, heavy, nasal), and syllable shape (open, closed). As measures of rhythm, we selected VarcoV (rate-normalized vowels' standard deviation) and nPVI-V (rate-normalized vowel duration relative to the following vowel) because of their relative phonological stability and discriminatory capacity (White & Mattys 2007; Prieto et al. 2012). We further supplemented those measurements with counterparts computing rhyme duration given the rhyme's importance in prosody (e.g. Lamontagne & Goad 2022).

Results. While final syllables are longest on average, penults are frequently longer, consistent with descriptions of historical rhythmic patterns in French (cf. Martin 2011) and descriptions of the dialect (e.g. Lamontagne & Goad 2022). Initial syllables are also rhythmically important, reflective of secondary prominence (Welby 2006). Closed syllables and heavy vowels additionally predict longer durations, with the effect being binary in penults but gradient elsewhere. Final syllables being relatively short when open. Stylistic factors (reading vs. spontaneous speech; interaction formality; untelevised vs. televised) predict the degree of variability in vowel and rhyme durations overall. However, the effects of phonological factors are still observed across tasks (sub-corpora) and speech context (televised vs. not), albeit often with compressed effect size when greater attention to speech is expected.

Discussion. Our results temper proposals of categorical diglossia with respect to prosody and run counter to there being a fully distinctive “pseudo-rehearsed” style used by francophone public speakers (cf. Hornsby 2019). In particular, it suggests that prosody in Quebec French predominantly exhibits gradient effect reduction (but not effect elimination) to modulate style. We propose that impressions of rhythmic differences between speech contexts partly result not from rhythm itself, but from phonological processes that increase perceived rhythmic differences being underrepresented in formal registers (e.g. diphthongization; Redacted 2024).

The emergence of code-mixing in Inuktitut

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In Inuit communities where Inuktitut remains healthy, most speakers under the age of 60 can also speak English (and sometimes even French) and live in a stable bilingual situation (see Dorais & Sammons 2002; Allen 2007; Dorais 2010). Studies also show that the use of English increases during schooling (e.g., Dorais & Sammons 2002), and code-mixed utterances are produced from an early age (e.g., Allen et al. 2002). However, no studies have yet looked into the evolution of code-mixing from a diachronic perspective since before the simultaneous establishment of modern Inuit communities and compulsory schooling. The present study aims to fill this research gap. In this paper, I analyze linguistic data from 25 Inuktitut speakers (12 male and 13 female) born between 1936 and 1998 in Mittimatalik, Nunavut. Participants were asked to describe the pictures from the children's book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969) and to narrate the movie *Pearl film* (Chafe 1980). Although participants were asked to speak in Inuktitut, many English words were produced. To study the code-mixing patterns, all words alternating

between Inuktitut and English but referring to the same concept were extracted. Out of 1580 total tokens, 381 are English words, which surface as nominal or verbal stems and refer to concepts that Inuktitut already has terms for, as well as concepts that the language does not have a term for (which would generally be referred to with semantically-related words or brief descriptions). Moreover, their usage appears to correspond to *insertional mixing* (Muysken 2000) or *nonce borrowing* (Poplack and al. 1988), since they are incorporated morphosyntactically but their phonological integration varies. A multivariate analysis was conducted. The independent variables considered were the speakers' gender and year of birth, the category of the stems (nominal or verbal) and the (non-)existence of Inuktitut terms for the concepts referred to (existent or non-existent). Speakers and types of recording were entered as random variables. The results show a sharp increase in code-mixing through time, favored by nominal stems and terms not already present in Inuktitut (see Graph 1). Gender was not found significant. A random forest analysis was also performed (see Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) and revealed that the most significant split for the speakers' years of birth is between speakers born before or after 1962 (as annotated in Graph 1). This strongly suggests that the introduction of compulsory schooling (solely in English for many years) following the foundation of the community in 1961 had a significant sociolinguistic impact. I argue that the latter created new linguistic norms, which have led to the emergence of *situational code-mixing* (Blom & Gumperz 1972; Gumperz 1982) whereby the use of English words is favored when referring to foreign concepts. Interestingly, this configuration also seems to mirror how most speakers perceive their languages in use, as Inuktitut is considered to be an essential aspect of Inuit identity whereas English is seen more as a practical language employed in school, the workplace and the media (see Dorais & Sammons 2002; Patrick 2003).

Approaching phonetics with gravity: Allophone economy in vowel changes

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction. Speakers' productions are pulled towards their phonetic representations ("exemplars"; e.g. Wedel 2004), which can lead to phonemes merging (Pierrehumbert 2001), a phenomenon also found in perceptual categorisation (e.g. Best, McRoberts & Goodell 2001; Hay, Drager & Warren 2010) and acquisition (cf. Anderson et al. 2003). Preservation of contrast appears to be a crucial force in preventing exemplar clouds from merging (e.g. Ettlinger 2007). We test the hypothesis that exemplars without risk of full neutralisation should be susceptible to merging – and consequently undergoing sound change in unison. In French the lingual and labial articulations of vowels *could* transparently be reused without risk of neutralisation for oral and nasal vowels, since nasalisation orthogonally preserves contrast. The current study probes apparent-time changes in Quebec French's four phonemic nasal vowels, which exhibit diphthongisation similarly found in oral vowels (Walker 1984; Côté 2012). The results support the hypothesis that allophones tend towards economy (minimising unique articulatory targets or reuse of motor routines).

Methods. We use k-medoids clustering (Maechler et al. 2023) alongside mixed-effects linear regression (Bates et al. 2015) to analyse the degree of diphthongisation (3D Euclidian distance) and F1-F3 measurements of 7,207,042 final-syllable vowels produced by 85 Quebec French speakers in the *Phonologie du français contemporain* corpus (Durand, Laks & Lyche 2002; <https://www.projet-pfc.net/>). Following confirmatory preliminary data exploration, we distinguish phonological contexts based on where distinct allophones typically occur in Quebec French (cf. Walker): open syllables, syllables closed by /ʁ/, syllables closed by another lengthening consonant (/v z ʒ/), and other closed syllables.

Results and discussion. This study finds evidence for "calquing" allophones from one phoneme onto those of another across speakers, even in a distinct phonological context, with those pairings being predictable from the overlapping use of articulators (suggesting exemplars comprising shared motor routines; cf. Kröger et al. 2009; Parrell et al. 2019):

- (a) /ẽ/ (open and closed syllables) mirrors /ɛ:/ in closed syllables;
- (b) /œ̃/ (open and closed final syllables) echoes closed-syllable /ø/ for older speakers but pre-rhotic /œ/ for younger ones;
- (c) /õ/ (open and closed syllables) exhibits diphthongisation like that of /o/ in closed final syllables (where /o/ diphthongises); and
- (d) /ã/ exhibits a split across speakers in final open syllables (following /a/ if the speaker lacks /ã/ fronting, but /a/ if they have the phenomenon), while in closed final syllables the nasal phonemes patterns alongside /a/ in closed final syllables.

Crucially these mappings are more predictive than ones to other phonemes eligible for diphthongisation in the same context, even for Euclidian distance. Allophones being in different phonological contexts may facilitate reanalysis as a shared exemplar cloud, as may orthogonal means of contrast preservation (here nasalisation), given that contrast preservation can be a strong motivation for maintaining distinct exemplar clouds (cf. Ettlinger 2007; Tupper 2014). These results predict sound change could sometimes seem non-gradient (contra traditional diagnostics of sound change, but cf. Fruehwald 2013) when allophones' clouds merge, and suggests that the expansion of rhotacisation in Quebec French may result from exemplar or motoric overlap (cf. Mielke 2013).

Using automated alignment with Spanish-influenced English data

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Automated methods of transcribing and aligning phones in a speech sample are increasingly being used to analyze sociophonetic data. Tools like the Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe et al. 2017) and the Dartmouth Linguistic Automation program (DARLA; Reddy & Stanford 2015) are trained on one language variety, typically mainstream American English, and perform similarly to humans when aligning data from the same variety (e.g., McAuliffe et al. 2017). Less is known about the performance of automated aligners with other dialects, but recent work suggests that they are also highly accurate with British varieties (MacKenzie & Turton 2020) and L2 English speech (Williams et al. 2024). In this study, we examine whether DARLA can correctly align speech data from a non-mainstream American variety, Spanish-influenced English, that also includes some Spanish code-switching. If so, this would greatly simplify the process of preparing speech data from multilingual contexts for sociophonetic analysis. The interviews in this study were collected as part of a project assessing vocabulary knowledge in Spanish-English bilinguals in southern California. Participants were asked to discuss their answers to a vocabulary task that included English-Spanish cognates; because of this focus, Spanish words and phrases often arose during the interviews. Following the methods of MacKenzie and Turton (2020), who analyzed seven recordings, we orthographically transcribed five interviews into text files, and then ran each transcription and its audio file through DARLA. After alignment, we extracted excerpts of approximately 300 words from each recording for hand-correction of word and phone boundaries in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021). The human-corrected boundaries were then compared to the DARLA-aligned boundaries to measure the amount of human-DARLA displacement for the onset of every phone. These results indicate that DARLA performed extremely well with this Spanish-influenced English data: we measured an average of 10.6 ms boundary displacement, as compared with 17 ms in previous studies of both human-automated aligner and human-human agreement (McAuliffe et al. 2017; Raymond et al. 2002), and over 85% of phones were automatically aligned within 20 ms of human placement across interviews. In terms of alignment errors, the major outliers in Figure 1 arose from background noise during pauses in the audio file, periods of laughter, and rapid or reduced speech. Spanish speech was generally aligned accurately at the word level, but phone-level transcription and alignment errors were

more common, such as /tɹæŋkwʌlow/ for *tranquilo*. This finding was not unexpected, given DARLA's grapheme-to-phoneme conversion methodology, but suggests that researchers should take extra care to check code-switched portions of the alignment output. Overall, we report that automated alignment works efficiently and effectively with this bilingual data, despite phonological differences from the variety it was trained on, and provide recommendations for researchers working in comparable multilingual contexts.

Regional prosodic variation in Alabama English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The speech of Alabama has been described as having two broad dialectal regions — a Northern variety with many Appalachian English features, and a Southern variety that more closely aligns with lowland Coastal Southern varieties (Foscue, 1971, Pedersen et al. 1986-1993). In previous work, Author (2019) supported this historical isogloss, but noted that the intrastate differences were driven by rural speakers. Rural speakers had more features of the Southern Vowel Shift (SVS), greater monophthongization of /aɪ/, and other features more associated with upland Southern and Appalachian varieties. The current paper seeks to determine if the Northern/Southern difference holds for other features, namely prosodic rhythm. Prosodic rhythm differences have been identified in many national, regional, and social varieties of English. Thomas and Carter (2006) found that prosodic rhythm distinguished several varieties spoken in North Carolina, with Hispanic English and Jamaican English more syllable-timed than European American or African American Englishes. However, earlier African American English from ex-slave recordings was more syllable-timed than later varieties. Cogshall (2008) noted that Cherokee English varieties in NC were more syllable-timed than co-regional European American varieties. Clopper and Smiljanic (2015) discussed differences among Southern U.S. speakers and Northern and Western U.S. speakers. Author (2018) outlined how an Appalachian variety from TN was more stress-timed than other Southern U.S. varieties, and how speakers who were more rooted to place had the most stress-timed productions. Data for the present paper are drawn from sociolinguistic interviews with 37 female speakers (35 White, 1 Black, 1 Biracial) from across Alabama (20 Northern [9 rural], 17 Southern [7 rural]). This study focuses on reading passages from the interview. Each passage was recorded, orthographically transcribed, and force-aligned using DARLA (Reddy and Stanford, 2015). The durations of adjacent syllables were calculated to obtain normalized Pairwise Variability Index (nPVI) values (Grabe and Low, 2002). This measure evaluates the durational variability of consecutive syllables, where a greater number indicates more variability (i.e., more stress-timing) while a smaller number indicates less variability (i.e., more syllable-timing). Results show a small but robust difference for nPVI as the Southern speakers' average was 46.3, while the Northern speakers' was 48 ($p=0.07$), as shown in Figure 1. Results move to being statistically significant when comparing speakers from the LAGS' Upland South/Appalachian area to the rest of AL. The rural/urban difference was not significant. These results suggest that nPVI and prosodic rhythm in Alabama might be orthogonal to the regional vowel variation of the SVS, which was more a marker of ecology — rural vs. urban. In the present study, prosodic differences maintain historic regional delineations. Present results support previous work, where Appalachian varieties are prosodically distinct from lowland Southern US varieties. Thus, prosodic rhythm can distinguish regional varieties, even varieties that are geographically close.

A tale of three continents: Subject pronoun expression in Portuguese dialects.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Portuguese dialects differ markedly in rates of subject pronoun expression (SPE). Rates of use of overt pronouns in Brazil are especially high – double those in Portugal. Prior research has reported some dialect differences in linguistic constraints and social distribution. In this paper, we present results of a comparative study of SPE in five Lusophone cities in Europe, Africa and South America: Lisbon and Funchal in Portugal, Maputo in Mozambique, and Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in Brazil (Table 1). All data are from sociolinguistic interviews. Cognitive conditions on pronoun expression are comparable across all dialects. As in most studies of SPE, overt pronouns are favored when the prior clause subject has a different referent (reference continuity) and when it is an overt pronoun (priming). One internal linguistic constraint is also the same: all dialects have more pronoun expression in subordinate than main clauses. Other linguistic constraints, however, differ across dialects. Verbal tense/mood/aspect has no significant effect in Mozambique, but the other dialects all have the lowest rate in the saliently inflected preterite. Also the imperfect is most favorable for SPE in Portugal, but not significantly different from present tense in Brazil. For person/number, plurals have fewer overt pronouns than singulars in all dialects, but second persons differ, indicating differing social norms for terms of address. In Maputo, 2nd-singular polite *você* is the most favorable singular person and familiar *tu* the least favorable. In Lisbon and Funchal, the reverse is true. In the Brazilian cities, *tu* is not used and *você* has the highest SPE rate. For first person plural, an innovative pronoun *a gente* is competing with historical *nós*; *a gente* is diffusing from Brazil, where it accounts for 78% of 1pl references, to Portugal, where it is 12% and Mozambique, 6%. The dialects also differ in the social distribution of the variable. In Brazil and Portugal, no significant effects of age or education are evident, but gender is significant, with higher pronoun rates for women than men (Table 2). An interaction of age and gender is evident in Lisbon: the gender difference is significant only for younger speakers, and only in local persons (1sg and 2sg), suggesting changes in gendered politeness norms. Maputo has a markedly different social distribution. Gender is not significant, but age and education are inversely correlated with pronoun expression. Higher rates among younger and less educated speakers indicate a change in progress towards increasing pronoun expression. As a multilingual African country, Mozambique has a very different demographic profile. Although Portuguese has official status, it is spoken by only half the population, and is L1 for only 17%. Pronoun rates indicate generational change since independence in 1975. Our three age groups constitute people born before, around the time of, and well after independence, respectively. The pre-independence generation have a pronoun rate identical to Lisbon, 31%. We suggest the change reflects gradual reduction in European influence as knowledge of Portuguese expands through the population.

Author Translation

Os dialetos portugueses diferem acentuadamente nas taxas de expressão do sujeito pronominal (ESP). As taxas de uso de pronomes plenos são especialmente altas no Brasil — o dobro daquelas em Portugal. Pesquisas anteriores relataram algumas diferenças dialetais em restrições linguísticas e distribuição social. Neste artigo, apresentamos os resultados de um estudo comparativo de ESP em cinco cidades lusófonas na Europa, África e América do Sul: Lisboa e Funchal, Portugal, Maputo, Moçambique e Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo, Brasil (Tabela 1). As condições cognitivas na expressão do pronome são comparáveis em todos os dialetos. O pronome pleno é favorecido quando o sujeito da cláusula anterior é um pronome pleno (priming) ou tem um referente diferente (continuidade de referência). Uma restrição linguística interna também é a mesma: todos os dialetos têm mais pronome pleno em cláusulas subordinadas do que principais. Mas outras restrições linguísticas diferem entre os dialetos. O tempo/modo/aspecto verbal é sem significância em Moçambique, mas tem efeitos significativos nos outros dialetos: o pretérito tem a menor taxa; o imperfeito é mais favorável em Portugal, mas equivalente ao presente no Brasil. No caso de pessoa/número, os plurais exibem menos pronomes plenos do que os singulares em todos os dialetos, mas na segunda pessoa eles diferem, indicando normas sociais diferentes para tratamento. Em Maputo, o pronome polido *você* é a pessoa singular mais favorável e o familiar *tu* a menos favorável. Em Lisboa e Funchal, é o inverso. Nas cidades brasileiras, *tu* não é usado e *você* tem a maior taxa pronominal. Na primeira pessoa do plural, um pronome inovador *a gente* compete com o histórico *nós*; *a gente* está se difundindo do Brasil, onde constitui 78% das referências a 1pl, para Portugal, onde é 12% e Moçambique, 6%. Os dialetos também diferem na distribuição social da variável. Em Portugal e Brasil não há efeitos significativos de idade ou educação, mas gênero é significativo, com taxas de pronomes mais altas para mulheres do que para homens (Tabela 2). Uma interação de idade e gênero é evidente em Lisboa: a

diferença de gênero é significativa apenas para falantes mais jovens e as pessoas locais (1sg, 2sg), sugerindo mudanças nas normas de polidez. Maputo tem uma distribuição social marcadamente diferente. O gênero não é significativo, mas idade e educação correlacionam inversamente com a taxa pronominal. Taxas mais altas entre falantes mais jovens e menos educados indicam uma mudança no progresso em direção ao aumento de pronomes plenos. Como um país africano multilíngue, Moçambique tem um perfil demográfico muito diferente. Embora o português tenha status oficial, é falado por apenas metade da população e é L1 para apenas 17%. Os resultados indicam uma mudança geracional desde a independência em 1975. Nossos três grupos etários constituem pessoas nascidas antes, por volta, e bem depois da independência, respectivamente. A geração pré-independência tem uma taxa pronominal idêntica à de Lisboa, 31%. Sugerimos que a mudança reflete a redução gradual da influência europeia à medida que o conhecimento do português se expande pela população.

The Metapragmatic Meanings of the Use of *Boku*: A Case Study of the Japanese Female Singer Ano-chan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While the Japanese first-person pronoun *boku* is traditionally perceived as masculine, recent studies have shown that this convention has been challenged by various Japanese speakers (Miyazaki 2002 and 2004; Hanoka 2020). For example, Miyazaki (2023) reported that girls at a high school in Japan utilized masculine first-person pronouns *boku* and *ore* in their social world to create new indexicalities and established new metapragmatic meanings. These girls considered *boku* to be gender appropriate, while they regarded their use of *ore* as cool, powerful, independent, and assertive. They also interpreted feminine first-person pronouns *watashi* and *atashi* as too ‘girly’ for them. This case at the Japanese high school have shown how the traditional linkage between gender and language can be broken. However, such convention-breaking situation does not only occur in the context of high school classrooms but also extend to the entertainment industry. This paper reports a case study of the use of first-person masculine pronoun *boku* by the famous Japanese female singer Ano-chan. This study aims to address the following research questions: 1) Does Ano-chan use first-person pronoun other than *boku*? If yes, in what situations? 2) What motivated her to change her use of first-person pronoun to *boku*? 3) What are the metapragmatic meanings of her use of *boku*? This study analyzed Ano-chan’s use of *boku* from the following four sources: (1) 10 episodes of the Japanese TV program Ano Channel hosted by Ano-chan, (2) 4 guest interviews, (3) 19 song lyrics written by Ano-chan, and (4) 2 live videos. Also consulted, in addition, are social media posts regarding her use of *boku*. The result: Ano-chan uses only the non-traditional first-person pronoun *boku*. There was no trace of the traditional first-person pronouns *watashi* and *atashi* and the non-traditional first-person pronoun *ore* in her speech. Table 1 shows the results from the main sources. Interestingly, this study found that the feminine sense of using the traditional first-person pronoun *watashi* was the major motivating factor for her change. In a social media post, Ano-chan indicated that wanting to be neutral and surviving in the entertainment industry were the ‘reasons’ for using *boku* in lieu of *watashi* and *atashi*. Furthermore, in a later post and in a guest interview, she stated that using *boku* is a “cool thing.” Given these ‘reasons,’ Ano-chan’s use of *boku* indexes neutrality, survival, and coolness in her social world. This study not only reveals the metapragmatic meanings of Ano-cho’s use of *boku*, such as neutral and cool, but also unveils the metapragmatic meaning of ‘too feminine’ as the reason for choosing not to use the traditional first-person pronoun *watashi*. Hence, adding to Miyazaki’s (2023) findings on the use of *boku*, this study shows that Ano-chan’s use of *boku* creates an additional set of indexicalities. The findings of this paper offer further insight into the evolving use of first-person pronouns in Japanese, highlighting how gender norms and identity are navigated and negotiated in both public and private spheres.

Changing boundaries: Evidence from Northern Cities Shift categorical perception in Michigan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

INTRODUCTION: Whereas previous studies find that the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) is a linguistic indicator (e.g., Labov, 2010), recent work has shown that the NCS is stylistically conditioned in production (Thiel and Dinkin, 2020). Our study tests whether NCS perception is conditioned by talker (profession and dialect) and listener (age) characteristics. Specifically, we examine the categorical perception of LOT-fronting by Lower Michigan English speakers, where retraction of raised TRAP toward LOT is underway (Wagner et al., 2016). Previous categorical perception work in Michigan English demonstrates that LOT is perceived as TRAP sooner for the talker with the NCS than the one without it (Plichta, 2004). Given recent reversal and stylistic findings, we predict that (a) listener age will condition perceptual boundary, and (b) talker dialect and profession will interact such that retracted TRAP will be perceived in the white collar condition versus the blue collar condition for the talker with the NCS.

METHODOLOGY: 58 participants from Lower Michigan (18-37 yo: 19, 38-57 yo: 20, 58+ yo: 19) completed a categorical perception task consisting of two stimuli blocks in carrier sentences recorded by two talkers: one with and one without the NCS. Participants categorized the target word as being “sock” or “sack”. Stimuli were taken from Plichta (2004) and create a 7-step continuum. Participants were told that the talkers in the blue collar block were local grocers and that talkers in the white collar block were local lawyers. Blocks were counterbalanced across participants. A mixed-effects logistic regression predicting “sack” responses was run with all factor permutations of profession, dialect, age, continuum step, and a random intercept for participant.

RESULTS: We find that participants hear “sock” more often regardless of continuum step (Figure 1). However, “sack” response increases as continuum step increases ($p < 0.0001$) and occurs more frequently for the NCS talker compared to the non-NCS talker ($p = 0.0017$). Furthermore, there is no statistically significant difference between the lawyer and grocer conditions for either talker (Figure 2). Finally, younger participants hear “sock” more often than “sack” for the NCS talker in comparison to other factor combinations ($p = 0.0303$), and there is no significant age to profession interaction (Figure 3).

DISCUSSION: The significant dialect and insignificant profession results suggest that LOT-fronting is an indicator. Additionally, increased “sack” responses for the NCS talker versus the non-NCS talker may reflect that listeners expect a fronted LOT from the NCS talker and thus over-generalize LOT to TRAP. Similar to work on categorical perception by Chicago listeners (cf. D’Onofrio, 2021), our results show that when listening to the NCS talker, younger Michiganders hear “sock” more frequently than “sack” in comparison to older participants. And, in comparison to Plichta’s (2004) cross-over points, there is no point where “sack” is heard more often than “sock” for most of the listeners in this study. This suggests a real time change in Michigander perceptual category boundary.

From zero to hero: sociophonetic variation in the voicing of Reformed Villains in Japanese anime

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociolinguistic research in recent years has increasingly highlighted the role of voice quality in indexing attributes and affective stances (Pratt 2023). Prior work on vocal performances in animated works argues that voice quality plays a particularly key role in the portrayal of characters given the limited visual affordances of the genre (Starr 2015). The present study of Japanese anime voices examines the role of voice quality in the performance of Reformed Villains, referring to a type of character who shifts from a villainous to heroic role over the course of the programme. As the voice actors of Reformed Villains typically reprise their roles post-reformation, this means that both the characters' villain and hero voices are performed by the same voice actor, thus providing a unique setting in which to investigate the correspondence between specific voice quality features and associated social meanings. This study examines four Reformed Villain characters, selecting one male and one female character each from *One Piece* and *Fairy Tail*, both shōnen anime television programmes (a genre aimed at young men). A vocal profile indicating the phonation type of each token (modal, breathy and harsh) for each character's voice was created through impressionistic coding, while instrumental acoustic analysis was carried out to measure F0 and six acoustic parameters (H1*-H2*, H1*-A1*, H1*-A3*, HNR and CPP). The findings suggest that pitch and the proportion of phonation types employed in each voice were manipulated to convey differing moral alignment, signaling the identity shift from villain to hero. Overall, an increase in average pitch and proportion of breathy and modal phonation, as well as a decrease in harsh phonation across both male and female characters, was observed when characters shifted from villainous to heroic alignment. It was further observed that a Reformed Villain's hero voice is dominantly modal, unlike the typical shōnen anime protagonist vocal style, which features breathy phonation. One exception to this modal trend was a female character who dramatically increased in breathy phonation; this may reflect her evolution into a main character, in contrast to the other characters under examination, who remained in supporting roles. This analysis demonstrates how voice quality features serve as building blocks in the construction of a character's identity and the powerful function of voice in conveying social meaning, particularly in contexts where other semiotic cues are limited.

Measuring sibilants in speech & sexuality research: beyond spectral moments

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study analyzes sociophonetic variation in sibilant place for 48 Bay Area speakers. I compare spectral moments to Major Peaks Analysis (MPA) [1], which incorporates recent criticisms of the former [2]. I look at /s/ due its observed correlations with sexual orientation (e.g., [3], [4]), high social manipulability, and minimal physiological limitations, plus /ʃ/ (e.g., [5]), given its gender-sensitive relationship with /s/ [8], to probe for additional social variation. Much sociophonetic work on sexuality has perpetuated that sexuality groups are homogeneous and static (cf. [7], [8]). To expand the discussion of how social factors may interact to capture sibilant variation, the present study accordingly incorporates a wider demographic range, highlighting bi+ (bisexual, pansexual, queer, etc.) and non-binary speakers, and exploring the impact of race/ethnicity, place of origin, L1s, and socioeconomic background. Participants attended in pairs and completed a Map Task; the "Information Giver" then had a sociolinguistic interview. All were invited to return and swap roles; 44 were interviewed. Recordings from both tasks were auto-transcribed using Otter.ai, forced-aligned using the Montreal Forced Aligner [9], and hand-checked. Tokens less than 50 ms or within stop words were excluded. With f0 below 300 Hz filtered out, I took the first three spectral moments. For Major Peaks Analysis, I extracted the first "formant" of the cavity in front of the fricative constriction (Fm) and its amplitude (Am). Results were modeled using lmer() in R; significant results for social factors are reported below. /s/ COG results were lower (backer) for men and non-binary speakers but higher for bi+ men. East Asian and Latinx speakers had a higher /s/ standard deviation (fronter), while it was lower for Afro-Latinx, mixed-race, and Mandarin-bilingual speakers and those with origins throughout the US and in Central/South America. For /ʃ/, ace+, bi+, and sapphic speakers produced a higher SD, while non-binary speakers had lower values. Non-binary and bi+ women

speakers produced both segments with higher SD. Sapphic and women speakers as well as those with East Asian origins produced a higher /s/ skew (fronter), while non-binary speakers produced it backer. Bi+ feminine speakers had lower /s/ skew. For Fm, the phone by sexuality interaction was significant: bi+ speakers produced a backer /s/. For Am, a duration by sexuality interaction emerged: gay speakers produced a higher-amplitude /s/ with increased duration. Duration and amplitude may thus be stronger cues to sexuality than place of articulation. These results suggest that spectral moments and MPA paint distinct pictures of the meaningful sibilant variation in this data. All three moments yielded multiple axes of social variation; hence some variation previously attributed to gender and sexuality alone may correlate with other social factors. However, given Shadle's [2] observations that moments are affected by not only "filter" characteristics like place, but also "source" characteristics like effort level and position in the segment, the MPA results may be more reliable. Further research should consider if consistent parameter adjustments can improve the reliability of moments and explore MPA with other speech styles.

Author Translation

Este estudio analiza la variación sociofonética en la articulación de sibilantes en 48 hablantes del Área de la Bahía. Comparo los momentos espectrales con el Análisis de Picos Mayores (APM) [1, 2]. Investigo la /s/ debido a sus correlaciones con la orientación sexual [3, 4] y limitaciones fisiológicas mínimas, además de /f/ [5, 8] para investigar variaciones sociales adicionales. La literatura sociofonética ha perpetuado que los grupos de sexualidad son homogéneos y estáticos (cf. [7, 8]). Para ampliar la discusión, el presente estudio incorpora un rango demográfico más amplio y explora el impacto de la raza/origen étnico, lugar de origen, L1s y origen socioeconómico. Los participantes asistieron en parejas; los datos incluyeron grabaciones de Tareas de Mapa (n=43) y entrevistas sociolingüísticas individuales (n=44). Se transcribieron usando Otter.ai y se alinearon usando MFA [9]. Se excluyeron palabras vacías y los tokens de menos de 50 ms. Con f0 por debajo de 300 Hz filtrado, tomé los primeros tres momentos espectrales. Para el análisis de APM, extraje el primer "formante" de la cavidad delante de la constricción fricativa (Fm) y su amplitud (Am). Los resultados se modelaron utilizando lmer() en R; A continuación se presentan resultados significativos para factores sociales. Para /s/, el COG fue más bajo para los hombres y no binarios, pero más alto para los hombres bi+. El desviación estándar (DS) fue mayor para los hablantes de Asia Oriental y Latinx, pero menor para los hablantes afrolatinx y de raza mezclada; bilingües en mandarín; y con orígenes en los EE.UU. y América del Sur. Para /f/, la DS fue más alta para los hablantes ace+, bi+ y sáfico, pero más bajos para los hablantes no binarios. Los no binarios y bi+ produjeron ambos segmentos con una DS más alta. La oblicuidad (skew) fue mayor para los sáficos, mujeres y aquellos con orígenes en Asia Oriental, pero menor para los no binarios y las femeninas bi+. Para Fm, fue una interacción entre fono y sexualidad: los hablantes bi+ produjeron la /f/ más atrás. Para Am, surgió una interacción de duración por sexualidad: los hablantes homosexuales produjeron una /s/ de mayor amplitud con mayor duración. Por tanto, la duración y la amplitud pueden ser señales más fuertes de la sexualidad que el lugar de articulación. Estos resultados sugieren que los momentos espectrales y el APM pintan imágenes distintas de la variación sibilante significativa en estos datos. Los tres momentos produjeron múltiples ejes de variación social; por lo tanto, algunas variaciones previamente atribuidas únicamente al género y la sexualidad pueden correlacionarse con otros factores sociales. Sin embargo, dadas las observaciones de Shadle [2] de que los momentos se ven afectados no sólo por características de "filtro" como el lugar, sino también por características de "fuente" como el nivel de esfuerzo y la posición en el segmento, los resultados del APM pueden ser más confiables. Investigaciones futuras deberían considerar si los ajustes consistentes de los parámetros pueden mejorar la confiabilidad de los momentos y explorar el APM con otros estilos de habla.

Vowel spaces in speech of heritage Russian speakers in Toronto

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Some studies show that heritage speakers demonstrate a convergence between heritage and dominant language grammars on a phonetic level (Asherov et al., 2016; Godson, 2004; Łyskawa et al., 2016). This exploratory study of six stressed vowels in a heritage Russian community in Toronto shows that heritage Russian speakers can resist at least some influence from dominant English. The study tests the hypothesis (Poplack & Meechan, 1998; Godson, 2004) that heritage language vowels that have similar counterparts in dominant language will be prone to convergence, while the ones without close counterparts will remain stable (show minimal variation across generations, i.e. stay homeland-like). The data for this research comes from the Heritage Language Variation and Change Corpus (Nagy, 2009). The corpus contains recordings of sociolinguistic interviews with three generations of heritage Russian speakers of both Russian and Jewish heritage, which allows me to examine the vowel spaces depending on gender, generation and ethnicity. The list of speakers available in the corpus is summarized in the Table 1. The vowels in the recordings were aligned using the Montreal Forced Aligner (MFA; McAuliffe et al., 2017). F1 and F2 were measured at the midpoint of each vowel. Measurements were normalised using the Nearey individual log means method (Nearey, 1978). For the statistical analysis I used a mixed effects model in R. Linguistic variables included type of preceding and following consonant. For this study, all consonants following the vowel are non-palatalized. The extralinguistic or social variables are the speakers' generation, gender, age, and ethnicity (Russian vs. Jewish). In total I analysed 1372 vowels across three generations of Russian heritage speakers. The analysis showed several trends, the most significant of them being the following. First, the high and mid front vowels (i, e, ɪ) are exceptionally stable, which I argue is because of the maintenance of the Russian vowel /i/, which has no English counterpart. Thus, my study supports Godson's (2004) findings and might signal that heritage Russian speakers in Toronto resist at least some influence from dominant English. Second, there is a presence of significant /u/-fronting compared to the homeland variety. I argue that this is a clear example of contact-induced interference with the dominant language as according to Hall & Maddeux (2020) U-fronting after labial and velar consonants is an active change in progress in Toronto English (Hall & Maddeux, 2020). U-fronting is the most pronounced in Gen2 speakers that can be explained by them focusing on creating more local Torontonians identity even in heritage language. Lastly, the results did not show any Canadian Shift-like variation. Therefore, this study of heritage phonetics provides some insights on how the sound systems of dominant and heritage language interact, and what factors can play a role in interlanguage transfer.

Cross-linguistic Laryngeal Contrasts in a Multilingual Speech Community: Voice Onset Time among multilingual speakers in Malaysia

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Prior work on sociolinguistic variation in Malaysia has taken a primarily ethnolectal approach, associating certain repertoires and varieties with the country's Malay majority and Chinese and Indian minority groups (Phoon et al. 2013, Ng & Chiew 2023). Within these ethnic communities, however, speakers differ substantially in their patterns of language exposure and other factors that may yield intra-group differences in language use. Within this context, we investigate the effects of language dominance, education experience, and linguistic repertoire on cross-linguistic productions of stop laryngeal contrasts across Malay, English, and Mandarin (Table 1) by multilingual Malaysian speakers. 50 speakers across four groups (Table 2) participated in this study, yielding an overall count of 8142 wordlist tokens (Malay: 3000, English: 3540, Mandarin: 1602). Mixed-effects regression models were used for analysis, with Voice Onset Time (VOT) as a linear response variable for voiceless stops and voicing type (full/partial/voiceless) as a categorical variable used for voiced stops. The findings indicate effects of language dominance and education experience conditioned by specific target languages and voicing categories (Fig.1-2). Dominant language effects are observed in the interaction between phonetically distinct languages: Chinese-dominant speakers show transfer effects in the production of Malay with longer VOT

for /p,t,k/ ($p=.04$) and lesser fully voiced /b,d,g/ ($p<.0001$). Additionally, participants from Chinese-medium schools showed significantly more outlier /p,t,k/ productions (Chi.C-tri: $p=.007$ / Chi.E-tri: $p=.02$), attesting to effects of education experience. Meanwhile, Malay-dominant speakers show transfer effects in the production of English with shorter VOT for /p,t,k/ ($p<.0001$). Notably absent were differences between English- and Chinese-dominant groups in the English (voiceless: $p=.63$ /voiced: $p=.17$) and Mandarin data (unasp: $p=.26$ /asp: $p=.09$), which suggests a facilitative effect between two aspiring languages. The lack of difference in the Mandarin data may also arise from the English-dominant trilingual group's participation in community norms among Chinese Malaysians despite differences in language dominance. Taken together, these patterns paint a complex picture of variation conditioned by multiple factors, echoing previous arguments that ethnicity alone is insufficient to capture variation in diverse settings (Eckert 2008, Becker 2014, Starr & Balasubramaniam 2019). Within a multiethnic, multilingual speech community, it is crucial to account for the role of prior linguistic experience and dominance in shaping language use.

Chirps of Change: Using Twitter to Predict Sociophonetic Evolution in French

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Phrase-final fricative epithesis (EFPF) is a phenomenon in French varieties in which utterance-final vowels lose voicing and produce intense fricative-like whistles, e.g., *mais oui hhh* (Fónagy, 1989). Research suggests that EFPF's structural, prosodic, and phonological preferences consistently favor high vowels in open syllables with falling intonation and statement-final position (Fagyal & Moisset, 1999; Smith, 2003; 2006). The variable has been associated with Parisians and women (Smith, 2006; Fagyal & Moisset, 1999), the middle class (Paternostro, 2008; Fagyal, 2010), L2 speakers (Dalola & Bullock, 2017; Dalola, 2014), the young and old (Fagyal & Moisset, 1999), residents of Lyon and Strasbourg (Dalola, 2014), and French-speaking news anchors both in- and outside of France (Candea et al., 2013; Candea, 2012; Paternostro, 2008). Perceptually, EFPF has been found to mark Formality and Intense Affect (Dalola, 2022). These findings were later compared to a 2060-token EFPF Twitter corpus, revealing gender differences, with men using EFPF more often to mark Formality and women Intense Affect. This also interacted with lexical frequency, with women applying EFPF to lower-frequency words in non-final positions than men. Both women and men used the variable outside of final position on Twitter, often attaching it to multiple words in a single tweet for expressive effect. This study aims to investigate EFPF's wider distribution on Twitter to better understand if its presence in digital vernacular contexts is motivated by the visually-centric norms of digital platforms or loosening prosodic constraints in spoken French more generally. 40 speakers of French participated in a reading task, in which they were presented with 12 tweet-style microtexts and asked to voice aloud all contents in a natural manner to a listener. The 12 microtexts collectively featured 4 different types of EFPF distribution: 3 with no EFPF, 3 with EFPF constituent-finally, 3 with EFPF constituent-finally + 1 other non-constituent-final location, and 3 with EFPF attached to all words in the tweet. The three conditions of each distribution type also comprised a range of different graphical representations of the EFPF variable, e.g. *-hhh*, *-shh*, *-chh*. Presence of EFPF was assessed in Praat. Binary measures of EFPF presence were submitted to a logistic mixed-model regression with gender, perceptual category (formality, intense affect), distribution type, and graphical representation as independent variables. Results suggest a main effect for gender, such that women were 43% more likely to realize EFPF in target words appearing in non-final distribution types than men ($p<0.01$). There was also an interaction between distribution type and graphical representation, such that EFPFs written as *-chh* were realized at higher rates in all positions than those written with the other graphical representations ($p<0.001$). These results suggest that constraints surrounding EFPF realization in spoken French may be loosening, with women leading its use in non-constituent-final positions, and that a preferred written convention for marking the sociophonetic variable may be emergent. This work

has implications for sociophonetics and language change because it marks a real-time instance of the formalization and constraint loosening of a sociophonetic variable with a robust orthographic life in digital vernacular environments.

Author Translation

La epítesis de fricativa en posición final de frase (EFPF) es un fenómeno en variedades del francés en el cual las vocales finales de un enunciado pierden sonoridad y producen silbidos intensos parecidos a fricativas, por ejemplo, *mais oui_hhh*. La investigación sugiere que las preferencias estructurales, prosódicas y fonológicas de la EFPF consistentemente favorecen vocales altas en sílabas abiertas, con entonación descendente y en posición final de enunciado. La variable se ha asociado con parisinos y mujeres, la clase media, hablantes de L2, jóvenes y mayores, residentes de Lyon y Estrasburgo, y presentadores de noticias de habla francesa tanto dentro como fuera de Francia. Perceptualmente, se ha encontrado que la EFPF marca la Formalidad y el Afecto Intenso. Estos hallazgos fueron comparados posteriormente con un corpus de EFPF en Twitter de 2060 tokens, revelando diferencias de género, con los hombres usando EFPF más frecuentemente para marcar Formalidad y las mujeres Afecto Intenso. Esto también interactuó con la frecuencia léxica, con las mujeres aplicando EFPF a palabras de menor frecuencia en posiciones no finales más que los hombres. Tanto mujeres como hombres usaron la variable fuera de la posición final en Twitter, a menudo adjuntándola a múltiples palabras en un solo tweet para un efecto expresivo. Este estudio tiene como objetivo investigar la distribución más amplia de la EFPF en Twitter para entender mejor si su presencia en contextos de habla digital está motivada por las normas centradas en lo visual de las plataformas digitales o por el relajamiento de las restricciones prosódicas en el francés hablado en general. Participaron 40 hablantes de francés en una tarea de lectura, en la que se les presentaron 12 microtextos estilo tweet y se les pidió que leyeran en voz alta todo el contenido de manera natural a un oyente. Los 12 microtextos presentaban colectivamente 4 tipos diferentes de distribución de EFPF (sin EFPF, con EFPF en posición final de constituyente, con EFPF en posición final + 1 otra ubicación no final, y con EFPF adjunto a todas las palabras del tweet). Las tres condiciones de cada tipo de distribución también comprendían una variedad de diferentes representaciones gráficas de la variable EFPF, por ejemplo, *-hhh*, *-shh*, *-chh*. Las medidas binarias de la presencia de EFPF se sometieron a una regresión mixta logística con género, categoría perceptual, tipo de distribución y representación gráfica como variables independientes. Los resultados sugieren un efecto principal de género, de modo que las mujeres tenían un 43% más de probabilidades de realizar EFPF en palabras objetivo que aparecían en tipos de distribución no finales en comparación con los hombres ($p < 0.01$). Estos resultados sugieren que las restricciones en torno a la realización de EFPF en el francés hablado pueden estar relajándose, con las mujeres liderando su uso en posiciones no finales de constituyente. Este trabajo tiene implicaciones para la sociofonética y el cambio lingüístico porque marca una instancia en tiempo real de la formalización y relajamiento de restricciones de una variable sociofonética con una vida ortográfica robusta en entornos de habla digital.

Negotiating and enacting multilingualism in expatriate communities: English in the ‘Fifth Switzerland’ as a case in point

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While the traditional Swiss language-landscape is dominated by four national languages (German, French, Italian, Rhaetoromansh), the ‘fifth’ Switzerland has added a plethora of migrant communities brought into the country by expatriate communities (Glaser & Kabatek 2024). Within the last two generations, English has established itself as the most widely-spoken non-local language in Switzerland and is currently the self-reported home language of ca. 478’000 residents in Switzerland (BFS Admin 2022). Moreover, due to its appeal as an international language, English is spoken at work by nearly 25% of the Swiss workforce, which underscores its function as a *lingua franca*. Multilingualism is an every-day experience

for many anglophone expatriates who leave their multilingual countries of origin to settle in Switzerland, thus finding themselves in new domains where speaking several languages is the norm (Ferry-Meystre & O'Regan 2022). This paper reports first results of the *Language Attitudes in the Swiss Anglophone Diaspora* (LASAD) project, with a focus on the resident South African community. We explore how attitudes to language vitality and societal multilingualism are affected by an additional multilingual (migrant) experience, and how South Africans evaluate their traditionally held opinions vis-à-vis attitudes toward Swiss languages such as French, German or Italian. Based on the understanding that identity is multifaceted and a construct of socio-cultural environments (Buchholtz & Hall 2010: 18-19), we are interested in the extent to which attitudes towards English, Afrikaans and African languages are used as an expression of identity, both within the expatriate community and beyond. With this aim, we use Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978: 6) and consider social identity as a self-concept, derived from the awareness of belonging/membership to a certain social group and the emotions and significance attached to that membership. Using sociolinguistic and perceptual evidence, drawing on quantitative and qualitative methods in form of an online questionnaire and a language attitudes interview (Bellamy 2022; Kircher 2022), we report how South Africans reevaluate and -negotiate their attitudes towards English, Afrikaans and African languages spoken in their home country and how they engage in attitudes towards the national languages of Switzerland and the local (Swiss-)German dialects. While there is a strong tendency to primarily or exclusively use English in the workplace, participants express a desire that local languages should also be used. We also show that there is an ambivalent relationship with the diglossic situation involving Swiss German and Standard German. While there is no evidence that the two are perceived differently in terms of criteria such as 'charming' and 'friendly', there is a strong belief that High German should be spoken in the workplace. South Africans in Switzerland enact local perceptions toward Swiss and High German and see less value in other national languages such as Italian and French, which will be sociolinguistically assessed in terms of national cohesion and English as an international *lingua franca*.

Author Translation

Enquanto a paisagem linguística tradicional da Suíça é dominada por quatro línguas nacionais (alemão, francês, italiano, reitoromano), a "quinta" Suíça acrescentou uma infinidade de comunidades migrantes trazidas para o país pelas comunidades expatriadas (Glaser & Kabatek 2024). Nas duas últimas gerações, o inglês estabeleceu-se como a língua não local mais falada na Suíça e é atualmente a língua materna declarada por cerca de 478 000 residentes na Suíça (BFS Admin 2022). Além disso, devido à sua atração como língua internacional, o inglês é falado no trabalho por cerca de 25% da força de trabalho suíça, o que sublinha a sua função de língua franca. O multilinguismo é uma experiência quotidiana para muitos expatriados anglófonos que deixam os seus países de origem multilingues para se estabelecerem na Suíça, encontrando-se assim em novos domínios onde falar várias línguas é a norma (Ferry-Meystre & O'Regan 2022). Este artigo relata os primeiros resultados do projeto Language Attitudes in the Swiss Anglophone Diaspora (LASAD), com foco na comunidade sul-africana residente. Exploramos a forma como as atitudes em relação à vitalidade da língua e ao multilinguismo social são afectadas por uma experiência multilingue adicional (migrante) e como os sul-africanos avaliam as suas opiniões tradicionais em relação às atitudes face às línguas suíças, como o francês, o alemão ou o italiano. Com base no entendimento de que a identidade é multifacetada e uma construção de ambientes socioculturais (Buchholtz & Hall 2010: 18-19), estamos interessados em saber até que ponto as atitudes em relação ao inglês, ao africâner e às línguas africanas são utilizadas como expressão de identidade, tanto na comunidade de expatriados como fora dela. Com este objetivo, utilizamos a Teoria da Identidade Social (Tajfel 1978: 6) e consideramos a identidade social como um autoconceito, derivado da consciência de pertencer a um determinado grupo social e das emoções e significado associados a essa pertença. Utilizando provas sociolinguísticas e perceptivas, com base em métodos quantitativos e qualitativos sob a forma de um questionário em linha e de uma entrevista sobre atitudes linguísticas (Bellamy 2022; Kircher 2022), relatamos como os sul-africanos reavaliam e renegociam as suas atitudes em relação ao inglês, ao africâner e às línguas africanas faladas no seu país de origem e como se envolvem em atitudes em relação às línguas nacionais da Suíça e aos dialectos locais (suíço-alemães). Embora exista uma forte tendência para utilizar principalmente ou exclusivamente o inglês no local de trabalho, os participantes expressam o desejo de que as línguas locais também sejam utilizadas. Mostramos também que existe uma relação ambivalente com a situação diglósica que envolve o suíço-alemão e o alemão-padrão. Embora não haja provas de que os dois sejam

percepcionados de forma diferente em termos de critérios como "encantador" e "amigável", existe uma forte convicção de que o alto alemão deve ser falado no local de trabalho. Os sul-africanos na Suíça adoptam percepções locais em relação ao suíço e ao alto alemão e vêem menos valor noutras línguas nacionais, como o italiano e o francês, que serão avaliadas sociolinguisticamente em termos de coesão nacional e do inglês como língua franca internacional.

Explicit and Implicit Language Attitudes in Multilingual Contexts: The Case of Frisian and Dutch

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Abstract

Sociolinguistic perception research of the past two decades has investigated increasingly subconscious attitudes towards language variation by means of new methods to access below-awareness processing, such as priming and eye-tracking studies and **implicit association tasks** (e.g., Campbell-Kibler 2012; D'Onofrio 2016; Hay et al. 2019). This work has shown that often these perceptions do not match at different levels of consciousness, including more traditional 'implicit' measures like the matched guise technique. Surprisingly, novel implicit below-awareness methods have, as of yet, found less uptake in the investigation of language attitudes in multilingual contexts. The current paper explores the contribution these measures can make to mapping language attitudes more fully, by presenting a study of explicit and implicit attitudinal measures mapping bias between a minority language, Frisian, and majority language, Dutch. 112 participants took part in an online experiment which elicited explicit preferences through five-point Likert-scale questions, as well as implicit preferences through an Implicit Association Task (IAT; Greenwald et al. 1998). In the IAT, participants sorted normed stimuli into two categories: Frisian or Dutch words, and positive or negative emojis. In one critical condition of the experiment participants selected Frisian words and positive emojis with the same button and the same hand, and Dutch and negative emojis with the other, and in the other critical the combinations were switched. This task has been found to reliably measure below-awareness bias between two categories by taking a combined measure of accuracy and response time differences (D-scores; Greenwald et al. 2022). As shown in Figure 1, a bayesian regression analysis of these indicated:

- A moderate bias towards Frisian for speakers of Frisian in Fryslân (Estimate = -0.23; lower credibility interval at probability 95% = -0.39; upper credibility interval = -0.07; positive values indicated bias towards Dutch and negative values towards Frisian). This was in line with their explicit preference for Frisian (Median = -2, on a scale from strong Frisian preference (= -2) to strong Dutch preference (= 2)).
- No bias for speakers of Frisian outside of Fryslân (Est. = 0.02; lower CI = -0.24; upper CI = 0.28). This was not in line with their strong explicit preference for Frisian (Median = -2).
- A moderate bias towards Dutch for non-speakers of Frisian within Fryslân (Est. = 0.49; lower CI = 0.11; upper CI = 0.89), not found in their explicit measures (Median = 0).
- A small bias towards Dutch for non-Frisian speakers outside of Fryslân (Est. = 0.29; lower CI = 0.03; upper CI = 0.56), also found in their explicit preferences (Median = 1).

The results suggest that there is relatively little implicit-explicit attitudinal discrepancy for participants in more stable linguistic circumstances: Frisian speakers in Fryslân, and non-speakers outside. However, a discrepancy exists for speakers in less stable linguistic circumstances (Frisian speakers outside and non-Frisian speakers within Fryslân), which may be in line with previous findings explicit attitudes may diverge from implicit ones when social change occurs (McKenzie & Carrie 2018).

Towards a holistic and dynamic approach to the identification of mergers and near mergers: Insights from perception and production of the MOAN-GOOSE merger in East Anglian English

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Abstract

This work is rooted in an observation by Labov et al. (1972) that in East Anglian English the MOAN phoneme /ɔu/ (descended from Middle English /ɔ:/) and the GOOSE phoneme /u:/ are in a state of “near merger”, distinguished only minimally by their offglides. This study extends to the domain of near mergers such as this the application of Generalised Additive Mixed Models (GAMMs), whose utility for studying vocalic mergers has been demonstrated in recent work (Warren, 2019; Stanley et al., 2021; Onosson, 2022), as they are capable of pinpointing significant differences in shape or height between two formant trajectories. Tokens of MOAN and GOOSE vowels were elicited from 30 East Anglian English speakers in minimal pairs, word lists, and spontaneous speech, and used to classify participants as either ‘merged’, ‘transitional’, or ‘distinct’. Formant trajectories consisting of eleven measurements were analysed using GAMMs to identify significant overlap in production and establish clear thresholds for merger. Three perception tasks – AX discrimination, AX minimal pair judgements and vowel-continuum categorisation – were used to identify perceptual merger and detect asymmetries indicative of near merger. Results from the AX discrimination task indicated variable merger in speech perception among older participants, who showed near or full merger in production, with a median ability to distinguish MOAN and GOOSE of 60%. In the AX judgement task, participants classified as variably or fully merged in production showed the lowest accuracy when judging their own speech, with most errors relating to pairs misjudged as ‘the same’ when produced with a distinction. The ID task results were the strongest indicator of a perceptual merger for this group, with a median boundary width score of 6 (0 = distinction, 6 = merger), indicating the absence of categorical perception. Middle-aged and young participants did not show evidence of perceptual merger. For participants who distinguished these vowels in production, GAMMs captured consistent differentiation via lowered F2 in the offglide of MOAN, while F1 remained merged or near-merged. Significant differences in F2 were observed only in the latter 50% of the trajectory. This finding mirrors Labov et al.’s (1972) results from five decades earlier, raising questions about the intergenerational transmission of near mergers. The study suggests that the MOAN-GOOSE merger did not reach completion in the community, as it was found to be variable in both production and perception for older speakers only. The results underscore the efficacy of GAMMs for detecting near mergers and emphasise the importance of dynamic approaches to acoustic analysis. By analysing full vowel trajectories, we capture crucial phonetic details within the offglide that static measurements can overlook. Furthermore, this study highlights the necessity of integrating multiple perception experiments into merger studies. While the ID task considered in isolation suggested full perceptual merger, the AX and AX judgement tasks exposed variable and near mergers. Adopting a multi-pronged approach can provide greater reliability in identifying the continuum from near to full merger, while reducing the risk of misinterpreting data when relying on a single perceptual measure.

The serpent’s tongue: Phonological variation and ideological constructions in an invented language

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Artificial languages are created with the intention of capturing a particular ideal or vision rather than serving a utilitarian function (Orkent, 2010), making them valuable sites for examining language ideologies that link phonetic features to societal power dynamics that privilege particular groups (Bianco, 2004). To better understand these ideologies, this study examines interspeaker phonic variation in an invented language, Parseltongue, which is inherited and used to communicate with serpents in J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series. We argue that, in leveraging sounds from languages outside of English, Parseltongue is constructed as 'dark', 'non-human', and 'unlearnable' by drawing on existing ideological links between these sounds and qualities such as 'foreign' and 'menacing' upheld in the British context. Using auditory and acoustic analyses, we outline the full phonetic inventory of spoken Parseltongue as produced by the six actors who use the language, which differs somewhat from the system proposed by English phonetician Dr Francis Nolan, who was consulted in the making of the films (Gándara Fernández, 2020). Additionally, we use descriptive statistics to examine interspeaker variation in Parseltongue. Our corpus contains all instances of spoken Parseltongue in the eight-part *Harry Potter* film series (total of 211 tokens) and includes seven vowels and 18 consonants, of which five (/ʌ ɕ x χ ɛ/) do not occur in standard Inner-Circle Englishes. Voldemort, the most 'evil' and least human character, uses the greatest proportion of these non-English sounds (19.4%), whereas the only character 'imitating' Parseltongue uses none. We trace these non-English sounds to their appearance in real-world languages and find that at least three of these sounds appear in the phonemic systems of certain Germanic and Celtic languages, as well as Jin and Sichuan Mandarin varieties, Russian, Japanese, and Korean, with /ʌ/ only appearing in Welsh. In the British context, these languages and language families are associated with national enemies (i.e., for Germanic languages, Nazis, and, for Mandarin and Russian, Communists and modern geopolitical enemies), groups of Orientalized or exoticized Others (i.e., East Asians), and regional minorities (i.e., Welsh speakers). Drawing on Eckert's (2008) indexical field, we argue that non-English phones appearing in Parseltongue become linked to ideologies of Orientalism and British Nationalism to anti-Fascism and qualities such as 'menacing', 'foreign', and 'less human' that are exploited to make the Parseltongue spoken by characters like Voldemort appear particularly evil, inhumane, and fantastical. That familiarity with a language is generally correlated with positive perceptions of that language (Anikin et al., 2023; Reiterer, 2020) only reinforces these indexical links. Our analysis demonstrates how the construction of an artificial language both reflects and reinforces social biases and relevant locally held ideologies that potentially even contribute to negative perceptions of non-English languages and their speakers. The choice of linguistic elements in constructing invented languages is not neutral and deserves critical examination.

Author Translation

Las lenguas artificiales se crean con la intención de capturar un ideal o visión particular en lugar de servir una función utilitaria (Orkent, 2010), por lo cual son sitios valiosos para examinar las ideologías lingüísticas que vinculan características fonéticas con dinámicas de poder que privilegian a ciertos grupos (Bianco, 2004). Para entender mejor estas ideologías, examinamos la variación fónica entre hablantes en un lenguaje inventado, el pársel, que se hereda y se utiliza para comunicarse con las serpientes en la serie de *Harry Potter* de J.K. Rowling. Al aprovechar sonidos de lenguas no inglesas, el pársel se construye como "oscuro", "no humano" e "inaprendible" al basarse en los vínculos ideológicos en el contexto británico entre estos sonidos y cualidades como "extranjero" y "amenazante". Tras análisis auditivos y acústicos, delineamos el inventario fonético completo del pársel hablado, según lo producido por los seis actores que usan el lenguaje, el cual difiere levemente del sistema propuesto por el fonetista inglés, Dr. Francis Nolan, consultado en la realización de las películas (Gándara Fernández, 2020). Además, con estadísticas descriptivas examinamos la variación interhablante en pársel. Nuestro corpus contiene todas las instancias de pársel hablado en la serie de ocho películas de *Harry Potter* (211 tokens) e incluye siete vocales y 18 consonantes, de las cuales cinco (/ʌ ɕ x χ ɛ/) no ocurren en las variedades del inglés estándar del Círculo Interno. Voldemort, el personaje más "malvado" y menos "humano", utiliza la mayor proporción de estos sonidos no ingleses (19.4%), mientras que el único personaje que "imita" el pársel no utiliza ninguno. Rastreamos estos sonidos no ingleses hasta su aparición en lenguas del mundo real y encontramos que al menos tres de estos sonidos aparecen en los sistemas fonémicos de ciertas lenguas germánicas y celtas, así como en variedades del mandarín jin y de sichuan, el ruso, el japonés y el coreano, mientras /ʌ/ solo aparece en el galés. En el contexto británico, estas lenguas y familias

lingüísticas están asociadas con enemigos nacionales (para las lenguas germánicas, los nazis, y para el mandarín y el ruso, los comunistas y otros enemigos geopolíticos), grupos de Otros orientalizados (asiáticos) y minorías regionales (hablantes de galés). Basándonos en el concepto del campo indexical (Eckert, 2008), vinculamos los sonidos no ingleses que aparecen en pársel con varias ideologías, desde el orientalismo hasta el nacionalismo británico y antifascismo, y con cualidades como "amenazante", "extranjero" y "menos humano" que se explotan para que el pársel que hablan personajes como Voldemort parezca particularmente malvado, inhumano y fantástico. El hecho de que la familiaridad con un idioma generalmente se correlaciona con percepciones positivas de ello (Anikin et al., 2023; Reiterer, 2020) refuerza estos vínculos indexicales. Así demostramos cómo la construcción de una lengua artificial refleja y refuerza las ideologías localmente relevantes, lo cual potencialmente incluso contribuye a percepciones negativas de lenguas no inglesas y sus hablantes. Sostenemos que la elección de elementos lingüísticos en la construcción de lenguas inventadas no es neutra y merece un examen crítico.

Can generative AI be a typical talker? Sociolinguistic fine-tuning of LLMs for varieties of Brazilian Portuguese

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

LLM-based chatbots are becoming increasingly close to passing the Turing test, proving that AI can be like a human (Bubeck et al., 2023). One of the aspects considered by the Turing test is sociolinguistic ability (Danziger, 2018). As humans, it is expected that LLMs will be able to discriminate between linguistic varieties of a language. There is some evidence that yes, they are, and, like humans, dialectal biases are reproduced in LLMs to generate responses (Mengesha et al., 2021; Dacon et al., 2021; Freitag 2021; Shrawgi, 2024; Fleisig et al., 2024). To understand how the sociolinguistic fine-tuning of LLMs, or if LLMs have a language regard (Preston, 2010), a study based on prompt engineering (Sun et al., 2023; Shrawgi et al., 2024) was carried out to uncover how LLMs discriminate varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, specifically if sociolinguistic rules were taken into account by GPT 3.5, GPT4o, Gemini, and Sabiá-2. The first step was to ask each LLM to perform a dialect-focused task for the target audience of each of Brazil's 27 states. Exploratory analysis of the results of the first stage showed that Sabiá-2 had no dialectal variability in its responses. GPT 3.5, GPT4o, and Gemini showed sensibility to dialectal variability, which is manifested in variation in 2nd person pronouns (*tu/você*) and its agreement, 1st person plural agreement (*nós vai/nós vamos*), morphology from subjunctive/indicative to imperative (*compra/compre*), interjections (*uai~oxente~ôxe~tchê*) and discourse markers (*visse?~tá ligado?~é nóix*). In the second step, LLMs were asked to identify the state of the text generated in the first step using two prompts: 1) task + input, and 2) task + clue (linguistic features identified in the exploratory analysis) + input. With weak agreement ($\kappa=0.26$, $p=0.00$), differences among LLMs were found: Sabiá-2 had a lower agreement rate ($\kappa=0.10$), whereas GPT4o reached a moderate agreement rate ($\kappa=0.50$). Although all prompts were written in Brazilian Portuguese, Gemini1.5 answered in English. Identification rates also differentiated the LLMs: in task 1, Sabiá-2 could not answer some profiles 58% of the time, followed by Gemini1.5 (47%). GPT3.5 and GPT4o reached 98% and 100% of identification. Contrary to expectations, in task 2, the rate of non-identification increases (not sig.). The most frequent states for the target profile in task 1 were Minas Gerais (9% GPT4o and 4% GPT3.5), São Paulo (5%, Sabiá-2) and Rio Grande do Sul (Gemini1.5, 2%); in task 2, results continued the same except for GPT3.5, which changed for Pernambuco. By text-mining analysis of the answers in task 2, only GPT3.5 and GPT4o presented explicit analysis of the clues to justify their decisions by profiles (*tu* is frequent in South of Brazil) and also showed awareness of indexical fields (Eckert, 2008): e. g. *nós vai* is pointed as an incorrectness feature for Pernambuco's profile but an index of urban culture for São Paulo's profile. Investigating how LLMs discriminate varieties of a language can help understand how humans process linguistic variation as well as help LLMs into sociolinguistic fine-tuning, contributing to an almost human perception of AI.

Author Translation

Chatbots baseados em LLMs estão cada vez mais próximos de passar no teste de Turing (Bubeck et al.,2023). Um dos aspectos considerados pelo teste de Turing é a capacidade sociolinguística (Danziger,2018). Como humanos, espera-se que os LLMs sejam capazes de diferenciar variedades linguísticas de uma determinada língua. Há evidências de que sim, são capazes e, assim como com pessoas, os vieses dialetais são reproduzidos nas respostas geradas por LLMs (Mengesha,2021; Dacon et al.,2021; Freitag, 2021, Shrawgi,2024; Fleisig et al.,2024). Para entender como se dá o ajuste fino sociolinguístico dos LLMs, ou se eles têm *language regard* (Preston,2010), realizamos um estudo baseado em engenharia de prompt (Sun et al.,2023; Shrawgi et al.,2024) para descobrir como os LLMs discriminam variedades do português brasileiro, especificamente se as regras sociolinguísticas foram consideradas por quatro LLMs (GPT 3.5, GPT4o, Gemini e Sabiá-2). A primeira etapa foi solicitar que cada LLM executasse uma tarefa com foco no perfil dialetal do público-alvo de cada um dos 27 estados do Brasil. A análise exploratória dos resultados mostrou que Sabiá-2 não apresentou variabilidade dialetal em suas respostas. GPT 3.5, GPT4o e Gemini mostraram sensibilidade à variabilidade dialetal, que se manifesta na variação dos pronomes de 2ª pessoa (*tu/você*) e sua concordância, na concordância da 1ª pessoa do plural (*nós vamos/nós vamos*), na morfologia do subjuntivo/indicativo para o imperativo (*compra/compre*), nas interjeições (*uai~oxente~ôxe~tchê*) e marcadores discursivos (*visse?~tá ligado?~é nóix*). Na segunda etapa, os LLMs foram solicitados a identificar o estado do texto gerado na primeira etapa usando dois prompts: 1) tarefa + input e 2) tarefa + pista (marcas linguísticas identificadas na análise exploratória) + input. Com concordância fraca ($\kappa=0,26$, $p=0,00$), foram encontradas diferenças entre os LLMs: Sabiá-2 teve uma taxa de concordância menor ($\kappa=0,10$), enquanto GPT4o alcançou uma taxa de concordância moderada ($\kappa=0,50$). Embora todos os prompts tenham sido escritos em português, Gemini1.5 respondeu em inglês. As taxas de identificação também diferenciaram os LLMs: na tarefa 1, Sabiá-2 não conseguiu responder a alguns perfis em 58% das vezes, seguido por Gemini1.5 (47%). GPT3.5 e GPT4o atingiram 100% de identificação. Ao contrário do esperado, na tarefa 2, a taxa de não identificação aumenta. Os estados mais frequentes na tarefa 1 foram Minas Gerais (9% GPT4o e 4% GPT3.5), São Paulo (5%, Sabiá-2) e Rio Grande do Sul (Gemini1.5, 2%); na tarefa 2, os resultados continuaram os mesmos, exceto para GPT3.5, que mudou para Pernambuco. Pela análise de texto das respostas na tarefa 2, apenas GPT3.5 e GPT4o consideraram explicitamente as pistas linguísticas para justificar suas decisões por perfis (*tu é frequente no Sul do Brasil*) e também mostraram consciência dos campos indicais: *nós vai* é apontado como uma característica de incorreção para o perfil de Pernambuco, mas um índice de cultura urbana para o perfil de São Paulo. Entender como os LLMs discriminam as variedades de um língua pode revelar como pessoas processam a variação linguística, além de ajudar os LLMs a fazer o ajuste fino sociolinguístico, contribuindo para uma percepção quase humana da IA.

Accent Bias Experienced by Instructors at Minority-Serving Institutions of Higher Education

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Accent bias and linguistic discrimination are pervasive, impacting rental housing, judicial matters, and hiring decisions (Purnell et al. 1999; Rickford & King 2016; Jones et al. 2019; Levon et al. 2021). In higher education, linguists are poised to reduce educational inequality by describing how linguistic and social factors present barriers for underrepresented groups (Charity Hudley & Mallinson 2018). Students, especially minoritized students, benefit from faculty diversity, yet, in many minority-serving institutions, wide gaps exist between student and faculty diversity. Accent and linguistic diversity is more covert than racial and ethnic diversity, yet undergraduates' perceptions of instructor accent are the strongest predictor of their ratings of teaching quality (Rubin & Smith 1990). Even among students of diverse ethnicities and

nationalities with high rates of bilingualism, foreign-accented instructors are given lower ratings than unaccented instructors when no differences emerge by instructor race (Acker 2012).

This study explores faculty experiences at three minority-serving (HSI and AANAPISI) universities in the San Francisco Bay Area, hypothesizing that non-native English speaking faculty are more negatively affected by accent bias and discrimination than native speaking faculty. Faculty from all language backgrounds and academic disciplines completed an online survey via Qualtrics which used branching pathways to adapt to respondents' linguistic backgrounds. All participants completed 16 Likert-scale questions about their sense of belonging and three free-response questions about experiences of linguistic bias. Participants also shared their age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and years of teaching experience. The pilot data collection includes 50 participants. Of these, 32 reported having acquired only English in childhood, 6 acquired English in childhood alongside another language (early bilinguals), and 12 first acquired non-English a language and learned English after childhood (non-native speakers). Analysis of variance was used to explore differences between these three groups on the Likert scale questions and Tukey Post-Hoc tests further probed pairwise comparisons.

Non-native English speaking faculty and early bilinguals did not differ from native speakers in feeling their colleagues valued their input or in receiving negative commentary from students about their accent in teaching evaluations. However, non-native speaking instructors felt significantly more self-conscious about their accents (diff. -2.43; $p = 0.002$) and both non-native and early bilingual faculty differed in feeling less like they spoke with a "standard accent." Non-native speakers felt more strongly than native speakers that their accent impeded their potential (diff. -2.25; $p=0.004$) and disagreed more strongly that their accent was an advantage in their field (diff. 3.43; $p < 0.000$). Non-native speaking instructors and early bilinguals perceived more that their accent negatively impacted their students' and peers' evaluations of their teaching. Early bilinguals felt more than English-only speakers that a new instructor with an accent similar to theirs "would have trouble adjusting" (diff. -2.63; $p = 0.001$). This work in progress can inform approaches to deconstructing systemic accent and racial bias within higher education. Integrating accent bias training for faculty recruitment, instructor evaluation, and promotion decisions can increase diversity among faculty, positively impacting student success and reducing educational inequality.

The body, affect, and the actuation of variation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speech is an embodied phenomenon: the body is central both to the production and perception of spoken language. Despite this, sociolinguistic research has tended to overlook the body (Bucholtz & Hall 2016), treating language as an autonomous system. As a result, we lack an understanding of how bodily processes condition social patterns of language use. To address this gap, we investigate the phonetic consequences of embodied emotion, testing whether bodily postures linked to the expression of affect result in systematic and predictable acoustic outcomes that, in turn, feed processes of socially meaningful variation. Doing so allows us to explore the possibility that sociolinguistic variation may arise from acts of embodied stance-taking. If such a link between the body, affect, and speech is found, this would provide novel insight into the actuation and diffusion of language variation and change (Podesva 2021; Pratt 2023; Levon & Holmes-Elliott 2024). Our discussion is based on an investigation of correlations between facial expressions and linguistic variability during a collaborative map task (Brown et al. 1983; Anderson et al. 1991; Pardo 2019). In our experiments, participants are paired with a confederate who, unbeknownst to participants, has been hired by the research team to vary the degree of cooperative behavior in the completion of the task. This allows us to induce different emotional responses in participants (e.g., frustration for uncooperative conditions vs satisfaction in cooperative ones), and so identify the bodily and linguistic correlates of different emotional states (Siedlecka & Denson 2019). Map

task interactions are recorded using specialist software that synchronizes audio and video channels and automatically detects movement in 468 key points in the face (Gudi et al. 2015), allowing us to link acoustic variation with specific emotion-linked changes in facial expression. Experiments are conducted in two languages: Danish (Copenhagen) and Swiss German (Bern). We focus on these languages because they have similar vowel inventories, but differ in how vocalic variation is socially evaluated. While raising front vowels in Copenhagen Danish, for example, carries prestige, vowel lowering is more prestigious in Bernese German. The languages thus provide a useful case study where, despite their systemic similarities, sociolinguistic ideologies predict opposing trajectories of stylistic variation. This allows us to examine how embodied affect and social meaning interact to condition patterns of acoustic variation. In this talk, we focus on results for 32 Danish participants. Preliminary analyses show significant patterns of variation in F1 for front vowels as a function of emotion. In the cooperative condition / ϵ / is raised, but / æ / is lowered. In the *uncooperative* condition / ϵ / remains relatively stable, but / æ / is raised considerably. These results argue against a purely mechanistic account of the relationship between emotion, articulatory posture, and acoustic realisation. Instead, they indicate that the relationship between variation and embodiment is mediated by ideologies of linguistic prestige. In the talk, we discuss how these findings contribute to our understanding of the ways that speech acquires social meaning and the role of the body in this process.

Mapping English dialects: maintenance, levelling, innovation and community engagement

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Despite its methodological imperfections (the search for ‘traditional dialect’, reliance on NORMS, survey data collection methods predominantly focused on small rural communities and ways of life), the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) is still used as a reference point by sociolinguists (Britain 2009; Jansen et al 2020). The *Dialect and Heritage Project* (2018-2023) digitised SED response books, maps, audio recordings, and related materials such as photographs, making these available to the public. Present-day dialects data collection was combined with public engagement activities drawing on the historical SED resources in a programme of dialect-themed events, touring exhibitions and an interactive website, enabling people to uncover their cultural heritage and dialect inheritance (Beal 2018), whilst sharing their own language, stories, and memories. Working with museum partners, libraries, schools and records offices, we combined targeted and self-selecting techniques, going back to SED locations and tracking down descendants of original informants, alongside issuing an open invitation to all who wanted to participate. We used a mixed-methods approach, combining surveys with oral history and reminiscence recordings, in-person and online, and adopted a distributed fieldwork model, training volunteers to make and transcribe recordings, assist at events, or be dialect ambassadors, embedding knowledge and ownership in local communities beyond the lifetime of the project. We committed to closing the loop, ensuring that research findings were fed back out to communities and building long-term relationships (Wolfram 2016). Two key objectives were (a) to investigate similarities and differences between dialect use past and present across different areas of the country, and (b) how maintenance and acquisition of dialect features operate in today’s interconnected society. In this paper, we analyse dialect levelling and maintenance in English dialects, finding evidence of both continuity and change across 29 lexical variables. Based on responses from 10,500 participants, we generated heat maps for each linguistic variant using IDW interpolation with the *gstat* package in R. Maps were based on hexagonal grids to avoid assumptions related to isoglosses associated with postcodes and other administrative or geographic units. Our research identified:

- discernible patterns across semantic domains such as the natural world (widespread consensus for the terms ‘hedgehog’, ‘earwig’, and ‘daddy-long-legs’) and interpersonal relationships, alongside

levelling across other domains in favour of more geographically dominant terms (Britain et al. 2021)

- emergence of new regional forms e.g. 'scran' ('snack') and the intensifier 'proper' ('proper good'), as well as evidence of forms in decline across age demographics, with maintenance of traditional forms and emergence of new forms strongest in the north of England, an area of the country with a well-defined sense of identity. In the south, regional variants were more susceptible to levelling effects (Trudgill, 1986).

Overall, our research suggests that dialect levelling in England manifests unevenly across regions and semantic domains, underscoring the need to view it as an ongoing, dynamic process rather than a series of static outcomes. Furthermore, the emergence of new regional terms emphasises that dialectal change involves both loss and innovation, challenging simplistic narratives of regional dialects solely in decline.

Real-time change of Municipal Employees' Awareness and Usage of Loanwords and Abbreviated Words in Japan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) initiated the "Proposal for Rephrasing Foreign Words" from 2002 to 2006, responding to the increasing use of loanwords in official Japanese communications. This initiative, influenced by the 22nd National Language Council's report, aimed to simplify 176 complex foreign terms (NINJAL, 2006). Two decades later, NINJAL's ongoing research project, "A Multifaced Study of Language Problems in Multilingual and Multicultural Japan," revisits this initiative. A longitudinal survey conducted in 2003 and repeated in 2023 examined municipal employees' awareness of loanwords and abbreviated words in administrative communication. The surveys targeted a broad spectrum of employees, focusing particularly on changes in communication practices and awareness levels. Analysis of the survey data highlighted several key findings. While the use of foreign words exhibited minimal change between 2003 and 2023, the prevalence of abbreviated words notably increased by 2023. Age-related differences initially observed in 2003 shifted over time, with middle-aged employees showing heightened awareness in 2023, suggesting evolving factors influencing linguistic trends. The surveys also explored the integration of foreign and abbreviated terms in public relations materials. Findings indicated a growing preference for using foreign terms without additional explanations, marking a shift from traditional practices observed in 2003. Attitudes towards rephrasing existing terms into foreign equivalents varied, with a noticeable inclination towards accepting foreign terminology over traditional Japanese equivalents. Perceived benefits included enhanced clarity and contemporary appeal, although concerns over cultural erosion and potential misinterpretations were also voiced. We analyzed the data using a multinomial logit model with the four options of "loanwords", "loanwords (Japanese)", "Japanese", and "Japanese (loanwords)" in PR magazines as the dependent variable, and four attribute variables (sex, age, department at work, and interpersonal contact work) and interaction terms between the attributes and the survey year as explanatory factors. Figures 1 and 2 show examples of plots of the estimated probabilities of choosing the four options by age group for each survey year based on the analysis. These analyses allow us to examine how the effects of the attribute factors have changed over time. In conclusion, this presentation underscores dynamic shifts in municipal employees' perceptions and practices regarding loanwords and abbreviated words over two decades. The findings emphasize the importance of adapting communication strategies amidst evolving linguistic landscapes, particularly among younger generations. Future research will further dissect survey data to elucidate nuanced influences and implications on administrative communication practices in Japan.

Indexicality, iconicity and the fictional representation of the accent of Queen Elizabeth II

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

There have been numerous studies on the Christmas speeches of Queen Elizabeth II, which have offered a unique opportunity to study changes across the lifespan of an individual in exactly the same context. Her speech between 1952 and 1990 seems to have changed in the direction of a less ‘upper crust RP’, more similar to that of the British upper middle classes (Harrington 2000). Later in her life (1990-2020), an accent reversion was observed (Harrington & Reubold 2021). This paper investigates how two of the actresses who played the Queen in the Netflix series *The Crown* performed her speech, and, in order to explain phonetic differences between their performances and the Queen herself, examines the indexicality of the features ‘wrongly’ used to represent her. We compiled a corpus comprising: (a) Claire Foy as the Queen in the 1950s; (b) Claire Foy in an interview; (c) Imelda Staunton as the Queen in the 1990s; (d) Imelda Staunton in an interview. F1 and F2 measurements using PRAAT were carried out to measure the degree of openness and frontness of /æ/, the presence or absence of happyY tensing, the degree of closeness and frontness of /i:/ and the degree of closeness and frontness of /ɪ/. Claire Foy’s /æ/ is significantly closer and fronter as the monarch, in line with what would be expected of the Queen in the 1950s. In contrast, Foy displays a significant degree of happyY tensing (greater in the series than in the interview), which is different from the Queen’s scant use of it at that period. Finally, Foy also shows extreme raising and fronting of /i:/ and /ɪ/, contrary to the Queen’s actual use in the 1950s. This could be seen as an example of the iconicity of front and high vowels, with high frequencies indexing “gender, and by extension sexuality, as well as class and urbanity/rurality” (Eckert 2019: 763). This deviation from the Queen’s actual performance could here, therefore, index ‘purity’ and ‘royalness’ (the highest form of high class). As for Staunton’s data, her /æ/ is almost identical as the Queen and in the interview, which is coherent with the Queen’s more mainstream pronunciation of /æ/ in the 1990s. Interestingly, the same is true of happyY tensing, /i:/ and /ɪ/, with no significant difference between playing her role and the interview. Comparing Foy and Staunton, Foy seems to better represent “Queenness” in terms of both physical and articulatory tension, even if her linguistic output differs from that of the Queen herself back in the 1950s. Staunton, on the other hand, represents a more middle class version of the Queen, probably exaggerating the trend compared to the actual speech of the Queen in the 1990s. This shows that the *projection* of the royal persona is not necessarily obtained through historical accuracy, but rather by linguistic indexicality – in performing the Queen, Foy uses forms which index qualities that society has assigned to the Queen, rather than forms that she actually used.

Author Translation

Ha habido muchos estudios sobre los discursos de Navidad de la reina Isabel II. Estos ofrecen una oportunidad única para estudiar cambios a lo largo de la vida de un único individuo en un mismo contexto. El inglés de la reina entre 1950 y 1990 cambió en la dirección de un RP menos afectado, más parecido al de las clases medias-altas británicas (Harrington 2000). Más tarde (1990-2020), se observó un patrón de cambio inverso (Harrington & Reubold 2021). Nuestro trabajo investiga cómo dos de las actrices que interpretaron a la reina en la serie de Netflix *The Crown* plasmaron su habla. Para explicar las diferencias observadas entre sus interpretaciones y la realidad, se examina la indexicalidad de los rasgos usados ‘erróneamente’ para representarla. Compilamos un corpus de palabras producidas por: (a) Claire Foy en la serie; (b) Claire Foy en una entrevista; (c) Imelda Staunton en la serie; (d) Imelda Staunton en una entrevista. Se realizaron mediciones de F1 y F2 con PRAAT para medir el grado de apertura y anterioridad de /æ/, la presencia o ausencia de *happyY tensing*, el grado de cierre y anterioridad de /i:/ y el grado de cierre y anterioridad de /ɪ/. La /æ/ de Claire Foy es significativamente más cerrada y anterior cuando interpreta a la monarca, en consonancia con el comportamiento de la reina en los 50. En cambio, Foy muestra un grado significativo de *happyY tensing* (mayor en la serie que en la entrevista), lo que difiere de la poca presencia de este fenómeno en el habla de la reina. Finalmente, Foy presenta también

unas versiones muy cerradas y anteriores de /i:/ e /ɪ/, lo que difiere del comportamiento de la reina en los 50. Esto podría verse como un ejemplo de la iconicidad de las vocales anteriores y cerradas, que pueden señalar “género, y por extensión sexualidad, así como clase y urbano/rural” (Eckert 2019: 763). Esta discrepancia con el comportamiento real de Isabel II podría ser índice de “pureza” y “realeza”. En cuanto a los datos de Staunton, su /æ/ es casi idéntica como reina y en la entrevista, en línea con la pronunciación menos elitista de /æ/ de la reina en los 90. Lo mismo puede decirse del *happy tensing*, /i:/ e /ɪ/, que no presentan diferencias entre su interpretación y la entrevista. Comparando a Foy y Staunton, la primera parece representar mejor la realeza mediante una tensión tanto física como articulatoria, aun cuando su producción lingüística difiere de la de la reina en los años 50. Staunton, en cambio, transmite una versión más próxima a la clase media de la reina Isabel, probablemente exagerando esta tendencia en comparación con la reina en los 90. Esto muestra que la proyección de una identidad de realeza no se consigue necesariamente mediante la precisión histórica, sino más bien a través de la indexicalidad lingüística. Al interpretar a la reina, Foy utiliza pronunciaciones que indexan cualidades que la sociedad ha atribuido a la reina, en lugar de las formas que utilizaba en realidad.

Phonological foundations of ethnic divergence: The Low-Back Merger Shift and the African American Vowel Shift as opposite movements

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A growing consensus has emerged in recent years (Becker 2019; Boberg 2019a-b; Thomas 2019; Fridland & Kendall 2019, Strelluf 2019 inter alia) that several North American vowel shifts – including Third Dialect, Elsewhere Shift, Canadian Shift, California Shift, Western Shift – share a unified set of core features: (1) LOT/THOUGHT merger (low-back-merger) and (2) retraction/lowering of short-front vowels KIT, DRESS, TRAP. Becker (2019) calls this the Low-Back Merger Shift (LBMS) under the assumption that low-back-merger drives short-front-vowel retraction. Meanwhile, other research identifies the African American Vowel Shift (AAVS): fronting of LOT and raising/fronting of KIT, DRESS, TRAP (Thomas 2007; Farrington, King & Kohn 2021; Weldon 2021). Thus, the core movements of AAVS and LBMS proceed in almost exactly opposite directions (Renwick et al.). Using new data from the Northeast, we examine this striking, understudied phonological opposition (Figure 1a-b) in terms of structure. **Hypothesis:** The opposition between systems is not a coincidence or sociohistorical artifact, but rather is the result of predictable phonological/structural factors.

Background: The Divergence Hypothesis (Labov & Harris 1986) states that African American Language (AAL) is diverging from other varieties. This was largely based on morphosyntax and sociohistory (Great Migration, Bailey & Maynor 1989). We suggest that vowel systems also play a crucial role: AAL divergence is driven at least in part by phonological opposition to LBMS.

Methods: In 2022 our first co-author recorded 36 field interviews (30-60 minutes, including personal narrative and word list) with adult African Americans from Albany, New York, birthyears 1941-2004, balanced for gender, totaling 20,670 stressed vowel tokens. We also compared an older dataset (Author 2019) of 51 African Americans from Eastern Massachusetts. Vowels were aligned with MFA (McAuliffe 2017), formants extracted in DARLA/FAVE-Extract (Rosenfelder et al. 2014; Labov et al. 2013), Lobanov-normalized (Kendall & Thomas 2007). We used Boberg’s (2019a-b) Short-Front Vowel Index (SFVI) quantifying average Euclidean F1/F2 distance from each speaker’s short-front vowels to FLEECE (higher SFVI=more retracted), then tested for correlations with LOT/THOUGHT Euclidean distance (linear-mixed-effects including age/gender/education/occupation, Johnson 2009-Rbrul).

Results and Conclusions: Among the Albany-born African Americans, LOT/THOUGHT distance is decreasing in apparent-time ($p<.001$), while SFVI is increasing ($p=.017$). However, in careful speech, both LOT and THOUGHT are more fronted ($p<0.001$) and SFVI is not statistically correlated with low-

back merger. In Figure 2a, older Albany speakers show correlation between SFVI and low-back merger, as predicted by Becker. Younger speakers do not show this correlation: Despite small LOT/THOUGHT distances for many younger Albany speakers, few of them have high SFVI, representing a transitional system for that age group (cf. Dinkin 2011). The Albany results contrast with Eastern Massachusetts African Americans (Figure 2b), who have notably smaller LOT/THOUGHT distances, as expected for merged New Englanders (Nagy & Roberts 2004) and greater overall SFVI. Albany is historically unmerged and therefore expected to show more resistance: slower movement toward LBMS. The AAVS pattern embodies this direct structural opposition to LBMS. Sociolinguistic divergence of AAL is driven at least in part by phonological structures, going beyond morphosyntax and sociohistory.

The variable perception of the compensation of lost coda /s/ in Puerto Rican Spanish: a perception study of Puerto Rican and Mexican listeners

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A perennial topic in the Hispanic linguistics literature is the weakening of coda /s/, explored historically, dialectally, and sociolinguistically (for a recent overview, see Núñez-Méndez (2022)). The current study examines the perception of Puerto Rican speech of deleted coda /s/ and the voiced stop series /bdg/ in minimal pair contexts, i.e., *una vaca* ‘a cow’ and *unas vacas* ‘some cows’. The singular allophones are produced as approximants [β ð ɣ] and with the /sb, sd, sd/ sequences as voiced occlusives [bdg] (see Figure 1), previously mentioned in production studies (Luna 2010, 2017; Galarza et al. 2014). Following the methodology of Arróniz and Willis for Andalusian Spanish (2023), four Puerto Rican speech actors recorded twelve utterances with singular and plural photograph prompts of the type *una vaca* or *unas vacas* (see Figure 1 for sample spectrograms). A Qualtrics survey incorporated the audios with two question types, a heat map as a two-alternative-forced-choice (2afc) and a Visual Analog Slider and confusion matrices for the statistical analysis. The utterances included a single production of each lexical item from each actor to avoid both versions from the same actor. Identical utterances with an overt coda [s] from two Mexican actors were included as a baseline for comparison. Thirty Mexican and fifty Puerto Rican speakers completed the survey. The results from both tasks indicate that despite the complete deletion of the fricative [s], the Puerto Rican listeners associated approximant productions with a singular interpretation and the voiced stops [bdg] with a plural meaning. In contrast, the Mexican listeners consistently did not hear an /s/ and identified a singular context (see Figure 2). A voiced-occlusive phone used by a particular community to compensate for a deleted coda /s/ provides evidence of language process change at the phonological level.

“You are what, Chinese?” Modeling identifications of race, ethnicity, and national origin as stancetaking in a large podcast corpus of American English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Reporting on racial, ethnic, and national origins is commonplace in the US despite evidence that census questions and categories targeting such social constructs fluctuate and can hinder efforts to track inequalities by providing few or inadequate choices, e.g., ignoring ascribed identities [1] [2]. In this paper, we build on models of stancetaking in interaction [3] [4] to show that speakers in interaction position themselves and others directly and indirectly towards both self-perceived and ascribed race, ethnicity, and

national origins, and in doing so they resort to distinct linguistic constructions and interactional moves. We used 400 keywords to search for relevant publicly available podcast interviews and conversations between individuals on various topics related to race, ethnicity, and national origins. Samples mined from the Internet Archiveb were transcribed automatically using Whisper [5] and the voices of conversational participants diarized. Following strict annotation protocols defined by human annotators [6] [7] (Cohen's kappa = 0.51, moderate agreement), approximately 700 instances of identifications by speakers of their own and their interlocutor(s)' race, ethnicity, and national origins were tagged by OpenAI's GPT-4 and human annotators, with the latter taken as ground truth. We examined a total of 287 instances of identifications of Asian Americans comprising 7,256 tokens. 54% of these instances were direct references to race, ethnicity, or national origins. These identifications were indexed by linguistic markers such as personal pronouns, copular "be", apposition, and "as" constructions. Linguistic forms conveying indirect identifications were more variable. In these types of identifications, attributions of race, ethnicity, or national origins were not made on the identified but rather inferred from the utterance content. They referenced connections to kinship, cultural experience, heritage, communal history, and locality-marked communities. Many appealed to memories of "exposure to ethnic and racial history," aligning with membership in ethnic organizations, and various other "co-ethnic ties" [8]. Reported speech was a common linguistic form used to voice someone else's position as separate from the speakers' own self-prescribed identities. Stancetaking on race, ethnicity, and national origins was also often co-constructed, sometimes even negotiated, between the interlocutors - radio hosts and interviewees, friends and acquaintances - in radio interviews in a dynamic process of alignment with each other (excerpts 1 and 2). Hedges, adverbials, modifiers, and other "stance-encoding words and phrases" [4, p. 415], such as "I guess", "necessarily", "just", "fully", conveyed the epistemic strength of identifications. Their use calls into question race, ethnicity, national origins as stable social categories, revealing, through the individuals' own words, the complex process of understanding and expressing one's own multifaceted identities (see excerpt 3, in which an Asian American adoptee resorts to multiple hedging when interpreting their own self-perceived race as different from biological race). OpenAI's GPT-4 helped expedite corpus annotation and analysis, and large language models contributed with inferences based on contextual information, increasing the likelihood of catching instances of indirect identifications. Overall, a larger corpus and shorter annotation time brought us one step closer to "incorporat[ing] models of stancetaking into quantitative studies of language." [4, p. 421].

Macro-social categories still matter in assessing variant's social meaning: researching between and beyond the waves

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This presentation focuses on social meanings of coda (s) variants in spoken-Brazilian-Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro to observe the extent they relate to expectations about individual's macro-social categories. Third Wave research on linguistic variation proposes that variants' social meaning is entrenched in different interactional context, and it can be freely used as speaker's resource to construct identities, stances, personae (Eckert, 2012). This postmodern approach (Fukuyama, 1992) postulates a more fluid character of social grouping based on lifestyle needs, and new social movements, instead of historically motivated categories as social class in Marxism and Late Modernism (Bourdieu, 1991; Bauman, 1997). Nonetheless, criticisms to post-modernism points that globalization and neo-liberalism increased social differences, and freedom of choice is a prerogative of young white middle-class man (Bauman, 1997). Additionally, the full understanding of Second Wave Milroy (1987) network study and Third Wave Zhang (2005) construction of professional identity is grounded in, respectively, the social setting of a working-class neighborhood, and the socioeconomic and ideological differences between Chinese state professionals and yuppies. In Rio, the coda (s) is mostly a post-alveolar fricative ("me[3]mo" same, "e[ʃ]cola" school), regardless speakers' social features, such as age, sex/gender, social class, and level of

education. In much lower percentages, the variable also includes alveolar and back fricatives, and the absence of the coda. Melo (2012) provided evidence that back fricatives tend to be used by low-class speakers who are less educated. The variants' social values were assessed by two experiments with oral stimuli, containing context of use, respectively a hospital and a school, and applied to participants born or living in Rio since their childhood: a) Experiment 1 – with post-alveolar, and back fricatives – was applied to 12 university, 12 high school, and 12 low-class speakers with low educational attainment; b) Experiment 2 – with post-alveolar, and alveolar fricatives – was applied to 43 university speakers. Participant's choice was measured in a scale from 1 to 3 (1 – doctor/principal, 2 – nurse/school warden, 3 – cleaning lady): the higher the score, the variant is stigmatized. Each participant heard 18 stimuli, and never heard the same sentence with the two variants. In Experiment 1, the difference among the three participant's groups in evaluating the back variant is statistically significant (X^2 test: p -value=0.0009345). The back variant presented score 315, while the post-alveolar, 209, which means more association of this variant to the cleaner. The scores for the post-alveolar don't differ among the groups, which reinforces it as a regional feature. Socially excluded teenagers evaluated both variants in the same way. In Experiment 2, the evaluation of both variants is statistically significant (X^2 test: p -value= 0.016). The post-alveolar presented score 544, and alveolar fricative, 498, which means more association of this variant to doctor/principle. These results indicate two indexation dimensions of the variants, regional and social, and, for the later, that macro-social features of both speakers of stimuli and participants are related to variants' social meaning. Then, contributions from Wave's different analytical approaches must be treated dialectically.

Author Translation

Esta apresentação examina significados sociais das variantes da coda (s) no português brasileiro do Rio de Janeiro, buscando entender como esses significados estão relacionadas às expectativas sobre categorias macrosociais dos indivíduos. A pesquisa da Terceira Onda em variação linguística sugere que o significado social das variantes está profundamente enraizado em diferentes contextos de interação, permitindo que falantes usem essas variantes para construir identidades, posturas e personae (Eckert, 2012). Essa abordagem pós-moderna (Fukuyama, 1992) propõe um caráter mais fluido para agrupamento social, baseado em necessidades de estilo de vida, globalização e novos movimentos sociais, ao invés de categorias historicamente motivadas, como classe social no Marxismo e no Modernismo Tardio (Bourdieu, 1991; Bauman, 1997). Entretanto, críticas ao pós-modernismo apontam que a globalização e o neoliberalismo aumentaram as desigualdades sociais, e que a liberdade de escolha de estilo de vida é muitas vezes um privilégio de homens jovens, brancos e de classe média (Bauman, 1997). Ademais, a plena compreensão do estudo de redes de Segunda Onda de Milroy (1987) e de Terceira Onda de Zhang (2005) sobre a construção de identidade profissional está fundamentada, respectivamente, no cenário social de um bairro operário e nas diferenças socioeconômicas e ideológicas entre chineses profissionais estatais e yuppies. Na variedade carioca, a coda (s) geralmente se manifesta como fricativa pós-alveolar ("me[ʒ]mo" same, "e[ʃ]cola" school), independentemente de fatores sociais (idade, gênero, classe social e nível educacional). Em menor frequência, aparecem fricativas alveolares e posteriores, além da ausência de coda. Melo (2012) demonstrou que fricativas posteriores são mais comuns entre falantes de baixa escolaridade e classe baixa. Para avaliar os valores sociais das variantes, dois experimentos contendo um contexto de uso, respectivamente hospital e escola, foram aplicados a participantes nascidos ou residentes no Rio de Janeiro desde a infância. No Experimento 1, que comparou fricativas pós-alveolares e posteriores, participaram 12 universitários, 12 falantes com ensino médio e 12 falantes de baixa escolaridade e classe baixa. No Experimento 2, que comparou fricativas pós-alveolares e alveolares, participaram 43 universitários. Os participantes avaliaram as variantes em uma escala de 1 a 3 (1 – médica/diretora, 2 – enfermeira/zelador, 3 – faxineira), na qual uma pontuação mais alta indicava maior estigmatização da variante. Cada participante ouviu 18 estímulos, e nunca ouviu a mesma frase com as duas variantes. No Experimento 1, a avaliação da variante posterior foi significativamente diferente entre os grupos (teste X^2 : valor p =0.0009345). A variante posterior obteve uma pontuação de 315, associando-se mais à faxineira, enquanto a pós-alveolar, de 209, reforçando seu status como uma característica regional. Adolescentes socialmente excluídos avaliaram ambas as variantes de maneira semelhante. No Experimento 2, as avaliações foram estatisticamente significativas (teste X^2 : valor p =0.016). A fricativa pós-alveolar obteve uma pontuação de 544, e a alveolar 498, associando-a à médica/diretora. Esses

resultados revelam duas dimensões de indexação das variantes: regional e social. No caso da dimensão social, as características macrossociais dos falantes (estímulos e dos participantes) influenciam o significado social das variantes. Assim, contribuições das diferentes Ondas devem ser tratadas dialeticamente.

Written vs. Spoken – Comparing Parallel Dialectal Data with Existing Spoken and Social Media Resources for Norwegian

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In addition to having two official written variants, dialectal Norwegian is increasingly common in various aspects of Norwegian media [1] While there is no lack of work on spoken dialect, the everyday written dialect side is less investigated. We present a detailed comparison on the Norwegian Multi-Dialectal Slot and Intent Detection Corpus (NoMusic) [2], a parallel dataset with dialectal writing for Norwegian. The original dataset contains translations into written Norwegian dialect from the English version of the xSID corpus [3], which is a collection of instructions to virtual assistants, such as asking about the weather or to add a song to a playlist. The initial translations were done by 8 native Norwegians who all use dialectal writing in their everyday life, and the goal was that these translations represent the translators' native, written dialect, as opposed to being transcriptions of spoken dialect. An example of an instruction and its translations can be found in the table the next page. In addition to these 8, we present an additional 2 new dialectal translations, and a detailed description of how these 10 dialectal translations differ from existing data on spoken dialect. While the original paper describes some superficial comparison with the Nordic Dialect Corpus (NDC) [4], we expand on the comparisons made by the original authors in comparing the data in further detail, both with NDC, but also with data from the NorDial project [5], which represents more spontaneous written dialect on Twitter (X). We ask the following two questions:

- To what extent do the translated, written dialect represent the dialects of the areas they are reported to be from.
- How do these translations differ from more spontaneous dialect writing on social media platforms like Twitter (X).

We find that the dialects in the corpus are markedly different, and represent clearly different systems in terms of both nominal and verbal morphology, exemplified for example by various infinitive endings – a commonly used dialectal marker in Norwegian dialectology. In terms of lexical items, we investigate the difference between translation artefacts and dialectal variation in comparison with the two written standards. We also observe that some, but not all phonetic variation that might be found in a spoken dialect is represented in writing, and that this goes for the NoMusic corpus as well as the NorDial data. We further observe that social media data is more varied in terms of the number of dialectal features shown, but this could also be an effect of how the annotators were asked to work.

On the Predictability of Koiné and New-dialect Formation: Branching Pathways of Feature Developments in Texas German

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper investigates how dialect features in Texas German (TxG) develop in different ways under scenarios of language contact. Bringing together data from Gilbert's (1972) *Atlas of Texas German* and the *Texas German Dialect Archive* (Boas et al. 2010), it contrasts three case studies of phonological developments across five generations of speakers, and presents a new geospatial analysis of vowel epenthesis. In Part 1 we first summarize Trudgill's (2004) model, which proposes that new dialect formation is not a random process, but rather the outcome of a development over four generations that can be predicted. Then, we apply Trudgill's (2004) model to Gilbert's (1972) TxG data and show that TxG evolved into a koiné (and not a focused new world dialect) by the 1920s, when intergenerational transmission started deteriorating. In Part 2, we compare Gilbert's (1972) results with those of Boas (2009), who resampled Gilbert's (1972) data in the same speech communities ca. 50 years later. Boas finds evidence of continued inter- and intra-speaker variation and concludes that TxG should "be regarded as a collection of various subvarieties that share a limited set of linguistic features" (Boas 2009: 9). He further suggests that only a few phonological and morpho-syntactic features have gone through all four stages of new dialect formation according to Trudgill's (2004) model. Part 3 compares three specific dialect features of TxG illustrating the unsystematic dialect leveling and the high degree of current-day inter-speaker and intra-speaker variability. First, we discuss the results of Boas (2009) and Pierce et al. (2015), who show that a number of different phenomena such as unrounding of front vowels have been almost completely leveled. Second, we compare these results with Lindemann (2019), who shows that variation of /s/ ~ /ʃ/ in (*Wurst* ~ *Wurscht* 'sausage') persists today but is no longer correlated with geography, suggesting a case of stable variation across TxG. Third, we discuss a new case study of TxG vowel epenthesis (*Milch* ~ *Milich*/*Milech* 'milk', see Figures 1 and 2) based on the perceptual judgments of 589 present-day speakers (f: 259, m:307) whose interview data are stored in the Texas German Dialect Archive (www.tgdp.org). Geospatial analysis reveals a pattern of variation resembling that found in Gilbert's (1972) *Atlas*, suggesting the persistence of historical patterns tied to specific regions. Part 4 discusses a number of different factors, including language contact and contact between donor dialects, that could explain the three different developments and current-day distributions of TxG dialectal features. Our discussion suggests that there is no clear single factor influencing these different developments and that instead we have to assume a multiple causation scenario (donor dialects, language contact, language death). More specifically, we argue that rather than following a unary path toward new dialect development, these features follow three distinct paths of leveling, stable variation, and perseverance of community patterning. They exist within the same broader language community, and demonstrate the complexity and unpredictability of koiné and new-dialect formation

"I always think that these are funny": The experience of being a participant in a speaker perception task

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Increasingly, sociolinguists make use of experimental tasks (Drager, 2018), but the act of participating in experiments "is not without consequence for the individual" (Powell & Fazio, 1984:147). As part of a larger project investigating the potential positive and negative outcomes of research participation, we conducted think-alouds (Schwarz, 2010) with participants as they completed common sociolinguistic experiments. This work follows from sociolinguistics' long tradition of social action and valuing research participants (e.g., Charity-Hudley, 2013; Labov, 1982; Wolfram, 1993), asking about effects of our experiments on participants themselves. Our talk presents qualitative data from 30 American participants to explore their experiences as participants in two sociolinguistic tasks. Participants, recruited through Prolific.co, had individual, recorded Zoom sessions with the researchers. First, they completed a speaker rating task (Campbell-Kibler 2011), where participants heard a short excerpt of naturalistic speech and rated the speaker on friendliness, intelligence, professionalism, trustworthiness, accentedness, age, and

masculinity scales. Second, they completed a broadcaster rating task (Labov et al., 2011), where they heard speakers reading news headlines in the guise of auditioning for a radio job and rated the speakers on a professionalism scale. During the tasks, participants narrated their thought processes behind their responses, and gave reactions to the tasks themselves. After each task, participants reported what they thought the researchers were investigating. Initial analyses suggest that participants fell into roughly two groups in expressing their beliefs about the purpose of the speaker rating task: most participants thought it aimed to better understand biases and stereotypes, but a few thought it served a norm-enforcing function, for example, training HR to better judge candidates based on their voice, or choosing the best voice for a voice assistant. All participants reported that evaluating speakers was somewhat easy, with comments like “I thought it was definitely easy...if I was just doing it online I would have done this in seconds...click click click”. A few participants described enjoying the tasks, using the word “fun”, but more said that they made them uncomfortable; they felt like they were being asked to judge people, they were worried about demonstrating biases, and/or they were made to face their biases. At the same time, these participants assumed the researchers had good reasons for asking these questions, that the data would not be used in discriminatory ways, and that their mild discomfort was “worth it”. Participants generally preferred the broadcaster task to the speaker rating task, reasoning that judging a person based on their voice was more appropriate there, with less concern about bias in that context. These insights suggest that, generally, participants find common speaker perception tasks to be a reasonable experience but that some do assume researchers have prescriptive goals. In these cases, these studies may serve to strengthen participants’ existing prescriptive ideologies and misrepresent the field of linguistics. We discuss our next steps to examine whether debriefing and study framing may mitigate unintended outcomes, and, more proactively, how we can better engage with our research participants about our field and its subject.

Future Temporal Reference in Montreal French: The Incursion of the Analytic Future in Negative Context

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since the seminal work of Emirkanian & Sankoff (1985) and Poplack & Turpin (1999), interest in the Future Temporal Reference (FTR) has continued unabated (Sankoff 2019). Previous work has shown that the Analytic Future (AF), composed of the semi-auxiliary *aller* ‘to go’ followed by the infinitive (1), is ousting the Synthetic Future (SF) (2), a change that is more advanced in Laurentian French (Canada) than in other varieties of French. This paper reviews the progress of this change in Montreal French based on an apparent-time study of a 2012 corpus (Blondeau et al., 2021; Martineau & Séguin, 2016). To further document the change, the analysis examines the linguistic and social constraints on variation. The linguistic factors analyzed include negative polarity, contingency, temporal distance and verb type. The social factors analyzed include socio-economic status (SES), age and gender. Given that previous analyses showed that the negative context is favorable to the SF variant, we conducted separate multivariate analyses of the affirmative and the negative contexts. In 2012, the FTR shows the features of a stable variable in **affirmative context**, as only 4% of synthetic futures are observed, suggesting that the change toward the AF is virtually complete in this context. However, this completed shift towards the AF is associated with an intriguing phenomenon of age grading, with the least number of synthetics in the 26-39 age group. This result demonstrates a departure from earlier studies of FTR in Montréal French in real time (1971-1984-1995), in which age grading was associated with an increased use of the SF. We take this to show that the AF has acquired a new positive value. This is supported by the observation that the AF is now the variant favored by speakers in the upper and middle classes. In contrast, in **negative contexts**, the FTR variable shows the characteristics of an ongoing change. The SF variant is frequently used (84%), a result in line with previous studies. The ongoing change towards the AF is again led by high and intermediate SEC speakers. Young people are the most likely to use AF in this context, especially young women. The results show that the forclusive *pas* (3) is associated with the incursion of

the analytical future in negative context, while N-words, such as *rien* (2) or *jamais* (4) are categorically associated with the synthetic variant. This asymmetry within the negative context has also been reported for Parisian French (Liang et al 2024). For Montréal French, this result can be linked to the decline of the negative concord in this dialect (Burnett et al. 2015). In short, our results confirm the need to distinguish the two variable contexts, as the ongoing change toward the AF is nearing completion. The progress of this variant now extends to the negative context, one of the last entrenchments of the synthetic future. The decline of the SF in the community is associated with a reversal of its sociosymbolic value, as it no longer acts as a prestige form in Montreal French.

Revisting a case of language death: An analysis of phonemic nasal vowels in Frenchville French

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction: Before a language's death, there exists an incorporation of linguistic elements from the dominant language into the heritage language (Dal Negro 2004). This can result from bilingualism, where the heritage speakers experience linguistic insecurity, or shame about speaking their L1 (Bullock 2018). We wish to expand upon the discussion of which phonological elements are incorporated between the languages and determine if linguistic insecurity plays a role. Frenchville, Pennsylvania presents a case of bilingualism where French remained the dominant language until the 1960s (Bullock & Gerfen 2004) before English replaced it. We wish to observe the level at which English's phonological system impacted French before its death. A significant difference between the two deals with nasal vowels. In Hexagonal French (French spoken in France); vowel nasalization is phonemic, with four nasal vowels /*ã*/, /*õ*/, /*œ̃*/, and /*ẽ*/ (Côté 2012). However, in English, vowel nasalization is phonetic because there is no contrast between oral and nasal vowels (resulting from a process called anticipatory nasalization (Cohn 1993)). This study examines how NB, one of the final speakers, produces nasal vowels in French; as a French-like realization of nasal vowels (e.g. [swa.sât] /swasât/ *soixante* 'sixty') or with an accompanying nasal appendix and phonetic nasal vowels (e.g. [bin] /bîn/ *bean*) as in English (Cohn 1993). We predict that NB will have accompanying nasal appendices, and phonetic nasal vowels, indicating his French has assimilated to English and that NB will demonstrate a level of linguistic insecurity through alterations to his speech.

Methodology: Bullock (2007) collected data and audio from NB. Using Bullock's corpus, we examine NB's phonemic nasal vowels for an accompanying nasal appendix. Nasal vowels, with or without following nasal appendices, are classified impressionistically using auditory and acoustic cues, in Praat (Boersma & Weenik 2024). Additionally, we code the following segment. This analysis yields 76 tokens where NB produces nasal vowels.

Results: NB distinguishes four phonemic nasal vowels, /*ã*/, /*õ*/, /*œ̃*/, and /*ẽ*/. Of the 76 tokens, 8 of them contain a nasal appendix. Of these, 40% have /t/ as the following sound (e.g. [ãn.tuʁ] /ãntuʁ/ *entour* 'around'). As the conversation progresses, NB produces nasal appendices less frequently (62.5% in the first 7 minutes), even losing appendices in words that previously had them

Discussion: Based on the decreasing rate at which NB produces nasal appendices over time and the lack of contact with French outside his own dialect, we conclude NB is modifying his French to remove specific dialect markers, demonstrating linguistic insecurity. Furthermore, our results demonstrate NB's nasal vowels do not tend to contain a following nasal appendix and NB's speech maintains the four phonemic French nasal vowel system. We conclude that even without many opportunities to interact with his own dialect, his speech aims to preserve the phonology of the dying language separate from the dominant language. Therefore, in the instance of bilingualism for Frenchville French, the dying or

heritage language (French) maintains a distinction of phonological systems between it and the dominant language (English), even with some linguistic insecurity.

“Is he gay or is he just Asian?”: /s/ spectral moments and racialized sexuality among queer Asian men in Washington, D.C.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This project explores /s/ frontedness among Asian men in Washington, D.C., taking the perspective that race plays a central role in performances of gender and sexuality. While a classic understanding of the variable links spectral moments like higher COG and negative skew to women, femininity, and gay men (c.f. Campbell-Kibler, 2011; Podesva & Van Hofwegen, 2015), this pattern does not necessarily capture how people of color use the feature (Steele 2019, 2022; Willis & Ben Youssef, 2023). For example, Calder and King (2022) found that straight Black men and women in Bakersfield, California do not differ in /s/ COG while their white counterparts do. It remains unclear, though, how individuals with Asian heritage in the U.S. might use /s/ for socio-indexical work, and how the sexual orientation of speakers within this group might use the variable differently. This is a particularly rich site to consider given the ideological link between Asian American men, femininity, and gayness (Park, 2013). I contribute data from 15 recordings with cis-gender men living in Washington, D.C. My sample was roughly balanced for sexuality (queer versus straight) and race (Asian versus white). Each recording began as a sociolinguistic interview followed by ethnographic questions about race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Participants then completed a survey that included self-rating scales from 1 to 7 for femininity and masculinity. Recordings were force-aligned (McAuliffe, Socolof, Mihuc, Wagner, & Sonderegger, 2017) in DARLA (Reddy & Stanford, 2015) and hand-corrected according to the protocol in Steele (2019: 20). A Praat script extracted spectral moments of /s/. After exclusions, 10,527 tokens were fit into mixed-effects linear regression models to compare spectral moments with masculinity and femininity self-ratings, sexuality, race, and all relevant interactions. ‘Straight’ and ‘White’ were baselines, and ‘Speaker’ was a random effect. The best fit model indicated the interaction of sexuality and race as a significant predictor of /s/ skewness ($p < 0.05$), with queer Asian men having a significantly lower skew. While Steele (2022) highlights /s/ COG as salient in performances of gender, race, and sexuality among queer Black speakers, lower /s/ skewness arises here as a feature used to enact a particular queer Asian identity. Self-ratings of femininity and masculinity were not significant predictors in any of the models despite being relevant to constructions of identity across various studies that included queer and straight people of color (Willis & Ben Youssef, 2023; Steele, 2022). During their interviews, queer Asian men made frequent reference to the effeminized Asian male character type (Agha, 2003) as a relevant construct to their identities. Despite fronted /s/’s associations with femininity, the finding that self-ratings of femininity and masculinity were not significant suggests queer Asian men’s use of lower /s/ skewness as a rejection of queer-ness and Asian-ness as inherently feminine. These findings add nuance to the engagement of gender and sexuality as central to understanding the link between race (Crewshaw, 1989) and variation—particularly in the context of the burgeoning study of Asian voices in the U.S. (Yoo, Lee, Cheng, & Anand, 2023).

What sounds like “Tel-Aviv”? An Acoustic examination of phonological variation in imitations of local stereotypes

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Israel's Jewish population is characterized by a social dynamic of “center” versus “periphery” (Lipshitz, 1996; Tzfadia & Gigi, 2022). However, there have been very few sociophonetic studies focusing on whether this social distinction is reflected in linguistic variation in Hebrew (cf. Gafter, 2022). In fact, it has been argued that it is impossible to speak of regional dialects in Modern Hebrew at all (Ravid, 1995; Bolozky, 2003). While this generalization may correctly reflect the prevalence of other meaningful social axes (such as ethnicity), we argue that nevertheless, locally-situated personae can and do play a role in the sociolinguistic dynamic. In this study, we demonstrate the salience of the regional axis by examining how it is portrayed in a corpus of parodic imitations on Instagram. The corpus consists of a series of 10 comedic skits performed by popular social media influencer Eliran Hanania, titled “Tel-Aviv vs. Beer-Sheva”: Tel-Aviv is the economic center of Israel, whereas Beer-Sheva is a smaller city in the South of Israel, and such, they can be taken as representatives of the Israeli notions of “center” and “periphery” respectively. The skits contrast two heterosexual couples, one from each city; all four characters are portrayed by Hanania. We identified three phonetic features by which the Tel-Aviv and Beer-Sheva characters differ: creak, pitch, and vowel quality. For creak, we auditorily coded each syllable as creaky or not. The results show that the Tel-Aviv characters use significantly more creak than the Beer-Sheva characters ($p < 0.0001$). For pitch, we extracted the average pitch of each intonation unit, and found that place and gender interact in Hanania's construction of the voices: The Beer-Sheva female character has significantly higher pitch than the male character, as expected, but there is no gender difference in pitch between the Tel-Aviv characters. Finally, to analyze vocalic variation, we coded each stressed vowel in Praat, and calculated the average formants of each of the five phonemic Hebrew vowels (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/) for each character. The results show substantial contrasts in the different characters' vowel spaces (as shown in image 1). Logistic regression models confirm that the front vowels are significantly backed in the speech of the Tel-Aviv characters (/i/: $p < 0.001$, /e/: $p < 0.05$). The Beer-Sheva characters are more differentiated by gender than the Tel-Aviv characters here as well: the Beer-Sheva female character has significantly lower /a/ than the male character ($p < 0.0001$), but there is no such difference between the Tel-Aviv characters. Taken together, the results show that Hanania uses segmental features and voice quality to distinguish between his Tel-Aviv and Beer-Sheva characters. This shows that local stereotypes do feature in Israeli meta-linguistic discourse, as is also confirmed by a qualitative analysis of the viewers' comments. Furthermore, in his construction of the characters, gender and place often interact, such that the differences between the male and female characters are exaggerated in Beer-Sheva and minimized in Tel-Aviv. We suggest that this reflects a common stereotype, according to which gender presentations in the so-called “periphery” are more heteronormative than in Tel-Aviv.

Elusive Pharyngeals: Exploring Social Variation of Pharyngealized /sʕ/ Production in Jordanian Arabic

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

To date, most sociophonetic variation in Jordanian Arabic (JA) spoken in Amman has been investigated through the lens of western social factors (e.g., western prestige), overlooking locally defined categories that embody unique aspects of Jordanian culture and society (e.g., Tajweed). Thus, little is known about how local Jordanian factors impact sociophonetic variation in JA. The present study addresses this gap by investigating how locally defined social categories, like Tajweed – the study of phonetic and phonological rules that regulate how the Quran should be recited – impact the variation in the production of the pharyngealized fricative /sʕ/. The current study focuses on /sʕ/ as it is the most frequent pharyngealized sound not only in the Quran (Hasan & Mamun, 2022) but also in Arabic (Madi, 2010). Despite its prevalence, /sʕ/ exhibits considerable variation (Abudaljuh, 2010; Alzoubi, 2017), with some speakers employing the expected pharyngealized variant while others produce a weakened articulation—similar to the lenition observed in JA affricates in which the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ is realized as the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] (Salman and Dalola, 2023). Pharyngealized consonants are sounds with a

primary articulation in the anterior vocal tract and a secondary articulation characterized by a retracted tongue root (RTR), where the back of the tongue moves towards the rear pharynx wall (Card, 1983). This secondary articulation is what distinguishes /s^ʕ/ as in صَامٌ /s^ʕa:m/ 'he fasted' from its plain phonemic counterpart /s/ as in سَامٌ /sa:m/ 'poisonous'. While previous studies have examined /s^ʕ/ and its social variation within JA (Abudalbh, 2010; Alzoubi, 2017), none has examined the potential connection between this variation and speakers' experiences with Tajweed. Given the popularity of Tajweed courses in Jordan and its emphasis on prescriptivist pronunciation, it is reasonable to predict it may play a role in sound variation. 20 indigenous upper-class JA speakers, balanced for gender and Tajweed level, participated in a free speech task via Zoom, producing a total of 309 /s^ʕ/ tokens in 309 monosyllabic words. The presence of lenition was assessed in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2021). Binary measures of lenition were submitted to a linear mixed-model regression, with gender, age, and Tajweed levels (L0,L1,L2,L3) as independent variables. Preliminary results suggest a significant main effect for Tajweed ($p < 0.001$), with each level increase in Tajweed associated with a 45.2% decrease in the presence of lenition. Women were 1.92 times more likely to produce lenition than men. Age also had a significant effect ($p < 0.05$), with younger speakers (18-45) showing an 11.7% increase in lenition compared to older speakers (45-62). The effect of Tajweed on lenition is consistent regardless of age ($p = 0.12$) and gender ($p = 0.96$). If this lenition becomes pervasive among younger generations without Tajweed training, JA may partially or fully neutralize the phonemic distinction between /s^ʕ/ and /s/. The implication of this research is that studies of sociophonetic variation, including those in JA, must incorporate local social categories to fully understand the sociolinguistic dynamics at play in the language.

Author Translation

Hasta la fecha, la mayoría de la variación sociofonética en el árabe jordano (AJ) hablado en Amán ha sido investigada desde la perspectiva de factores sociales occidentales, pasando por alto categorías localmente definidas que encarnan aspectos únicos de la cultura y sociedad jordanas. Por lo tanto, se sabe poco sobre cómo los factores locales jordanos impactan la variación sociofonética en el AJ. El presente estudio aborda esta brecha investigando cómo categorías sociales localmente definidas, como el Tajweed –el estudio de reglas fonéticas y fonológicas que regulan cómo debe ser recitado el Corán–, impactan la variación en la producción del fricativo faríngeo /s^ʕ/ . El estudio actual se centra en /s^ʕ/ debido a que es el sonido faríngeo más frecuente no solo en el Corán sino también en el árabe. A pesar de su prevalencia, /s^ʕ/ muestra una variación considerable, con algunos hablantes empleando la variante faríngea esperada mientras que otros producen una articulación debilitada –similar a la lenición observada en los africados del AJ, donde el africado alveolar palatalizado /dʒ/ se realiza como fricativo postalveolar [ʒ]. Las consonantes faríngeas son sonidos con una articulación primaria en el tracto vocal anterior y una articulación secundaria caracterizada por una raíz de la lengua retraída (RTR), donde la parte posterior de la lengua se mueve hacia la pared faríngea posterior. Esta articulación secundaria es lo que distingue a /s^ʕ/, como en صَامٌ /s^ʕa:m/ 'él ayunó', de su contraparte fonémica simple /s/, como en سَامٌ /sa:m/ 'venenoso'. Si bien estudios previos han examinado /s^ʕ/ y su variación social dentro del AJ, ninguno ha examinado la posible conexión entre esta variación y la experiencia de los hablantes con el Tajweed. Dada la popularidad de los cursos de Tajweed en Jordania y su énfasis en la pronunciación prescriptivista, es razonable predecir que puede desempeñar un papel. Participaron 20 hablantes nativos de clase alta del AJ, equilibrados por género y nivel de Tajweed, en una tarea de habla libre a través de Zoom, produciendo 309 fichas de /s^ʕ/ en 309 palabras monosilábicas. Las medidas binarias de lenición se sometieron a una regresión lineal mixta, con género, edad y niveles de Tajweed como variables independientes. Los resultados preliminares sugieren un efecto principal significativo para el Tajweed ($p < 0.001$), con cada aumento de nivel en Tajweed asociado con una disminución del 45.2% en la presencia de lenición. La edad también tuvo un efecto significativo ($p < 0.05$), con hablantes más jóvenes (18-45) mostrando un aumento del 11.7% en lenición en comparación con los hablantes mayores (45-62). El efecto del Tajweed en la lenición es consistente independientemente de la edad ($p = 0.12$) y el género ($p = 0.96$). Si esta lenición se generaliza entre las generaciones más jóvenes sin entrenamiento de Tajweed, el AJ podría neutralizar parcial o completamente la distinción fonémica entre /s^ʕ/ y /s/. La implicación de esta investigación es que los estudios de variación sociofonética, incluidos los del AJ, deben incorporar categorías sociales locales para comprender completamente las dinámicas sociolingüísticas en juego en el idioma.

Sound change in perception: Evidence from the American English nasal split /æ/ system

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Background: Listeners develop new allophonic categories over the course of a sound change in progress. Many researchers have argued that allophones can undergo phonologization, a process in which allophones become abstractly represented in listeners' linguistic representations (Beddor, 2009; Hyman, 1976). The American English nasal split /æ/ system, an allophonic split conditioned by the nasality of the following sound, has widely been described as phonologized (Kiparsky, 1995; Labov et al., 2016; Nesbitt, 2023). However, it is not well understood precisely how this phonologized system develops. Some researchers have proposed that phonologically abstract allophonic categories develop early in perception and potentially feed changes in production ("early abstractness," Fruehwald, 2016), while other researchers have argued that developing allophonic categories gradually accumulate phonological abstractness over time in both perception and production ("late abstractness," Berkson et al., 2017; Nesbitt, 2023). Existing research on /æ/ allophony suggests a tight perception-production link, such that listeners who produce more acoustically robust /æ/ allophony also perceive their own productions of /æ/ allophones as less similar than listeners who produce less acoustically robust /æ/ allophony (Nesbitt, 2023). While Nesbitt (2023) interpreted this evidence as supporting the late abstractness theory of phonologization, it is also possible that listeners were simply faithfully reporting on the raw acoustic differences present in their own productions.

Methods: In the current study, I investigated how listeners' existing allophonic categories exert a top-down influence on their perceptions of /æ/ allophones by controlling for the raw acoustic differences present in the speech signal. To manipulate listeners' existing exposure to /æ/ allophony, I recruited listeners who were lifelong residents of the Midland with more exposure to /æ/ allophony due to the nasal split-/æ/ system and lifelong residents of the North with less exposure to /æ/ allophony due to pre-oral trap raising in the Northern Cities Shift (Labov et al., 1972). During the experimental task, listeners were asked to evaluate how similar the vowels in sets of word pairs ($n = 192$) sounded on a scale from 1-5 (5 = most similar). All words were produced by two talkers who both produced strong /æ/ allophony (> 200 Hz difference in F1). There were three types of word pairs: match (*rat-rack*), allophonic mismatch (*rat-ran*), and phonemic mismatch (*rat-ripe*).

Results: A mixed-effects linear model predicting perceptual similarity ratings from word pair type and listener region revealed a significant two-way interaction ($F(2) = 5.57, p < .001$) [Figure 1]. Listeners with more lifelong exposure to /æ/ allophony perceived matching allophones as less similar than mismatching allophones as compared to listeners with less lifelong exposure to /æ/ allophony.

Discussion: Listeners with different amounts of exposure to /æ/ allophony have developed different linguistic representations of allophonic categories, with more exposure corresponding to a stronger phonological contrast between allophonic categories in perception. That is, listeners' existing allophonic categories exert a top-down influence that "warps" their perceptions of the acoustic properties of the speech signal. My results suggest that phonological abstractness accumulates gradually over the course of a sound change, consistent with "late abstractness" theories of phonologization.

Pronunciation in the [mɪrən]: Post-tonic /t/ flapping in Michigan: a non-white male-led change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Across American Englishes, the pronunciation of /tən/ in post-tonic position (as in *button* and *mitten*) is either a fully released [tən] or a glottal stop with nasal release (as in [mɪʔn]). However, some recent studies have observed two changes in progress: the increased presence of an oral release [ən] following the glottal stop (Eddington & Savage, 2012; Eddington & Brown, 2021; Davidson et al., 2021; Repetti-Ludlow, forthcoming), and a flap in place of the /t/ (Eddington & Brown, 2021; Repetti-Ludlow, forthcoming). It's been suggested that the oral release enables a flap pronunciation, meaning that cross-generationally, we would expect a speech community to exhibit the oral release before exhibiting a flap in the /t/. Furthermore, experimental results from Repetti-Ludlow & Blake (2023) find social patterning in /tən/ release, with Black-identified speakers leading the change towards an oral release. In this study, we examine conversational style speech in Michigan English to identify whether /tən/ is exhibiting an apparent time change in progress. Data come from the MI Diaries project, which has collected self-recorded 'audio diaries' from Michiganders since 2020. All Michigan born and raised speakers who produced at least 4 tokens of post-tonic /tən/ were included, resulting in 573 tokens from 46 speakers. Pronunciation was auditorily coded for the realization of /t/ ([t], [ʔ], or [ɾ]) and of the release ([ən] or [n]). We fit a mixed-effects logistic regression model with /t/ pronunciation as the outcome variable, main effects of release type, birth year, ethnicity, and gender, and a random intercept for subject (Table 1). These results are also represented in Figure 1, which shows the proportion of /t/ realizations per speaker, broken down by self-reported gender (M, F, or Non-Binary) and ethnicity (white, Latinx, Asian, and "other" (mixed-race or not specified)). None of our Black speakers produced >4 tokens, so we cannot compare our results directly to Repetti-Ludlow & Blake (2023). We find strong evidence for an incipient change in progress towards a flap pronunciation ($p < 0.001$), led by male speakers ($p = 0.001$) and by Latinx ($p = 0.01$) and "other" ($p = 0.03$) ethnicities. Contrary to the pattern found in Repetti-Ludlow (forthcoming), vowel release does not predict flap realization ($p = 0.4$). A separate model with the same effects structure was fit to the vowel release, which found a significant effect of birth year on vowel release but no social effects (Table 2). These findings suggest two main implications. First, /t/ realization in post-tonic /tən/ is a change in progress led by groups not typically identified as leaders of linguistic change: males and Latinx / Other speakers. Overall, the finding that non-white speakers lead this change aligns with Repetti-Ludlow & Blake (2023). Second, our data include speakers who produce [ɾn], without an oral release, and our models do not show a relationship between /t/ pronunciation and release type. This suggests that these changes may not need to occur in sequential order cross-generationally, and may instead be two independent changes happening concomitantly.

Punctuating gender, stance, and style: Perceiving tilde in Chinese digital communication

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Existing literature provides valuable insights into the socio-pragmatic functions of non-verbal cues in digital communication (Darics, 2013; Shepherd & Jaurena, 2023). Regarding the sociolinguistic importance of paralinguistic resources, recent work on exclamation marks, ellipsis, and periods argues that they may be used to index various formality levels and alignments (Androutsopoulos & Busch, 2021; Busch, 2021; Georgakopoulou, 2016). Qualitative studies also suggest that repetitive forms (e.g., repeating exclamation points) intensify expressiveness (Georgakopoulou, 2016; Vandergriff, 2013, etc.). The present study adopts an experimental approach to examine the social meanings associated with sentence final tilde (~) and its reduplicated form (~~) in the setting of mainland China, where the tilde is a commonly-used punctuation symbol (No. Youth, 2022). This investigation of the evaluation of tilde in digital communication draws upon data from an online experiment conducted with 124 native Mandarin-

speaking participants from mainland China (66 female, 54 male, 4 unknown, ages 18-40). Participants were presented with written stimuli consisting of constructed online messaging dialogues; test items ended with lines followed by zero, one, or two tildes. Participants rated the senders along several attribute dimensions (e.g., politeness, femininity) and assessed the likelihood that the two interlocutors had various relationships with each other, ranging from ‘unfamiliar’ to ‘romantic partners’. Factor analysis and mixed-effects linear regression (lmer) models were used to evaluate the findings. The best-fit models reveal that the use of tilde has a significantly positive effect on perceived gendered likability and intimacy and is negatively correlated with perceived status and workplace register. Reduplication of tilde was found to have a consistent significant intensification effect on some of the attributes assessed, including gendered likability, informality, and the unlikelihood of being associated with a professional register. In light of these findings, I argue that sentence-final tilde indexes gendered social qualities favored in East Asian culture while expressing an affective stance of intimacy. While prior research observes that the tilde is frequently used in workplace communication (No. Youth, 2022), participants evaluated stimuli with the tilde as significantly less professional; this pattern reflects the multifaceted nature of workplace communication, in which informal styles may be strategically deployed to achieve certain communicative goals. This study highlights the key role of digital punctuation in imbuing text with social meanings, and how these meanings may be shaped through the affordances of written text, such as reduplication.

On the lexical repertoire of bilingual communities: A study of loanwords in the Spanish of Southern Arizona

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While phonological and morphosyntactic variation in US Spanish has long been a focus of sociolinguistic inquiry, lexical variation has received comparatively less attention, with only a handful of exceptions (Aaron, 2015; Lynch, 2022; Mendieta & Molina, 2000; Waltermire & Valtierrez, 2019; Varra, 2018, among others). Nonetheless, lexical borrowings, or loans, play a significant role in the linguistic repertoire of bilingual communities, as evidenced by studies in regions such as New Mexico (Aaron, 2015) and New York City (Varra, 2018). This study investigates the presence of lexical loans in the Spanish spoken in Arizona, drawing on data from 51 sociolinguistic interviews extracted from the *Corpus del Español en el Sur de Arizona* (CESA) (Carvalho, 2012-). Our objectives are threefold: first, to analyze the frequency, linguistic categories, and diffusion patterns of loans; second, to compare our findings with previous research to identify commonalities and differences across US Spanish varieties; and third, to examine whether borrowing behavior is impacted by extralinguistic conditioners. Our results show that despite the popular perception of US Spanish as highly mixed, loans comprise only 0.66% of our data, similar to Varra’s (2018) results for NYC. Individual rates show great variation, from heavy borrowers (up to 3% of the words) to light borrowers (down to 0.04%). In addition, and as expected and widely documented in bilingual studies, the most frequently borrowed words are nouns (especially referring to domains culturally relevant to the community such as academia and school), and discourse markers. In terms of frequency of types, we attest that, identically to what Varra found in NYC, “so”, “you know”, “high school” and “yeah” are by far the most commonly borrowed words in the corpus. In terms of diffusion, “so” and “high school” are the most widespread borrowings, used by 27 and 24 speakers respectively. To assess the impact of extralinguistic factors on borrowing behavior, linear regression models are run in R. Results indicate that while age and gender do not significantly influence an individual’s propensity to borrow, the degree of contact with English does. Findings reveal that while all speakers in the dataset borrow, the higher the dominance in English, the more productive borrowing behavior is. This study provides first insights into the patterns of lexical borrowing behavior of Spanish-English bilinguals in Southern Arizona, indicates clear continuities across the Spanish varieties spoken in the US in terms of frequency and diffusion, and elucidates the role of contact with English in their use.

Stylized performance of “mock Berber” in a Moroccan Stand-Up comedy talent show

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In 2011, Amazigh (commonly known as Berber) became a second official language next to Arabic in Morocco after decades of activism for Berber linguistic and cultural rights. With this newly found legitimacy, modest use of the language started manifesting on widely pop cultural shows on prime-time state TV to a nation-wide audience composed of a non-Berberophone majority and a Berberophone minority. In this paper, we examine “mock Berber”, i.e., a performance of stylized Amazigh accent in Moroccan Arabic, by a young Amazigh comedian, Zakaria Ouarssam, who won the 2019 season of the Moroccan Stand-Up competition. The talent show aired on prime time on the First national TV channel (Al Oula) and continues to garner millions of views on YouTube, offering a rich sociolinguistic and metacommunicative context for understanding the creative and strategic uses of regional, social, and stylistic variation in contexts of Berber-Moroccan Arabic language contact. As a bilingual lower-class youth from Khenifra—a small city in the Middle Atlas—Zakaria’s successful comedic performance, we argue, sheds new light on the representation of a demographic and local identity that are marginalized both within a broader national culture, as well as the Amazigh movement itself, even as it reproduces certain linguistic hierarchies and ideologies and normalizes a way of being from which he has been excluded. Our study is based on four prime shows, each lasting approximately two and a half hours, including not only Zakaria’s onstage live performances and interactions with the judges and the studio audience, but also his interactions backstage with fellow contestants, coaches, and show animators, as well as interviews with the contestants’ family members. Specifically, we investigate the linguistic practices and embodied actions undertaken by Zakaria onstage and off-stage with an eye on the wide range of indexical meanings animated through his playful voicing of different Amazigh characters and personas, and the stances he takes vis-à-vis these voices, but also examine the evaluation of his performances by different audiences. Stylized regional Moroccan Arabic accents have a long history of mediatization in Morocco, particularly as comedy. The analysis shows how Zakaria’s stylized performances, by virtue of their strategic inauthenticity, contribute to the construction and valorization of an “accentless” Moroccan Arabic via a mass mediated show, a process which is as much ideological as it is linguistic. At the same time, the analysis of the different audiences’ uptake of his performance reveals that although his stylized mocking is no doubt offensive to some Amazigh identity activists, it is also celebrated, wildly popular, and taken up by many on social media as an expression of Amazigh pride. Overall, the study has broader implications for the role of performance in ongoing sociolinguistic change in Morocco (Hachimi 2022), insofar as it “provides a frame that invites critical reflection on communicative processes” (Bauman and Briggs 1990:61).

The indeterminacy of social meaning linked to ‘Mexico’ and ‘Texas’ Spanish: Examining monoglossic language ideologies among bilingual listeners

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Brendan Regan

Pronouns

He/Él/Him/His

Abstract (Language of presentation)

There is a growing number of studies exploring the effect of social information on speech perception. Studies have explored how implied ethnicity (Rubin 1992; Gutiérrez & Amengual 2016; Chappell & Barnes 2023; Kutlu 2020; Babel & Russell 2015), nationality (Hay et al. 2006a; Niedzielski 1999), age (Hay et al. 2006b; Koops et al. 2008), and urban/rural-ness (Barnes 2019) affect sociolinguistic perception. Some studies have found an indeterminacy between linguistic variation and social meaning based on differences in listeners' lived experiences (Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). The current endeavor builds on these studies by examining implied monolingual/bilingual status, or rather, the effect of a speaker's implied nationality ('from México', 'from Texas'), serving as a proxy for bilingual or monolingual status, on listeners' sociolinguistic evaluations. The aims were twofold: (i) to examine the effect of monolingual/bilingual status on the sociolinguistic perception of speakers; (ii) to investigate how listener characteristics, especially differences in bilingualism type (second versus heritage language), differ in these evaluations. The stimuli were produced by 8 Spanish-English bilingual speakers (4 women, 4 men) (ages: 20-24; *M*: 21.6; *SD*: 1.2) from Texas with parents from Mexico. One 8-12 second audio clip about family traditions was selected for each speaker from sociolinguistic interviews in Spanish. Clips did not include any codeswitching into English. The guises (and distractors) were placed online in a pseudo-random matched-guise test (Lambert et al. 1960) using Qualtrics. The speech remained the same, but the social information provided about the speakers varied ('Sofía from México...', 'Sofía from Texas ...'). 140 listeners (77 L2, 63 heritage; 110 women, 30 men; ages: 18-57, *M*: 21.6, *SD*: 4.0) evaluated each recording based on a six-point Likert scale for several social characteristics. Independent variables included guise ('from México', 'from Texas'), speaker gender, listener gender, study abroad, course level, listener bilingualism type (L2, heritage). Six-point Likert scales were subjected to a principal component analysis in R (R 2024), resulting in four dependent measures: perceived socioeconomic status, education, social affect, and ability to teach Spanish. For each dependent measure, a separate mixed-effects linear regression model was fitted using the *lmer* function (Bates et al. 2015) with random factors of speaker and listener. Qualitative comments were coded into semantic themes and subjected to word clouds. Quantitative analyses found that listeners evaluated 'Mexico' voices as more able to teach Spanish than 'Texas' voices (Figure1). However, only heritage listeners perceived 'Mexico' voices as being of higher socioeconomic status and of more positive social affect than 'Texas' voices (Figure2). Qualitative comments similarly found that heritage listeners evaluated 'Mexico' voices more favorably than 'Texas' voices (Figure3). The implications are: (i) the social information of implied monolingualism/ bilingualism influences listeners' social perceptions of a speaker, reflecting monoglossic language ideologies; (ii) there exists indeterminacy between language and social meaning that varies based on differences in lived experiences between L2 and heritage Spanish listeners. Extending on previous findings of indeterminacy between linguistic variants and meaning, the current study shows this also applies to (implied) language varieties, demonstrating the role of language ideologies in mediating social perception.

***Kein Bock? Null Problemo!* A Study of Variation in Contemporary Non-Standard German Negation**

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Pronouns

she/her

Abstract (Language of presentation)

In Modern Standard German (MSG), negation of APs and VPs is expressed in terms of the negative particle *nicht* ('not'), while NPs are negated with the negative adjective *kein* ('no'), inflected based on the

grammatical case, number and gender of the modified noun. While these prescriptive norms have not allowed for a great deal of variation when it comes to expressing negation in the standard variety, Androutsopoulos' (1997-1999) corpus study of German youth language identified grammaticalised *null* ('zero') as a variant that can be used as an alternative to both *kein* and *nicht* in certain contexts, as demonstrated in (1)-(3). Androutsopoulos argues that *null*-negation functions as a marker of youth identity, arising from the idiom *null Bock haben* ('to have no desire'; lit: 'to have no goat'). However, he does not present a quantitative analysis of the variation between *kein/nicht* and *null*. This article therefore builds on Androutsopoulos' study by analysing more recent corpus data with reference to the apparent-time hypothesis (Bailey et al. 1991). A total of 5,652 tokens were extracted from three corpora: the Forschungs- und Lehrkorpus Gesprochenes Deutsch (FOLK) ('Research and Teaching corpus of spoken German'), the *German Political Speeches* corpus and the German Web 2020 corpus. Focusing on variation in the negation of abstract NPs, a mixed-effects logistic regression model was used to consider the effect of the social factors 'age', 'sex', and 'interaction type', alongside linguistic predictors such as grammatical case, loanwords and the presence of intensifiers. While it was found that negation with *null* is still relatively uncommon compared to *kein*, there is evidence to suggest that *null*-negation has extended beyond its original designation as a marker of youth identity, with results instead pointing towards stable age-graded variation constrained by a continuum of emphasis. These findings are consistent with parallel observations in languages such as English and French (Kayne and Moro 2022), as well as with cross-linguistic tendencies in the historical development of negative particles (Jespersen 1917).

Panic! at the pronouns: Syntactic parsing of French neopronoun 'iel'

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction While existing literature has examined pronoun usage, gendered pronoun assumptions, and pronoun/referent mismatches, fewer have examined these mismatches in the context of gender-ambiguous neopronouns. Some, like Swedish *hen*, a gender-ambiguous third-person singular neopronoun, were adopted and usage encouraged by the Swedish Academy with little controversy (Vergoosen 2020). While others, such as French's *iel*, another gender-ambiguous third-person singular neopronoun, is categorically discouraged by the Académie française and Quebec Language Office on the grounds it makes the language "unreadable" (Académie française, 2017, para 1; Office québécois de la langue française, 2021, para. 2). This study examines via a self-paced reading task whether the use of *iel* delays syntactic processing.

Methods 74 francophone participants (41 from France, 33 from Canada) completed a self-paced reading task with 24 three-sentence stimuli. The first sentence begins with either a stereotypically masculine name (e.g. Pierre), feminine name (e.g. Alice), or a gender-ambiguous name (e.g. Lior). The following two sentences began with one of three pronouns: *iel*, *il* 'he', or *elle* 'she'. All names paired with *iel* were coded as 'neutral'. All feminine names with *il* and all masculine names with *elle* are coded as 'mismatch'. Feminine names with *elle* and masculine names with *il* are coded as 'match'. We then run a mixed-effects linear regression predicting reading time for 3 552 tokens. We treat country of origin, pronoun match type (neutral, match, mismatch), and pronoun as main factor predictors, including random intercept for each participant and sentence. We also treat interactions between country of origin, pronoun match type and pronoun.

Results We find that country of origin does affect reading time, as Hexagonal French speakers (those from France) have globally shorter reading times ($p < 0.0001$) compared to Canadian French speakers. We also find that all speakers have longer pronoun reading times compared to the rest of the sentence ($p < 0.0001$). Additionally, we find on average participants have longer *iel* reading times compared to the 'match/mismatch' conditions ($p < 0.0001$). Surprisingly, we also find that despite longer average reading

times with sentences using *iel*, Hexagonal French speakers have *shorter* reading times of sentences with *iel* than speakers of Canadian French ($p < 0.0001$).

Discussion Results demonstrate that Hexagonal French speakers read sentences with *iel* more quickly than both ‘match’ and ‘mismatch’ conditions and faster than Canadian French speakers. This result may suggest that *iel* is becoming part of the closed class of pronouns in Hexagonal French, while it has yet to integrate to the same extent in Canadian French. Given that attitudes in both countries towards *iel* are positive, (La Vie en Queer, 2018; Redacted 2023) these results echo Vergoosen’s (2020) on *hen*. Vergoosen found that positive attitudes did not preclude participant reading time delays. These findings suggest that *iel*, like *hen*, is becoming a part of everyday language, but is still perceived as ‘novel’ and necessitates further investigation on its integration into the French pronominal system.

Rechazos del español: una comparación de hablantes monolingües, hablantes de herencia y aprendices

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Este estudio investiga el papel del contexto multilingüe para la variación del acto de habla del rechazo. El rechazo permite al individuo más habilidades comunicativas de negación. Estudios previos han investigado los rechazos en español con hablantes monolingües (e.g., Félix-Brasdefer, 2020; García, 1999; Kaiser, 2018; Placencia, 2008). Sin embargo, hay una escasez de estudios que examinan los rechazos en español en contextos multilingües, por ejemplo con hablantes de herencia y aprendices de español. Por eso, este estudio analiza las estrategias del acto de habla de rechazo comparando tres poblaciones: 1) mexicanos monolingües de Puebla, México (N=10), 2) hablantes de herencia de español (N=10) y 3) aprendices de español (tres niveles de competencia) (N=18). Todos los participantes completaron un *Oral Discourse Completion Task* (DCT). Además, los hablantes de herencia y los aprendices de español respondieron un cuestionario de interacción social y una prueba contextualizada de competencia lingüística en español. El DCT consistió en 12 situaciones diversas en función de tres variables: grado de imposición (alto, medio, bajo), autoridad (superior vs. igual) e intimidad (distante vs. íntimo). Los resultados mostraron que los mexicanos monolingües utilizaron únicamente rechazos indirectos como razón/justificación, esfuerzos para disuadir al interlocutor, agradecimiento y alternativas. Este hallazgo difiere bastante de los resultados de estudios previos con hablantes monolingües de español, quienes siempre usaron rechazos directos hasta en otras variedades mexicanas (e.g., Guanajuato (Félix-Brasdefer, 2020)). Los hablantes de herencia emplearon tanto rechazos indirectos como directos. Las estrategias más comunes para los hablantes de herencia incluyeron razón/justificación, disculpas, esfuerzos para disuadir al interlocutor y agradecimiento. En cuanto a la comparación que se hizo entre los mexicanos monolingües y los tres niveles de aprendices se demostró que los aprendices fueron más directos que los mexicanos monolingües, utilizando la estrategia habilidad negativa. Estos resultados demuestran la importancia del contexto para la variación sociolingüística y sociopragmática. En un contexto multilingüe con los hablantes de herencia, se observan estrategias de rechazo que se encuentran en el medio de los monolingües de español y los aprendices de español. Se ve un continuo con los más indirectos (los monolingües de español) en un lado y los más directos (los aprendices) en el otro lado y los hablantes de herencia en el medio utilizando estrategias híbridas. Este estudio también mostró que los aprendices avanzados fueron los únicos que usaron la empatía como estrategia. Se discuten los hallazgos respecto a implicaciones pedagógicas, tanto para los aprendices de español como los hablantes de herencia. Por ejemplo, enfatizamos la necesidad de exponer a los estudiantes a situaciones de aprendizaje donde aumenten su competencia sociopragmática.

Author Translation

This study investigates the role of multilingual context in variation of the speech act of refusal. Refusals allow the individual more communicative skills of negation. Previous studies have investigated refusals in Spanish with monolingual speakers (e.g., Felix-Brasdefer, 2020; Garcia, 1999; Kaiser, 2018; Placencia, 2008). However, there is a lack of studies that examine Spanish refusals in multilingual contexts, for example with heritage speakers and learners of Spanish. Therefore, this study analyzes the strategies involved in the speech act of refusals comparing three populations: 1) monolingual Mexicans from Puebla, Mexico (N=10), 2) Spanish heritage speakers (N=10), and 3) learners of Spanish (three proficiency levels) (N=18). All participants completed an Oral Discourse Completion Task (DCT). In addition, heritage speakers and Spanish learners completed a social interaction questionnaire and a contextualized Spanish proficiency test. The DCT consisted of 12 diverse situations based on three variables: degree of imposition (high, medium, low), power (superior vs. equal), and intimacy (distant vs. intimate). The results showed that monolingual Mexicans used only indirect refusals such as reason/justification, efforts to dissuade the interlocutor, thanking, and alternatives. This finding is quite different from the results of previous studies with monolingual Spanish speakers, who always used direct refusals even in other Mexican varieties (e.g., Guanajuato (Félix-Brasdefer, 2020)). Heritage speakers employed both indirect and direct refusals. The most common strategies for heritage speakers included reason/justification, apologies, efforts to dissuade the interlocutor, and thanking. As for the comparison that was made between monolingual Mexicans and the three levels of learners, it was shown that learners were more direct than monolingual Mexicans, using the strategy negative ability. These results demonstrate the importance of context for sociolinguistic and sociopragmatic variation. In a multilingual context with heritage speakers, refusal strategies are observed to be in the middle of Spanish monolinguals and Spanish learners. A continuum is seen with the most indirect (the monolingual Spanish speakers) on one side and the more direct (the learners) on the other side and the heritage speakers in the middle using hybrid strategies. This study also showed that advanced learners were the only ones who used empathy as a strategy. We discuss the findings with respect to pedagogical implications for both Spanish learners and heritage speakers. For example, we emphasize the need to expose learners to learning situations where they increase their sociopragmatic competence.

Reconceptualizing social stratification in Detroit in 1966

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The Detroit Dialect Study (DDS; Shuy et al. 1968) offers a unique perspective of social stratification in an American city in the mid-twentieth century due to its impressive size and sampling techniques. When the fieldwork was conducted in 1966, Detroit was in the midst of massive population changes due to immigration from African Americans from the rural South; Southern whites, and other ethnic minority groups (e.g. Polish Americans), as well as out-migration of white Detroiters, called white flight (Boustan 2010). The DDS was collected as a stratified random sample of the city, with fieldworkers targeting specific geographic areas and populations (e.g. Polish neighborhoods; Black migrant neighborhoods, etc.). Additionally, DDS fieldwork focused on collecting data from family units, including a child (age 9-12), an older sibling (13-18) and a parent. From a sociolinguistic perspective, subsets of the DDS have played a crucial role in our understanding of the development of urban AAL (Wolfram 1969), the Northern Cities Shift (NCS; Fasold 1969), as well as family level changes (Deser 1990). The current analysis focuses on the early stages of the NCS (/æ/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/) as it was progressing through the community, as well as the distribution of the diphthong /aɪ/, which, in non-prevoiceless contexts can be monophthongal in AAL, but it also interacts with American Raising (Davis & Berkson 2021) where the vowel nucleus in pre-voiceless contexts is raised. The data analyzed in the current study come from a reading passage that 440 of the 720 DDS speakers completed. In total, 240 families are represented from thirty-one school areas, representing ages 9-89 (YOB 1877-1957), with 292 female and 148 male, 177 Black, 262 white, and samples from lower working to upper middle class speakers. Additionally, two

families that have three generations represented in the DDS are used as case studies to highlight intergenerational trends. Vowels were extracted using modern sociophonetic methods (Montreal Forced Aligner; FAVE-Extract) resulting in 107500 vowels across the vowel space. Vowels were z-score normalized and analyzed using mixed effects linear regressions. Results confirm Fasold's (1969) impressionistic study that /æ/, /ɑ/, and /ɔ/ are more fronted for white speakers, especially women in the lower-middle class. For /aɪ/, pre-voiced monophthongization is common across generations in the Black community, while raising of the pre-voiceless nucleus is robust in both younger white and Black speakers in Detroit. Finally, the family case studies highlight two types of intergenerational transmission. First, for a white family with long ties to the area, there is incremental change in the movement of /æ/. But for a Black family with older generations from the South, the adolescents exhibit increased /aɪ/ glide weakening compared to parents and grandparents, which suggests a potential new dialect formation process of focusing. While the focus here is Detroit, the general processes of intra- and inter-dialect contact are common in US cities across the twentieth century, but the extensive synchronic DDS corpus provides a more complete lens to the linguistic and social stratification happening in Detroit in the 1960s, where racial differentiation intersects with social class.

Signcraft: Embodied Energy in the Linguistic Construction of Two Gaming Personae

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The sociolinguistic scholarship which frames variation as a semiotic system (Eckert, 2016) has increasingly identified personae as a central site of meaning-making (Calder, 2019; D'Onofrio, 2020; Xu, 2023). This project highlights the contemporary relevance of online personae (Slobe, 2018; Gao, 2020) by describing the style-shifting of self-identified gamers, or individuals who play video games, a group whose linguistic practices remain largely unstudied. We build on research investigating how linguistic features become iconically linked to social meanings through ideologies of embodiment (Pratt, 2023), arguing that two groups of gamers recruit the variables of pitch and articulation rate differently to construct ideological stances of embodied energy (Esposito & Gratton, 2020). The data come from a production study of self-identified gamers. After recruiting college-aged gamers and gathering metacommentary and information about subgroupings, we focused on two groups: "cozy" gamers (N = 4), who game to relax and achieve low-energy affective states, and "hardcore" gamers (N = 5), whose gaming is competitive and goal-oriented. We elicited speech in two contexts: first, each group recorded themselves playing the same game, Minecraft, and then participated in a casual in-person follow-up conversation. Following the methods of Esposito and Gratton (2020), we measured the mean pitch and articulation rate of utterances in the two styles (in-game speech and conversational speech). We fit mixed-effects linear regression models for each variable using the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015), which included fixed effects of gaming group and style and a random effect of speaker. A statistical interaction between gaming group and style was found for both variables; i.e. cozy gamers style-shifted to employ lower pitch and articulation rate while gaming as compared to the in-person conversation, while hardcore gamers demonstrated the opposite pattern, style-shifting to employ higher pitch and articulation rate while gaming (Figures 1 and 2). We argue that the gamers' stylistic practices reflect their ideological perspectives on the activity of gaming, which correspond to notions of energy and intensity, highlighting the role of the body in forging iconic relationships between linguistic features and social meanings (Esposito & Gratton, 2020; Gal, 2016). By bringing our investigation to an understudied persona that is widespread in everyday practice and connected to the online context, and by demonstrating that members of the same overall community of practice construct embodied energy in variation across styles, we contribute new evidence in support of a broad semiotic landscape (Eckert, 2019) that language users deploy to make meaning.

Author Translation

Los estudios sociolingüísticos que enmarcan la variación como un sistema semiótico han descrito cada vez más a los personajes como un lugar central de creación de significado (Calder, 2019; D’Onofrio, 2020; Xu, 2023). Este proyecto destaca la relevancia contemporánea de los personajes en línea (Slobe, 2018; Gal, 2020) al describir el cambio de estilo de los *gamers*, o personas que juegan a videojuegos, autoidentificados, un grupo cuyas prácticas lingüísticas no se han estudiado en gran medida. Nos basamos en los estudios que investigan cómo las características lingüísticas se vinculan icónicamente a significados sociales a través de ideologías de embodiment (Pratt, 2023), argumentando que dos grupos de *gamers* utilizan las variables de altura tonal y velocidad de habla de manera diferente para construir posturas ideológicas de energía incorporada (c.f. Esposito & Gratton, 2020). Los datos proceden de un estudio experimental de producción sobre *gamers* autoidentificados. Después de reclutar a *gamers* de edad universitaria y recopilar metacomentarios e información sobre subgrupos, nos centramos en dos grupos: "cozy gamers" (N = 4), que juegan para relajarse y alcanzar estados afectivos de baja energía, y "hardcore gamers" (N = 5), cuyo juego es competitivo y orientado a objetivos. Obtuvimos el habla en dos contextos: en primer lugar, cada grupo se grabó a sí mismo jugando al mismo videojuego y luego participó en una conversación casual en persona. Siguiendo los métodos de Esposito y Gratton (2020), medimos el tono medio y la velocidad de habla de los enunciados en los dos estilos (discurso en el juego y discurso conversacional). Ajustamos modelos de regresión lineal de efectos mixtos para cada variable utilizando el paquete lme4 (Bates et al., 2015), que incluía efectos fijos de grupo de gamer y estilo y un efecto aleatorio de hablante. Se encontró una interacción estadística entre el grupo de gamer y el estilo para ambas variables; es decir, los cozy gamers cambiaron para emplear un tono y una velocidad de habla más bajos mientras jugaban en comparación con la conversación en persona, mientras que los *hardcore gamers* demostraron el patrón opuesto, cambiando de estilo para emplear un tono y una velocidad de habla más altos mientras jugaban (Figuras 1 y 2). Argumentamos que las prácticas estilísticas de los *gamers* reflejan sus perspectivas ideológicas sobre la actividad del juego, que se corresponden con las nociones de energía e intensidad, destacando el papel del cuerpo en la forja de relaciones icónicas entre las características lingüísticas y los significados sociales (Esposito & Gratton, 2020; Gal, 2016). Al centrar nuestra investigación en un personaje poco estudiado que está muy extendido en la práctica cotidiana y conectado al contexto en línea, y al demostrar que los miembros de la misma comunidad general de práctica construyen la energía incorporada de forma variable a través de estilos, contribuimos con nuevas pruebas en apoyo del amplio campo semiótico (Eckert, 2019) con el que interactúan los usuarios del lenguaje para hacer significado.

Social and regional variation of DOM: The case of Spanish *ver*

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Significant empirical attention has been paid to Differential Object Marking, or DOM, which is the variable overt indication of a direct object, usually with the lexicalized morpheme *a* (e.g., *veo a alguien* ‘I see someone’). Much attention has been given to psycholinguistic approaches within bilingual communities (e.g., López Ortero, 2022) and to the linguistic parameters of DOM, such as semantic role (Cassarà & Mürmann, 2021). Within sociolinguistics, variationist approaches to DOM have compared two named languages, such as Spanish and Portuguese (Schwenter, 2014) as well as monolingual versus bilingual speech communities (Carvalho, 2021). However, to date, few studies have investigated dialectal variation of DOM across the Spanish-speaking world (cf., Schwenter, 2011, von Heusinger & Keiser, 2005). Thus, the purpose of the current paper is to extend the research on variation of Spanish DOM to include more sociolinguistic domains - region and social factors, namely age, education level, and sex. Data are collected via the PRESEEA corpus, with tokens coming from 11 Spanish-speaking cities. Two of the cities are in the U.S. (Chicago and New York City), one in Spain (Madrid), one in Mexico

(Mexico City), one in Central America (Guatemala City), five in South America (Lima, Santiago, Bogota, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires), and one in the Caribbean (La Havana). The linguistic scope of the analysis was limited to just one verb – *ver* ‘to see’ – a Class 2 verb, following von Heusinger (2008). That is, *ver* has no clear preference for human direct objects; it can take both human (e.g., a barista) and nonhuman (e.g., a television) objects. Manual searches in PRESEEA were conducted for all lemas of the infinitive *ver* and tokens with a direct object were coded for +/- animate, +/- human, +/- specific. For each token, the categorical social factors included within PRESEEA were coded, which are age, education level, and sex. Three mixed-effects logistic regression models, built in R (RStudio, 2024), analyzed the 371 tokens of *ver*. Due to small sample size, separate models were built to investigate the linguistic, social, and regional factors; all models included speaker as a random variable. The first investigated the linguistic factors of animacy, humanness, and specificity of the direct object across all cities and results only show statistical effects of object animacy. The second tested the social factors and the data show significant effects of age and education level, where the oldest speakers (55+) and those with the highest levels of education produce *a* less than the youngest group (20 – 34 years old) and those with lower education. Finally, a model including just the regional factor shows that, when compared to the data from Bogotá, the speech communities of New York City, Chicago, and Lima all produce less overt *a*. This study adds novel findings to the literature by highlighting social factors that also predict DOM in Spanish, which may lead to future discussions of language change, stigmatization across age groups and education levels, and as well as language contact and bilingualism.

Place identity and masculinity: An examination of /t/ release burst duration

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Regional variation in Modern Hebrew has been largely overlooked in previous work, under the assumption that no regional dialects exist (Ravid, 1995). Nevertheless, while there is no salient notion of “dialect” among Israelis, there may still be subtle and meaningful place-related variation worthy of exploration. Our study demonstrates this point by focusing on a linguistic variable that – for Hebrew – has been “under the radar”: /t/-release bursts. English /t/ is often unreleased (Byrd, 1992), and sociolinguistic research has suggested a variety of indexical meanings associated with the release of /t/ (Eckert, 2008) such as nerdiness (Bucholtz, 1996) and intelligence (Campbell-Kibler, 2005). Furthermore, among Orthodox Jews in the US it is associated with a learned masculine persona (Benor, 2001). In Hebrew, there is little to no research on /t/-release, possibly since it is claimed to be invariably released (Laufer, 2008). However, within released realizations, the length of the release burst has also been shown carry of social meaning (Podseva, 2006; Benheim, 2023). Therefore, we argue that it is worth examining /t/-release in Hebrew as well, but our analysis focuses on comparing how the release burst was realized rather than on whether it occurred. The data comes from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with native Hebrew speakers in two Israeli communities: Tel-Aviv, the economic and cultural center of Israel, and Beer-Sheva, a smaller city in Southern Israel. Among Israelis, Tel-Aviv is generally perceived as “progressive”, whereas Beer-Sheva is typically described as more “traditional” – these views were also expressed by the speakers in the corpus. We constructed a balanced corpus of 40 speakers, 20 from each city, with an equal representation of men and women, ranging in age from 24 to 89. The sample was also controlled for ethnicity – in the Israeli case, constructed as a distinction between Jews of European and Middle Eastern descent (Gaftor, 2019). All instances of phrase-final /t/ were extracted, resulting in 918 tokens. Of them, 896 had an audible release burst, showing that /t/ is indeed virtually always released in Hebrew. Burst duration was measured in Pratt and normalized according to the length of the preceding stressed vowel to account for speech rate (Podseva, 2006). On average, speakers in the Tel-Aviv sample produced longer bursts (90 msec) than the in the Beer Sheva sample (71 msec). Regression modeling shows this difference to be significant ($p < 0.001$). Furthermore, there is a significant interaction of gender and place ($p < 0.0001$): men have shorter release bursts than women, only in the Beer-Sheva sample. We

propose that this may reflect a general more heteronormative construction of masculinity among the Beer-Sheva speakers, with men and women increasing their phonetic distance. Furthermore, if long bursts are associated with Tel-Aviv, the Beer-Sheva men may be more inclined to distance themselves from Tel-Aviv's "non-masculine" image than the women. To conclude, our results show that Hebrew speakers' /t/ vary by place, but crucially, they are part of the co-construction of place and gender identities, thus demonstrating the significance of intersectional identities when considering regional variation (Podesva & Van Hofwegen, 2016).

The L2 acquisition of the discourse properties of second person singular forms of address in Paisa Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study examines the second language acquisition of sociolinguistic variation. Specifically, we investigate the lexical and discourse properties used by L2 speakers of Spanish in a study abroad context in Medellín, Colombia and compare them to those of native Spanish-speakers from Medellín. Known as Paisa Spanish, this South American dialect is characterized by a tripartite system of 2PS, including a regional *voseo* in addition to *tuteo* and *ustedeo* (García Tesoro & Jang, 2022; Millán, 2014; Weyers, 2018). Participants consisted of 22 learners of Spanish living in Medellín and 38 native speakers of Paisa Spanish. Learners consisted of a heterogeneous group from various countries, including U.S. (n=10), Egypt (n=1), Germany (n=3), Turkey (n=1), Japan (n=2), South Korea (n=1), France (n=1), Holland (n=2), and China (n=1). Data was obtained by means of a Discourse Completion Task (DCT) designed to elicit 2PS across different speech act contexts, a social interaction questionnaire, and a contextualized Spanish proficiency test. Data from the DCT was processed to extract the lexical profile in the form of sequences of tokens (e.g., unigrams and bigrams), a lexical sophistication score based on the proficiency level, and several syntactic indicators of complexity at the sentence level (e.g., average number of verbs, clauses, and T-Units). The first measure of 2PS use found very few instances of *voseo* in the DCT responses (n=6), demonstrating the lack of acquisition of this regional form by learners. Overall results show that while learners do acquire specific lexical phrases utilized by native speakers, they do not always produce the same collocations with the discourse of specific 2PS. For example, native speakers tended to use "qué pena contigo" while learners produced "qué pena con usted". Results also showed that learners who have greater social interaction with native speakers presented patterns of use more similar to that of native speakers in terms of syntactical complexity. The results of this research permit us to describe the developmental stages in L2 learners and the acquisition of dialectal variation of 2PS. Furthermore, findings support the benefit of immersion for the L2 acquisition of sociolinguistic variation.

Author Translation

Este estudio examina la adquisición de segundas lenguas de la variación sociolingüística. Específicamente, investigamos las propiedades léxicas y discursivas utilizadas por hablantes de español L2 en un contexto de estudios en el extranjero en Medellín, Colombia, y las comparamos con las de los hispanohablantes nativos de Medellín. Conocido como español paisa, este dialecto sudamericano se caracteriza por un sistema tripartito de 2PS, que incluye un *voseo* regional además de *tuteo* y *ustedeo* (García Tesoro & Jang, 2022; Millán, 2014; Weyers, 2018). Los participantes fueron 22 aprendices de español, quienes vivían en Medellín, y 38 hablantes nativos de español paisa. Los aprendices consistieron en un grupo heterogéneo de varios países, incluyendo Estados Unidos (n=10), Egipto (n=1), Alemania (n=3), Turquía (n=1), Japón (n=2), Corea del Sur (n=1), Francia (n=1), Holanda (n=2) y China (n=1). Los datos se obtuvieron mediante una Tarea de Completación del Discurso (DCT) diseñada para obtener 2PS en diferentes contextos de actos de habla, un cuestionario de interacción social y una prueba contextualizada de competencia en español. Los datos de la DCT se procesaron para extraer el perfil léxico en forma de secuencias de tokens (por ejemplo, *unigrams* y *bigrams*), una puntuación de

sofisticación léxica basada en el nivel de competencia y varios indicadores sintácticos de complejidad a nivel de frase (por ejemplo, número medio de verbos, cláusulas y unidades T). La primera medida del uso de las 2PS encontró muy pocos casos de voseo en las respuestas del DCT (n=6), lo que demuestra la falta de adquisición de esta forma regional por parte de los aprendices. Los resultados generales muestran que, aunque los aprendices adquieren frases léxicas específicas utilizadas por los hablantes nativos, no siempre producen las mismas colocaciones con el discurso de 2PS específicas. Por ejemplo, los hablantes nativos tendían a utilizar "qué pena contigo", mientras que los alumnos producían "qué pena con usted". Los resultados también mostraron que los aprendices que tienen una mayor interacción social con hablantes nativos presentaron patrones de uso más similares a los de los hablantes nativos en términos de complejidad sintáctica. Los resultados de esta investigación permiten describir las etapas de desarrollo en los aprendices de L2 y la adquisición de la variación dialectal de las 2PS. Además, los resultados apoyan el beneficio de la inmersión para la adquisición L2 de la variación sociolingüística.

The Phonology of Black Women in Boston (across Age, Ethnicity, and Style)

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction: African American Language (AAL) and North American dialectology have long and robust histories, though few studies consider the two in the same community samples. Recent research in this domain reveals considerable implications for how speakers of underserved communities negotiate their regional and racial/ethnic identities (cf. King, 2016, 2018; Becker, 2014). Furthermore, Black New Englanders remain heavily underrepresented in the literature (c.f. Labov, et al., 2006). Browne and Stanford (2018) offer progress in documenting apparent time change away from white local sound changes for Black New Englanders (n=28). We provide an update on Black New England phonology by analyzing AAL and New England English features, and by considering ethnicity and style as possible sources of variation, as has been observed in other northeastern Black communities (cf. Blake & Shousterman, 2010).

Methods: Data comes from a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 28 Black Bostonians (women; born and raised in Boston's historically Black neighborhoods; 17 African American, 11 Caribbean American; birth years 1969-2000) conducted in 2020-2021. Recordings were transcribed, run through DARLA (Reddy & Stanford, 2015) for forced alignment and extraction, and all vocalic variables were hand corrected. Tokens are from free speech and word list portions of the interviews. Formants were measured at the midpoint and the Pillai-Bartlett statistic (Hay et al., 2006) was calculated for mergers. R-lessness was coded impressionistically. Regression analyses were in R (R Core Team, 2023) with style, *ethnicity*, and birth year as independent variables, and *speaker* and word as random intercepts.

Results: Ethnicity and birth year effects remain absent for all New England variables, except the MARY-MERRRY-MARRY distinction, which is progressing over time ($p < 0.001$). For the African American Vowel Shift components (Farrington, et al., 2021), TRAP is retracting over time and LOT-THOUGHT merger is stable, while we find no ethnicity effects. Style effects appear only for MARY-MERRRY-MARRY distinction ($p < 0.001$).

Fronted PALM/START (*birth year*: $p = 0.257$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.146$)

R-lessness (*birth year*: $p = 0.155$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.182$)

LOT-THOUGHT merger (*birth year*: $p = 0.707$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.643$)

LOT-fronting (*birth year*: $p = 0.720$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.510$)

DRESS-fronting (*birth year*: $p = 0.224$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.129$) and raising (*birth year*: $p = 0.857$; *ethnicity*: $p = 0.249$)

KIT-fronting (*birth year*: $p=0.774$; *ethnicity*: $p=0.861$) and raising (*birth year*: $p=0.385$; *ethnicity*: $p=0.303$)

TRAP-fronting (*birth year*: $p=0.015$; *ethnicity*: $p=0.592$) and raising (*birth year*: $p=0.570$; *ethnicity*: $p=0.454$)

Conclusion: As an update to the apparent time findings in Browne and Stanford (2018), we observe considerable stability over time in a sample one generation younger than theirs. Likewise, rather than the expected AAVS, contemporary Black women in Boston exhibit some New England English features combined with Low-Back-Merger-Shift features (Becker, 2019). Overall, we find an avoidance of ‘non-standard’ features that are stereotypical (New England) or below the radar (AAVS), regardless of ethnicity or style.

Multilingualism and Gender Assignment: Three Parallel Systems for Loanwords in Istanbul Judeo-Spanish?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In situations of contact, a language’s system for assigning grammatical gender to borrowed nouns is assumed to function “normally” if it follows the same rules that the language uses to assign gender to native nouns (Corbett 1991). The variety of Judeo-Spanish (also called Ladino, ISO 639-3: lad) spoken by Sephardic Jews in Istanbul since their expulsion from Spain in 1492 is a fruitful case for testing this: it has been in heavy contact with Turkish and French for centuries, and while its French-origin borrowings come from a language with a two-gender system, its Turkish-origin borrowings come with no gender features of their own. Furthermore, its speakers are highly proficient multilinguals, often in all three languages. This paper shows that Istanbul Judeo-Spanish seems to violate Corbett’s norm quite spectacularly. Rather than consistently applying the native gender assignment system to loanwords, multilingual speakers appear to vary the rules according to the donor language of the loanword, resulting in three parallel systems of gender assignment: one for native nouns, one for Turkish-origin nouns, and one for French. This tripartite grammar has been posited in descriptive texts on Istanbul Judeo-Spanish (Varol-Bornes 2008, Romero 2009) but has never been quantitatively investigated in naturalistic speech. To do this, I use an unprecedented and understudied corpus of contemporary Judeo-Spanish speech called the Ladino Database Project which was recorded in Istanbul in the last 15 years. Drawing on more than 1000 tokens of Turkish and French loanwords from the speech of 25 L1 speakers, I use mixed-effects logistic regression models to measure the different effects of animacy, phonological shape, and donor language gender on the eventual assignment of grammatical gender to these loans. Preliminary results suggest that the phonological shape of a loanword affects its assigned gender differently according to the donor language. Turkish-origin nouns are nearly categorically predicted to be feminine when their terminal phonemes are /a/ or stressed /e/, while for French-origin loanwords the only significant predictor is final /a/. That final /e/ triggers feminine gender assignment for Turkish words already departs from Judeo-Spanish’s native assignment rules. For French-origin borrowings, another significantly predictive variable is active: the noun’s gender in French. This result is typologically notable, as Ibrahim (1973) wrote that donor language effects “occur very rarely” cross-linguistically. It is also relevant for theories of language contact: donor language effects entail the borrowing of a syntactic gender feature along with the noun. Given the variable multilingualism of the Istanbul Judeo-Spanish speaker community, I probe this result further by investigating the effect of a speaker’s language background: does a speaker need to be fluent in French for donor language effects to be active? What will emerge is a sharper picture of the systematic variation in Istanbul Judeo-Spanish’s gender assignment system and a richer understanding of a highly multilingual and endangered speaker community.

Quantify syncretism in subject-verb agreement marking

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

1. Problem. Subject-verb agreement syncretism, whereby a morphological exponent corresponds to more than one combination of phi-features (e.g., number, person, etc), has been argued to be related to subject expression (e.g., *Taraldsen's Generalization*, TG, Taraldsen, 1980; van Gelderen, 2000) and V-to-I movement (e.g., *Rich Agreement Hypothesis*, RAH, Kosmeijer, 1986; Kroch et al., 2000). However, decades after the generalizations were made, their validity is still under debate, largely due to the fact that syncretism has been operationalized as a dichotomous parameter of “agreement richness” and that there is no consensus regarding the operationalization. This results in conflicting conclusions regarding the same datasets, especially for languages that do not exemplify fully syncretic or fully non-syncretic agreement (d'Alessandro, 2015; Koenenman & Zeijlstra, 2014; Walkden, 2014). For instance, Koenenman and Zeijlstra (2014) show that counter-examples against RAH disappear using their criterion of “richness”. The greatest challenge is arguably associated with the fact that agreement systems undergo diachronic gradual changes resulting from synchronic variation, something a categorical approach cannot accommodate in principle.

In this project, we propose a new information-theoretical metric, the *Agreement Syncretism Score*, ASS, to quantify syncretism.

2. Metric. ASS measures the ambiguity of verbal endings in indicating the subject's person and number, allowing a gradient, rather than categorical, characterization of “richness”. A higher ASS indicates greater uncertainty and therefore poorer agreement (i.e., higher syncretism). The crucial ingredient of ASS is the conditional entropy of the person&number features of the subject given a verbal ending, as defined in (1). To make the metric insensitive to unbalanced distributions of subject's person, we normalize the conditional entropy by the general uncertainty of person distribution, shown in (2). For instance, in a system with high syncretism but a skewed subject person distribution, both $H(\text{person}|\text{ending})$ and $H(\text{person})$ are low, resulting in a high score, which correctly reflects high syncretism.

3. Application. We apply ASS to the exceptionally well-documented case of historical English, known for having lost its “rich” agreement system. We used CorpusSearch2 (Randall, 2010) to extract all occurrences containing a pronominal subject and a present-tense verb from the historical corpora of British English prose (Kroch, 2020; Taylor et al., 2003), excluding BE and HAVE, auxiliaries, modals, subordinate clauses and subject containing conjunction, yielding 15,719 sentences from 800 to 1913. Verbal endings were coded using Python scripts. Based on the distribution of verbal endings across subjects characterized by person&number features, we calculated ASS for every 150-year period. Our results (see Figure 1) show a significant increase in the ASS over time (Pearson coef. = 0.84, $p < 0.01$). The correlation is also statistically significant when ASS is calculated for 1-, 50-, or 100-year periods. Hence, ASS proves successful in quantitatively capturing the historical increase in English verbal syncretism, and allows for quantitative investigations of the relationships between agreement syncretism and other linguistic phenomena, both synchronically and diachronically.

¿Juntos o revueltos?: SPE variation in Colombians in Philadelphia

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Pronombrista studies, which focus on subject pronoun expression (SPE) across Spanish-speaking communities are a branch on variationism where we look at motivators of change across same-language

communities. As immigration becomes more widely researched, these studies have highlighted a difference between SPE (*yo hablo* vs. *hablo*) in continental Latin America and the United States. I recruited speakers of Colombian origin, who reside in the city of Philadelphia, to observe a potential regional variation influence of change. In Colombia, Caribbean communities show higher overt pronoun rates of 40 to 60% whereas the Andes stay at a lower and more conservative 20 to 30%. While this is common across the continent, Colombia is unique in that dialects vary inside the country, generating variation inside the same territory. Previous studies about Colombians in the US (Orozco, 2018) mention the apparent leveling of SPE rated in NYC, it would seem like the dialect contact reduces the highest rates from Caribbean communities and increases the rates on Andean speakers, levelling at around 45-55% expression rates. Orozco & Hurtado 2021 also noticed that Medellin is experiencing an uptick in SPE. I collected data from thirty-eight participants in Philadelphia (30) and Bogota (8) and looked at all traditional variables (person and number, reference, social networks), as well as bilingual proficiency and psycholinguistic recall accuracy. In this research I wanted to look at a widely studied variable and bring it forward to the modern context where this variation exists. Currently, we interact with a bilingual and globalized world, and immigrant communities in the US that have been established for several decades have developed their own prestige systems and language hubs. By recognizing the potential influence of dialectal contact and language contact, I also wanted to look at the multiculturalism of immigration, even between same-origin communities. In my research findings, not only were traditional variables significant ($p < 0.05$) but also social networks. Colombians who had diverse latino and American social networks (*revueltos*) were showing an uptick in their SPE; but Colombians in English speaking or solely Colombian communities (*juntos*) did not. These networks also had an influence on bilingual language acquisition, with higher recall being related to diverse social networks, and more stable SPE patterns than lower recall rates. Suggesting that the SPE variation percentages could be related to a pattern acquisition (Shin & Erker 2016). I want to discuss that SPE can give us a glimpse into global dynamic of change, not only from a formal linguistic perspective, but also from the social phenomena of globalization and change. By incorporating cognitive testing, I also want to mention the importance of studying change separately from language contact when variation pertains to a specific language, finally, I believe that sociolinguistic studies can thoroughly benefit from modernizing data and data collection to suit the newer generations.

Author Translation

Los estudios pronombristas, que se enfocan en el uso del sujeto pronombre expreso (SPE) dentro de las comunidades hispanohablantes, son una rama del variacionismo donde observamos razones de cambio dentro de comunidades que hablan el mismo lenguaje. A medida que investigamos con mayor profundidad los aspectos migratorios del cambio, los estudios pronombristas han demostrado que existe una diferencia de uso del SPE en latinoamerica y estados unidos. Trabajé con hablantes de origen colombiano, residentes de la ciudad de Filadelfia, para observar la influencia potencial de el origen regional. En Colombia, tanto la variedad caribeña del español como la andina coexisten dentro del mismo territorio, lo que conlleva a diferencias en el porcentaje de SPE con 20% en los andes y 40% en el caribe. Los estudios previos de Orozco (2018) en la comunidad hispana de Nueva York, menciona una aparente nivelación del sujeto pronombre expreso que sugiere que el contacto dialectal reduce el uso extremo del SPE colombiano (60%) y aumenta el uso conservador de las comunidades andinas (20%) resultando en un nuevo porcentaje de uso: 45% a 50% que parece obedecer a la tendencia estadounidense de uso. Este fenómeno también se ha empezado a observar dentro del territorio colombiano, particularmente en Medellín (Orozco y Hurtado, 2021) y parece ser una tendencia también generacional. Recolecté datos de 38 participantes, 30 residentes de Filadelfia y 8 residentes bogotanos y analicé las variables clásicas como: persona y número, cambio de referencia, redes sociales. Y utilicé también pruebas de bilingüismo y porcentaje de memoria en exámenes bilingües. En esta investigación, tomé una de las variables más estudiadas en el campo de la sociolingüística hispánica y la contrasté con nuevas metodologías. Reconociendo que existimos en un mundo multilingüe y globalizado, consideré relevante resaltar la historia de las comunidades hispanas en los estados unidos, que han desarrollado sus propias dinámicas de prestigio y lenguaje. Así, al reconocer la importancia del contacto dialectal y el contacto lingüístico, también es posible resaltar la multiculturalidad que acompaña a la inmigración, incluyendo comunidades del mismo origen. En mi investigación encontré los siguientes resultados: las variables tradicionales

fueron significativas ($p < 0.05$), así como la diversidad en las redes sociales y los porcentajes de memoria en exámenes bilingües. En resumen, los colombianos que tenían redes sociales diversas (los revueltos) aumentaban su uso de SPE. Pero los colombianos que tenían redes únicamente colombianas o incluso solamente angloparlantes (los juntos), no tenían cambio en su uso original de SPE. Los hablantes con mejores resultados bilingües eran más estables en su SPE que sus contrapartes con peores puntajes. Mi interés es discutir que el SPE parece darnos una mirada a la dinámica global del campo, añadí tests psicolingüísticos para esaltar la importancia de estudiar la variación de cada lenguaje como un fenómeno propio de cada lengua. Finalmente, considero que la sociolingüística puede beneficiarse de modernizar estudios clásicos para describir a la población hispana moderna, y puede lograrse a través de la perspectiva experimental.

You Guys, Y'all, or Youse? Multilingual, Ethnic, and Generational Influence on 2PP in New York City English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research on New York City English (NYCE) has primarily focused on phonological variation (e.g., Wong & Hall-Lew, 2014; Becker & Newlin-Lukowicz, 2018; Haddican et al., 2021; Cutler & Intlekofer, 2023), leaving morphosyntactic variation underexplored. Following an instance of miscommunication in the classroom with his Black and Latino students, Newman (2014) underscored how the form used for plural 'you' can negatively impact communication and social perception for these groups. Addressing this gap, our quantitative study examines how second person plural (2PP) usage in NYCE relates to age, ethnic backgrounds, and multilingualism, offering a detailed analysis of 2PP forms among a large, diverse group of NYCE speakers, establishing baseline data and identifying patterns for future investigation. We analyzed 753 responses from the NYC Metro Area Language Survey (Authors, in progress). The survey included questions about sociodemographic data and traditional NYCE linguistic features. Participants, representing all demographic groups in the NYC metro area (Newman, 2014), were asked a multiple response question about their preferred 2PP forms. This approach contrasts with Vaux & Golder (2003), who limited options to a single response, thereby restricting a fine-grained view of 2PP usage. The results revealed the widespread adoption of 'you guys' as the dominant 2PP form across all categories (Table 1). 'You' showed higher usage among monolingual participants compared to multilingual participants. Notably, 'y'all' was more prevalent among those with multilingual backgrounds, particularly those with non-English-speaking parents, potentially indicating a marker of identity within multilingual communities. Our findings, in line with Haddican et al.'s (2016) research on social factors and the low back merger in NYCE, show a notable relationship between age and ethnicity in 2PP usage (Table 2). Younger New Yorkers preferred 'y'all', while older speakers avoided this variant. All ethnic groups reported a relatively high preference for 'you guys,' with Asian participants showing the highest rate. Interestingly, Asian participants reported a high preference for 'y'all', comparable to Black and Latino participants. Extending the findings of Tillery et al. (2000), we observe the spreading of 'y'all' beyond the South, notably led by Black, Latino, and Asian NYCE speakers. Lastly, we found a decline in the use of 'yous/youse,' which has been historically associated with NYCE and concentrated in the NYC metro area (Vaux & Golder, 2003) (Tables 1 and 2). Nonetheless, older White participants showed a higher retention of 'yous/youse' compared to other ethnic groups. Consistent with Becker's (2014) findings on the reversal of raised BOUGHT in NYCE, the younger and more diverse participants in our study favored 2PP alternatives distinct from outdated or stigmatized forms, such as the stereotypical New Yorker persona of decades past (Labov, 1966). This trend highlights the impact of social factors and parental influence on language use, suggesting that parental language and linguistic preferences in multilingual households influence 2PP usage.

¿Asere, güey o brother? Variación sociopragmática y geolectal en el uso de extranjerismos en la conversacion coloquial [Asere, güey or brother? Sociopragmatic and geolectal variation in the use of foreign words in colloquial conversation]

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

El presente trabajo se inserta en la línea de las investigaciones variacionistas léxicas basadas en el corpus lingüístico de carácter panhispánico América y España. Español coloquial (AMERESCO). En específico, se describen y analizan los usos de los extranjerismos en La Habana y Ciudad de México -eludiendo posturas prescriptivistas y normativas-, su integración y adaptación en las conversaciones cotidianas y espontáneas por parte de hablantes nativos. Se entiende, aquí, extranjerismo (que no préstamo) como el término de cualquier lengua externa a Cuba y México que no ha sido sometido a una adaptación formal, excluyendo vocablos de lenguas originarias en el caso mexicano. Asimismo, se tendrán en cuenta las definiciones en obras como el *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, *Diccionario de Americanismos*, *Diccionario del Español de Cuba*, *Diccionario del Español de México*. Para ello se estudian las motivaciones y funciones de los extranjerismos en el discurso coloquial de 60 grabaciones secretas (30 de cada ciudad), obtenidas según las directrices metodológicas, sociolingüísticas y pragmalingüísticas, de AMERESCO. Así, en las interacciones del contexto lingüístico, situacional y sociocultural, se logran indentificar comportamientos de uso según las variables edad, sexo y nivel de instrucción. El examen cualitativo-descriptivo y el cuantitativo-estadístico, donde sea pertinente, se enriquece con los indicadores de un contraste diatópico. Se observan tanto diferencias relevantes como semejanzas, por ejemplo, la frecuente recurrencia a anglicismos que evidencia entre los hablantes cubanos y mexicanos una mayor atracción cultural del inglés. Los resultados de los análisis realizados no solo muestran un inventario de extranjerismos actuales y coloquiales disponibles, sino también patrones sociolingüísticos y dialectales que contribuyen a caracterizar el español oral, coloquial, conversacional de ambas ciudades y, en sentido último, a promover la diversidad lingüística y cultural.

Author Translation

This paper is part of the line of lexical variationist research based on the pan-Hispanic linguistic corpus Latin America and Spain. Colloquial Spanish (AMERESCO for its acronym in Spanish). Specifically, it describes and analyzes the uses of foreignisms in Havana and Mexico City—avoiding prescriptivist and normative approaches—their integration and adaptation in everyday and spontaneous conversations by native speakers. Foreignism (not loanword) is understood here as the term from any language outside Cuba and Mexico that has not been subjected to a formal adaptation, excluding words from native languages in the case of Mexico. Likewise, definitions in works such as the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, *Diccionario de Americanismo*, *Diccionario del Español de Cuba*, *Diccionario del Español de México* will be taken into account. For this purpose, this study is focused on the motivations and functions of foreign words in the colloquial discourse of 60 secret recordings (30 from each city), obtained according to the methodological, sociolinguistic and pragmalinguistic guidelines of AMERESCO. Thus, in the interactions of the linguistic, situational and sociocultural context, we were able to identify usage behaviors according to the variables age, sex and level of education. The qualitative-descriptive and quantitative-statistical examination, where relevant, is enriched with the indicators of a diatopic contrast. Both relevant differences and similarities are observed, for example, the frequent use of Anglicisms, which is evidence of a greater cultural attraction of English among Cuban and Mexican speakers. The results of the analyses carried out not only show an inventory of current and colloquial foreignisms available, but also sociolinguistic and dialectal patterns that contribute to characterize the oral, colloquial, conversational Spanish of both cities and, ultimately, to promote linguistic and cultural diversity.

"We'll always be in Lancashire" to "I actually don't mind ' Greater Manchester '" - change in time and change in attitude evidenced by the MOUTH vowel in Greater Manchester

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Greater Manchester is a ceremonial county created in 1974, with 10 metropolitan boroughs. The areas in the region were previously parts of Cheshire, Lancashire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire and have undergone multiple boundary changes over the last century. This means that there is a history of mixed attitudes towards place and borders (Beal 2010). Llamas (2000) shows that effects of changing borders can be seen in accent variation and change, but the motivation for change must be understood within the context of attitudes to the areas and borders. The data in this paper is a combination of the Accent Van (Drummond et al. 2022) and Submit Your Voice data from the Manchester Voices Project. Only speakers who have lived in one borough for the majority of their life were included. One of the questions from the Accent Van was "How do you feel about the name 'Greater Manchester'? Do you use it? Or do you prefer another name for your part of the country?" Responses to this question were coded on a 5 point positive to negative scale. However, it is important to note that negative does not exactly map onto a Mancunian identity for speakers in different boroughs. Speakers in Manchester are negative if they have an exclusive Manchester definition and do not want to include the outer boroughs, whereas speakers in for example Bolton are negative if they do not consider themselves Mancunian. Therefore, we do not model attitudes from all the boroughs together. In this paper we focus on Wigan and Bolton, in the north west of Greater Manchester, both of which were previously in the historic county of Lancashire. Anecdotal evidence from residents is that the MOUTH vowel in Bolton and Wigan is 'different'. Investigating the MOUTH vowel in the acoustic vowel space shows that the glide is far further forward and there is far less movement in F2 in Wigan and Bolton than the other boroughs (figure 1). If we look closer at the speakers who grew up in Wigan or Bolton we can see that the pattern is age dependent (figure 2). The youngest group of speakers do not follow the pattern and instead have a vowel more like the rest of Greater Manchester - less fronted and with more movement in F2. Bayesian regression models with brms (Bürkner 2021) fit to each of the 65% and 80% measurement points show at 80% confidence of a difference between the youngest age group and the other 3 age groups (see figures 3 & 4 for model outcomes). As discussed above, Wigan and Bolton were moved from Lancashire to Greater Manchester in 1974, and in these areas attitude towards greater Manchester is correlated with age (see figure 4). By looking at the vowel data not just as an age effect but including the change in attitudes, we see an abandonment of the traditional Lancashire identity favoured by older generations, as evidenced by a more positive attitude towards Greater Manchester.

(In)visibility of Latin American and Caribbean Spanish Morphosyntactic Variation in Closed Captions: The Case of Netflix's Show La Firma

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Over the past decade, a notable surge in Spanish-language programming has been witnessed across streaming platforms, with Netflix emerging as a prominent contributor to this trend (Faughnder, 2021; Spencer, 2021). Additionally, the growth of online streaming services has expanded the options for audio and captioning, aiming to enhance viewers' experiences (Shaw, 2021; Davies, 2019). This expansion

has facilitated increased usage of both closed captions and subtitles in the online streaming world. Due to the proliferation of Hispanophones in various digital spaces and the availability of captioning options, this study conducts a mixed methods analysis of the Netflix show *La Firma*, exploring the disparities between the expansive morphosyntactic linguistic diversity exhibited by participants on the show and the comparatively restrictive closed captions provided by the streaming platform. The reality competition *La Firma* showcases Spanish judges and contestants from various Spanish-speaking countries such as Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, and the United States. Consequently, the show becomes a rich environment for natural linguistic variation. All eight episodes of the show were analyzed. This was equivalent to around 400 minutes (about 6 and a half hours) of data. The coded variables were *speaker*, *nationality*, *city*, *position in show*, *linguistic feature in audio*, *linguistic feature in caption*, *strategy*, and *linguistic category*. A content-analysis (Krippendorff, 2004) was implemented to observe the mismatches between audio and captions. To delineate the morphosyntactic features under investigation, the researcher relied on existing literature detailing the most studied morphosyntactic features and their variations across Spanish-speaking regions (e.g. Bentivoglio & Sedano, 2011). This guided approach ensured a comprehensive examination of pertinent linguistic elements within the context of the study. Lastly, the quantitative portion was analyzed in RStudio (RStudio Team, 2020). A total of 306 tokens were analyzed. The findings reveal that while the program adequately presents the speakers' linguistic diversity orally, the closed captions fail to adequately represent their morphosyntactic diversity. In fact, the three strategies of morphosyntactic invisibilization utilized were the use of replacement at 52.6% (161/306), deletion at 44.8% (137/306) and insertion at 2.6% (8/306). Some of the significantly affected linguistic features include subject pronoun expression, preposition *para*, gender and number agreement, the use of the diminutive, and *(de)queísmo*, all with a $p\text{-value} = <2e-16$. The ramifications of such closed captioning practices are significant, as they obscure the richness of linguistic variation inherent to the show, thereby underscoring the imperative for streaming services to critically reflect on the effects of these choices. Such considerations are crucial for fostering inclusivity among international audiences, especially those comprising multicultural and multidialectal communities who engage with these speakers and utilize such language varieties in their daily interactions.

Grammatical judgments by bidialectal African American English-speaking children vary by dialect and grammatical feature

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Grammaticality judgment tasks have long been used to measure grammatical competence and are traditionally scored using grammatical rules consistent with societally dominant varieties such as general American English (GAE). For many speakers, however, grammaticality judgments may reflect competence with more than one language variety (Henry, 2004, Jamieson, 2020, Oetting, 2023). Here, we present preliminary results from a pilot grammaticality judgment task with child speakers of African American English (AAE). This study asked:

1. whether there is a discrepancy between grammaticality task outcomes scored using AAE- vs. GAE-consistent grammatical rules,
2. whether discrepancy findings differ for children with different dialect densities, and
3. whether discrepancy findings differ for different grammatical features

Twenty-seven AAE-GAE bidialectal children (mean age=9.2 yrs., $sd=.7$) in the southern U.S. completed a grammaticality judgment task along with measures of dialect density (DELV-S; Seymour et al., 2003). The grammaticality task included three target structures frequently attested as varying between AAE and GAE: noun plural 's', possessive pronouns, and copula use. Each feature was presented in three

conditions: 1) grammatical in AAE and GAE, 2) grammatical in AAE but not GAE, and 3) ungrammatical in AAE and GAE. Children listened to a sentence followed by a binary forced choice (agree vs. disagree). Instructions and sentences were presented by speakers using AAE-consistent phonological features. Child responses were scored using both AAE- and GAE-consistent rules. We used nonparametric pairwise comparisons (Wilcoxon signed rank test) to account for violations of normality, in addition to generalized linear regression models (GLMM) to assess partial contributions of item characteristics and child dialect density. Children's grammaticality judgments were significantly above chance, both when scored with AAE-consistent (median=0.60, $V=318$, $p<.001$) and GAE-consistent (median=0.58, $V=288$, $p=.02$) rules. On average, accuracy scores based on AAE- vs. GAE-consistent scoring did not differ ($Z=.157$, $p=.88$). However, children with more dense dialect had lower judgment accuracy when GAE-consistent rules were applied ($\beta=-.013$, $p<.001$), but not when AAE-consistent scoring rules were used ($\beta=.000$, $p=.94$). Children with more dense dialect production were also more likely to accept AAE-consistent items ($\beta=.018$, $p<.001$). Further, there was a significant interaction between dialect condition and grammatical feature, with ungrammatical plural omission more likely to be accepted ($\beta=1.18$, $p=.003$). These results suggest that 1) when averaged in a group, children's grammaticality task outcomes do not differ between AAE- vs. GAE-consistent scoring. Instead, differential outcomes are related to 2) children's dialect use, as measured by dialect density, and 3) the specific grammatical feature assessed. Specifically, whereas low dialect speakers are more accurate when GAE-consistent scoring is applied, the grammatical judgments of dense dialect speakers improve with AAE-consistent scoring. The study illustrates that tasks sensitive to children's developing bidialectal knowledge of AAE and GAE can capture variability in grammatical knowledge across varied dialectal contexts.

Mixing and Matching of Linguistic Features by Two Immigrant Groups

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

What happens when immigrants from two different language backgrounds establish themselves in a community with two distinct native-speaker English varieties? Hickory, North Carolina, provides a laboratory for exploring this question. Hickory contains two long-standing native speaker varieties, local forms of Southern white English and African American English (AAE). Recently, two other groups have joined the community, ethnic Hmong from Laos and Latines from Mexico and other Latin American nations. Acoustically measured vowel realizations and other linguistic variants for 30 speakers illustrate how each group has carved out its own identity. The white Anglos and African Americans show fairly conventional configurations. White speech features some Southern features, with a split in the PRICE class between clearly diphthongal forms before voiceless obstruents and weakening of the glide elsewhere; fronting of the GOOSE and GOAT vowels; and upgliding of the THOUGHT vowel. Younger whites have lost the TRAP-BATH distinction (the latter realized as [æ]), have retracted FACE from its most lowered realizations, and are lowering TRAP. African Americans share upgliding THOUGHT and the allophony of PRICE. However, their GOOSE and GOAT show less fronting than those of whites, they have not lowered TRAP yet, and they retain moderate lowering of FACE. They also show other features typically associated with vernacular varieties of AAE, such as copula deletion and devoicing and glottalization of syllable-final /d/. Both the Latine and Hmong groups are first- or second-generation Americans, and most subjects maintain at least passive knowledge of their heritage languages, Spanish and Hmong, respectively. Two features that the Latines and the Hmong share are the absence of a LOT-THOUGHT distinction and lowering of TRAP. These two features are often associated with each other and are becoming widespread in the U.S. (Becker 2019). Also shared is their lack of fronting of the MOUTH nucleus and their relatively high FACE nuclei, both of which are potential heritage language influences; heritage languages likewise could have facilitated the LOT-THOUGHT merger. However, the

two groups otherwise exhibit divergent trajectories. The Latine group, unsurprisingly, shows some influence from Spanish, such as in clear (non-velar) /l/ and a high frequency of rising pitch accents. They show little fronting of GOOSE and GOAT, like African Americans, and they show some glide weakening of PRICE, mostly in function words such as *my*, which could reflect influence from whites or African Americans. The Latines appear to be crafting an independent identity. The Hmong subjects showed some GOOSE and GOAT fronting, like the whites. However, they lacked other features associated with Hickory whites, including showing little sign of glide weakening of PRICE in any context. The local Hmong community includes many members who have lived in other parts of the country, and it appears that the Hmong are identifying with widespread U.S. norms, not with Southern norms. Hickory thus has four ethnic groups whose separate identities are reflected in their differing combinations of variants that they often share with one or two of the other groups.

A variationist approach to third language acquisition: Acquiring Spanish variable direct objects by L1 Mandarin L2 English speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

How first and second language (L1 and L2) influence third language acquisition (L3A) under different linguistic and social conditions is debated. While most studies approached this question by examining categorical linguistic structures, few (Child, 2014, 2017; Ortin & Fernandez-Florez, 2018; Picoral, 2020) have employed a variationist approach to study whether and how variable use patterns are transferred in L3A. These few studies showed that variable grammars might be transferrable but had mixed results regarding the transfer patterns and source. Also, their methods limit interpretation of their findings. The current study employs a more rigorous design (e.g., testing L3 learners in all three languages; collecting native baseline data using the same method) to investigate the acquisition of Spanish anaphoric direct objects (ADOs, see Appendix for an example), which can vary between an overt and a null form. The current investigation of a less studied language triad (Mandarin-L1, English-L2, Spanish-L3) demonstrates that L3 Spanish is influenced by L2 English, which is also typologically more similar to Spanish. However, a wholesale transfer from L2 English to L3 Spanish as predicted by the Typological Primacy Model (Rothman, 2011) is not fully supported by the results. Fifty L1 Mandarin, L2 English, L3 beginning Spanish learners in China completed three language versions (i.e., Mandarin, English, and Spanish) of a contextualized naturalness judgment task (NJT). In each version, participants rated the naturalness of sentences with overt or null ADOs in 48 independent conversations on a 6-point Likert scale. Independent linguistic variables manipulated in the NJT were four ADO features previously attested as significant in predicting Spanish ADO forms (e.g., Sainzmaza-Lecena & Schenwenter, 2017): definiteness and specificity ([+definite, +specific], [-definite, -specific]); humanness ([+human], [-human]); number ([plural], [singular], [mass]), and the discourse position of the first mention of the ADO's antecedent and the ADO ([within one turn], [across turns]). Native baseline data (Mandarin, N=18; English, N=38; Spanish, N=27) was collected using the same NJTs. L3 learners were categorized into three English levels (beginning, intermediate, advanced) using an English proficiency test (Brown, 1980). Participants' ratings were converted to preference for overt or null ADOs for each token. For each participant group, the percentages of preferred ADO forms were calculated, and a generalized linear mixed-effect logistic regression was run using the R lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015). Results (see Appendix) demonstrate L2 English influence on L3 Spanish: as the English proficiency increased, learners' preference for null ADOs decreased in English and Spanish, while increased in Mandarin. Nevertheless, a wholesale transfer from English to Spanish as predicted by the Typological Primacy Model (Rothman, 2011) is not fully supported by the results, since learners were sensitive to distinct linguistic variables in English and Spanish, although the results of marginally significant linguistic variables should be interpreted with caution and require future investigation. The current study thus questions the generalizability of the Typological Primacy Model to variable linguistic structures, and

suggests a distinct transfer pattern at the beginning stage of L3A for variable structures compared with categorical structures.

Atitudes sobre gênero e sexualidade no Brasil de 2022: Considerações metodológicas a partir de um experimento sociolinguístico

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Este paper apresenta os resultados obtidos a partir de um experimento de percepção em Português Brasileiro que utiliza a técnica *matched-guise* (Campbell-Kibler, 2006, 2009, *inter alia*). Além disso, discute um desafio de ordem metodológica que surgiu durante a coleta de dados. O experimento teve como foco a percepção elicitada a partir de trechos de áudio produzidos por falantes homens e seu objetivo é discutir significados sociais relacionados a noções de gênero e de sexualidade. Os participantes, além de fornecerem respostas sobre suas percepções acerca dos falantes, responderam a um questionário de atitudes baseado em Gato, Fontaine e Carneiro (2012) que buscava aferir quão preconceituosas e conservadoras são suas atitudes diante da homossexualidade masculina. A hipótese, aqui, era de que tais atitudes poderiam estar correlacionadas à sua percepção de formas linguísticas que indexam significados sociais ligados a gênero e sexualidade. Respostas de 204 pessoas foram coletadas e analisadas estatisticamente na plataforma R (R Core Team, 2024). Segundo a análise, as variáveis linguísticas duração de /s/ em coda (-s) e frequência fundamental média (F0) tiveram um efeito significativo sobre percepções ligadas a gênero e sexualidade. Tal efeito seguiu o sentido esperado, tendo como base estudos anteriores em Português Brasileiro e Inglês (e.g. Sene, 2022; Levon, 2014): o aumento da duração das ocorrências de (-s) (+ 0.8 ms), bem como o aumento da (F0) (+30 Hz) dos estímulos fez com que os falantes fossem percebidos como mais gay e efeminados. Todavia, ao contrário das expectativas, não foi verificada correlação significativa entre o efeito das variáveis linguísticas e as respostas obtidas no questionário de atitudes. Essa falta de correlação pode, todavia, ser questionada se levarmos em conta o perfil do público respondente, que é, em geral, altamente escolarizado e afirma ter atitudes positivas em relação a homossexualidade masculina, de acordo com os *scores* obtidos no questionário (média geral de 1,56; o *score* vai de 1 a 5 e valores mais próximos de 1 indicam atitudes menos preconceituosas e mais positivas). É de interesse discutir, a partir desses resultados, as dificuldades metodológicas envolvidas na busca por perfis mais representativos de respondentes. Argumenta-se que tais dificuldades estão intimamente ligadas a questões políticas que se mostravam latentes no período de coleta de dados: outubro de 2022, quando ocorreu o segundo turno da eleição presidencial brasileira. Ofereço a hipótese de que a construção de uma narrativa ligada aos perigos provenientes da chamada “ideologia de gênero”, que vem sendo promovida por grupos de extrema direita no Brasil e em diversos outros países (Butler, 2024), foi um dos elementos principais que afetou (e limitou) o perfil dos participantes, uma vez que muitas pessoas com atitudes mais conservadoras, possivelmente influenciadas por tal narrativa, se recusaram a participar do experimento como ouvintes. Por fim, busca-se demonstrar também que esse exemplo ilustra um desafio metodológico mais amplo, sobre como acessar – de maneira ética e consciente – percepções e atitudes ligadas a temas sensíveis para alguma parte da população, sem que os resultados sejam enviesados.

Author Translation

This paper presents the results of a sociolinguistic experiment in Brazilian Portuguese that uses the matched-guise technique (Campbell-Kibler 2006, 2009, *inter alia*). Also, it is my goal to explore a methodological challenge that arose during the process of data collection. The experiment focused on the participants' perceptions of four male speakers from short audio clips, and it aims to discuss social meanings related to gender and sexuality which are indexed by linguistic variables. The participants, after answering questions about how they perceived each speaker, answered to an Attitude Questionnaire based on the scale developed by Gato, Fontaine and Carneiro (2012), which aims to assess how prejudiced and

conservative are their attitudes towards male homosexuality. The main hypothesis here was that one's attitude on this subject might be correlated to their perception of linguistic forms that index social meanings related to gender and sexuality. Answers from 204 people were collected and statistically analyzed using R (R Core Team 2024). According to the analysis, the linguistic variables coda /-s/ duration (-s) and mean fundamental frequency (F0) had a statistical significant effect on perceptions associated to gender and sexuality. This effect followed the expected direction, based on previous studies in Brazilian Portuguese and English (e.g. Sene 2022, Levon 2014): increased (F0) (+30 Hz), as well as increased (-s) (+0.8 ms), make the speakers be perceived as gayer and more effeminate. Nevertheless, against all expectations, the analysis showed no significant correlation between the effect of these linguistic variables and the answers obtained from the Attitude Questionnaire. This lack of correlation can, however, be questioned if we take into account the participants' profiles: they were, in general, highly educated and kept, allegedly, a very positive attitude towards male homosexuality, according to the scores obtained by them in the Questionnaire (mean value is 1.56; scores vary from 1 to 5 and values closer to 1 indicate a less discriminatory and more positive attitude). As of these results, I discuss the difficulties involved in the search for more representative profiles of participants. I argue that these difficulties were, in the present case, deeply related to political issues that were latent during the period the data was collected: it was October 2022, when the second round of Brazilian presidential elections was taking place. I hypothesize that the construction of a narrative that relates many social dangers to the so-called "gender ideology", promoted by movements of alt-right in Brazil and other countries (Butler, 2024), is one of the main factors that affected (and limited) the profile of participants, as many people with conservative attitudes were probably influenced by this narrative when refusing to participate in an experiment such as this one. Ultimately, my goal is to demonstrate that this example illustrates a broader methodological challenge: how to assess, in an unbiased, ethical and conscientious manner, perceptions and attitudes related to social topics that are sensible to part of the population.

Back to the Individual: The Effect of Individual Differences on Gender and Mood Variation in L2 Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The variationist approach to L2 data has examined how social and linguistic factors influence learners' language use in context (Geeslin, 2003; Geeslin & Gudmestad, 2010). Traditionally, the focus of this approach has been on identifying group patterns of variation, as these general patterns often match individual patterns of use (Bayley & Langman, 2004; Regan, 2004). However, recent variationist research has begun to incorporate the effects of individual differences (IDs) on L2 variation. For instance, recent studies have examined contextual IDs, such as the learning environment (e.g., study abroad in different countries; Linford et al., 2021; Kanwit et al., 2015) and interlocutor IDs, such as the L1 of the instructor (Long & Geeslin, 2020), the interlocutor type (Solon, 2017), and instructors' own patterns of variation (Gurzynski-Weiss et al., 2017; Gurzynski-Weiss et al., 2018). Despite this progress, little is known about how affective IDs and Willingness-to-Communicate (WTC) condition linguistic variation, even though these IDs often underlie a learner's choice to engage in interactional and instructional opportunities (Henry & MacIntyre, 2024), which are crucial sources of positive evidence in their L2 development. The present study seeks to fill this gap by expanding the IDs typically considered in L2 variationist studies to include learners' affect (e.g., L2 boredom, joy, and anxiety) and WTC. 20 intermediate learners of L2 Spanish completed two oral contextualized tasks (Galarza, 2020). Two linguistic structures were investigated: gender agreement (1) and mood choice (2). Participants completed a post-task emotions and WTC questionnaires which probed at their state L2 boredom, joy, anxiety (Gurzynski-Weiss, Pawlak, & Brandy, 2024), and WTC (Dewaele & Dewaele, 2017). These provided indices of individual learners' IDs. Linguistic factors related to gender agreement (overt, covert, and deceptive morphology, and natural and lexical gender) and mood choice (semantic category, verb irregularity, polarity), as well as social

factors (sex and age) were also analyzed. Generalized estimating equations regression models for each linguistic structure showed significant effects between IDs and the use of subjunctive mood and gender agreement. Specifically, higher WTC and positive emotions significantly predicted more native-like productions of mood choice and gender agreement. With respect to linguistic factors, semantic category, and irregular verbs conditioned the use of the subjunctive mood, whereas overt morphology and natural gender conditioned gender agreement. These findings highlight that affective factors such as L2 boredom, joy, anxiety, and WTC can explain L2 linguistic variation, although linguistic factors still play a role. It is argued that these results fit in well with SLA theories which center the learner as a proactive agent in their engagement with the learning opportunities available to them (Papi & Hiver, 2024), in addition to psychological approaches to language learning in general (e.g., Kruk & Pawlak, 2022). The present study provides evidence that affective IDs should be considered more frequently in variationist studies that look at linguistic variation as they may condition what learners do with the learning opportunities available to them, thus affecting their developing interlanguage.

Distance from the lexifier as a predictor of variation in creoles: Evidence from /r/ and /w/ alternation in Haitian Creole

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction: Whereas most variationist work has focused on non-creole languages, only recently has variation in creoles been studied (e.g., Valdman et al., 2015). This study tests whether alternation between /r/ (e.g., /dra/ [dya] *drap* ‘sheet’) and /w/ (cf. /dwa/ [dwa] *dwa* ‘right’) is sociolinguistically conditioned in Haitian Creole (HC), a French-based creole. Because registers of HC that sound similar to French are prestigious (e.g., *Kréol swa*; Fattier-Thomas, 1984), HC presents an ideal test case for probing variation. In HC, the pronunciation of /r/ is variable, with [ɣ] and [w] being most frequent (Tinelli, 1981). While some scholars suggest /r/ only becomes [w] when adjacent to round vowels (e.g., /gro/ [gwo] *gro/ gwo* ‘big’; Valdman, 1978), others show /r/ and /w/ are interchangeable (Hogan and Allen, 1999). However, no study examines social factors. Overall, we predict (a) /ɣ/ and /w/ will be interchangeable except before round vowels and (b) participants will produce [w] for /r/ less often than [ɣ].

Methodology: Our data come from 24 HC speakers from rural and urban Haiti (Table 1) who completed an elicitation task targeting determiners (cf. Redacted, 2019). Because previous studies on /r/ and /w/ use monitored speech, these data allow us to better draw comparisons between our study and previous work. The interviewer, a young male native speaker of HC, recited sentences containing a plural noun; participants rephrased each sentence using the singular. Therefore, participants were not focused on /r/ and /w/. Using auditory and acoustic cues, we perceptually coded 1,802 tokens of /r/ and /w/ as [ɣ] or [w]. We ran mixed-effects regressions predicting [w] by *gender*, *locality*, *speaker* (interviewer/participant), and *following vowel* (round/unround) with random intercepts for *participant* and *word*.

Results: [w] is used quasi-categorically for /w/, and both [ɣ] and [w] are used for /r/ (Figure 1). Additionally, the interviewer produces [w] less often than participants for /r/ ($p < 0.0001$); [w] is produced more frequently by all speakers when the following vowel is round ($p < 0.0001$). Restricting to /r/ tokens produced by participants, rural speakers produce [w] more often than urban speakers ($p = 0.0169$; Figure 2). However, this result primarily reflects rural *male* speakers; rural *female* speakers tend to produce [w] less often than other participants ($p = 0.0817$; Figure 3).

Discussion: In monitored speech, /ɣ/ and /w/ are not interchangeable; only /r/ shows non-categorical variant use. Furthermore, [w] most frequently surfaces for /r/ before round vowels, but is not restricted to this context. Additionally, rural speakers use [w] more than urban speakers. We posit this is because rural speakers often produce forms of the basilectal variety, and therefore are more distant from French (Redacted, 2022). Although female rural speakers tend to produce [w] less frequently than other

participants, we hypothesize it is due to the interviewer because these participants may have wanted to avoid sounding rural in front of a young, educated male. Overall, we argue that variation in creoles must be contextualized with respect to a creole's continuum (cf. Redacted, 2019) and position on the continuum is seemingly an important source of variation in creoles.

Of colleagues and colonizers: Language and authenticity in the Drake-Kendrick beef

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The beef, or feud, between rappers Drake and Kendrick Lamar, which came to widespread attention in April-May 2024, is easily the highest-profile beef since the East Coast-West Coast hip hop rivalry of the mid-1990s, involving at least 5 tracks from each of the rappers, as well as a plethora of material released by their associates. As we look back on 50 years of hip hop history, this beef provides an unparalleled opportunity to examine authenticity in the field of Hip Hop Language (Cutler 2007) / Hip Hop Nation Language (Alim 2015). Prior treatments of Drake (Boutros 2020) and Kendrick Lamar (Driscoll 2019) characterize each artist's construction of identity, and this study builds on those works, taking a primarily sociolinguistic and discourse-analytic approach. The present study analyzes the lyrics, multimodal contexts (e.g. still images uploaded with songs, and videos where available), and discourses through which Drake, Kendrick, and their associates perform identity work, constructing and stabilizing their own identities and authenticity, and on the other hand delegitimizing and contesting their opponents'. In the course of the beef, Kendrick's tracks focus heavily on contesting Drake's authenticity in Blackness ("How many more Black features 'til you finally feel that you Black enough?" -Kendrick, 'euphoria'), masculinity ("It takes a man to be a man" -Kendrick, 'meet the grahams'), place ("You run to Atlanta when you need a few dollars / No, you not a colleague, you a fuckin colonizer" - Kendrick, 'Not Like Us'), and language ("Lil Baby helped you get your lingo up" - Kendrick, 'Not Like Us'). Drake's tracks, in contrast, primarily focus on reinforcing his own status, and his few contestations of Kendrick's authenticity focus on his authenticity as an activist ("You just actin like an activist, it's make-believe" - Drake, 'Family Matters') and as a gangster ("I know you never been to jail [...] never shot nobody, never stabbed nobody") - Drake/AI Snoop Dogg guise, 'Taylor Made Freestyle'), with both rappers trafficking in yet-unproven allegations (that Drake is a deadbeat father or pedophile, that Kendrick is a cuckold or domestic abuser) and simpler insults (that Kendrick is short, that Drake has had extensive plastic surgery). Matters become more complex in terms of language and authenticity as both rappers use stylization (Coupland 2012) to make their case; Kendrick crosses (Rampton 1999) into Toronto-area slang, mentioning a popular Chinese restaurant, "I be at New Ho King eatin fried rice with a dip sauce and a blammy, crodie, Tell me you're cheesin, fam" - Kendrick, 'euphoria', and Drake, controversially, uses AI-generated Tupac and Snoop Dogg voices for entire verses in 'Taylor Made Freestyle', which Kendrick responds to in 'euphoria' ("Am I battlin ghost or AI?"). In the end, the analysis of the corpus of lyrics from this beef, in the context of additional related tracks and the multimodal milieu, confirms the centrality of authenticity in the construction of rappers' identity, convincingly demonstrating how Kendrick Lamar and Drake differ in their approaches to authenticity, and how this affects audience perceptions of the beef's ultimate outcome.

Sociolinguistically axiomatic?: Testing the relationship among linguistic, social and stylistic constraints

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper sets out to probe two sociolinguistic axioms regarding the relative ranking of constraints on variation. First, we assess Bell's (1984) classic style axiom that variation in the speech of the individual derives from inter-speaker variation. Following logically on from this generalization, we might expect the range of intra-speaker variation to be smaller than that observed between different groups of speakers. Second, we probe the oft-cited observation that "linguistic constraints have the most powerful effect of all on a variable", outweighing the effect of social factors (Meyerhoff 2011:50; see also Preston 1991, Sanchez 2008). However, the empirical support for these hypothesized factor orderings is somewhat difficult to synthesize. For example, discussing 3rd person singular -s and post-vocalic (r), Baugh (1979) finds that individual variation outranks group-level variation. He, thus, hypothesized that the ordering of constraints might be a function of the amount of semantic information carried by the variation. And while internal factors do often exert disproportionate effects on linguistic variables (e.g., phonological conditioning in goose fronting; cf. Labov et al. 2006:150), the extent that these effects are constrained by a variable's position in the linguistic architecture is an open question. We present an analysis of these patterns that relies on the Boruta algorithm (Kursa & Rudnicki 2010), a random forest wrapper. Unlike other random forest methods, Boruta attempts to solve the "all-relevant" problem (*ibid*:2), which aims to identify *all* relevant attributes for classification, rather than reduce the set of features down to the minimal collection required for so-called 'optimal' model performance (Nilsson et al. 2007:601-602). Boruta is ideal for the kind of data we consider because it can be fit to dependent variables with multiple levels, is not hampered by covariation, and is able to accommodate sparse data (Dickson & Durantin 2019:198; Grama et al. 2023:139). One of the outputs Boruta produces is that of mean-decrease accuracy for a predictor, a z-scored metric that captures the predicted accuracy of a model that does *not* include the given feature. The mean-decrease accuracy, then, correlates roughly to 'importance', which we can compare relativistically to the other predictors in the Boruta to gain a general sense of how much explanatory power is gained/lost by a factor. We report on Borutas run on five changes in progress on Tyneside, in the North East of England: two phonetic changes (face and goat), and three morphosyntactic ones (the 1st person possessive, intensification quotation). In general, our findings provide support for Bell's style axiom; stylistic shifts are typically ranked amongst the lowest constraints overall, specifically in relation to factors that characterize inter-group variation (e.g., change across cohort). However, support for internal factors outweighing external factors is mixed. While linguistic factors rank relatively low in phonetic variables, they rank highly for the morphosyntactic variables. In generalizing our results, we explore how internal factors may be conceived of separately from the envelope of variation, how Baugh's (1979) notion of 'semantic information' can be schematized, as well as how linguistic variables are parameterized (i.e., as categorical or continuous).

Gestures and (im)politeness in emotional speech in Nigerian English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speakers convey emotions through verbal and nonverbal (e.g., gesture) channels that are culturally and mutually informative and understood in different contexts (Kita & Ide, 2007; Kita & Essegbey, 2001; Wenzel, 2015). These are also interconnected with notions of (im)politeness. However, without an integrated approach, fully understanding the factors determining (im)politeness is challenging. This is particularly true in multilingual speech communities like Nigeria, where communication practices are complex and entrenched in cultural practices (Adegbiya, 1994, 1996). This study examines how (im)politeness strategies are woven into speech, emotion, and gestures among Nigerians on TikTok (Littlejohn et al., 2016), considering gestural and verbal cues as complementary strategies for managing social interactions. Acoustic parameters such as pitch values, intensity, shimmer, H1-H2, and harmonic noise ratio (HNR) are analyzed to help explain voice quality across emotional turn construction units

(TCUs) (Grawunder & Winter, 2010). These TCUs are categorized as impolite and polite (Culpeper, 2011, 2005, 2002; Holmes et al., 2008; Spencer-Oatey, 2007). The study anchors on social psychology theory, examining how (non-) linguistic features influence interactants' behaviors and perspectives during social interactions. The study includes nine interactions from three staged visa interviews on TikTok by one man, three women, and one female teenager, with three interactants per video (N=9). Each TCU was coded for emotional utterances, with insights from the rapport management model (Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2007) and (im)politeness strategies (Culpeper, 2003; Brown & Levinson, 1987). 276 gestures were classified into 25 types, with the 16 most frequent ones analyzed (Littlejohn et al., 2016) and coded as polite vs. impolite, following Culpeper's (2003, 2005) impoliteness strategies. Impoliteness was further coded as rude (social) misconduct (Holmes et al., 2008). Speakers' TCUs were marked as intervals in Praat (version 6.4), and data extracted using Xu's (2021) Praat script (*ProsodyPro* version 5.7). These raw values were normalized using the z-score in R and analyzed with linear mixed-effect regression. The numeric values were dependents; gestures and politeness strategies as independent; utterances and speaker as random effects. The regression analysis revealed links between certain emotional utterances, gestures, social rights, and cultural norms. Polite TCUs have more hesitations, fillers, and pauses ($X^2 = 417.36$, $df = 32$, $p < 0.001$). The acoustic strategies of politeness include lower average intensity, pitch values, H1-H2, and HNR ($p < 0.05$). These strategies contrast with rude speech ($F(2, 237) = 6.43$, $p < 0.001$), which has higher intensity and pitch values. Gestures differentiate politeness from impoliteness across gender and age ($X^2 = 44.51$, $df = 30$, $p = 0.04$). Nigerian English polite utterances thus contradict previously claimed universal correlations between gestures and (im)politeness (Culpeper, 2005; Ohala, 1984, 1994; Winter & Grawunder, 2011) and instead support the view (e.g., Mills, 2009; Yoshida et al., 2006) that politeness strategies are culturally encoded and cannot be broadly generalized. The cultural landscape of each speech community determines (im)politeness classification.

Socio-phonetic variation in NURSE vowels in Nigerian English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates sociophonetic variation in NURSE vowels in Nigerian English (NE). Previous research on other Englishes reported two main patterns: *merger* (as a centralized vowel) or *maintenance* of a three-way contrast, realized as [ɪ], [ɛ], and [ʌ], with varying degrees of rhotacization. Rhotic realizations are influenced by social (e.g. gender, age) and linguistic factors (e.g. speech style) (Li et al., 2021; MacLagan et al., 2017; Mayr, 2010; Mesthrie & Chevalier, 2014; Watson & Clark, 2013). NE has received little attention in this regard, especially concerning influence of speakers' L1 (e.g., Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba) (cf. Gut 2005; Jamakovic & Fuchs, 2019; Oyebola & Gut, 2020). This analysis of 286 NURSE vowels includes both formal and informal speech styles (14 NE speakers from the ICE Nigeria corpus, Wunder, Voormann & Gut, 2010). Formant values (F1, F2, F3) were extracted at 20%, 50% and 80% of the vowels and normalized (Traunmüller 1990). Vowel duration measures allowed checks for effects of regional variability (Fridland, Kendall & Farrington 2014; Wassink 2006; Clopper, Pisoni & De Jong, 2005), and VISC measures (Williams, van Leussen & Escudero, 2015), for social factor differences (Holt & Ellis 2018). NURSE-rhotacization was virtually absent (1.41%). 20.84% of vowels were produced as BATH, BED, CLOTH; 19.43% as TRAP; 16.60% as THOUGHT. BATH and CLOTH were favored in Hausa English; BED and BATH in Igbo English; and BED and THOUGHT in Yoruba English, indicating influence of speaker LI. A mixed-effects linear regression analysis showed a three-way contrast (BED, TRAP/BATH, CLOTH/THOUGHT) with a significant difference in duration ($p < .05$). Age, gender ($p < 0.001$), and ethnicity ($p < 0.5$) affected duration. The fitted model for speech styles ($p < 0.001$) and phonetic environment also affected duration (preceding, $p < 0.05$ and following segment, $p < 0.003$). The random effects analysis (vowel and speaker) revealed smaller variation in vowels ($SD = 0.98$) than among speakers ($SD = 14.23$).

Post-colonial Englishes in Asian societies: The case of variable word-final /z/ production in of Philippine English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The frameworks used to understand world Englishes had endeavored to establish the legitimacy of post-colonial English varieties (PCEs; Kachru, 1985; Schneider, 2007) yet they may have fallen short in explaining existing variation within each English variety. Take for example the English transplanted to the Philippines during US colonization, which is now called Philippine English (PE). Scholars subscribing to the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2007) believed that, as Filipinos developed a sense of nationhood, the English they speak became similar especially in its phonology (Lee & Borlongan, 2023). While the Philippines has over 7,100 islands and 150 ethnolinguistic groups, they claimed that there was an “evening out of substratal accents of Filipinos, most especially when a Filipino is speaking in more formal Philippine English and his/her ethnolinguistic grouping can no longer be identified” (Borlongan, 2016; p. 6). With the limited amount of research PE phonological variation (e.g., Tayao, 2004), the present project further investigated variation in the production of word-final fricative /z/, which is non-phonemic in non-English Philippine languages. Using a variationist sociolinguistic framework, the present project asked what social (e.g., current residence, origin), linguistic (e.g., preceding/following sound), and language contact factors (e.g., percent of English use) condition word-final fricative /z/ production among speakers of PE? English bilinguals from groups whose language background lack phonemic /z/ can be expected to exhibit similar patterns in their production of word-final fricative /z/. However, any systematic differences in the production of word-final fricative /z/ may likely be socially motivated. Twenty-six English-bilingual Filipinos whose first languages do not have phonemic /z/ participated in the study, i.e., Tagalog and Cebuano (13 speakers from each language group). They were divided evenly based on their cities of origin (Manila and Cebu; 355 miles apart) located in two different island regions in the country. Participants did not report any speech or audio-visual impediment. Each participant was audio-recorded and interviewed using a combination of sociolinguistic questionnaire and passage reading. Only the analyzed data from their passage reading will be presented. Word-final fricative /z/ were acoustically analyzed in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2023) via midpoint center of gravity (COG; Hann band pass filtered), duration, and percent voicing. Visualization and statistical analyses were completed in R (RStudio Team, 2020). Results showed that certain acoustic measures reveal different social realities among PE speakers, i.e., significant main effect based on the speakers’ current city of residence via COG (Fig. 1) and region of origin via percent voicing (Fig. 2) in their production of word-final fricative /z/ (e.g., Lundy & Koffi, 2017; Calder & King, 2020). These results, however, had not been documented in PE or perhaps even in PCEs in the region until now. Other significant results, e.g., the main effect of passage type (Fig. 3), will also be discussed. Without carrying the pressure to legitimize PE as a distinct English variety, the present project took a step forward in extrapolating how regional linguistic diversity in the Philippines continues to contribute to variation in the way English is spoken in the country (cf. Monroe, 1925; Gonzales, 2023).

Testing sociolinguistic methods in a historical language-contact situation: *Seseo* in the Spanish of Mallorca then and now

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In the recent decades, the ample availability of historical language corpora has facilitated the application of sociolinguistic methods in the study of language variation and change in situations of the distant past. The results of such studies, however, will always be suspect due to lack of access to native speakers in real-world situations. As it is well known, the language registered in written records is substantially different from the one used in spontaneous oral interactions. Moreover, before the 20th century, only a tiny fraction of the population in Europe and elsewhere had access to writing. This paper aims to explore the methodological soundness of using written records in the study of contact-induced variation in the past. The question to be addressed is the following: to what extent are the conditions leading to language transfer, and the effects resulting from it, reflected in written texts in a manner that is similar to comparable modern data? To this effect I use as case study synchronic and historical analyses of Spanish *seseo*, that is, the non-distinction of /s/ and /θ/, as in standard Peninsular Spanish *cinco* ‘five’ [ˈθiŋko] pronounced [ˈsiŋko]. The community to be studied is Mallorca, a Spanish island in the Mediterranean in which Spanish and Catalan have coexisted for several centuries. As Catalan lacks a /θ/ sound altogether, *seseo* is extensively recorded in historical documents written by Mallorcans from different social classes, and also appears currently among Catalan-dominant speakers with primary education. Data for the comparative analysis comes from three newly developed corpora. For the historical analysis I use the Corpus Mallorca (www.corpusmallorca.es) which contains over a thousand texts in Spanish produced in the Catalan-speaking environment of Mallorca between 1640 and 1909. For the study of the current contact variety data is extracted from the COSER corpus (www.corpusrural.es), a collection of sociolinguistic interviews with rural elderly informants, and from the PRESEEA-Palma corpus (corpusmallorca.es/preseea) with sociolinguistic interviews conducted in the city of Palma. The quantitative analysis reveals that the degree of Catalan language dominance, formulated in terms of shorter periods of formal schooling and higher density of the Catalan-dominant population in the community where speakers live, is the main predictor for the intensity of *seseo*. Other factors that favor the non-distinction of the sibilants are non-prominent position, such as in word-final or syllable coda, and the lexical frequency of the lexical item where the variant occurs. These factors behave in a remarkably similar way in both the historical and modern corpora, that is, at least for this variable in this particular language-contact situation, written texts appear to be suitable for the application of variationist methods. In sum, this investigation demonstrates how a multidimensional approach to the study of linguistic variation that considers both synchronic and diachronic analytical techniques, allows us to better identify and understand the structural, social, and cognitive mechanisms that influence processes of variation in language contact situations.

Uncertainty of contact-induced language change in Southern Arizona Spanish: A comparative variationist approach to Spanish adverb placement

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates whether Southern Arizona Spanish (SAS), which is in contact with English, exhibits linguistic change induced by contact with respect to adverb placement (AP) from a comparative variationist perspective. Note that English allows for the **AdvV**O order but not for the **VAdv**O order, while Spanish permits both word orders (see examples 1a-1d). While this syntactic difference has led to examinations through generative and experimental lenses (cf. Koronkiewicz, 2022), contact-induced change regarding AP has not been investigated sufficiently. Variationist sociolinguistics assumes that linguistic change is preceded by variation and that variation may be systematically identified in the vernacular (cf. Labov, 1984). Thus, it is necessary to verify if different variable patterns in spontaneous speech in SAS are identified when compared to a monolingual Spanish variety. If differences are detected, the next step is to further scrutinize whether they stem from language contact (cf. Carvalho, 2016). As the first phase of exploration of contact-induced language change, this study examines language variation of Spanish AP in SAS by comparing this variety to Mexico City Spanish (MCS), which may serve as the

baseline as a monolingual Spanish variety. Data was collected from a total of 24 sociolinguistic interviews, 12 each from *Corpus del Español en el Sur de Arizona* (CESA) (Carvalho, 2012-present) and *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (CSCM) (Martín Butragueño & Lastra, 2011-2015), and limited to young speakers with a high education level. The envelope of variation includes two variants of Spanish AP: post-verbal AP (VAdvO) and pre-verbal AP (AdvVO). Each token was coded along with linguistic and extra-linguistic variables to be included in multivariate analyses: Derivational adverb, Adverb type, Object complexity, Clause type, Main clause polarity, Gender, Generation (limited to CESA), and Language dominance (limited to CESA). Following Tagliamonte (2013), SAS and MCS were compared in terms of the overall distribution and results of multivariate analyses using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009), namely significant factor group selection, factor group ranking, and factor hierarchy. Both varieties demonstrated great similarities in overall distribution (see table 1), as well as factor group ranking and factor hierarchy regarding the factor Adverb type (see tables 2-3). They only differed in factor group selection: Adverbs with a derivational suffix *-mente* may significantly favor the postverbal variant in CESA, whereas complex objects may significantly disfavor the postverbal variant in CSCM. Speculatively, SAS appears to demonstrate collocational speech in which a derivational adverb is found after a lexical verb related to cognition or linguistic abilities (see example 2a). Furthermore, MCS speakers might minimize the syntactic distance between a verb and the end of a clausal object for facilitated processing of interlocutors by placing an adverb prior to the lexical verb (see example 2b). Thus, alternative accounts to explain differences in factor group selection other than contact with English could not be ruled out for the moment. In sum, there is no evidence for noticeable cross-dialectal differences in AP patterns that would reflect a contact-induced language change in the Spanish variety spoken by bilinguals in Southern Arizona.

Author Translation

Este estudio examina si el español del sur de Arizona (ESA), en contacto con el inglés, exhibe un cambio lingüístico inducido por el contacto (CLIC) con respecto a la posición adverbial (PA) desde una perspectiva variacionista comparativa. El inglés permite el orden AdvVO, restringiendo el VAdvO, mientras que el español sí admite ambos (véase 1a-1d). Esta discrepancia sintáctica ha motivado a examinar basándose en un marco generativista y/o experimental (cf. Koronkiewicz, 2022), pero no se ha investigado suficientemente el CLIC en torno a la PA. La sociolingüística variacionista asume que el cambio sigue a la variación, que puede identificarse sistemáticamente en el vernáculo (cf. Labov, 1984). Así, es necesario verificar si se hallan patrones diferentes de la variable en el habla espontánea en el ESA, en comparación con una variedad monolingüe de español. Si los hay, se escudriñarán, a continuación, si vienen del contacto (cf. Carvalho, 2016). Como la primera fase, se estudia aquí la variación lingüística de la PA en el ESA, comparada con el español de Ciudad de México (ECM) como el punto de referencia como variedad monolingüe. Se recolectaron datos de veinticuatro entrevistas sociolingüísticas, cada doce de *Corpus del Español en el Sur de Arizona* (CESA) (Carvalho, 2012-presente) y *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (CSCM) (Martín Butragueño & Lastra, 2011-2015), limitadas a los hablantes jóvenes con un nivel educativo alto. El ámbito de la variación incluye dos variantes de la PA: la postverbal (VAdvO) y la preverbal (AdvVO). Se codificó cada token junto con las variables lingüísticas y extralingüísticas: Adverbio derivacional, Tipo del adverbio, Complejidad del objeto, Tipo de la cláusula, Polaridad de la cláusula principal, Género, Generación (limitada al CESA) y Predominio de idioma (limitada al CESA). De acuerdo con Tagliamonte (2013), las dos variedades fueron comparadas en términos de la distribución general y los resultados de los análisis multivariados—la selección de grupos de factores significativos, el ranking entre los grupos y la jerarquía entre los factores—utilizando Rbrul (Johnson, 2009). Ambas variedades mostraron similitudes grandes en la distribución general (tabla 1), el ranking entre los grupos y la jerarquía entre los factores en cuanto al Tipo de adverbio (tablas 2-3). Se difirieron solamente en la selección de grupos de factores significativos: Un adverbio con el sufijo derivacional *-mente* favorecería la variante postverbal en el CESA, mientras que un objeto complejo la desfavorecería en el CSCM. Especulativamente, el ESA parece manifestar una colocación donde un adverbio derivativo aparece tras un verbo de cognición o habilidades lingüísticas (véase 2a). En el ECM podrían minimizar la distancia sintáctica del verbo al final del objeto clausal para un procesamiento facilitado de interlocutores, poniendo el adverbio antes del verbo (véase 2b). De momento, no se podrían descartar las cuentas alternativas para interpretar las diferencias en la selección de grupos de factores,

aparte del contacto lingüístico. En resumen, no hay evidencia de diferencias interdialectales notables en la PA que reflejaran el CLIC en la variedad del español que hablan los bilingües en el sur de Arizona.

Resistance to singular “they” in Reddit communities

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In contemporary discourse, there has been much debate regarding the use of the singular "they" pronoun ranging from support to opposition. Past research on the topic of perception on singular "they" has either been done in the context of offline surveys, such as Bradley (2020) or Bailey et al. (2023), or quantitative online studies such as Hekaneko (2022). Nevertheless, as similar qualitative studies have been done on discourses regarding related linguistic items of contestation such as gender-neutral "you guys" in the case of Kleinman et al. (2021), this paper seeks to study the use of singular "they" in digital discourse. The goal of this paper is to uncover why there is specifically opposition to the use of singular “they” on Reddit, and the ways through which this opposition is achieved. To answer this question, the programme NARD (Gadanidis 2022) was used to download posts from two subreddits, one called r/kotakuinaction, a political community, and another called r/xenoblade_chronicles, a general-interest subreddit about the titular video game series. Grep then searched through the downloaded comments and returned ones containing the search terms "pronouns" and "they/them" for r/kotakuinaction, and "juniper" for r/xenoblade_chronicles, the name of a character with singular "they" pronouns. To analyse the content, the paper used Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2003). Specifically, I categorised the types of justifications made by each downloaded comment based on van Leeuwen (2007)'s types of legitimation at the textual level of discourse. For the discursive and societal levels of practice, I looked at the correlated Reddit practices for each comment (e.g., upvoting) and the community's demographics, respectively. The results were that the specific types of legitimations chosen by users are ideologically predicated on the assumed purpose and demographic makeup of the subreddits. While the theme of self-aggrandisement was commonly brought up in comments in both subreddits, singular "they" being considered a marker for social power or mental illness of the users was far more relevant in r/kotakuinaction. Conversely, singular "they" being considered as actually harmful to progressive causes or a marker for femininity (and therefore redundant vis-a-vis "she") were more common in r/xenoblade_chronicles. Notably, both the demographic and political orientation data are similar between the subreddits in that both are primarily White, liberal, and male, as well as under 30, with the only major difference being that r/xenoblade_chronicles has a higher proportion of LGBT+ users. The ramifications of this study on the field of language and gender include the affirmation of research like Cameron (2012) connecting linguistic judgments and beliefs about the social world. However, just as acceptability judgments regarding singular “they” have evolved in tandem with social structure for users of singular “they”, the arguments that opponents of these trends have furnished have likewise changed and have even begun to incorporate entextualised elements from certain academic frameworks such as post-structuralism. In this case, almost all of the discourse on singular “they” is focused on its social indexicalities and not its grammaticality.

The Effect of Pitch on the Reduction of the Vocalic Sequence /ea/ in Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This work analyzes the vocalic sequence /ea/ as articulated in spontaneous speech in a variety of Mexican Spanish, and how this sequence is oftentimes produced as the /e/ or /a/ monophthong. We hypothesize that this reduction interacts with pitch peaks in intonational units (IUs). The articulation of vocalic sequences in Spanish has been described by several authors (Borzone de Manrique 1979; Quilis 1993; Harris 1969; Harris & Kaisse 1999; Hualde 1991, 1994, 1997; Aguilar 1999; Hualde & Chitorán 2003; Cabré & Prieto 2007; Face & Alvord 2004 among others). However, most of these studies used nonspontaneous data, elicited using laboratory phonology methodologies. The present study incorporates data from natural occurring conversation from a wide range of speakers. Some studies have researched the effect of peak intonation on vowel quality (Jilka & Möbius 2007; Silverman 1985; Neihbur 2013). The reduction of vocalic sequences in Spanish considering the energy involved in intonational peaks and how it affects this reduction has not been researched. In our analysis, we propose that the closer the vocalic sequence is to the peak of the IU, the lower the probability that it will be reduced to the monophthong /e/ or /a/, whereas the farther away the vocalic sequences are from the intonational peak, the higher the probability that the sequence will be reduced to a monophthong. This study presents the analysis of 120 IUs in which the correlation between vocalic sequence reduction and intonational peak is analyzed considering three parameters before and after the intonational peak: 1) Milliseconds; 2) Number of phonemes; 3) Duration of voiced segments. Additionally, we measured loudness for the 120 IUs and correlated it with the intonational peaks to verify that emphasis is found in the nonreduced sequences. The results of this exploratory study indicate that in more than 50% of the reduced vocalic sequences, the distance to the intonational peak measured in milliseconds, in phonemes, and in duration of voiced segments had an effect on the production of the full vocalic sequence or its reduction, as we had hypothesized. These three factors seemed to influence the variation of the vocalic sequence; those that were closer to the peak showed full articulation of the vocalic sequence. In other words, the closer the sequence was from the intonational peak, the higher the probability of the vocalic sequence to be produced as a hiatus, with no reduction. This can be explained by the amount of energy required to produce the intonational peak in each phrase. This peak energy keeps the vocalic reduction from happening. This study will contribute as a stepping stone towards the understanding of variation in the relationship between suprasegmental and segmental features in speech, which has rarely been studied in Spanish. It will also help a deeper understanding of phonetic and phonological patterns and how they interact with the different types of phrases and their discursive intentions based on pitch.

Identity and Code-Switching: A sociophonetic study of bilinguals of Mexican heritage

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The objective of the present study is to analyze word-initial voice onset time (VOT) in the context of code-switching (CS). More specifically, this study combines research methods from sociolinguistics and phonetics to investigate how 32 heritage Spanish speakers (HSSs) of Mexican descent, living in Indiana, produce VOT for /p t k/ in word-initial stops in CS contexts. There is a scarcity of work in this area and by adopting a sociophonetic approach the investigation provides new insights into the phonological system of bilingual speakers. The methodology included four tasks: a demographic and language attitudes questionnaire, a reading task, an image naming task, and an opinion task. A total of 4,608 tokens were analyzed, for which several crosstabulations and logistic regressions were run in R. The dependent variable is VOT and a total of 51 independent linguistic and social variables related to the participants' perceptions of their heritage identity, their language use, and their language attitudes were examined. The present study advances the field of sociophonetics regarding the existing understanding of five main topics. First, it shows that for the community of HSSs that live in Indiana, the most relevant variable that predicts the type of VOT production seems to be switch direction. According to the results, switching to Spanish promotes shorter, Spanish-like VOT, and switching to English promotes longer, English-like

VOT, supporting Bullock et al. (2006), Piccinini & Arvaniti (2015), Olson (2016), and Ronquest (2016). Second, the results show that there is a higher variability of VOT in the image naming task. Third, the results show that the amount of Spanish and CS used, as well as the languages spoken by the participants' parents, are related to production. Fourth, the results indicate that participants' attitudes toward CS are mostly neutral in Indiana, and they are not related to VOT. Lastly, the results show that the higher use of CS, as part of translanguaging, does not hinder the resemblance of phonetic production of /p t k/ VOT to monolingual parameters. Therefore, the results suggest that the use of CS as part of the pedagogical approach of translanguaging in the classroom may be beneficial to the acquisition of Spanish and English VOT.

Probabilities of Lexicalization: phonological change in Filipino Sign Language cardinal numerals

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Abstract

Filipino Sign Language (FSL), the community sign language across Philippine islands, clearly demonstrates borrowing from American Sign Language (ASL) due to their history of contact dating back to early 1900s. A linguistic domain in which direct borrowing is evident is the cardinal numerals. Through time, these borrowed forms are undergoing phonological changes that lead to lexicalization of new forms. Specifically for multiples of hundred and thousand, FSL shows evidence of 'movement epenthesis' and, consequently, 'hold deletion' [3]. A compound sign that undergoes movement epenthesis "inserts a movement between articulatorily distinct contiguous segments" feeds 'hold deletion' which "deletes the holds that occur directly between two movements in a string" ([3]: 469). Applying the Hand Tier model of phonological structure (see [6]; see also [3] and [5]), **Figure 1** illustrates the segments of the numeral one thousand in FSL. As this compound undergoes movement epenthesis, **Figure 2** is formed. Focusing on this specific phonological change in cardinal numerals, this paper tried to measure the probability of a sequential form of a complex numeral to be lexicalized (fused) [2] into a unimorphemic simultaneous sign. An exploratory logistic regression analysis is applied to see whether this shift from sequential to simultaneous forms can be predicted by education (mainstream vs. non-mainstream), region (Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao), and age. From a specialized corpus of cardinal numerals in FSL, an annotated numeral data collected from the Philippines using object counting and money counting, I extracted a subsample of 1,892 observations from 59 deaf participants from Luzon (n=19), Visayas (n=20), and Mindanao (n=20). From this subsample, the tokens were narrowed down into numerals that show evidence of movement epenthesis. For this, only the signs for 100, 300, 600, and 1000 were used (tokens N=172). For the outcome variable, the data were coded as either *sequential* (compound sign of atom and base that were borrowed from ASL) or *simultaneous* (phonologically reduced sign based on the original compound). The predictors are education (levels: 2), islands (levels: 3), and age (mean: 29, all participants are adults between 18 and 60 years old). To measure the probability of phonological change, the *glm* function within the lme4 package in R was used (Bates et al., 2015) using a logistic regression model. A logistic regression model estimates the probability of something occurring in a set of independent predictors [8]. Logistic regression models have been notably applied on sociolinguistic studies, for instance, in ASL [4] and British Sign Language [7]. Movement epenthesis is evident in the formation of multiples in FSL cardinal numeral system. For the predictor education, signers who attended non-mainstream schools have higher probability of demonstrating this phonological change (*probability* = 0.857; *p-value* = 0.018). On the other hand, signers from Luzon (*probability* = 0.829; *p-value* = 0.0001) and Visayas (*probability* = 0.957; *p-value* = 0.032) have higher probability of demonstrating phonological change in cardinal numerals. Finally, for the predictor of age, no conclusion can be made based on the available data as the model did not yield significant result.

Using a listener-oriented approach to disentangle prosody: A focus on Argentine dialects of Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Many researchers have confirmed that syllable duration is one of the more important correlates of stress in pitch accent languages like Spanish (Hualde, 2005; Ortega-Llebaria 2006, 2008; Ortega-Llebaria & Prieto 2010; Prieto et. al, 1995; Llisterri et.al., 2005). Additionally, the pitch peak and valley are shown to follow consistent patterns in the production of stress at the word level (for Spanish; Ortega-Llebaria and Prieto, 2010; Prieto et. al.,1995). However, the dialect of Spanish in Córdoba, Argentina has called into question the role of both duration and pitch in the realization of stress. The syllable before the stressed, or tonic syllable is lengthened, most often in phrase final position (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971; Yorio, 1973), for example, the word “tonada”, which is also the nickname for this accent, would be pronounced /to:’na.da/. The goal of this research is to determine how the tonal movements of stressed syllables are perceived for this and neighboring dialects in Argentina? This study is also interested in understanding how simultaneous features are perceived, and which of the correlates of stress induce perception of a certain variety over another? This is achieved with a novel approach that uses the results from a dialect perception test to identify the tokens associated with a Córdoba dialect. Once categorized by listeners, the acoustic correlates of stress were measured in those tokens to find the relative importance of duration and tonal movement to the perception of dialect. The peak and valley were mapped with the tonic and pre-tonic syllables to determine how these elements temporally align. The fundamental frequency (F0) was measured (following Colantoni, 2011) at three points in the target word of each token (n=40): 1) the onset of the stressed syllable, 2) the lowest point (the valley) before the peak, and 3) the peak, or highest point reached over the word, discounting rises due to boundary tones. The neighboring, but undeniably different dialects included in this study are Tucumán Spanish, which is not well studied (c.f. Terán, 2017), and Buenos Aires Spanish, whose unique prosody is described as having early (tonic) alignment of pre-nuclear pitch accents (Pešková et al. 2012, Gabriel et. al. 2010; Colantoni & Gurlekian, 2004; Toledo, 2000; Sosa, 1999) and a “long fall” - a combination of high tone and the low tone within the same syllable, which is often also lengthened (Kaisse, 2001). Compared to the Buenos Aires and Tucumán tokens, the Córdoba tokens showed an early valley alignment (before the onset of the tonic syllable) and an early peak, but still within the tonic syllable (Figure 1). Tokens identified as Córdoba dialect had an early valley and rise, regardless of pre-tonic vowel duration. Tokens identified as non-Córdoba had valleys within the tonic syllable. While both Córdoba and Buenos Aires tokens (based on both their production and perception) showed peak alignment in the stressed syllable, it was the valley alignment that distinguished the two. These findings illustrate the role of tonal alignment in Córdoba Spanish and have implications for the perception of simultaneous suprasegmental features.

Author Translation

Muchos investigadores han confirmado que la duración de la sílaba es uno de los más importantes entre los correlatos del acento prosódico en lenguas con acento tonal, como el español (Hualde, 2005; Ortega-Llebaria 2006, 2008; Ortega-Llebaria & Prieto 2010; Prieto et. al, 1995; Llisterri et.al., 2005). Además, el pico y valle del tono muestran patrones consistentes en la producción del acento prosódico a nivel de la palabra (para el español; Ortega-Llebaria and Prieto, 2010; Prieto et. al.,1995). Sin embargo, el dialecto del español de Córdoba, en Argentina, pone en duda el rol de la duración y el tono en la realización del acento. La sílaba que precede a la sílaba acentuada, o sea la sílaba tónica, se alarga, sobre todo en posición final de frase (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1971; Yorio, 1973). Por ejemplo, la palabra “tonada”, que es como se le llama a este dialecto, se pronunciaría /to:’na.da/. El objetivo de esta investigación es determinar cómo se perciben los movimientos tonales de las sílabas acentuadas en este y otros dialectos en Argentina. Este estudio también busca comprender cómo los rasgos suprasegmentales se perciben

simultáneamente, y cuáles de las correlaciones del acento prosódico provocan la percepción de una variedad lingüística particular. Esto se logra con un método innovador que usa los resultados de una prueba de percepción dialectal para identificar los estímulos auditivos asociados con el dialecto cordobés. Una vez categorizado por los oyentes, se midieron los correlatos acústicos en los estímulos auditivos para encontrar la importancia relativa de la duración y el movimiento tonal a la percepción del dialecto. El pico y valle se mapearon con las sílabas tónicas y pre-tónicas para determinar el alineamiento temporal de estos elementos. La frecuencia fundamental (F0) se midió (siguiendo Colantoni, 2011) en tres puntos de la palabra de enfoque de cada estímulo auditivo (n=40): 1) al comienzo de la sílaba acentuada, 2) en el punto más bajo (el valle) antes del pico, y 3) en el pico, o punto más alto alcanzado en la palabra, sin contar altos debido a tonos de frontera. Los dialectos vecinos, pero notablemente distintos, que se incluyeron en este estudio son el español tucumano, el cual no ha sido bien estudiado (vg. Terán, 2017), y el español de Buenos Aires, cuya prosodia única cuenta con un alineamiento temprano de la sílaba tónica en posición pre-nuclear de frase (Pešková et al. 2012, entre otros). Comparado con los tucumanos y bonaerenses, los estímulos cordobeses mostraron un alineamiento temprano (antes del comienzo de la sílaba tónica) y un pico temprano, pero todavía dentro de la sílaba tónica (Figure 1). Las muestras identificadas como ‘cordobesas’ tenían ambos un valle y una subida tempranos, sin importar la duración de la vocal pre-tónica. Las muestras que se identificaron con los dialectos bonaerense y tucumano tenían sus valles dentro de la sílaba tónica. Estos resultados ilustran el papel del alineamiento tonal en el español cordobés y presentan implicaciones para la percepción de características suprasegmentales simultáneas.

Variable case-marking with Spanish-Yucatec Maya bilingual compound verbs: Comparing acceptability ratings by Yucatec Maya-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Yucatan Spanish (YS) joins a handful of contact varieties of Spanish that include the use of bilingual compound verbs (BCVs) (e.g., Balam et al, 2020), in this case, comprised of an inflected form of the verb *hacer* (‘to do’) and a Yucatec Maya (YM) lexical verb root, such as *chuk* (‘to soak’). The usage of these compound verbs likely emerges from within bilingual discourse and codeswitching (Balam, 2015; Wilson & Dumont, 2015), however, the degree of productivity and other contextual and semantic characteristics appear to vary by community (see Balam et al, 2024). Previous research on Spanish BCVs has shown that these verbs employ an array case-marking strategies and argument structures (Balam, 2015; Wilson, 2013) and that in YS, despite limited in productivity, the case-marking may, in fact, be variable (Author, 2017). Prior analysis of a small corpus of BCVs in online discourse and acceptability ratings collected with a written contextualized task (WCT) (Author, 2017) has shown that monolingual users of YS may use accusative (1) and dative (2) case-marking strategies, despite the fact that all Maya lexical verbs that participate in this BCVs construction are monotransitive. This variation appears to be, in part, conditioned by the lexical verb, semantic features of the object, as well as semantic properties of whole predicate. What remains to be determined is whether bilingual users of YM have different intuitions regarding this variation as due to their knowledge and understanding of grammatical and semantic features of YM. The present study analyzes the acceptability ratings of different case-marking variations with BCVs by bilingual speakers of YM and Spanish and compares their intuitions to those of the monolingual speakers of YS. In total, 40 Yucatecans (21 Monolinguals, 19 Bilinguals) completed a WCT comprised of eight items containing BCVs and twelve distractor items. Participants were presented with three case-marking variants for each BCV (accusative, dative, differential object marking) and asked to rate each one according to how natural it seemed to them on a 5-point scale. The ratings were analyzed using R to determine the proportional distribution of acceptability ratings across the different case-marking variations. The two groups differed in their ratings, such that the bilinguals showed a strong preference

for dative case-marking (65% indicating acceptance) and a rejection of accusative case-marking (71%), while monolinguals accepted both accusative and dative case marking to similar degrees (34%). Subsequently two separate ordinal regression models were fit to the monolingual and bilingual data, confirming that the bilingual participant ratings were significantly affected by the three case-marking variants and the monolingual participant ratings were not. With respect to the bilingual participant ratings, the dative case variant significantly increased the probability that a participant would provide an acceptable rating relative to an accusative variant ($\beta = 4.26$, $p < .001$). The results are discussed in the context of language variation, bilingualism, and the possible contact origins of BCVs.

Vowel Variation and Queer Identity: A Sociolinguistic Study of Rituparno Ghosh in Bengali

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores Bengali queer sociolinguistics, focusing on the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals in a context where same-sex marriage remains illegal and queerness faces social stigmatization (Chakma & Chirom, 2023). Existing research on vowel production among queer individuals has primarily centered on English, leaving a significant gap for queer speakers of other languages (Zimman, Davis, and Raclaw, 2014). This paper addresses this gap by investigating sociolinguistic variation and queer speech within Bengali, specifically through Rituparno Ghosh, a prominent LGBTQ+ figure in Bengali culture. Ghosh, one of the few openly queer Bengali celebrities, defied traditional gender roles in speech and behavior, providing valuable insights into queer speech patterns amidst prevailing stigmas in India. This study analyzes Ghosh's formant frequencies of four vowels from two interviews approximately nine years apart, focusing on vocalic changes as Ghosh adopted more feminine elements into their appearance. Additionally, Ghosh's vowel production is compared with that of two heterosexual Bengali celebrities—Kaushik Ganguly, a male director, and Churni Ganguly, a female director. 165 vowel tokens were gathered for the older Ghosh interview, 167 for the more recent Ghosh interview, 327 for Kaushik Ganguly, and 184 for Churni Ganguly. F1 and F2 values were collected from vowel midpoints using Praat. Preliminary findings suggest that the vowels /i/ and /o/ play significant roles in gender and sexual identity creation in Bengali, while /e/ does not, as speakers patterned similarly for this vowel, regardless of gender and sexual identity. Ghosh exhibited a lower /i/ than the two directors at both timepoints, indicating a divergence from non-queer speakers and potentially indexing their queerness through vowel production. In 2000, Ghosh's vowel heights for /a/ and /o/ were comparable to those of the two heterosexual speakers, but these vowels showed increased height by 2009. The changes in Ghosh's vowel articulation patterns correspond with their evolving appearance, moving from a stereotypically masculine presentation in 2000 to a more androgynous and sophisticated aesthetic style by 2009. Comments by the interviewer and Ghosh in the 2009 interview that they "talk like a woman" further highlight these changes. By 2012, Ghosh's film *Chitrangada* revealed a more pronounced feminine appearance due to cosmetic surgery and hormone therapy (Dasgupta & Bakshi, 2018). Ghosh's use of semiotic resources—including clothing, gestures, and linguistic patterns—differed from the heterosexual speakers, contributing to a non-binary identity construction. Based on YouTube commentary on their intellectualism (Kolikata Kolikata, 2020) and my own native speaker experiences with Bengali communities, I describe Ghosh's speech style in 2009 as sophisticated, refined, and high-class. Ghosh's vowel patterns suggest that higher vowels could indirectly index these characteristics rather than femininity. However, further research is needed to confirm if raised /a/ and /o/ are associated with stereotypical feminine speech in Bengali. This study contributes to the emerging field of trans linguistics and provides a sociolinguistic analysis of an underrepresented Indic language. It highlights how a trans speaker's vowel production differs from cisgender speakers, enriching our understanding of gender non-conforming speech and the use of binary linguistic resources to create unique meanings for non-binary speakers.

The production and perception of stop consonant voicing in a bilingual context: The case of Jiuhe Naxi

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Background & Significance Perception and production studies in bilingualism have predominantly focused on the impact of L1 on L2 and explored L1 attrition due to increased L2 exposure, scant attention has been devoted to understanding how L2 influences L1 monolinguals within bilingual settings. This pilot study, employing the case of Jiuhe Naxi, provides new findings that the presence of L2 can trigger cue interaction in L1 monolinguals. Naxi, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in northwestern Yunnan, China, exhibits a pre-voicing vs. short-lag contrast in stop initials and 3 phonological tones linked to voiced or voiceless initials. Jiuhe Township is inhabited by a population comprising 39% Naxi and 52% Bai, another ethnic minority in China, whose language has short-lag stop initials only but more tones (Figure 1). This unique setting comprises villages with Naxi-Bai bilingual individuals alongside monolingual speakers.

Aim The research question addresses the differences in stop initial voicing production and perception between Naxi-Bai bilinguals and Naxi monolinguals in bilingual settings.

Methods Production and perception experiments were conducted involving 20 participants from a mixed-habitation village of Jiuhe. 9 out of the 20 are Naxi monolinguals. Production Experiment: Participants were tasked with reading a wordlist (Table 1) comprising 15 target words, each repeated thrice. Measurements were taken for VOT and the intensity of the pre-voicing part. Perception Experiment: A Naxi monolingual recorded two pre-voicing vs. short-lag minimal pairs with different tones (/pa²¹/ "wide" vs. /ba²¹/ "to blossom" and /pa³³/ "to arrive" vs. /ba³³/ "goiter"). Stimuli for perception, in the form of two 4-step VOT continuums ([b] to [p] and [p] to [b]), were synthesized based on these pairs. Participants were presented with each stimulus four times and asked to choose between the minimal pair members upon hearing the stimulus, with their responses recorded.

Results In production, bilingual individuals and Naxi monolinguals do not show significant difference in VOT distributions of pre-voicing and short-lag stop initials (Figure 2, Repeated Measures ANOVA, $F=0.483$, $p=0.489$). In perception, bilinguals and monolinguals showcased distinct patterns: the perceptual boundary between voiced and voiceless stops for bilinguals was notably closer to the voiced end than that for monolinguals. Particularly, monolinguals predominantly perceived stimuli with tone /21/ as voiced, while exhibiting a narrower perceptual boundary than bilinguals in syllables with tone /33/ (Figure 3 and 4, Linear mixed effects model, $p=0.001$).

Discussion and conclusion Within Jiuhe, Monolinguals showed an interaction between two perceptual cues—VOT and F0. The disparity in categorization might be attributed to the accumulated L2-Bai experience of bilinguals, wherein distinguishing voicing contrast becomes unnecessary when conversing in Bai but the sensitivity to F0 has been enhanced because more tones need to be distinguished. The gradual decline of pre-voicing choice percentage (i.e. continuous perception) of monolinguals could be explained by their exposure to non-standard Naxi spoken by Bai people, who often produce devoiced examples of Naxi voiced categories.

Telling a (racio)gender: Morphosyntactic variation and identity attribution in transgender English/Spanish speakers' "Pear Stories"

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A central goal of sociolinguistics is the development of methods that encourage unguarded, spontaneous language use. However, the development of controlled stimuli for perception experiments often runs counter to this goal, as interviews and other naturalistic genres may produce quite different content that will prime perceivers in an experimental context (e.g., Thomas 2002). This disjunction between attempting to encourage uniformity while also seeking linguistic authenticity creates opportunities for deeper consideration of the way researchers and participants co-construct the research encounter.

This talk comes from a critical sociophonetic project on the co-attribution of gender and race that focuses on the voices of transgender people of color. Here, we present – and problematize – a novel method for sociolinguistic data collection that aims to elicit spontaneous speech on a controlled topic: the Pear Film (1975). This method involves playing a short video with no dialogue that depicts someone picking pears (Figure 1) and a child stealing a basket of the fruit (Figure 2); participants are then asked to narrate the action of the film. These narratives have been examined by both discourse analysts and language documentarians (Chafe 1980). Based on these qualities, the Pear Film appears to offer a framework for unscripted speech with shared content and similar lexical items without provoking strong stance-taking. However, our data raised unexpected questions about the possibility of controlling discourse or shielding participants from the sociopolitical implications of experimental tasks, particularly where people with marginalized subjectivities are concerned. Our analysis focuses on multi-part interviews with six Latinx trans/non-binary young adults in California and Puerto Rico, whose variable ethnoracial positionalities shape their commentary about the film. We analyze these speakers' pear stories and find that the performative process of narrating the film and then being asked about their linguistic choices afforded them opportunities to challenge the normative course of gender attribution and the raciogendered dynamics of the story (Bell & Gibson 2011). Our analysis focuses on participants' choices of gendered or gender-neutral referring forms – pronouns, grammatical gender, and identity labels – and metapragmatic commentary (Silverstein 1993) regarding those choices. In addition to taking up varied strategies for referring to figures in the film, participants frequently attended to the material and spatiotemporal context of the film – its age, the agricultural context, and the embodied activities of the characters – as fodder for far more critical interpretations of the stimuli than we anticipated. For example, interviewees spoke about the ways the attribution of gender to children has different implications depending on their racialization, and about the blatant injustice of a white child stealing from an agricultural worker without consequence. Through close analysis of this supposedly controlled task, we raise questions about other common texts – e.g., the Rainbow Passage – and their impact on different kinds of speakers. Yet, rather than trying to control what participants say and assuming our tasks will be taken as politically neutral, the dialogic way we implemented the Pear Film method uncovered greater insights, allowing us to follow our participants on their own meaning-making paths.

Fortition Patterns in lateral consonants: A study of Nariñense Andean Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Traditionally, changes in the relative strength of a sound are described in terms of lenition and fortition. Lenition is defined as the weakening of a segment whereas fortition is defined as the opposite, the strengthening or intensification of articulatory gestures. From these two types of sound change, it has been generally argued that fortition is less frequent than lenition (Honeybone, 2008; Blevins, 2015; Bybee and Easterday, 2019). The current pilot study reports strengthening-like patterns of the lateral /l/ in Nariñense, an understudied Andean Spanish dialect spoken in Southwestern Colombia. This study aims to contribute to the scarce knowledge of linguistic variation in the Andean Spanish consonant system and

to shed more light on the literature of Spanish dialectology. The data for this study come from 20-minute free conversations among 8 lower social-level speakers of Nariñense Andean Spanish, who are all monolingual native speakers. The participants' interaction included food and tradition descriptions, and folk stories. There was no or minimal interaction with the interviewer. A total of 156 tokens of the lateral /l/ in intervocalic position were extracted using acoustic and spectrographic analyses. Although previous studies have claimed that the intervocalic position favors consonant lenition and not fortition (Amastae, 1989; Ségéral and Scheer, 2008), this phonological environment helps determine any changes or disruption in the transition of the vocalic formant structure preceding and following the target segments. The acoustic measurements include the presence or absence of a closure and voicing in the realization of the lateral [l]. The results showed that 43 out of 156 tokens (27.6%) were produced as Spanish canonical laterals, with clear formant structure and voicing. However, the majority of the tokens, 113 (72.4%), were realized with an occlusion-like pattern at the beginning or end of the segment (Figure 1). The duration also exhibited some variation. Whereas the non-canonical lateral reached a mean of approximately 77 milliseconds (ms), the canonical lateral reached an overall duration of 64 ms. The occlusion in the non-canonical [l] reached 20 ms, almost a third of the overall duration of the Spanish canonical [l]. Interestingly, in 49 tokens out of 113 (43.4%), the non-canonical [l] also included a release burst at the beginning or the end of the occlusion. Although the non-canonical variant was widely produced by all the speakers and preceded and followed by all the Spanish vowels [i, e, a, o, u], most of the tokens were surrounded by the high vowel [i]. The non-canonical [l] in Nariñense Spanish seems to suggest a fortition pattern which is reflected in the presence of an occlusion with weaker formant structure and voicing. The presence of a burst after the occlusion in the realization of some laterals also supports an analysis of fortition patterns. However, a deeper examination of the non-canonical lateral will be necessary to provide a more accurate description and how this may reflect the consonant system in this and other Andean Spanish dialects.

Author Translation

Tradicionalmente, los cambios en la fuerza relativa de un sonido se describen en términos de lenición y fortición. La lenición se define como el debilitamiento de un segmento, mientras que la fortición se define como el fortalecimiento o la intensificación de gestos articulatorios. A partir de estos dos tipos de cambio de sonido, se ha argumentado que la fortición es menos frecuente que la lenición (Honeybone, 2008; Blevins, 2015; Bybee y Easterday, 2019). El presente estudio piloto reporta patrones de fortición de la /l/ en Nariñense, un dialecto del español andino poco estudiado hablado en el suroccidente colombiano. Este estudio pretende contribuir al escaso conocimiento de la variación lingüística en el sistema consonántico del español andino y arrojar más luz sobre la literatura de la dialectología del español. Los datos en este estudio proceden de conversaciones libres de 20 minutos entre 8 hablantes de nivel social bajo del español andino nariñense, todos nativos monolingües. La interacción de los participantes incluyó descripciones de comidas y tradiciones, e historias populares. La interacción con el entrevistador fue mínima o nula. Se extrajeron un total de 156 muestras de la /l/ en posición intervocálica mediante análisis acústico y espectrográfico. Aunque estudios previos han afirmado que la posición intervocálica favorece la lenición y no la fortición (Amastae, 1989; Ségéral y Scheer, 2008), este entorno fonológico ayuda a determinar cualquier cambio o interrupción en la transición de la estructura de formantes vocálicos que precede y sigue a los segmentos examinados. Las medidas acústicas incluyen la presencia o ausencia de una oclusión y sonorización en la realización de la [l]. Los resultados mostraron que 43 de 156 muestras (27,6%) se produjeron como laterales canónicas del español, con formantes y sonoridad clara. Sin embargo, la mayoría de los segmentos, 113 (72,4%), se realizaron con un patrón similar a la oclusión al comienzo o al final del segmento (Figura 1). La duración también mostró cierta variación. Mientras que la consonante lateral no canónica alcanzó una media de aproximadamente 77 milisegundos (ms), la lateral canónica alcanzó una duración total de 64 ms. La oclusión en la [l] no canónica alcanzó los 20 ms, casi un tercio de la duración total de la [l] canónica. Curiosamente, en 49 de los 113 segmentos (43,4%), la [l] no canónica también incluía un *burst* al principio o al final de la oclusión. Aunque la variante no canónica fue ampliamente producida por todos los hablantes y estaba precedida y seguida por todas las vocales [i, e, a, o, u], la mayoría de las muestras incluían la vocal alta [i]. La [l] no canónica en el español nariñense parece sugerir un patrón de fortición reflejado en la presencia de una oclusión con estructura formántica y sonoridad más débiles. La presencia de un *burst* después de la oclusión en algunas laterales también

apoya un análisis de fortición. Sin embargo, será necesario un examen más profundo de la lateral no canónica para proporcionar una descripción más precisa y cómo ésta puede reflejar el sistema consonántico en éste y otros dialectos del español andino.

Car Talk: The story of char and other variants meaning ‘car’ in Montreal and Welland spoken French

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study examines variation in the use of nouns expressing the notion of ‘automobile’, namely *char*, *machine*, *auto*, *automobile* and *voiture*, in the varieties of French spoken in Montreal, Quebec and Welland, Ontario. It is part of a research project which investigates processes of convergence/divergence in these two genetically related varieties of Canadian French, Welland’s French-speaking minority community being largely the result of migration from Quebec. Our study is based on data collected in the 1970s and in the 2010s, which make it possible to investigate the evolution of this variable over roughly four decades. As such, the present study expands the time depth of previous research on this variable, which was based on corpora collected in Quebec and/or Ontario in the 1970s and 1980s and examined its evolution with apparent time data (Barysevich, 2012, Martel, 1984 and Nadasdi, Mougeon & Rehner, 2004). An analysis of the extralinguistic constraints on variation shows that in both communities, *auto* *voiture* and *automobile* are “prestige” variants associated with higher SES speakers and *machine* and *char* are vernacular variants favored by lower SES speakers. Evaluation of the variants’ frequency over time shows that in both communities *auto* and *voiture* are on the increase at the expense of *automobile*, which has become marginal in the 2010s. It also reveals that *char* clearly outranks *machine*, the latter having become marginal in Welland and absent in Montreal in the 2010s. Thus, overall, in both communities this case of multinomial variants is evidencing a shrinking trend, from five variants in 1970s to three productive variants in the 2010s. That said, while our study has brought into light several patterns of intercommunity convergence, by focusing on the speech of the 15-34 speaker age cohort in the 2010s, it has also documented a trend towards inter community divergence. Specifically, in the speech of these younger speakers, *auto* is considerably more frequent in Welland than in Montreal and *char* has almost completely disappeared in Welland, whereas it has remained stable in Montreal. To shed light on this more recent trend towards divergence, the results our study are put into perspective with those of previous studies on the evolution of other sociolinguistic variables such as variation in the use of consequence markers *alors*, *donc*, *(ça) fait que* and *so* as well as the alternation between complex and simple non clitic plural pronouns (e.g. *nous autres* vs *nous* ‘we/us’). This highlights the complexity of the evolution of variation in both communities and leads us to propose several factors triggering the actuation of both divergent and convergent trends. For instance, we argue that i) in Welland the sharp decline of vernacular *char* and *(ça) fait que* can be ascribed to the rise of English dominant bilingualism among the younger generations and ii) in Montreal the sharp rise of the simple pronouns has been reinforced by the rise of international Francophone immigration in the recent decades).

Discourse Variation in Tamil: Investigating the Grammaticalization of *vanthu*

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In this study, I investigate the potential grammaticalization of the Tamil verb *vanthu* ('come') and provide a comprehensive description of its various functional forms as an incoming discourse marker in vernacular spoken Tamil. Although previous scholars have identified the function of *vanthu* as a 'filler word' (Aiyer 2020) beyond its standard lexical meaning as the past participle of *vaa* ('come') (Schiffman 1999: 154), this is the first study to describe the multiple grammatical functions of this non-standard form. As there are no corpora of spoken vernacular Tamil and existing descriptions focus on the formal written variety, the data for this study were collected from a debate-style Tamil television show called *Neeya Naana* (n=169) as well as interviews with a Tamil speaker (n=61). The results of this study are two-fold: a) an analysis of the distribution of *vanthu* in naturalistic Tamil speech to describe its functions, and b) an apparent time analysis (Bailey et al. 1991) of its usage. I divided 38 speakers into 10-year age groups and coded each token for gender, age group, and stage of semantic-pragmatic change, adopting Pichler and Levey's (2011) four stage coding taxonomy: Stage 0 for the standard form (example 1), Stage 1 for a semantically ambiguous form, Stage 2 for a non-standard form (example 2), and Stage 3 for a punctor, adopting Vincent and Sankoff's (1992) definition of punctors as discourse-pragmatic markers that act as "nervous tics, fillers, or signs of hesitation" (205). From analyzing the syntactic distribution and discourse context of this variant, I show that *vanthu* has been semantically bleached, is undergoing semantic-pragmatic shift, and is employing multiple functionalities as a discourse marker in its non-standard form, including as a topic marker, deictic marker, and punctor. 80.6% of the tokens of *vanthu* were non-standard variants, 10% were semantically ambiguous, 5.9% were as the standard verbal form, and 3.5% were as a punctor. This usage as a punctor was only observed in speakers between 20-50. Non-standard *vanthu* was the most used form across all age groups. The youngest age group (20-30) used the non-standard variant 92% of the time while the oldest age group (70-80) used this variant 74% of the time. The 50-60 age group used the non-standard variant 100% of the time. The standard variant of *vanthu* was used the most in the oldest 70-80 age group at 18.5% of the time. Since the non-standard variant of *vanthu* was used predominantly across all ages, this suggests that this synchronic snapshot of the speech community shows a later stage of grammaticalization (Tagliamonte & Denis 2010). As Pichler (2010) stated, "a holistic theory of language variation and change must, by definition, incorporate discourse variation and change" (601). While discourse variation studies are on the rise, there is still a need for more research outside of English to build a better model of language change. With this study, I help fill this gap with this example of discourse variation from a sociolinguistically understudied language such as Tamil.

Reference reactivation: a variationist analysis of the discourse connector *y* in Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Variationists have conducted numerous studies on cognitive constraints related to reference continuity, known as switch reference (Givón 1992, 1983; Cameron 1994). These studies looked at the immediate previous context, often the preceding sentence, showing that one of the functions of null subjects is to signal continuity of reference. However, speakers and hearers track many referents during a conversation. These referents sometimes fade out of discourse, and are other times brought back to the *center* of attention. The linguistic variable in this study is the optional Spanish DM *y* ('and') in sentence-initial position. This DM is sensitive to the reference structure in a larger discourse window. It is not limited to the referential chains of subjects but covers other grammatical functions, as well. Apart from its use as a logical connector, Spanish *y* in sentence-initial position also has a discourse-organising function (similarly to English sentence initial 'and': Schiffman 1987; Crible 2018). In this study, we are analysing discourse segments with the DM *y* and the discourse-organising functions associated with it. In particular, we want to assess the referent reactivation function, i.e. bringing a referent introduced into the discourse

but already faded out of the center of attention back to center stage, as illustrated by the highlighted, reactivated subject in (1), object in (2), or time adverbial in (3) (see annex). All referents and their relations in the discourse unit prior to the *y*-introduced sentence have been manually annotated using the network graph tool *Cytoscape* (Shannon et al. 2003). Figure 1 illustrates the reference annotation of one target sentence, including the previous context with the last mention of all its referents. The empirical potential of this approach comes with the drawback that the annotation requires high expertise and is exceptionally resource-intensive. Therefore, this study is a proof of concept, limited to the full reference annotation of a single interview. In a first step, we have extracted all sentences that include at least one previously activated (or anchored) referent. The envelope of variation excludes uses of *y* that are not primarily discourse markers, i.e. sentences consisting of embedding contexts and uses of *y* coordinating constituents below the clause level. The final set consists of 400 discourse units produced by 2 speakers from the *sgs* corpus of spontaneous dialogues of Barcelona Spanish (AUTHOR 2011), 78 (19,37%) with *y*, 318 (78,75%) without *y*. Given the sample size, we opted for Bayesian statistics, testing the hypothesis that the DM *y* reactivates a previously introduced (or anchored) referent whose last mention is at least 2 sentences away. This hypothesis is borne out in this case study, with a logarithm-transformed Bayes Factor (Kass and Raftery 1995: 777) > 10.7 (see Figure 2). In conclusion, we discuss the potential of including the network of reference relations as a novel cognitive constraint, both empirically as an addition to switch reference, and theoretically as a step towards a corpus-based model of discourse markers and text coherence (AUTHOR 2024).

Author Translation

Los estudios variacionistas han realizado numerosas contribuciones sobre las limitaciones cognitivas relacionadas con la continuidad de referentes (Givón 1992, 1983; Cameron 1994). Estos estudios examinan el contexto inmediato previo, a menudo la oración anterior, demostrando que una de las funciones de los sujetos nulos es señalar la continuidad de referentes. Sin embargo, los hablantes y oyentes rastrean muchos referentes durante una conversación. Estos referentes a veces desaparecen del discurso y otras veces se vuelven a situar en el centro de atención. La variable lingüística en este estudio es el marcador discursivo opcional en español *y* (MD) en posición inicial de la oración. Este marcador es sensible a la estructura de referentes en un contexto discursivo más amplio. No se limita a las cadenas referenciales de sujetos, sino también abarca otras funciones gramaticales. Además de su uso como conector lógico, el MD *y* tiene una función organizadora del discurso (similar al MD *and* en inglés: Schiffrin 1987; Crible 2018). En este estudio analizamos segmentos discursivos con el MD *y* y las funciones organizadoras del discurso asociadas con él. En particular, evaluamos la función de reactivación de referentes, por la cual un referente se vuelve a situar en el centro de atención, luego de haber sido previamente introducido (o anclado) en el discurso pero desvanecido del centro de atención, como se ilustra con el sujeto reactivado en (1), el objeto en (2), o el adverbio temporal en (3) (ver anexo). Todos los referentes y sus relaciones en la unidad discursiva previa a la oración introducida con *y* han sido anotados manualmente utilizando la herramienta de gráficos *Cytoscape* (Shannon et al. 2003). La Figura 1 ilustra la anotación de referencia de una oración, incluyendo el contexto previo con la última mención de todos sus referentes. El potencial empírico de este enfoque viene con la desventaja de que la anotación requiere alta especialización. Por lo tanto, este estudio es una prueba de concepto, limitada a la anotación completa de referencias en una sola entrevista. En un primer paso, hemos extraído todas las oraciones que incluyen al menos un referente previamente activado (o anclado). Excluimos los usos de *y* que no son MDs: oraciones subordinadas y usos de *y* coordinando constituyentes por debajo del nivel oracional. El conjunto final consta de 400 unidades discursivas producidas por 2 hablantes del corpus de diálogos en Barcelona (AUTHOR 2011), 78 (19,37%) con *y*, 318 (78,75%) sin *y*. Dado el tamaño de la muestra, optamos por estadísticas bayesianas, probando la hipótesis de que el MD *y* reactiva un referente previamente introducido (o anclado) cuya última mención está al menos a 2 oraciones de distancia. Esta hipótesis se confirma en este estudio de caso, con un Factor de Bayes transformado logarítmicamente (Kass and Raftery 1995: 777) > 10.7 (ver Figura 3). Para concluir, discutimos el potencial de incluir la red de relaciones referenciales como una nueva restricción cognitiva, empíricamente en el cambio de referentes; teóricamente como un paso hacia un modelo jerárquico del discurso para MD *y* la coherencia textual (AUTHOR 2024).

Bringing the participant voice into voice quality: A case study of a trans woman's experience with her voice

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

When transgender speakers undergo transition, social meanings attached to their voices are re-contextualized, allowing consideration of how social context activates different social meanings (Zimman 2017). **Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)** (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2022) has shown promise outside of linguistics for considering how trans people themselves understand their experiences (e.g. Eisenberg & Zervoulis 2020). This method focuses on how people understand major life experiences, such as migration or childbirth. I combine IPA with phonetic analysis of voice quality to present a case study of how a Scottish transgender woman, Carrie, understands her experience with her voice. IPA emphasizes how everyday experiences can take on additional significance in the context of major life experience: Here, this provides a framework for considering the relationship between Carrie's experiences of using her voice in day-to-day interaction and the experience of transition more generally. Carrie is a transgender woman who uses her voice in her professional life which includes work as a radio host. She was recorded in conversations with an unknown interlocutor and a close friend, to consider how her voice quality shifted between conversations. Carrie's voice quality was analyzed using combined auditory-perceptual and acoustic methods, which included auditory coding of shifts into creak, harsh voice and whisper, combined with acoustic measurement of H1*–H2* and CPP using VoiceSauce (Shue et al. 2011), measures which relate to the degree of glottal constriction and amount of periodic noise in the signal respectively. These acoustic measures were modelled using mixed-effects linear regression using lme4 (Bates et al. 2015) in R. Carrie also took part in an in-depth interview conducted and analyzed following the principles of IPA, to consider how she understood these interactions within her wider experience with her voice. The IPA component explored Carrie's understanding of her sense of control over her voice, the role of her fear of danger in her voice use, and how she views acceptance of her voice as the way forward. Integrated phonetic-qualitative analysis presents examples of shifts to her phonation, such as using harsh voice to convey how she believes others to view her voice, and reproducing examples of her 'radio voice', a lax, near-modal quality which she describes as 'resonant'. Voice measurements taken in each conversation reveal that Carrie's voice becomes laxer and closer to modal when talking to the unknown interlocutor, as evidenced by significant ($p < 0.001$) increases in both H1*–H2* ($\beta = 0.512$, $SE(\beta) = 0.032$, $t = 15.764$) and CPP ($\beta = 0.125$, $SE(\beta) = 0.034$, $t = 3.621$). This suggests a similarity with her radio voice. Taken together with the IPA, these results suggest Carrie shifts towards her radio voice to reclaim a sense of situational control in unfamiliar contexts. Findings are discussed in terms of how speakers' construction of their own agency may affect their sociolinguistic behavior (Zimman 2021: 85), considering how societal transphobia affects this construction of agency. IPA is recommended to future researchers considering the relationship between a speaker's understanding of a major life experience and their sociolinguistic behavior in everyday interactions.

Morphological variation in complex verbs of South Bolivian Quechua folk tales

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper analyzes variation in complex verbs in two varieties of South Bolivian Quechua (SBQ). The first variety (*SBQ-1*) is spoken by monolingual elders in a rural village in the valleys of Southern Bolivia. The second variety (*SBQ-2*) is spoken by SBQ-Aymara balanced bilingual elders in a rural village in the

highlands. SBQ and Aymara are morphologically complex and typologically similar. Verbs are derived by suffixation. The two varieties exhibit a larger inventory of lexical suffixes in their verbs compared to what has been stated by earlier scholars who studied SBQ (see, Garland D., et al 1971, Muysken 1986, Herrero & Sanchez 1978, Van de Kerke 1996 and Plaza 2009). The findings of this paper show evidence that *SBQ-2* exhibits verbal morphemes from Aymara in its verbs due to contact. The methodology of this study involves documenting more than 40 traditional Quechua folk tales of different literary genres. The author is an L1 speaker of SBQ. She documented folk tales narrated by storyteller elders with audio and video while solely interacting in SBQ. Today only elders in rural villages preserve this cultural knowledge. The folk tales not only stand out by their linguistic richness, but they also teach us morals. Unfortunately, this cultural knowledge is disappearing as rural villages decrease in population. The verbal word form in SBQ is minimally composed by a root and an inflectional suffix **root +INFL** as in (1) below. A complex verb stem is derived by suffixation as in (2) and (3). In (2) the motion suffix *-mu* is added to the verb root. In (3) the causative suffix *-chi* and *-mu* are suffixed to derive a more complex verb stem. The verbal words of *SBQ-1* and *SBQ-2* commonly exhibit complex verb forms as in (4) where the verb root *kuti*- ‘return’ is derived into a more complex verb stem by a four-suffix string *-yu-ri-chi-mu* ‘-ASP-AFF-CAUS-DIR’. *SBQ-2* also exhibits Aymara suffixes to form complex verb stems. Most of these Aymara suffixes express motion and direction. In (5) the suffix *-qa* ‘downwards’ is a verbal suffix from Aymara since it is not observed in folk tales of *SBQ-1* but it is evidenced in Aymara. SBQ and Aymara have similar structures typologically. *SBQ-2* incorporates Aymara suffixes to add a more precise description in the performance of the main verb event. Example (5) comes from the story ‘the *Condor* and the *Girl*’. In the story the *Little Parrot* rescued the girl from the crag. It took the girl back home downwards in the direction where her town was located. Variation between these two varieties is not limited to verbal morphology or other parts of the grammar. The overlapping folk stories also vary. For instance, in the folk story the *Fox* and the *Dog*, in *SBQ-1* the *Dog* is assisted by the *Lion* as in *Figure 1*, but in *SBQ-2* the *Dog* is assisted by the *Condor* as in *Figure 2*. In this sense, this paper assesses variation in oral folk tales, advancing a different methodology in language description.

***Medeyeísmo*: Sociophonetic aspects of palatal approximant strengthening in the Spanish of Medellín, Colombia**

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Palatal approximant strengthening in Spanish affects the segment represented as ⟨y⟩ or ⟨ll⟩ in words like *mayo* (‘May’) and *caballo* (‘horse’) and involves an increase in degree of stricture and frication. Part of a broader phonological phenomenon known in Spanish linguistics as *yeísmo* (‘ye-ism’), this process results in outcomes that differ in manner and place of articulation but share the same general phonetic characteristics of sibilant-obstruent sounds; namely, an oral closure and the presence of turbulent noise. The sibilant-obstruent variants alternate with sonorant, approximant-like variants which lack an oral closure and exhibit little to no measurable turbulent noise. The continuum of ⟨y,ll⟩ variation, then, is defined by sonorant sounds at one end and sibilant-obstruent sounds at the other. This study employed instrument-based acoustic methods to examine sociophonetic variation along this continuum in Medellín Spanish (MS). Two research questions guided the study: 1) Is palatal approximant strengthening in MS a change in progress? 2) What are the phonetic mechanisms that promote palatal approximant strengthening in MS and potentially elsewhere? Tokens of ⟨y,ll⟩ were extracted from the conversational portion of sociolinguistic interviews conducted with 52 speakers of MS. Each token was coded for three social factors (AGE, GENDER, SES) and four linguistic factors (STRESS, WORD-LEVEL PROSODIC DOMAIN, FOLLOWING VOWEL HEIGHT, PRECEDING SEGMENT). Palatal strengthening was quantified using a novel speaker-normalized and acoustically validated version of Zero Crossings Rate

(normZCR): the greater the normZCR value, the stronger the token of ⟨y,l⟩. A mixed-effects linear model was fitted to these data using the *lme4* package in R (Bates et al., 2015). Degree of palatal strengthening was predicted to be greater in the younger age cohort, in the female speaker group, and in middle class speech. These patterns typify changes in progress from below in apparent time (Labov, 2001). As for the three linguistic factors, tokens of ⟨y,l⟩ in stressed syllables, in word-initial domains, and before a high vowel were predicted to be phonetically stronger than ⟨y,l⟩ tokens in other contexts. PRECEDING SEGMENT was included in the model fit as a control variable. The results do not provide evidence of a phonetic change in progress, instead suggesting that palatal strengthening in Medellín Spanish may best be accounted for in terms of stable sociolinguistic variation. This variation is marked by gender differentiation and social stratification, with female speakers and middle-class speakers showing an overall greater degree of palatal strengthening. The gender effect was particularly robust and hints at an interplay of anatomical and social factors: gender socialization and identity formation reinforce biophysically contingent patterns of phonetic behavior, with strengthened ⟨y,l⟩ possibly having acquired socio-indexical value that has solidified its variable status in the speech community. At the phonetic level, degree of palatal strengthening was found to increase in stressed syllables and contexts preceding the high front vowel /i/, tendencies that are at least partly due to hyperarticulation associated with the phonetic encoding of stress and coarticulation associated with a following high vowel.

Do you hear “Talk about” or “Taco Bell”: A Raciolinguistic View of the Indexical Orders of /l/ Vocalization

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study performs an analysis of the indexical orders of racial categories through the variable /l/ vocalization between 3 cities: Columbus, Ohio; San Francisco California; and Wetumpka, Alabama. Participants rated traits after hearing either coda-final /l/ vocalization or dark /l/ productions. Next, participants were asked to rate the voice's likelihood to be a given race on a Likert scale. The results of this study show the participants' constructions of the voice's race and associated traits. Using a Raciolinguistic Perspective (Rosa & Flores, 2017). and indexical order (Silverstein, 2003), the results denaturalize racial categories. Analysis shows that participants' regional backgrounds were not significant predictors of trait ratings, but the racial categories to which participants assigned the voice were. When participants racialized the voice as African-American, 'educated' was rated lower when vocalized, while when racialized as European-American no distinction between vocalized and dark productions was observed. Discussion interprets this result as a 1st indexical process of 'semantic whitening' (Mena, 2024) and 'blackening'. Discussion then posits semantic whitening as a first order process on top of which naturalized racial categories become 2nd order indexes, which can be created, crafted, and developed in context.

Discourse Analysis of Ethnonyms for Black Italians on YouTube

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

One of the key issues affecting the children of foreigners in Italy is citizenship and the difficulty of obtaining it. Children of migrants born and raised in Italy must wait until they are 18 to start the

citizenship process, and once they turn 18, they are only given one year to get it done. The difficulty in receiving legal residency and citizenship affects second generation immigrants' national sense of belonging because their national identity is constantly questioned. With these constraints affecting second generation Black-Italians in mind, this paper uses social media to understand how members of this group come to terms with their identity. The Italian TV series "ZERO" (2021) is the first Netflix that centers the Black Italian experience of young people living in the suburbs of Milan. Young actors, all of whom grew up in Italy, portray life and its challenges in a suburb of Milan. This paper focuses on the how ethnonyms are assigned to Black Italians in online discourse on YouTube. In the videos "Black [Italian] 101 with the cast of #ZERO" and "Partiamo da ZERO: esistono gli italiani di seconda generazione?," the actors in the series discuss some of the major themes such as Black representation in Italian media, their childhood idols, and reactions to labels assigned to themselves, such as "second-generation Italian". 1,222 comments were analyzed from the two YouTube videos in which Black Italians discuss their identity and the ethnonyms they prefer. YouTube viewers express their opinions about whether people of African descent can be Italian and their attitudes towards integration. Among the viewers, ethnonyms such as "Black Italian", "Afro-Italian", "Afro-discendenti" and their Italian translations were tagged and analyzed to better understand the positive and/or negative stances they evoke towards immigration and belonging. The findings show that there is a preference for the ethnonyms "Black Italian" and "Afro-Italian"/"African-Italian" in the English language comments of "Black Italian 101..." and a preference for "Neri Italiani"/"Italiani Neri" followed by "Afro-discendenti" in the Italian language comments in "Partiamo da ZERO". While there is not enough data to say that particular terms categorically align with positive or negative stances regarding African immigration or Italian identity, it is possible to show that certain terms tend to be used more inclusively regarding Black Italians. For example, the ethnonyms "Black Italians" and "Afro-Italian" are more inclusive in that they acknowledge both identities, rejecting the notion that race and nationality are mutually exclusive of one another. Nonetheless, in some cases, we have seen the same ethnonyms used when denying the existence of Black Italians, clinging on to the stance that being Italian requires one to be of ethnic Italian origin. On the other hand, "Afro-discendenti" was used in a more polarizing way compared to the other ethnonyms in that the commenters who used it centered the "Africanness" of Black Italians, while ignoring their cultural and linguistic identities as Italian people.

Internal and external language variation in Austria. Perception of German sounds by the L1-B/C/M/S-speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This corpus-based, sociolinguistic study is devoted to investigate variation in production of German Umlauts [œ] or [ø], and [y] or [ʏ] in a twofold manner. On the one hand, it investigates how non-native speakers perceive and produce foreign language sounds, which do not exist in their native language, based on a learning setting. On the other hand, it shows the importance of the mutual influence and interaction between internal and external language variation. The fact that the phonetic system of a native language can influence the second language acquisition is best explained by the psycholinguistics: "The phonological system is preeminently implicit and entails well-entrenched neural networks and physiological routines through auditory and vocalic channels. These mechanisms provide a basis in phonological universals for adding an additional sound system, but may also prove inhibitory when the two systems are not identical." (Hirschensohn 2022, 173) The aim of this presentation is to show that the same sound can be perceived, and therefore also produced differently by the speakers, depending on whether they have learned or spontaneously acquired the language. For that purpose, 16 interviews with speakers with bosnian, croatian, montenegrin and serbian migration background were recorded and analysed. The corpus consists of eight young speakers, who are between 20 and 35 years old, and eight elderly speakers, who are 65+ years old and already retired. The results show statistically significant differences between the two groups. More precisely, the speakers who acquired the language in a non-

formal setting, perceive the sounds differently than the speakers who learned the language in a language course with direct instructions. At the same time, internal variation in umlaut realization was analyzed among 16 native speakers, also balanced by age and gender. Comparing the analysis of the two groups (native and non-native speakers) raises important questions regarding language contact in general, which will be discussed subsequently.

Social evaluation of T-flapping as a local feature of Singapore English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction. This sociophonetic perception study uses an accent rating task to investigate whether T-flapping is accepted as a local feature in Singapore English (SgE), a post-colonial English variety. As SgE undergoes endonormative stabilization [1] – shifting away from external (British) norms – recent phonological trends may be viewed either as the embrace of independent local developments [2,3], or rising influence of another prestigious variety, American English (AmE) [4,5,6]. Previous work has suggested that SgE T-flapping, the realization of post-stress, intervocalic /t/ as [ɾ], is distinct from AmE T-flapping in its distribution [7]. SgE T-flapping is restricted to numbers (e.g. *forty-five*) and word boundaries, whereas it also applies within non-number words in AmE. The stop [t] variant also remains the canonical realization of /t/, while T-flapping is optional. Based on these findings and SgE speakers' judgments, we hypothesized that SgE T-flapping would be deemed less authentic and natural in non-numbers compared to numbers.

Methods. We created audio stimuli varying in word type (number, non-number) and pronunciation (flap, stop). We recorded a male native SgE speaker producing flap and stop variants of each target word before digitally splicing each segmental variant [ɾ, t] into a carrier sentence containing the word. Sixty-six SgE speakers (ages 18–59) used 100-point slider scales to answer three questions about each sentence, allowing us to evaluate different means of probing perceived localness:

- How likely is it that this person is putting on a fake accent? ("fakeness"; higher=less likely fake)
- How natural does this person's speech sound for a Singaporean? ("naturalness"; higher=more natural)
- How close is the way this person said the sentence to how you would say it? ("closeness"; higher=closer)

Each participant heard 12 target (three per condition) and 12 filler items. Target item ratings were Z-transformed within participants and analyzed via linear mixed-effects modeling with lmerTest in R.

Results. Fig. 1 summarizes our results. For numbers, flapped variants were rated similarly to stops for fakeness ($\beta=-0.08$, $p=0.26$) and closeness ($\beta=-0.03$, $p=0.71$). Non-numbers were rated faker ($\beta=-0.33$, $p=0.0047$) and less close ($\beta=-0.27$, $p=0.017$) than numbers overall. Crucially, lexical type interacted with pronunciation, with flapped non-numbers suffering additional "penalties" in fakeness ($\beta=-0.42$, $p=9.25\times10^{-6}$) and closeness ($\beta=-0.37$, $p=0.0001$). Naturalness ratings showed effects of pronunciation ($\beta=-0.21$, $p=0.004$), lexical type ($\beta=-0.38$, $p=0.0017$), and their interaction ($\beta=-0.29$, $p=0.0016$).

Discussion. These findings corroborate that T-flapping is distributed differently in SgE versus AmE, sounding authentically Singaporean in numbers, but not non-numbers. While numbers with [ɾ] were rated slightly less natural than with canonical [t], the closeness and fakeness ratings show that they are not perceived as foreign or inauthentic. We also found no age, ethnicity, gender, or AmE exposure effects, meaning that SgE T-flapping is likely a well-established local feature rather than an incoming innovation

or AmE import. These results reiterate that, despite the prestige of “Inner Circle” Englishes [8] like AmE, developments in World Englishes should not be prematurely treated as Inner Circle influences, as they may well represent independent changes as these varieties shift towards internal norms.

“A Lack of a New York State Accent”: Perceptual Change Echoing Dialect Change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Many studies in the Inland North region of the U.S. have found its distinctive dialect feature, the Northern Cities Shift (NCS), to have begun declining after the Baby Boom generation (e.g., Nesbitt 2021, Thiel 2019, D’Onofrio & Benheim 2020). Classic perceptual-dialectology studies (e.g., Preston 1996) suggest that Inland North residents during the heyday of the NCS were largely unaware of the presence of a distinctive or nonstandard dialect in their region, but relatively few studies have directly investigated whether the perceptual dialectology of the region has changed as its dialect has. Alfaraz & Preston (2024) see only slight change between the 1980s and the 2020s in Michigan residents’ opinions of the overall dialect geography of the U.S. Thiel (2019) finds that younger people in Ogdensburg, New York are more likely than older people to perceive NCS features as sounding local and nonstandard, but several of Thiel’s participants associated NCS features with Inland North communities other than Ogdensburg, such as Syracuse and Buffalo. This suggests looking for change in judgments of dialect diversity on scales more local or regional than national. The current study analyzes such metalinguistic opinions in Cooperstown, an affluent Inland North village in Upstate New York showing sharp retreat from NCS (Dinkin 2022). In sociolinguistic interviews, 40 Cooperstown locals (16 Baby Boomers and 24 younger) were asked for their beliefs about local and regional dialect diversity, including: (1) Does Cooperstown have a distinctive dialect? (2) Do nearby working-class rural towns differ linguistically from Cooperstown? (3) Do larger cities in the region, such as Utica, differ linguistically from Cooperstown? They were also asked (4) to draw maps of where they believe dialect differences in New York State can be found (cf. Evans 2011, Preston 1986). Despite the small number of participants, all four questions yielded significant differences between Baby Boomers and post-Boomers. (1) Those who believe Cooperstown has a distinctive dialect are almost exclusively Boomers, most of whom said that that distinctive dialect is shared with other Inland North regions. (2) Post-Boomers are much more likely to perceive a difference between Cooperstown and surrounding rural communities; many believe the rural communities have more nonstandard speech or “slang”. (3) Post-Boomers were more likely to think Cooperstown is linguistically different from other NCS communities such as Utica. (4) All respondents distinguished New York City and/or a “downstate” region from Upstate New York, but Boomers were less likely to draw dialect boundaries **within** Upstate New York. Overall, younger people are more likely to consider Upstate New York a region of marked and/or diverse dialects, within which Cooperstown is notably unmarked, while Boomers consider Cooperstown typical of its region. This suggests post-Boomers in Cooperstown are to some degree aware of NCS as a feature that they do not possess, but are unaware of NCS loss elsewhere in the Inland North, and supports hypotheses that NCS loss may be driven in part by perception of NCS as nonstandard. Thus dialect change in the Inland North may be accompanied by changes in dialect perception also.

Author Translation

Varios estudios en la región del Inland North de EE.UU. han mostrado que su característica dialectal distintiva, el *Northern Cities Shift* (NCS), ha disminuido tras la generación del *baby boom* (p. ej., Nesbitt 2021, Thiel 2019, D’Onofrio & Benheim 2020). Estudios clásicos de dialectología perceptiva (p. ej., Preston 1996) indican que los residentes del Inland North durante el apogeo del NCS no eran conscientes de un dialecto distintivo en su región. Sin embargo, pocos estudios han investigado si la percepción dialectal de la región ha cambiado junto con su dialecto. Alfaraz y Preston (2024) encontraron un ligero cambio entre las décadas de 1980 y 2020 en las opiniones de los residentes de Michigan sobre la

geografía dialectal de EE.UU. Thiel (2019) descubrió que los jóvenes en Ogdensburg, Nueva York, perciben más las características del NCS como locales y no estándar, pero algunos participantes asociaron estas características con otras comunidades del Inland North, como Syracuse y Buffalo. Esto sugiere la necesidad de investigar los cambios en los juicios sobre la diversidad dialectal en escalas más locales que nacionales. Este estudio analiza estas opiniones metalingüísticas en Cooperstown, Nueva York, una próspera aldea del Inland North que muestra un fuerte retroceso del NCS (Dinkin 2022). En entrevistas sociolingüísticas, se preguntó a 40 habitantes de Cooperstown (16 *baby boomers* y 24 más jóvenes) sobre la diversidad dialectal local y regional: (1) ¿Tiene Cooperstown un dialecto distintivo? (2) ¿Los pueblos rurales cercanos de clase trabajadora difieren lingüísticamente de Cooperstown? (3) ¿Las ciudades más grandes de la región, como Utica, difieren lingüísticamente de Cooperstown? También se les pidió (4) que dibujaran mapas de diferencias dialectales en el estado de Nueva York (cf. Evans 2011, Preston 1986). A pesar del número reducido de participantes, las cuatro preguntas mostraron diferencias significativas entre los *baby boomers* y los *post-boomers*. (1) Los que creen que Cooperstown tiene un dialecto distintivo son casi exclusivamente *boomers*. (2) Es más probable que los *post-boomers* perciban una diferencia entre Cooperstown y las comunidades rurales circundantes, considerando estas últimas con un lenguaje más no estándar. (3) Los *post-boomers* creen más que Cooperstown es lingüísticamente diferente de otras comunidades NCS como Utica. (4) Todos los encuestados distinguieron entre la ciudad de Nueva York y/o una región "Downstate" del "Upstate" de Nueva York, pero los *boomers* eran menos propensos a trazar fronteras dialectales **dentro** del Upstate. En general, los jóvenes ven el Upstate de Nueva York como una región de dialectos marcados y diversos, dentro de los cuales Cooperstown no está notablemente marcado, mientras que los *boomers* consideran a Cooperstown típico de su región. Esto sugiere que los *post-boomers* en Cooperstown son conscientes en cierta medida del NCS como una característica que no poseen, pero no de la pérdida de NCS en otras partes del Inland North, apoyando la hipótesis de que la pérdida del NCS puede deberse en parte a la percepción de NCS como no estándar. Así, el cambio dialectal en el Inland North puede estar acompañado de cambios en la percepción del dialecto.

Exploring the Social and Linguistic Connections between Pidgin and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A growing body of work aims to understand how listeners use sociolinguistic information to prepare for an upcoming switch. This study explores the consequence of switching to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (‘ōH) from Pidgin (Hawai‘i Creole, HC) or Hawai‘i English (HE) to investigate whether a socially-related language preceding a language switch can lead to differences in activation of target lexical items. ‘ōH is the indigenous language of Hawai‘i and HC is a creole language which contains linguistic components from HE and ‘ōH, among others. While ‘ōH, HC, and HE are all related by social context (Drager, 2012), HC exists between ‘ōH and HE on a continuum (Siegel, 2007). This is the case typologically and socially, as basilectal HC and ‘ōH are spoken more often by kānaka maoli and are both often heard in contexts of resistance to American assimilation (Reinecke, 1969). Although HC is a first language for the majority of the local population in Hawai‘i (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003), the use of HC is stigmatized and is largely suppressed in public society, especially within the education sector (Marlow & Giles, 2010). In contrast, HE is considered the local prestige language. The movement to include the use of HC in the classroom is primarily led by ‘ōH educators, which report that using HC as a medium of instruction to teach ‘ōH helps students succeed. Following the lead of fellow members of ka lāhui Hawai‘i, I investigate the research question: is the use of HC (compared to HE) associated with an advantage in the processing of ‘ōH? I hypothesize that HC will facilitate the processing of ‘ōH more than HE. Listeners create associations between speech patterns and social groups (e.g., Niedzielski, 1999; D’Onofrio, 2015). These expectations rely on the fact that members of certain social categories are non-deterministically associated with certain languages or dialects. The current study considers whether trilinguals categorize languages in a manner which links two languages more closely together than the third (Szakay et al., 2016). To investigate this

research question, an online visual world paradigm was designed (Anwyl-Irvine et al., 2019). Trilingual (HC, ‘ōH, HE) participants heard code-switched sentences which contained either HC-to-‘ōH or HE-to-‘ōH switches. Target words were all in ‘ōH and contain either a long or short vowel which minimally contrasts with a competitor word. Participants were asked to select the target ‘ōH image which maps to the word they heard. Response time and proportion of fixations over time were measured. Faster selection of the target item and increased proportion of fixations to the target item compared to the competitor item were defined as indicators of increased access to ‘ōH (Fricke et al., 2016). Data collection is in process, so full results are pending. However, a preliminary analysis of eye-gaze results using a divergence point analysis (Stone et al., 2021) indicates that HC significantly improves the facilitation of ‘ōH. This study has implications in linguistics fields such as sociophonetics and multilingual language processing, and has broader community impact including increasing access to education for kānaka maoli.

Between Kurrent and Courtesy: French Influences in Bern's Judicial Archives

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In the early modern state of Bern (Switzerland), some criminals were taken to the so-called *Käfigturm* (a prison tower), where they stood trial. Protocols of these trials were collected in the Bernese Tower Books, which are preserved in the State Archives of the Canton of Bern. Unfortunately, research on the Bernese Tower Books is very sparse to this day. This may be due to the size of the corpus (250,000 - 300,000 pages) and probably also to the Kurrent script, which is unusual for many readers today. The project “Vergehen der Vergangenheit (Crimes of the Past)” aims, among other things, to make at least a part of the Tower Book corpus accessible for research. To achieve this, approximately 50,000 pages were digitized using so-called ScanTents and later automatically transcribed with the help of Transkribus. These advances have resulted in a pre-modern German corpus comprising approximately 9 million tokens, now available for (historical socio-)linguistic analyses of nearly any kind, including studies on early bi- or multilingualism in Bern, Switzerland. My current study on the corpus focuses on the coexistence of German and French trial papers in the records after 1600, a time of close relations between the Swiss Confederation and France. It examines whether the presence of the French language in the Bernese court records reflects the political entanglements or if deeper sociolinguistic factors play a role. Language detection methods out of the Computational Sociolinguistic tool kit were used to identify German and French parts in the corpus. Results show, that Tower Book 485, which documents one of the largest espionage cases of the time, contains not a single French trial paper. This is despite the fact that the accused spy, Catherine de Perregaux—a lady of the Bernese nobility whose mother tongue was French—acted as a double agent for both the Swiss Confederation and France. Additionally, some of Catherine de Perregaux's allies, who were exclusively French-speaking criminals, were subsequently charged in the same Tower Book, but their records are in German as well. In contrast, Tower Book 493 contains several French trial papers: This book discusses a major uprising of the Bernese people against Bernese authorities, during which the Bernese elite was supported by France. Thus, through quantitative and qualitative analyses, the influence of political and cultural dynamics on language choice in legal documents will be further highlighted. As just shown above, the language choice in the protocols was influenced not only by the nature of political relations but also by social and cultural dynamics within the Bernese society. This study contributes to the understanding of historical multilingualism in the city-state of Bern, Switzerland and sheds light on the interactions between language, politics, and society in the early modern period.

Age and acoustic cues: evidence for a change in progress in Italian stop voicing

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction. Listeners differentiate phonemes using a series of acoustic cues of varying weights. However, when acoustic cues re-weight, this can lead to language change. For example, tonogenesis occurs when F0 overtakes VOT as the primary cue in a voicing contrast, resulting in a shift towards a tonal contrast (Kingston, 2005). More recent production and perception work has shown that vowel formants are overtaking phonation as the primary cue in the Southern Yi register contrast, suggesting a change in progress (Kuang & Cui, 2018). The present study sets out to explore Florentine Italian stops, which have been observed to surface with a period of preaspiration that is speculated to be part of an ongoing sound change (Stevens & Reubold, 2014). In examining a new contrast and change in progress, the present study expands on our understanding of how sound change happens and how it is spread.

Methods. A production study was carried out with 25 speakers of Florentine Italian in Florence, Italy. Participants were divided into two age cohorts: a younger cohort ages 18-29 ($N = 13$, $\mu = 22$) and an older cohort ages 44-65 ($N = 12$, $\mu = 56$). Participants read target words in frame sentences, for a total of 324 sentences per participant. Data was then segmented in Praat and acoustic measures were obtained using VoiceSauce. Acoustic measures included both durational measures traditionally associated with the Italian voicing contrast (stop duration and preceding vowel duration), as well as voice quality measures associated with aspiration ($H1^*-H2^*$, CPP). Finally, linear mixed-effects regressions, post-hoc tests, and linear discriminant analyses (LDAs) were carried out in R to determine how acoustic cues are used by older and younger speakers.

Results. The results of the study show that there is evidence for a change in progress, such that vowel duration significantly differs based on voicing for older speakers, but not for younger speakers, as shown in Figure 1. $H1^*-H2^*$ and CPP significantly differ based on voicing for all speakers, regardless of their age cohort. LDAs trained on both younger speakers' data and older speakers' data have the same predictive power (79% accuracy), but show slightly different patterns. CPP is more important in the younger LDA ($LD1=1.13$) than the older LDA ($LD1=1.03$) and vowel duration is less important in the younger LDA ($LD1=0.38$) than the older LDA ($LD1=0.42$).

Discussion. The results demonstrate a phonetic shift in Florentine Italian stops, with younger speakers relying more on CPP and less on vowel duration compared to older speakers. This shift in cue weighting aligns with hypotheses that Florentine may be undergoing a change towards preaspiration, and that this change is being incremented by younger speakers. Despite these shifts, both age cohorts maintain a robust contrast, as indicated by the equal predictive power of the LDAs. This study highlights the dynamic nature of language change and the importance of examining multiple acoustic dimensions to understand phonetic variation and change.

Affricate fronting in the casual speech of middle class *madrileños*-- a modern variationist account of an ongoing "change from below"

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recent observations point to an ongoing phonetic change involving the fronted, alveolarized articulation ([ts]) of the affricate variable /tʃ/ in the Spanish spoken in Madrid and some other parts of Spain, notably the Bilbao region of the Basque Country (Hualde, 2014). The Spanish inventory has only one affricate phoneme which typically and “canonically” has a palato-alveolar realization in the vast majority of Spanish varieties in both Europe and Hispanic Americas (Hualde 2014). Before this change emerged in European Spanish, the only Spanish variety that had been consistently described by prior literature to variably produce affricate fronting was Chilean Spanish (Flores 2014), and fronting was thought of as a

dialectal feature unique to this variety. At the time my project was finished, there had been no quantitative documentation of affricate fronting in the Madrid variety or any other varieties of Castilian Spanish, although a recently published variationist sociophonetic study (Pollock, 2024) examined this variable using data from televised formal speech of Spanish politicians. My study set out to explore this understudied [ts] variant of the affricate in Madrid Spanish and to give an account for possible sources of variation and change under the Tamminga et. al (2016) paradigm which acknowledges factors of i-conditioning, *static* and *dynamic* s-conditioning, and p-conditioning. The hypotheses were that the data would display structured variation shaped by factors of static s-conditioning like age and gender; and that there might be a concurrent layer of dynamic s-conditioning by gender on top of the *baseline* differences in the rate of articulation. In approaching the research question, I employed variationist methods outlined in Labov (1963, 1966, 1972) and Weinrich et al. (1968) on data taken from a total of 36 (mostly) middle class speakers comprising a variety of ages and genders, all confirmed to have been born and raised in the Community of Madrid. Inspired by Flores (2014) and Bell (2002), tokens were collected from publicly available, naturalistic televised speech from a TV show on TeleMadrid, a public television channel of Madrid whose intended audience are native *madrileños*. The results provide apparent-time evidence that the affricate variable is undergoing a “change from below” consistent with Labovian observations where younger “women” lead in the use of the emerging variant (Labov, 2006). To operationalize the affricate variable, I took acoustic measurements of center of gravity (COG) and spectral skew of the frication subsegment of the tokens. Research in phonetics has established these spectral moments as a method to, by proxy, account for the place of articulation of a fricative (Gordon et al, 2002; Toda, 2007 inter alia). For statistical purposes, I opted to keep the acoustic data continuous, instead of categorizing into [tʃ] or [ts]. Linear mixed effect models were performed to determine the significance of the results.

Different patterns of phonological and grammatical variation in Bislama (Vanuatu)

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Bislama is the English-based creole spoken widely in Vanuatu (SW Pacific). It is the national language of the country and it is spoken by nearly all of the c.300,000 Ni-Vanuatu. It is the first language of about 10% of the population (Vanuatu 2020). Our team has compiled the first age- and sex-balanced corpus of spoken Bislama as used by residents of the capital, Port Vila. The corpus consists of 41 speakers (three age groups), nearly 18 hours of speech with over 122,000 words of Bislama (transcribed and translated). Some speakers have been recorded multiple times with different addressees, speaking on different topics. This allows us to explore possible register/style effects in Bislama. Our paper introduces the corpus to the ICAME community and examines variation across four variables.

Two of the variables are phonetic: phonetic reduction of auxiliary verbs (1); final consonant reduction/cliticisation of prepositions (2). Two are morpho-syntactic: plural marking on NPs (3); plural subject agreement on verbs (4).

1. a. Yumi **stap** ([stap]) praktisim lanwis blong yumi. ‘We keep using our native languages’.
b. Jaena i **stap** ([sta]) mekem blo hem naomia. ‘China’s making its move now’.
2. a. Mi stap helpem faenans **blong olgeta** ([blɔʔɔlgeta]). ‘I’m helping them out with their finances’.
b. Taem i tanem i go **long olgeta** ([lɔlgeta])... ‘When he turns to them...’
3. a. **Sam brata** o sista oli maret. ‘Some of my brothers and sisters are married’.
b. **Sam** narafala **mats** oli gat mak tu. ‘Some other mats also have markings’.
4. a. Ol pikinini bae **oli** stap kam tumoro. ‘The children will be arriving tomorrow’.
b. Ol materioli bae **i** olsem wanem. ‘What will the materials be like?’

We find limited inter- and intra-speaker variation in morphosyntactic variables, more in phonological ones. Auxiliary reduction is strongly constrained by auxiliary type: *stap* (imperfective) is realised as [sta] (N=1044, 71%) more than it is as [stap]; whereas *save* (ability) is realised as [savɛ] (N=395, 86%) more than it is as [sae]. Prepositions before pronouns are usually cliticised (N=1077, 82%). In previous work, we have shown that variation in NP plural marking (N=2308) is primarily constrained by topic – non-canonical, innovative forms of the plural occur most in talk about work, then in conversations and oral histories, never in traditional stories. Agreement with 3rd person plural subjects shows little variation (85% canonical agreement [4a], N=981). More detailed analysis of the plurals showed that syntactic factors were significant, indicating that this variable is, indeed, morphosyntactic. It appears that in Bislama (like many varieties of English, Labov 1993, Smith et al. 2013) morphosyntax lies below the level of conscious awareness and is less amenable to being recruited for social/symbolic differentiation of speakers in the speech community. Our results suggest that members of the Bislama speech community of Port Vila share the same grammar, but differentiate themselves from each other phonologically or phonetically.

What can appropriation of Black identity tell us about the mosaic of Black expressive resources?: The cases the Rachel Dolezal and Jessica Krug

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In 2020 and 2015, two white women, Jessica Krug and Rachel Dolezal, respectively, were found to be camouflaging as Black women in academic spaces. Dolezal initially was remarkable to sociolinguists due her apparent lack of use of features of AAL as part of her appropriation of Black identity; Krug's variable, inconsistent, and exaggerated use of features of Afro-Latinx linguistic features (including AAL and Puerto Rican New York City English) was commented on widely in social and cultural commentary, but remained formally unexamined by sociolinguists. In this paper, we revisit African American Language appropriation, particularly by women, with Dolezal and Krug representing an extreme on the continuum of racial appropriation and crossing. We argue that linguistic appropriation of AAL encompasses linguistic behavior, as well as semiotic resources of Blackness like embodied paralinguistic and gestural practices of Blackness, in addition to sartorial, tonsorial, and cosmetic behaviors. This holistic view of language and language behavior, while complex, we contend is the broader system of semiotic resources in which linguists should work. We provide an analysis of the ways in which Dolezal and Krug manipulate embodied, social, political, aesthetic, and linguistic resources to enact what they and others believed to be "Black" women. We do so via a qualitative inventory and a qualitative analysis of Dolezal and Krug's use of a limited subset of features of AAL, mainly phonological and lexical, including /ay/ monophthongization, coronal stop deletion, /l/ vocalization, [d] for [ð], and r-lessness across various recorded contexts. The results show that both women vary their use of AAL features according to topic, political context, and interlocutor. We also describe their subtle use of paralinguistic and embodied gestural expression associated with African American and Black diasporic culture accompanying their language and aesthetic practices in these contexts. Our work builds on the study of embodied sociolinguistics (Bucholtz & Hall 2016; Podesva 2021) with analyses of black gestural embodiment (cf Rickford and Rickford 1976, Barrett 1999, Goodwin and Alim 2010, McCaskill et al. 2011, Blake 2019) that are not part of the "traditional" linguistic system, yet contribute to semantics, pragmatics and meaning making of speech. This work encourages language scholars to continue being more expansive in their interpretation of language communication within Black Diasporic communities, and others. We assert that African American Language and expression is broader than simply linguistic features. Moreover, the construction and appropriation of identity pulls from many resources including the linguistic, the paralinguistic, the embodied, the aesthetic. Critically, we demonstrate how Dolezal and Krug's appropriations of the mosaic of Black expression, coupled with the capital they gain from passing

as light-skinned women of color, result in the subjugation of the Black communities in which they entered.

Author Translation

En 2020 y 2015, se descubrió que dos mujeres blancas, Jessica Krug y Rachel Dolezal, respectivamente, se camuflaban como mujeres Negras en espacios académicos. Inicialmente, Dolezal fue notable para los sociolingüistas debido a su aparente falta de uso de características de AAL como parte de su apropiación de la identidad negra; El uso variable, inconsistente y exagerado por parte de Krug de características lingüísticas Afrolatinas (incluidos el AAL y el NYPRE) fue ampliamente comentado en comentarios sociales y culturales, pero los sociolingüistas no lo examinaron formalmente. En este artículo, revisamos la apropiación de la lengua afroamericana, particularmente por parte de las mujeres, con Dolezal y Krug representando un extremo en el continuo de apropiación racial y cruce. Sostenemos que la apropiación lingüística de AAL abarca el comportamiento lingüístico, así como los recursos semióticos de la negritud, como las prácticas paralingüísticas y gestuales encarnadas de la Negritud, además de las conductas sartoriales, tonsorales y cosméticas. Sostenemos que esta visión holística del lenguaje y del comportamiento lingüístico, aunque compleja, es el sistema más amplio de recursos semióticos en el que deberían trabajar los lingüistas. Proporcionamos un análisis de las formas en que Dolezal y Krug manipulan los recursos corporales, sociales, políticos, estéticos y lingüísticos para representar lo que ellos y otros creían que eran mujeres “Negras”. Lo hacemos a través de un inventario cualitativo y un análisis cualitativo del uso que hacen Dolezal y Krug de un subconjunto limitado de características de AAL, principalmente fonológicas y léxicas, incluida la monoftongización /ay/, la eliminación de la oclusiva coronal, la vocalización /l/, [d] para [ð] y falta de r en varios contextos registrados. Los resultados muestran que ambas mujeres varían su uso de las características de AAL según el tema, el contexto político y el interlocutor. También describimos su uso sutil de expresiones paralingüísticas y gestuales encarnadas asociadas con la cultura Afroamericana y de la diáspora Negra que acompañan su lenguaje y sus prácticas estéticas en estos contextos. Nuestro trabajo se basa en el estudio de la sociolingüística corporeizada (Bucholtz & Hall 2016; Podesva 2021) con análisis de la encarnación gestual negra (cf. Rickford y Rickford 1976, Barrett 1999, Goodwin y Alim 2010, McCaskill et al. 2011, Blake 2019) que son no forma parte del sistema lingüístico “tradicional”, pero contribuye a la semántica, la pragmática y la creación de significado del habla. Este trabajo alienta a los estudiosos de la lengua a seguir siendo más expansivos en su interpretación de la comunicación lingüística dentro de las comunidades de la diáspora negra y otras. Afirmamos que el lenguaje y la expresión afroamericana son más amplios que simplemente rasgos lingüísticos. Además, la construcción y apropiación de la identidad se basa en muchos recursos, incluidos los lingüísticos, los paralingüísticos, los encarnados y los estéticos. Fundamentalmente, demostramos cómo las apropiaciones que hacen Dolezal y Krug del mosaico de la expresión Negra, junto con el capital que obtienen al hacerse pasar por mujeres de color de piel clara, resultan en la subyugación de las comunidades negras en las que ingresaron.

Bellísimo, riquísimo, muchísimo: a variationist analysis on the use of elative -ísimo(s) in Peruvian Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The Spanish elative morpheme *-ísimo* (*alt-ísimo* ‘very high’, *much-ísimo* ‘very much’, *pequeñ-ísimo* ‘very small’) has been described as one that contributes a meaning of extreme grade to the adjectives and adverbs to which it is attached (RAE, 2010, p. 137). Some authors have referred to the use of *-ísimo* in different cities of Spain, such as Guillén (1987) for Seville, and Roels (2016) and Molina (2010) for Madrid. In general, their results have shown that the suffix *-ísimo* is related to a more formal style and it is used more by upper-class women. However, the studies carried out about this topic in Latin

America are scarcer. In this study, I am interested in the correlation between the use of the elative morpheme and social factors, such as socioeconomic status, gender and age, in a variety of American Spanish from Peru. From a variationist perspective and considering third wave variation studies, I analyze a sample of 36 interviews carried out within the PRESEEA-Lima project with speakers divided by gender, age, and level of education. I compare the use of the *-ísimo* morpheme between speakers with elementary education and college education^[1] divided according to gender (female and male) and age (young, adults and elders). Taking into account the productivity of the morpheme and its variation, this study would allow an understanding of the way it functions as a linguistic index (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008; Hall-Lew, Moore and Podesva, 2021) in the Limeño community. Furthermore, it can possibly shed light on a process of linguistic change currently in progress. The data analyzed shows that the elative suffix *-ísimo* in the city of Lima, Peru, seems to be more productive in older upper-class women. While upper-class men used the suffix more than lower-class speakers (more than double), the tokens of upper-class women exceed the uses of the upper-class men by more than 5 times, and the uses of lower-class women by more than 10 times. These results confirm that Limeño speakers would seem to follow a pattern wide-spread in other cities. Furthermore, I argue that *-ísimo* forms part of an indexical field which allows upper-class women to position themselves in a higher rank in the socio-status scale. Adult and younger women, for their part, used the suffix in a similar way, although their frequencies of use were reduced compared to older women. This could be due to the wish of younger women to distance themselves from their elders using more innovative forms, such as *súper*.

[1] Education is being considered as an indicator of socioeconomic class. Although it does not exist a necessary correspondence between these factors, for the interviews analyzed here, speakers with elementary education were from a lower socioeconomic class, while speakers with college education were upper-class.

Author Translation

El morfema castellano *-ísimo* (*alt-ísimo*, *much-ísimo*, *pequeñ-ísimo*) ha sido descrito como un sufijo que contribuye con un significado de grado extremo a los adjetivos y adverbios a los cuales se añade (RAE, 2010, p. 137). Distintos autores han estudiado el uso de este sufijo en diferentes ciudades de España, por ejemplo, Guillén (1987) para el caso de Sevilla, y Roels (2016) y Molina (2010) para el caso de Madrid. En general, sus resultados muestran que el sufijo *-ísimo* está relacionado con un estilo formal y que es usado por mujeres de clase alta. En Latinoamérica, los estudios al respecto son escasos. En este trabajo, estoy interesada en la relación entre el uso de este morfema y los factores sociales de género, edad y clase social.

Desde una perspectiva variacionista y considerando los estudios de la tercera ola, analizo una muestra de 36 entrevistas llevadas a cabo en el marco del proyecto PRESEEA-Lima con hablantes divididos por género, edad y nivel educativo. Busco comparar los usos del sufijo *-ísimo* entre los hablantes de nivel educativo primaria con los de nivel educativo superior^[1] divididos entre género (hombre y mujer) y edad (jóvenes, adultos y mayores). Considerando la productividad del sufijo y su variación, este trabajo pretende elucidar la forma en la que el morfema elativo funciona como un elemento indexical (Silverstein, 2003; Eckert, 2008; Hall-Lew, Moore and Podesva, 2021) en la sociedad limeña. Además, puede contribuir con el estudio de un posible cambio en progreso. Los datos analizados muestran que el sufijo *-ísimo* en la ciudad de Lima, Perú, parece ser más productivo entre mujeres mayores de clase alta. Mientras que los hombres de clase alta usan el sufijo más que los hombres de clase baja (más que el doble), los usos de las mujeres de clase alta exceden los usos de los hombres por más de 5 veces, mientras que superan más de 10 veces los usos de mujeres de clase baja. Estos resultados confirman que los hablantes limeños parecen seguir el patrón de uso para otras ciudades de España. Además, se propone que el sufijo elativo funciona como una marca indexical que permite a las mujeres mayores de clase alta posicionarse en un rango más alto de la escala social. Por su parte, las mujeres adultas y jóvenes usan el sufijo de forma similar pero con menor frecuencia, lo cual podría deberse a la necesidad de distanciarse de las mujeres mayores con formas más innovadoras, como *súper*.

[1] El nivel estudios se considera como un indicador de clase socioeconómica. Aunque no existe una correspondencia necesaria entre estos factores sociales, para el caso de las entrevistas analizadas, se

cumple que los hablantes con nivel de estudios primaria sean de clase más baja, mientras que aquellos hablantes con estudios superiores correspondían a las clases altas.

Effects of Sexual Orientation and Attitude to Gender Roles on Australian Males' f0 Metrics

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since the 1990s, much research has examined phonetic variation according to male sexual orientation (SO), with pitch one of the most studied variables. Popular culture often portrays gay men as speaking in higher pitches and more expressively (suggesting greater variability) than straight men. While some research has shown that male speech with higher pitch is perceived as sounding gay (Munson, 2007; Drager, 2021), there is only limited empirical evidence that gay men's voices are characterised by high (Baeck et al., 2011) and variable (Suire et al., 2020) f0. Recent scholarship has emphasised nuance in investigating SO-related variation by taking, for example, intersectional or nonbinary approaches (Eckert & Podesva, 2021; Willis, 2024). The impact on f0 of speaker orientation towards hegemonic masculinity has not been extensively investigated (but see Kachel et al., 2018), and is examined here alongside speaker age and SO. We examine acoustic correlates of pitch, pitch dynamicity and pitch range in a task designed to vary according to speech topic. We collected data from 71 male speakers of Australian English (gay=24, straight=36, other=11) aged 18-52 years (mean=30.4). Participants undertook a picture description task, with some pictures neutrally themed and others LGBTQ themed. Participants also completed the Male Roles Attitudes Scale (MRAS), which measures accordance with traditional male gender roles (higher scores = more traditional gender role attitudes) (Pleck et al., 1994; Levon, 2014; Campbell-Kibler, 2021). Using Macreaper (Dallaston & Docherty, 2019), local f0 (**pitch**) was estimated in sonorant segments. We thence calculated **pitch dynamicity** (measured as interval-to-interval f0 difference) and **pitch range** (utterance max f0 – min f0). Because low f0 is an acoustic correlate of creak (Keating et al. 2015), we calculated these pitch measures again with instances of creak excluded. Creak was identified with the automatic Union method (White et al., 2022). Linear mixed effects models were constructed for each variable (with and without creak) with fixed effects: *MRAS score*, *SO*, *age* and *topic*, plus their interactions. Models were reduced using a stepwise approach until the most parsimonious model was reached. The only predictor to significantly affect **pitch** was *age*; this was the case when creak was present (Figure 1) and when it was not (Figure 2). Among other models whose data did include creak, there were significant interactions of *MRAS Score*age* (Figure 3), *SO*age* (Figure 4) and *SO*topic* (Figure 5) on **pitch dynamicity**, and a significant effect of *topic* on **pitch range** (Figure 6). These results indicate: that higher MRAS scores are associated with lower pitch dynamicity among men over 30, straight men over 30 produce greater pitch dynamicity than gay/other men, and gay/other men exhibit greater pitch dynamicity when describing LGBTQ topics. However, with creak excluded, while *topic* still impacted **pitch range** (Figure 7), there was no effect on **pitch dynamicity**. Collectively, these findings imply that pitch variability differences may result from differences in creak prevalence, which in turn suggests that the role of movement between modal and creaky voice needs to be carefully considered when examining pitch variation (see Podesva, 2007).

Analyzing variation in bilingual contexts: A holistic view of subjunctive vitality in US Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Mood selection in Spanish has traditionally been approached prescriptively, emphasizing rules that dictate the appropriate use of indicative and subjunctive. Bilingual speakers in the US are often claimed to extend the use of indicative to contexts where subjunctive is expected, which is interpreted as a case of simplification due to contact with English (Silva-Corvalán, 1994; Lynch, 1999). Recent variationist studies, however, suggest that both monolingual and bilingual speakers exhibit similar patterns of subjunctive usage (LaCasse, 2018; Poplack et al., 2018; Schwenter & Hoff, 2020; Torres Cacoullos et al., 2017). Building on this research, the current study offers a holistic view of mood variation by analyzing different complementary measures in 48 sociolinguistic interviews from the *Corpus of Spanish in Southern Arizona* (Carvalho, 2012-). Following a bottom-up approach, all complement clauses in which subjunctive was used at least once are included in the envelope of variation. Out of 2,010 tokens, the overall use of subjunctive is 18%, while indicative use reaches 82%. Despite the low incidence of subjunctive in the data set, its dispersion across the speaker sample shows that nearly everyone uses subjunctive, with an average incidence of 7.35 tokens per speaker. An analysis of productivity measures reveals that although non-frequent governors account for only 14% of the data set, these governors account for proportionally more subjunctive use (46%). This is because almost half of the governor pool consists of hapax legomena cases (43/95), indicating great dispersion of subjunctive across different contexts as well as its potential for innovative extension to new constructions. Beyond this productivity analysis, it is important to identify the constraints affecting subjunctive use in data not accounted for by hapax legomena cases. A mixed-effects logistic regression in R shows that mood variation is significantly conditioned by polarity, coreferentiality, and language use in the family, with speaker and governor as random effects. This model explains 54% of the variation in the data set. Importantly, a more detailed examination reveals that 38% (more than two-thirds of the variance explained by the entire model) is accounted for by random effects, more specifically by the lexical identity of the governor. Considering the relevance of governor effects, a further analysis explores the significant interaction between governor and polarity. While some governors favor subjunctive regardless of polarity (e.g., *querer*, *gustar*, and *esperar*), negative polarity especially favors subjunctive with others (e.g., *acordarse*, *ser*, and *creer*). Finally, a dispersion analysis uncovers that the low overall rate of subjunctive use is more reflective of the frequent distribution of indicative-favoring governors (e.g., *creer* + aff. polarity, *pensar*, *saber*, and *sentir*) rather than evidence of subjunctive's decline. Overall, while subjunctive is lexically routinized and retained due to its strong association with specific governors (e.g., *querer*, *gustar*, and *esperar*), it is also productive beyond these specialized and marked contexts, as evidenced by the numerous hapax legomena cases. The results in this study, derived from the combination of different complementary analyses, demonstrate that subjunctive's vitality and systematicity are part of the linguistic repertoire of US Spanish speakers.

‘Gen Z language? Y’all mean AAVE’: The appropriation of African American Vernacular English as an ‘internet vernacular’

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The appropriation of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is well documented across media such as in music (Eberhardt & Freeman, 2016), advertising (Roth-Gordon et al., 2020), and film (Bucholtz & Lopez, 2011). More recently, scholars have also documented the commodification and appropriation of AAVE in social media and digital culture (e.g., Ilbury, 2019). Taking this work as a point of departure, this paper explores a recent development in the appropriation of AAVE focussing on the subsequent ‘recontextualisation’ (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) of a subset of AAVE features as elements of an “internet vernacular”. To do this, we analyse prevalent metalinguistic discourses of linguistic appropriation in a corpus of 300 English-language videos that contain relevant hashtags (e.g., #AAVE,

#GenZLanguage) on the social media platform, TikTok. We first consider the linguistic features of AAVE that are said to typify this ‘internet vernacular’. We find that, overwhelmingly, users focus on lexis and phrases that originate from AAVE and/or the (Black) queer community (*‘slay’*, *‘serving cunt’*, *‘she fully ate it up’*), as opposed to ‘higher level’ (i.e., phonological or grammatical) features. We then go on to consider the framing of AAVE as an ‘internet vernacular’ and ‘TikTok/Gen Z’ language. Through this analysis, we identify two main competing metapragmatic discourses: On the one hand, a concern mainly from Black creators regarding the indexical ‘erasure’ (Irvine & Gal, 2000) of AAVE as a variety of English habitually spoken by African Americans; and on the other, an argument mainly made by White users who frame the recontextualisation as a natural process of ‘diffusion’. We critically examine these discourses by employing a raciolinguistic framework (Rosa & Flores, 2017) to argue that, in the participatory contexts of social media, the circulation of these discourses and practices pose an issue for the sociolinguistic vitality of AAVE and its enregisterment as a ‘Black variety’ of English. The oppositional framing we identify is reminiscent of Irvine’s (2002) conceptualisation of ‘style as distinctiveness’. In the TikTok videos we analyse, AAVE is often contrasted with an enregistered variety of American English associated with White speakers (often labelled ‘WAVE’). In this way, our analysis not only sheds light on the appropriation of AAVE, but also uncovers the raciolinguistic enregisterment of Whiteness. Concluding, we argue that understanding the appropriation and subsequent recontextualisation of AAVE is crucial in analysing contemporary patterns of language variation and change. We join a call for work in sociolinguistics to critically engage with digital representations of varieties and speakers to obtain a more holistic picture of language variation and change.

Situational variation of the place-linked TRAP vowel in a mixed Asian and white Chicagoan: a case study

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Regional features can co-index both regional and ethnic identity (Wong & Hall-Lew, 2014); therefore, examining Asian American identities must be locally contextualized (e.g., Zheng, 2018). Furthermore, speakers can variably construct their identity across interactional contexts through style shifting (Podesva, 2007; Sharma, 2011). Mixed race individuals can identify with part of their racialized background, all parts simultaneously, or situationally vary between these identities, making this population valuable for exploring variable identity construction (Holliday, 2016). The Northern Cities Shift (NCS), a chain shift driven by TRAP fronting and raising, is associated with the Inland North region, including Chicago, IL (Labov, et al., 2006), and within Chicago, it is associated with a particular white Chicagoan male persona (D’Onofrio & Benheim, 2020). These associations between these meanings, the Inland North/Chicago and this local form of Chicagoan whiteness, and the NCS feature predict correlation between orientation to these social meanings and fronted and raised TRAP. I investigate whether a mixed Asian and white Chicagoan accesses these local place-linked meanings of raised and fronted TRAP, whether they vary TRAP across conversational contexts, and whether the variation is socially meaningful, correlating with shifting orientation to Chicagoan identity. I conducted a case study consisting of interviews and self-recorded conversations, collecting a broad range of intraspeaker linguistic variation (Hall-Lew & Boyd, 2017). I found significant variation in TRAP across contexts, but qualitative analysis showed this variation did not neatly relate to place identity construction; rather, it could implicate racialized identity.

Rowan (pseudonym), a mixed Korean and white Chicagoan, was recorded in an initial interview, self-recorded conversations with their partner, mother, and four coworkers, and a follow-up interview. I manually transcribed in ELAN, force-aligned with FAVE-align (Rosenfelder et al., 2014), then extracted tokens of the TRAP vowel in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2024). Linear mixed effects regression models were fit to the midpoint F1 and F2, then pairwise comparisons contrasted between conversational contexts. Three contexts are highlighted: the interview, coworker, and mother contexts. Rowan’s TRAP

productions are significantly lower (higher F1), and therefore less Northern Cities-shifted, in the mother context than in the interview ($p < 0.05$) and coworker contexts ($p < 0.05$). This is evidence of contextual variation in the place-linked feature, TRAP height.

In the interviews, Rowan shows overt metalinguistic awareness of TRAP's social meaning in Chicago, which suggests they meaningfully vary TRAP height in these contexts. Rowan's place and racialized identity are nuanced—they feel belonging in Chicago overall but not in any specific neighborhoods, and contextually vary in their comfort with their Koreanness and Asianness, feeling most comfortable when with family. Rowan steadfastly orients to Chicago; the TRAP height variation is not reflecting contextually varying place identity. One possibility is Rowan lowers TRAP in contexts with greater comfort with Koreanness (mother context) as they contextually vary their local, racialized identity construction. This study supports the race and place link by finding variation in an individual's productions of a place-linked feature across contexts, with evidence indicating fixed place identity and variable racialized identity construction.

A multifaceted approach to typologically rare /u/ in Tlingit: Variation and change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Interactions between groups and individuals result in the spread of linguistic variation and therefore less linguistic differentiation between populations, just as isolation of populations leads to more linguistic differentiation. But our understanding of what interaction and isolation mean is limited by the social context and languages that have been studied in establishing language variation and change theories. Though often challenged, the ideology that monolingualism is the most common language background worldwide and specifically in North America further complicates this topic. A wider range of language populations must be included when testing theories on linguistic diversification to assess whether such theories hold. In this study we use sociopolitical, geographic and historical data, and acoustic analysis of archival language data from four Tlingit (iso639-3: tli; English ['kɫɪŋ.kɪt], Tlingit *Lingít* [ɬɪn.'kɪt]) speakers to understand interactions between groups, the multilingual nature of communities, and social structures to further examine the applicability of internal diversification models (e.g., wave models; Heggarty et al. 2010) in this understudied language context. We focus on the voiced velar approximant /u/, termed 'gamma' in Tlingit language research. 'Gamma' provides an excellent testing ground (Anonymized2022), as it is known to be dialect-specific and its distribution throughout time and across communities provides information about how, when and with whom it changed. 'Gamma' is acoustically analyzed using multiple acoustic measures (formants, intensity, and voice quality measures) for two speakers whose dialect has 'gamma' and two whose dialect does not from archival data to provide phonetic evidence relating to its eventual loss in all varieties and to better understand its acoustic properties given that it is understudied and cross-linguistic rare. 'Gamma's distribution seems to be well explained through geographical proximity. Geographically closer regions are likely to have more linguistically similar phonemic inventories and 'gamma' is constrained to a particular regional area. However, what is geographically close in this context requires knowledge of the modes of transportation and relevant social interactions. For example, adjacent communities may have much farther distances between them in absolute terms, but because of known interactions (e.g., through river travel), they were, in effect, close and socially interactive. If only distance and geographical obstacles were considered, the connections between speech communities would likely remain undiscovered. 'Gamma's geographic distribution would appear to not follow theoretical predictions made by these. Finally, 'gamma' is acoustically incredibly variable and heavily influenced by the surrounding linguistic contexts. These properties may lead to it being difficult to perceive and susceptible to loss as there are no strong cues to differentiate it from the other approximants. These pieces of evidence suggest that 'gamma' loss is an internal change, despite these communities being multilingual. In this case, language contact is not the

mostly likely explanation. By studying the distribution of ‘gamma’ and subsequently its acoustic properties, this study defines proximity based not only on geographical but also social context, acts as an exploratory study of a cross-linguistically rare sound, and demonstrates that in multilingual contexts change does not necessarily result from language contact.

Gender Assignment Variation in Spanish-English Mixed Noun Phrases

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Code-switching (CS), the seamless alternation between languages in natural discourse, provides the ideal context for observing bilingual behavior when faced with cross-linguistic incompatibilities (Valdés Kroff 2016). One point of interest are the strategies employed when multilinguals code-switch within a mixed noun phrase (NP). For example, when engaging in CS, a Spanish-English bilingual has a choice between the determiners “el” (the.M) or “la” (the.F) to modify the word “plane” in the following sentence: “*Ya estamos en __ plane*” [We’re already on the plane] (Cruz 2022: 585). In other words, bilinguals make a conscious decision to associate an English noun with an exclusively Spanish morphological gender category. Previous studies on this phenomenon, across typologically diverse language pairs, have revealed a variety of morphological strategies, including reliance on the noun’s semantic gender (Cruz 2022), the gender of the noun when translated (Cisneros et al. 2023; Fairchild & Van Halen 2017), the gender matching the noun’s phonological schema (Chirsheva 2009; Parafita Couto et al. 2015), or defaulting to a unitary, consistent gender (Cruz 2022). Given the absence of a consistent and generalizable strategy across prior studies, and the need to sample a wider range of bilingual communities, I examine gender assignment in mixed NPs in a heretofore unstudied speech group, namely California Spanish-English bilinguals. A total of 177 mixed NPs were elicited from 12 Spanish-English California bilinguals during naturalistic, unforced CS conditions via a ‘Spot The Difference’ task featuring 100 picturable nouns stratified for semantic gender, Spanish-translation gender, and phonological schema. Additionally, data were coded for determiner definiteness and the grammatical number of the noun. Results evidence a strong preference for a masculine-default strategy within this community. Of Chi-Square tests on the aforementioned independent variables, the only one that returned a significant effect was the overall proportion of masculine to feminine determiners, with masculine determiners being used at over 16 times the rate of feminine determiners ($\chi^2[1] = 60.74$; $p < 0.0001$). This indicates that gender assignment in cross-linguistic contexts is not a process that occurs by chance. These findings position California Spanish-English gender assignment in unison with that of parallel communities in Arizona (Cruz 2021; 2022) and New Mexico (Bellamy & Parafita Couto 2022), suggesting that for this language pair, CS gives rise to a novel gender assignment strategy of masculine defaultness. This CS strategy follows a pattern toward increased efficiency and reduced cognitive load (Balam, Lakshmanan, and Parafita 2021; Otheguy and Lapidus 2003), and ultimately may serve as an eventual catalyst for contact-induced change in bilinguals’ Spanish (Backus 2005). Presently, however, this study showcases CS as a natural feature of bilingual speech that exhibits unique grammatical constraints relative to either of its constituent languages individually.

Author Translation

El cambio de código (CC), la alternancia fluida entre idiomas en el discurso natural, proporciona el contexto ideal para observar el comportamiento bilingüe ante procesar incompatibilidades entre lenguas (Valdés Kroff 2016). Un punto de interés son las estrategias empleadas cuando los multilingües cambian de código dentro de una frase nominal (FN) mixta. Por ejemplo, un bilingüe español-inglés tiene la opción entre “el” (artículo definido masculino) o “la” (artículo definido femenino) para modificar la palabra “plane” (avión) en la siguiente oración: “*Ya estamos en __ plane*” (Cruz 2022: 585). En otras palabras, los bilingües toman una decisión consciente de asociar un sustantivo inglés con una categoría de género morfológico española. Los estudios previos sobre este fenómeno, a través de pares de lenguas

tipológicamente diversas, han revelado varias estrategias morfológicas, tal como usar el género semántico del sustantivo (Cruz 2022), el género del sustantivo traducido en español (Cisneros et al. 2023; Fairchild & Van Halen 2017), el género que coincide con el esquema fonológico del sustantivo (Chirsheva 2009; Parafita Couto et al. 2015), o mantener un género unitario y consistente (Cruz 2022). Dada la ausencia de una estrategia consistente y generalizable en estudios anteriores, y la necesidad de coleccionar datos de una gama más amplia de comunidades bilingües, examino la asignación de género en FN mixtas por un grupo de hablantes hasta ahora no estudiado, a saber, los bilingües español-inglés en California. Se obtuvo un total de 177 FN mixtas de 12 participantes durante condiciones de CC naturalistas mediante una tarea de “Encuentra la diferencia” que presentaba 100 sustantivos representables, estratificados por género semántico, género de la traducción y esquema fonológico. Además, los datos fueron codificados por el tipo de determinante y el número gramatical del sustantivo. Los resultados evidencian dentro de esta comunidad una fuerte preferencia por adoptar el género masculino por defecto. De las pruebas de Chi-cuadrado sobre las variables independientes mencionadas, la única que mostró un efecto significativo fue la proporción general de determinantes masculinos a femeninos, con una tasa de uso de determinantes masculinos 16 veces superior a la de determinantes femeninos ($\chi^2[1] = 60.74$; $p < 0.0001$). Esto indica que la asignación de género en contextos interlingüísticos no es un proceso que ocurre al azar. Estos hallazgos posicionan la asignación de género de esta comunidad en acuerdo con la de comunidades paralelas en Arizona (Cruz 2021; 2022) y Nuevo México (Bellamy & Parafita Couto 2022). Asimismo sugieren que para este par de lenguas, el CC da lugar a una nueva estrategia de asignación de género con predominancia masculina. Esta estrategia de CC sigue un patrón hacia una mayor eficiencia y una carga cognitiva reducida (Balam, Lakshmanan, y Parafita 2021; Otheguy y Lapidus 2003), y en última instancia, puede servir como posible catalizador para el cambio inducido por contacto en el español de los bilingües (Backus 2005). No obstante, el presente estudio muestra el CC como un rasgo natural del habla bilingüe que presenta restricciones gramaticales únicas en relación con cada una de las lenguas que lo componen.

***Desi* and the development of ethnic identity**

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

How do ethnic identities emerge in a community, and ultimately, how does the emergence of ethnic identity relate to the development of ethnolinguistic repertoires (Benor 2010)? We address these questions in the context of the South Asian Malayalee immigrant community in the U.S. Previous sociolinguistic work on ethnic identity has largely dealt with longer-standing communities of 3rd and 4th generation Americans (Chun 2001, Cashman 2018, Bucholtz 2004, Hinrichs and Tseng 2021, Wagner 2013); here we consider the newer South Asian community, where we have an opportunity to examine firsthand the construction of ethnic identity as hyphenated Americans, with the ultimate goal of characterizing different imagined identities in the linguistic construction of a diasporic identity. Malayalee-Americans have heritage in the southern state of Kerala, India. Linguistically and culturally Malayalees differ from an image of “Indian” as popularly imagined: Malayalee cuisine, marriage practices, music, dance, cultural and religious practices are not the ones to typically represent South Asia in the diaspora, and as a Dravidian language Malayalam is unrelated to Hindi and related languages mainly spoken in northern India. At the same time, alignment with the imagined community (Anderson 1983) of the Indian nation-state, and the existence of an extensive Indian/South Asian diaspora can facilitate the adoption of north Indian cultural practices and language. Recent work (Maira 2002; Shankar 2008; Thangaraj 2015) demonstrates the use of *desi* as shorthand for the South Asian diaspora, as well as the dominance of North Indian culture and food as a template of, and the hegemony of Hindi as indexical of, South Asian American *desi*-ness. In this paper we focus on the concept of a *desi* identity for Malayalee-Americans. We investigate the nuances of Malayalee-Americans’ alignment with or against *desi* identity using a portion of an online survey we modeled on ethnic-orientation (Hoffman and Walker 2010) and language-use

questionnaires (Cohn et al. 2013), focusing on a part of the survey that includes questions about respondents' social networks, participation in Malayalee and/or South Asian social groups; use of ethnic identifiers; and language use. Our results, based on 220 responses, demonstrate a multifaceted relationship between language background, social factors, and how participants responded to the question "Would you use the word *desi* to describe yourself" (yes, maybe, no). Despite change in apparent time with respect to both Malayalam language use as well as *desi*-identification (older respondents more likely to use Malayalam and less likely to identify as *desi* than younger), we find, contra expectations, no synchronic correlation between language use and *desi*-ness: language proficiency in Malayalam does not correlate with *desi*-identification (Figure 1) and neither does knowledge/use of Hindi. We do, however, find correlation between eight different social variables and *desi*-ness (using Fisher's exact test, Figure 2). We find significance largely in the *No* column, suggesting that alignment *away* from a homogenized diasporic identity plays a stronger role in the development of ethnic identity for these participants than alignment toward one. We discuss what implications this has for our hypotheses of how ethnolinguistic repertoires develop.

What makes a speaker sound Kansan?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speakers possess sociolinguistic knowledge about both their own and other language varieties. This knowledge, whether accurate or not, can be highly influential during communication. Perceptual dialectology work shows that speakers tend to pick out the same key North American locations when demonstrating this knowledge, leaving other locations off the map as not particularly notable [1]. Kansas is arguably one of the most prototypical examples of such locations. Media depictions and explicit metalinguistic commentary about Kansas speech are limited, and even Kansans have been shown to associate features of Kansas speech with varieties other than their own: One observed feature of Kansas speech—TRAP retraction—is associated in a matched guise task with California speech (where this feature also occurs) but not Kansas speech [2]. The goal of this study is to determine (1) whether listeners have expectations about Kansas speech, and if so (2) *what* makes a speaker sound Kansan. In light of previous work showing that in-group and out-group sociolinguistic expectations may not align [3,4], we also assess (3) whether Kansans and non-Kansans differ in their expectations of Kansas speech. Sixty-five participants (36 Kansans; 29 from elsewhere in the US) recruited from Prolific, participated online through PCIBex [5]. Each participant listened to the same 31 talkers reading the "Please Call Stella" passage from the Speech Accent Archive [6] and rated each on 1-5 scales of how (a) "Likely to be from Kansas" and (b) "Accented" they believed the talker to be. Illustrated in Fig. 1, Kansan listeners' ratings are negatively correlated ($R = -0.9$, $p < 0.0001$), with voices rated as *less* accented also rated as *more* likely to be from Kansas, aligning with language attitudes that Kansans hold of their own speech as "unaccented" or "neutral." Non-Kansan listeners show the reverse pattern: Talkers with *higher* Accentedness ratings are judged as *more* likely to be from Kansas ($R = 0.6$, $p = 0.001$). In particular, non-Kansans tended to rate Southern-accented talkers as most likely to be from Kansas. The two talkers non-Kansans judged most likely to be from Kansas were both identifiably Southern-accented talkers from Alabama (Fig. 3). Notably, the two talkers with higher Accentedness ratings that non-Kansans rated as least likely to be from Kansas were from Queens, NY and Minnesota, suggesting that it is not "accentedness" per se that non-Kansans use to determine Kansanness, but Southern accentedness in particular. While Kansan Likelihood ratings varied widely (with Kansans more accurately identifying fellow Kansans), Accentedness ratings for each clip were similar across participant groups ($R = 0.9$, $p < 0.0001$), suggesting that it is not simply Kansans' familiarity with their own speech leading to perceptions of actual Kansas talkers as less Accented, since both groups evaluated Accentedness similarly. Results demonstrate that listeners *do* have expectations about Kansas speech, highlighting sociolinguistic knowledge beyond the most salient and stereotyped features that tend to be noted in explicit

metalinguistic commentary. These expectations differ between Kansans and non-Kansans, providing further evidence for the crucial role of experience in sociolinguistic knowledge.

Ethnic orientation influences Infant-Directed Speech patterns in multilingual, multicultural households

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Abstract

Ethnic orientation (EO) is a questionnaire-based metric used to estimate cultural ties to one of two ethnic identities, which can be used to demonstrate the progress of sound change in immigrant communities. Specifically, individuals with greater EO toward the “homeland” culture manifest sound changes associated with the homeland language, and vice versa for the dominant culture and language. EO is increasingly being used as a heuristic in variationist studies and is also central to the study of heritage language acquisition, because it hews closely to generational change in immigrant societies, which is in turn, tightly linked to which language caregivers will choose to use with their children. However, sociolinguistic variables have little traction among linguists and developmental scientists who study the patterns of speech input to children. This is the first study to ask how EO interacts with parent speech input, using *in vivo* recordings made in the home. We examined bilingual parents with infants 6 to 18 months of age ($n=28$, from fourteen households with two mixed-gender parents), all of whom were Canadian immigrants who spoke English as an L2. Our version of the EO questionnaire had a range of 80-400, where higher scores indicate a greater orientation to homeland culture ($M=200.3$, $SD=21.59$). To collect information on home language use, a LENA recorder was sent home to record all speech spoken around an infant (10-16 hours). One hour of machine-segmented clips of adult speech (*Mean clip length*=2.21 s) were randomly selected from the daylong recording and hand-annotated to determine which language (L1, or non-English language, versus L2, or English) was being spoken, whether the speech register was infant-directed (IDS) or spoken to another adult (ADS), and which parent (mother or father) was speaking ($M=15$ min per parent, $SD=9.81$ min), and clips that were just noise, or in which one of the above codes could not be determined was thrown out. L1 use was calculated as the percentage of speech duration that was annotated as being spoken in the L1. A linear mixed effects model fit to the data showed significant effects of EO ($\beta=0.009$, $t=3.706$, $p=0.001$) and register ($\beta=-0.893$, $t=-2.995$, $p=0.006$) on L1 use. Thus, parents' L1 use was positively correlated with EO scores, and was greater in IDS than ADS. We then considered whether parents share the same non-English L1 or not, which interacted with both EO and Register. Thus, parents who do not share the same L1 tended to use more of their own (different) L1s in the IDS register, but only English in the ADS register, while parents who do speak the same L1 use that language often in both registers (Fig. 1; $\beta=0.003$, $t=2.113$, $p=0.044$). Overall, we demonstrate that EO strongly influences the choices bilingual caregivers make when speaking to their children, but additional factors such as other languages present in the home also determine family language policy. This work reflects a growing body of literature that supports deeper investigation of sociolinguistic variables in the exploration of heritage language acquisition and child language acquisition.

Social Expectations via Personae in Syntactic Processing

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Abstract

While it is widely accepted that a speaker's world knowledge is accessed and incorporated during language processing [1], less is known about how syntactic structure and semantic meaning interact with social meaning. Theoretical models of incremental processing differ on what sources of information impact structure building. Some models support syntactic autonomy [2,3], while some interact with other linguistic or extra-linguistic information [4-7]. Less is known about how social information is accessed during processing and its impacts on structure building. Incorporating Sociolinguistics, an area with extensive research on how social biases influence speech perception, can help us better understand this question. The expectation of a person's actions/behaviors based on world knowledge is documented in the Sociolinguistic concept of *personae*, which are recognizable and ideologically-bound social types or characters, associated with certain behavioral patterns [8-10]. This study investigates an intersection of Sociolinguistic theory and Syntactic processing: how *personae*-based expectations impact structure building and ambiguity resolution.

Exp 1: Participants (N=150) were given subject+verb sentence fragments to complete (1). The 28 verbs were ambiguous in terms of transitivity. The subject's persona was manipulated (1x3 design) biasing transitivity (*T-personae*), biasing intransitivity (*I-personae*), or no bias (*person*). A logistic mixed-effect model was fit on the presence/absence of direct object (DO) completion for responses. *T-personae* produced more DO completions than *I-personae* ($p < 0.001$), and *person* differed from both *T-personae* ($p < 0.001$) and *I-personae* ($p < 0.05$)—Fig. 1.

Exp 2: Participants (N=120) provided ratings on a 7-point Likert scale (“Completely unnatural” to “Completely natural”). Stimuli (2) was a 2x2 design, with {*T-personae* / *I-personae*} x {DO / no DO}. A linear mixed-effects model was fit on z-scores calculated by participant, finding a persona x object interaction ($p < 0.001$): *T-personae* rated more natural than *I-personae* for sentences with DOs, and the reverse without DOs—Fig. 2.

Exp 3: Participants (N=69) completed a Lexical Maze reading task [11]. The 24 items (3), using subject-verb pairs from Exp.1&2, begin with an adjunct clause (subject = *T-personae*, *I-personae*, or *person*), followed by a subject+verb matrix-clause. The matrix-clause subject is a possible candidate for the DO of the adjunct-clause verb, causing potential ambiguity resolution at the matrix-verb. Linear mixed-effects models were fit to log-transformed reading times (RTs). For the matrix-subject, *I-personae* and *person* RTs are slower than *T-personae* ($p < 0.001$). On the matrix-verb, *I-personae* RTs are faster than *T-personae* ($p < 0.001$), and *person* differs from both *I-personae* ($p < 0.001$) and *T-personae* ($p < 0.01$)—Fig. 3. Findings support an object x persona relationship: a DO was unexpected for *I-personae* causing surprisal, while a DO expectation for *T-personae* caused the matrix-subject to be initially considered the adjunct DO, causing a garden path effect.

Discussion: These results suggest that social biases can directly impact syntactic structure building, as object expectation can rely on the relationship between the verb and the social information inferred about the subject. This work shows how the integration of Sociolinguistic theory can beneficially inform how we understand sentence processing.

***Bitch* as a discourse marker among Oklahoma City drag performers**

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This project analyzes a small dataset from (queer) folk linguistic interviews with drag performers in Oklahoma, in which the word *bitch* is employed as a discourse marker (DM). This work hopes to shed light on three aspects of language variation: 1) usage of words traditionally viewed as vocatives (i.e., “dude”, Kiesling 2004, 2022), including their potential role in signaling stance (e.g., Sakita 2017); 2) three emergent categories of DM *bitch*, namely interactional, turn-taking, and propositionally-oriented usages; and 3) the likelihood that this word has been (re)appropriated from African American Language

varieties and spreads through the diverse members of this community of practice. The data came from two group discussions, each of which were given the same discussion prompts. Five performers constitute the speakers in this dataset – three of whom are African American performers and two European American. Four respondents are non-cisgender, though all identify as queer. Each group recorded for a little over an hour with prompts about life and language in this community. The word *bitch* was uttered 213 times. Another word (*girl*, which is comparable in function) was also included in the discourse analysis, which occurred 67 times. Recordings were transcribed, edited in Praat, and analyzed in textgrids. High degrees of overlap, background noise, and other interference affected phonetic analysis, but vowel length was measured for 155 tokens of *bitch*. Tokens were analyzed in terms of grammatical role. Some instances included SUBJ or OBJ (n=55) roles. Other instances appeared either to be used (somewhat) vocatively (n=127; deemed *interactional*, often signaling stance towards a subject/interlocutor) or otherwise did not clearly appear to reference another person at all. In such cases, tokens tended to function in the turn-taking system (n=33; e.g., as backchannels or vying for the floor), or otherwise appeared to be more *propositionally*-oriented (n=46; emphasizing information uttered in interaction). Though the dataset is limited for statistical modeling, a mixed-measures ANOVA resulted in significant differences ($p=0.052$) in vowel length for DM function categories, namely between interactional ($\mu=187\text{msec}$) and both *turn-taking* ($\mu=139\text{msec}$) and propositional ($\mu=106\text{msec}$) functions. Additionally, a significant difference ($p=0.018$) in vowel length was found for *turn status*, notably between backchannels and other statuses (e.g., *vying*, *ongoing turn*, etc.). These limited findings encourage further analysis of the DM categories, their productivity, and the interactions between phonetic variation and discourse. Because of the history of the appropriation of the term *bitch* (e.g., see Garza 2021), and the diverse ethno-racial makeup of this group of drag performers, it is important to consider the role that appropriation of African American Language has played in the spread of this word and its usages without imbuing it with racialized meanings. At the same time, the crucial role many queer, femme people of color have played in the creation and propagation of LGBTQ+ language is often unrecognized. This project tries to consider.

Unveiling and disseminating *Voices from the margins*: The making of a sociolinguistic documentary

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since Pedro Rona's seminal work on Uruguayan Portuguese in 1965, several researchers have explored the linguistic aspects of this variety spoken by a significant portion of the population in northern Uruguay. My own research spans nearly three decades of data collection within Spanish-Portuguese bilingual communities in the region. However, native speakers of Uruguayan Portuguese continue to experience linguistic discrimination within their communities and beyond. Their bilingualism is often viewed through a deficit perspective, and their voices remain relegated to private domains within a stringent diglossic framework. Guided by William Labov's (1982) ethical principles of sociolinguistic research—specifically, the principles of error correction and incurred debt—and inspired by Walt Wolfram's various documentaries, I embarked on the creation of "*Vozes das Margens*: A Sociolinguistic Documentary." The documentary aims to celebrate linguistic diversity, raise sociolinguistic awareness, and challenge the typical exclusion of speakers' voices and bodies from our research practices. It presents first-person narratives exclusively from speakers of Uruguayan Portuguese, exploring their experiences with language, and including topics such as sociolinguistic stratification, linguistic insecurity, language discrimination, and regional identity and pride. Filmed in various communities across the region, the documentary also showcases landscapes, local artists, and personal stories that illustrate how linguistic identity is shaped by memory, ancestry, and place. In this presentation, I will outline the process of creating "*Vozes das Margens*" from its inception to its premiere in June 2024, first in the region where it was filmed and subsequently in the Uruguayan capital. Additionally, I will analyze the perceived impact

of the documentary within the communities and its reception by the media. My aim is to inspire other researchers studying minority dialects to undertake similar projects that amplify community perspectives and challenge dominant language ideologies that perpetuate centralization-peripheralization dynamics.

Regional variation among Standard Mandarin listeners' perceptual cue weighting for prosodic focus marking: Comparing Beijing, Jilu, and Zhongyuan Mandarin

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates whether native listeners of Standard Mandarin (SM) from different parts of Northern China weight prosodic cues (duration, f_0 , and intensity) for narrow focus differently in perception. SM is a register-based prominence language (Kügler and Calhoun 2020), where f_0 variation is the main correlate of prosodic focus (Chen 2010; Xu 1999). On-focus words also exhibit durational lengthening (Chen 2006) and intensity raising (Lee et al. 2016). However, the relative contributions of these acoustic-prosodic cues to listeners' interpretation of focus structure remains understudied. To empirically establish the relative cue weighting of SM listeners for focus prosody interpretation, 12 native SM participants (8 females & four males aged 18–34) finished a focus context identification task. Participants were from three Mandarin dialect regions (MDR): either Beijing ($n = 4$), Jilu ($n = 4$), or Zhongyuan ($n = 4$). All indicated SM as the first learned and dominant language in the language background questionnaire. In the 2AFC task, resynthesized stimuli were used. The base stimuli for resynthesis (Fig. 1) were two versions of Ex. (1): an *early focus* rendition answering Ex. (2) and a *late focus* rendition answering Ex. (3). Resynthesis was done with Tandem-STRAIGHT (Kawahara & Morise 2011). Each resynthesized recording in the stimulus set ($n = 216$) varied along three orthogonal six-step acoustic continua (f_0 , duration, and intensity, Tbl. 1). Participants listened to them and indicated whether the speaker intended to answer Ex. (2) or Ex. (3). Fig.2A presents listeners' percent late focus responses as a function of the three continua separated by groups. As a group, listeners' responses were most biased by the f_0 dimension ($\beta_{f_0} = 1.06$, $z_{f_0} = 5.87$; $\beta_{\text{DURATION}} = .481$, $z_{\text{DURATION}} = 10.77$; $\beta_{\text{INTENSITY}} = .235$, $z_{\text{INTENSITY}} = 3.09$; i.e., **$f_0 > \text{duration} > \text{intensity}$**). However, by-participant random slopes (Fig.2B) suggest that three listeners from Zhongyuan MDR downweighted f_0 ($\beta = -.508$, $z = -2.03$) and concomitantly upweighted duration ($\beta = .298$, $z = 4.75$) relative to the group average, such that the duration became the primary dimension for the perception of SM prosodic focus marking. On the other hand, three listeners from Beijing MDR significantly upweighted the f_0 dimension relative to the group average ($\beta = .787$, $z = 3.03$). Finally, listeners from Jilu MDR show a trend toward downweighting both the f_0 ($\beta = -.280$, $z = -1.12$). Taken together, the more northern the participants originated from, the more likely they rely heavily on the f_0 dimension when identifying the focus context of an utterance. Albeit a very small group of participants, the findings are nonetheless intriguing since Duan & Jia (2014) found that in Zhongyuan Mandarin (based on data from six Xi'an speakers), focus prosody was correlated with post-focus compression of pitch range but not focus-induced durational changes. Even if our Zhongyuan participants' SM were subject to influence from the local dialect, they would still rely most heavily on f_0 variation in a focus identification task. Our findings suggest that the regional variations among local dialects in the Zhongyuan MDR might be more extensive than expected.

“We don’t say [that]. That’s Townies”: The indexical relationship between persona and affect through vocalic variation in Bolton, England

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Variationists have increasingly attended to the role that vocalic variation plays in conveying affect (Eckert 2010, Pratt 2019). However, scholars have not theorized how affect and locally significant social types (personas) are indexically connected through vowel quality. Through an examination of GOAT and FACE monophthongization ([Watt and Milroy 1999](#); [Haddican et al. 2013](#)) among adolescent girls in Bolton, England, we show that regional vowel features construct persona distinction between the communities of practice (CofPs) most polarized for rebelliousness, the Townies (anti-school, rebellious) and the Eden Village Girls (EVG; elitist, non-rebellious). More significantly, we show that other CofPs in the same broader community, the Populars (cool, sporty) and the Geeks (sensible, practical), use advanced regional vowel features alongside lexical expressions of sentiment to convey negative affect. The data are audio-recorded conversations among 27 girls in four distinct CofPs, recorded in the early 2000s, totaling approximately 50 hours. Recordings were transcribed and force-aligned, and formant measurements were taken at points 25%, 50%, and 75% into all vowels. Degree of diphthongization for GOAT and FACE was taken as the trajectory length (TL; Euclidean distance in Lobanov-normalized vowel space) from the 25% to 75% marks. For each vocalic variable, mixed-effects linear regression models were stepped up with speaker and word as random effects and duration, preceding segment, CofP, and word sentiment as fixed effects. For the sentiment analysis, the valence of each word was represented as a value from 0 (negative) to 1 (positive), following Mohammad (2018). Results indicate that Townies monophthongize GOAT and FACE to a greater extent than others ($p < 0.01$), while EVGs produce conservative variants ($p < 0.01$), compared to girls in other groups. Figure 1 contrasts a prototypical Townie, with an EVG's more conservative patterns. Figure 2 shows that advanced variants of both vowel features are predicted by words with more negative valence ($p < 0.001$ for GOAT, $p < 0.05$ for FACE). An analysis of individual speakers reveals that this pattern is also robust for individual Populars and Geeks, who exhibit intermediate values for both features. We argue that while vowel quality can in principle index persona and/or affect, when variation patterns are at ceiling (like Townies) or floor (like EVGs), persona-level social meanings will dominate. In our data, the Townies are icons of rebelliousness. The 'anti-social' meaning underlying their vowel patterns is recursively (Irvine and Gal 2000) available to others in the same semiotic landscape for producing fleeting expressions of negative affect, in the context of the alternative, less anti-social styles of the Populars and Geeks. EVGs by contrast rely on discursive resources to express negative affect, given that the 'negative/positive' axis of differentiation (Gal and Irvine 2019) that structures their vocalic practices is primary in distinguishing them from the Townies. We suggest that future research should attempt to further elucidate the intimate connection between affect and social types – especially as the co-presence of social meanings associated with persona and affect may interact with the dynamics of sound change.

“It actually became a part of the way I speak now”: Locating the repertoire-identity gap in narrativized self-stylizations of mobile American English speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Authenticity remains a core yet contentious component of stylistic variation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Lacoste et al., 2014). An axis of authenticity separates “authentic” language use like style-shifting (Eckert, 2008; Grieser, 2022) and code-switching (Gardner-Chloros, 2009) from “inauthentic” use like crossing (Rampton, 1995) and imitation (Johnstone, 2018). Some sociolinguists unify such individual resources into “linguistic repertoires” (e.g. Busch, 2012), or “biographically assembled patchworks of functionally distributed communicative resources” (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 23). This study challenges boundaries of (in)authentic linguistic repertoires through the metalinguistic commentary and self-stylized performance of biographically mobile multivariational English speakers. We define self-

stylized performance as reported speech where participants alter their speech to envoice themselves as characters within narrated events. In other words, how do multivariational users of American English (dis)claim or (in)authenticate linguistic identity (de Jesus et al., 2024) through narrative and self-stylized performance? Drawing from a larger project on language, place, and identity, we examine two focal participants' negotiation of sociolinguistic identity through narrativized self-stylization embedded in biographical narratives. We draw from the full interview to establish participants' baseline speech patterns and further contextualize these key narratives. Irene recounts a moment where her Mississippi university peers marked her Northern speech as different while Lois reflects on her fluid linguistic repertoire as a non-Southern graduate student in North Carolina. Modified conversation analytic (Jefferson, 2004) transcriptions of interviews (1) enable analysis of paralinguistic features (i.e. pauses, breathy voice) and (2) frame interviews as dialogic interactive events (De Fina, 2019). Through breathy voice, Irene self-stylizes "[slipping] into yelling like an Italian American" in a Mississippi lecture hall (Excerpt 1). While she attributes this incidental acquisition to an enjoyable extended stay with her family (Nycz, 2018), she disavows the Long Island voice as her own. She distances herself from this by asserting a "natural" voice (Excerpt 2) – one likely attuned to an academic interview context. However, her use of "slip into" coupled with her seamless ability to perform Long Island loudness to tease her family belies her capacity to assemble such features within specific spacetimes. As a Pennsylvania local, Lois' stylization of Southern American English features (e.g. /a/ monophthongization in words like "Carolina") and corresponding metalinguistic commentary frames tensions of accommodation and personal ethics. She negotiates an internal conflict between a desire to "be part of the [Carolina] community" and a fear of reifying an extractionist researcher persona (Excerpt 3). Yet repeated use of /a/ monophthongization beyond the boundaries of self-stylized speech also implicates Lois' internalization of Southern features into a Northern-dominant linguistic repertoire (despite disavowing legitimate ownership of such features [Excerpt 4]) – a form of topic-specific style-shifting (Grieser, 2022). Lois locates Southern American English within her repertoire but does not extend that to a Southern identity. By analyzing the dissonance between Lois and Irene's linguistic repertoires and identities, this study destabilizes boundaries between (in)authentic linguistic repertoires and (non)ownership of style features, instead emplacing repertoires within spatially and temporally contingent assemblages of interactants (Pennycook, 2017).

Center of Gravity (CoG) as a measure of lateral approximant retroflexion

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Work on languages with multiple phonemic lateral approximants (Tabain et al. 2016; Tabain & Kochetov, 2018) suggests that a key feature of retroflex lateral approximants is that they have a lower center of gravity (CoG), the mean frequency of a sound's spectrum (Thomas, 2011), than lateral approximants at other places of articulation. These findings suggests that CoG could also be applied to study sociophonetic variation in languages with a retroflex lateral variant. To test this, we experimentally applied CoG measures to Korean which has a single liquid phoneme, usually described as having two allophones: a flap, [ɾ], syllable-initially and an alveolar lateral approximant, [l], syllable-finally and in geminates, (Sohn 1999; Shin et al., 2012; Kim 2015; Sin 2015), but which has recently been identified as having a retroflex lateral variant that is conditioned by gender (used more by men), region (used more by speakers from Gyeongsang in Southeast Korea), age (used more by younger speakers) and phonological environment (used more word finally after non-/i/ vowels) (Hwang et al., 2019; authors, 2024; Shibata et al., 2024). The stimuli for this study consisted of 60 target words, with the target liquid segment preceded by /i/, /a/, /ʌ/, or /u/ and followed by a consonant, embedded in 46 dialogues. First, a recording of one of the researchers reading the first turn of the dialogue was played, then participants read the second part containing the target word(s) in response. Participants consisted of eighteen speakers (nine women, nine men) from the Seoul Capital Area (SCA), ten (seven women, three men) from North Gyeongsangdo

(NGS), and four (two women, two men) from South Gyeongsangdo (SGS). All participants were in their 20s. CoG was extracted at the midpoint of the target segment following Tabain et al. (2016) and normalized using the method given in Dalola & Bridwell (2020) to account for vocal tract length between differences. Normalized CoG (hereafter CoG) was submitted to a stepwise linear regression with following consonant (non-coronal, coronal, liquid), preceding vowel (/a/, /i/, /ʌ/, /u/), presence of a following high-front vocoid (absent, present), lateral duration, and the interaction of gender (women, men) and region (SCA, NGS, SGS) as fixed factors. The resultant model, shown in Figure 1, revealed main effects for gender (men had a lower GoG than women [$p < 0.0001^{***}$]), region (speakers from NGS had a lower CoG [$p = 0.0441^*$] and speakers from SGS has a higher CoG than SCA speakers [$p < 0.0001^{***}$]), preceding vowel (lateral CoG was lower following back vowels than following /i/ [$p < 0.0001^{***}$]), and following segment (lateral CoG was higher preceding coronal consonants than it was preceding non-coronal consonants [$p < 0.0001^{***}$]). These results largely accord with previous articulatory (Hwang et al, 2019; Shibata et al., 2024), impressionistic (Author, 2024), and acoustic work (Authors, 2021) on retroflexion in the Korean liquid. This suggests that CoG is a valid method of measuring sociophonetic variation in lateral approximants. Furthermore, it also reveals a new phonological conditioning factor for retroflexion in the Korean liquid. Specifically, retroflexion appears to be inhibited by a following coronal consonant.

Syntactic change in progress: A comparative analysis of predicate constituent order variation in bilingual Andean Spanish and Quechua

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study examines variation in the order of predicate constituents—object-verb (OV) versus verb-object (VO)—in the varieties of Andean Spanish and Quechua spoken in Cusco, Peru. Though the investigated languages exhibit mirror-image ordering typologies—VO-dominant order in Andean Spanish and OV-dominant order in Quechua—a relatively high incidence of non-canonical order is attested in both languages, as exemplified in (1) and (2). In Andean Spanish, OV order occurs at a rate ranging from 17-28% (Klee 1996; Muntendam 2009; Muysken 1984; Ocampo & Klee 1995), which exceeds rates reported for non-contact varieties, like Rio Platense Spanish, 6.9% (Ocampo 1995). Similarly, predicate constituent order is quite variable in Quechua, with non-canonical VO order rates ranging from 10.8% to 85.1% depending on the region and data elicitation method (Kalt & Geary 2021; Sánchez 2003). To establish that a particular linguistic feature of a multilingual setting is indeed the result of contact-induced change (i.e., not solely attributable to internal processes of change) comparisons must be drawn in both a horizontal and vertical fashion (Poplack & Levey 2010). That is, a potential contact feature must be examined 1) in both the non-contact variety and source language (horizontal) and 2) over the course of time (vertical). In the present study, I address vertical comparisons of OV/VO variation in Andean Spanish and Quechua to determine whether syntactic patterns of use over time suggest a change in progress in either language. I examine naturalistic speech data elicited via Sociolinguistic Interviews from 34 bilingual Cusqueños to conduct an apparent-time analysis. Overall, bilinguals employ non-canonical OV order at a rate of 13.2% in Andean Spanish and non-canonical VO order at a rate of 31.8% in Quechua. Crucially, OV/VO variation is significantly conditioned by the age of the speaker such that age and OV order frequency are positively correlated in both Andean Spanish (Figure 1) and Quechua (Figure 2). That is, young bilinguals employ VO order more frequently in both languages than their relative older counterparts. I interpret these significant trends as evidence of linguistic change in progress characterized by two concurrent processes: OV/VO variation in Andean Spanish is approximating the prescriptive norm of non-contact Spanish over time and OV/VO variation in Quechua is approximating that of Andean Spanish. The findings of this variationist study hint at a potential impending typological shift in bilingual Cusco Quechua. Though the current distribution of OV/VO orders in the sample overall indicates that this variety of Quechua is still most appropriately classified as an OV-dominant language (Dryer 2013), nearly

half of the participants do not exhibit a dominant order of predicate constituents in their discourse, the majority of whom are younger bilinguals. A shift from OV-dominant order to VO-dominant (or no dominant) order is a typological reconfiguration in and of itself that may engender other typological changes, e.g., increased omission of the accusative case morpheme (Sánchez 2003) or syntactic reorganizations in other domains (Greenberg 1963; Hintz 2009, 2016) to achieve cross-category harmonization (Hawkins 1980, 1982).

Regional & Ethnic Differences in Morphosyntactic Variation among Black Adolescents

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociolinguistics has begun to meaningfully engage with diversity between and among Black speech communities when it comes to region (Farrington, King & Kohn 2020, Kendall & Farrington 2023, Wolfram & Kohn 2015), class (Grieser 2022, Spears 2015, Weldon 2022), ethnicity/race (Blake 2016, Holliday 2016, Nesbitt et al. 2024), and gender (Lanehart 2009, Rickford & Price 2013). By default, this work has debunked the myths that African American English (AAE) is suprasegmental and is the exclusive domain of Black adolescent working-class men (King 2020, Wolfram 2007). This paper contributes to research by examining the linguistic repertoires of 30 Black adolescents in two cities, Philadelphia (N=15) (Holliday 2021) and Boston (N=15), focusing on use of morphosyntactic features associated with AAE. Data was collected from 2021-2023 through sociolinguistic interviews conducted by African-descended undergraduates. The 30 speakers studied were high school students, mostly attending predominantly Black institutions (10/15), overwhelmingly female (Phila: 12/15; Boston: 11/15), and mostly working class based on parent occupation. All identified as Black/African American, though their parents' birthplaces varied: 16 from the U.S., 9 from the non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean (e.g., Haiti, Virgin Islands), and 5 from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico). Accordingly, some speakers also spoke either Haitian Creole (N=4) or Spanish (N=6). Recorded interviews (~18 mins.) were coded for 25 morphosyntactic features associated either with AAE or that overlap with other non-mainstream varieties of English, following Wolfram & VanHofwegen 2010. Four measures of morphosyntactic feature use were examined to compare speakers' repertoires between and within groups: raw number of features, range of unique features used, a dialect density measure (DDM) (Craig & Washington 2006), and rates of copula absence. The interview included questions about school experience, including code-switching.

Results: Boston adolescents are more restricted users of morphosyntactic features than Philadelphians, with the majority of Philly speakers using a greater number (Fig. 1), range (Fig. 2), and density (Fig. 3). While Boston adolescents do use non-mainstream features, they favor general ones over the salient features of AAE (Figs. 1 & 4). A best fit LMER of data from both cities tests DDM against dependent variables of City, Parents' Birthplace, and reports of Code-Switching in school (adjusted *R*-squared 0.5455, $p < 0.001$). It confirms DDM is higher in Philadelphia (*Est.* 0.17516, $p < 0.001$) and higher among students who report code-switching in school (*Est.* 0.11144, $p < 0.01$) while DDM is marginally lower among students with parents from the Spanish-speaking Caribbean (*Est.* -0.11209, $p = 0.52215$). The distribution of speakers by ethno-linguistic background was not evenly distributed across cities due to different demographic histories: 9/15 Philadelphia speakers had U.S.-born parents compared to 5/15 Boston speakers. These results underscore the importance of considering within and between community variation when it comes to region, class, ethnicity, and gender in studies of Black speakers as well as inclusive approaches to data collection that account for the diversity of language use patterns in Black communities.

The origins of New York Hasidic Yiddish: A lexical exploration

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Upon arriving in New York, already home to approximately two million Yiddish speakers, Hasidic Holocaust refugees from diverse linguistic backgrounds began establishing communal infrastructures to support their religious lifestyle. Despite the potential for a koine influenced by various Yiddish subdialects spoken there, studies indicate that New York Hasidic Yiddish has largely converged towards the varieties spoken in the Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Nove, 2024). This region, heart of the so-called Unterland, was marginal in terms of prewar Yiddish language and culture and has been described as an “autonomous religious and cultural enclave” (Keren-Kratz 2017:1). The basis of the study is a word list compiled by the editors of the *Comprehensive English-Yiddish Dictionary* (Schaechter-Viswanath & Glasser, 2021), identified as frequently used among Hasidim but absent from an earlier edition of this dictionary and dialect reference. The list includes lexemes inherited from prewar Yiddish. Utilizing the *Corpus of Spoken Yiddish in Europe*, an open-access linguistic resource (Bleaman and Nove, in press), I analyze the prewar geographical distribution of a subset of these variants, identifying Subcarpathian Ruthenia as the likely source. Here, the Yiddish was highly variable due to geographic (mountains and valleys) and social factors. Next, I address how the dialect of this small region became the vernacular of American Hasidim, supplanting the Yiddish of groups from other areas, such as historical Galicia and Ukraine. This dominance is not easily explained by demographics alone, as Yiddish speakers from the Unterland likely constituted less than 10% of New York’s Yiddish-speaking population. Additionally, the Unterland Hasidic ideology was not necessarily the most centrist. Rather, the rabbi of Satmar, the Hasidic group associated with the present dialect, was notably theologically and politically radical. Instead, I attribute the perpetuation of this subdialect to the Founder Effect, suggesting that it is the result of three factors occurring in tandem: 1) The survival of this minority Yiddish dialect due to historical contingencies; 2) The maintenance of the language by speakers from this region; and 3) The rise to prominence of Unterland leaders and political centering of their followers. Hasidic Yiddish likely began as a mixed dialect, reflecting the linguistic diversity of the immigrant population. However, it gradually leveled towards the Subcarpathian Ruthenian variety, likely because of the factors listed above. Additionally, the urban setting of New York facilitated greater interaction and communication among Hasidic Jews, regardless of their original regional dialects. The convergence thus aligns with Trudgill’s (1984) theories about the effect of social proximity and frequent interaction on linguistic uniformity. Finally, the incongruity of the term “first settlers” as applied to this relatively small band of refugees in New York is resolved by reference to the Hasidic ideology of cultural separatism, which helped form a linguistic island in the greatest Yiddish-speaking metropolis in the world. Unsurprisingly, intense contact with English is driving changes in many aspects of Hasidic Yiddish. Despite these influences, the language retains traces of its prewar dialects, encoding the sociohistorical origins of the community. This paper provides a framework for exploring similar phenomena in other diasporic settings.

Fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas no Brasil: Variação em Caravelas, BA

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

No Brasil, a realização das fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas é diversa. Nesta pesquisa são apresentados dados do Estado da Bahia, Nordeste do Brasil, da cidade de Caravelas, que fica localizada no extremo sul do Estado. Investiga-se uma restrição linguística contextual em Caravelas que difere de outras pesquisas no Brasil. A variação das fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas somente ocorre antes de /t/ com as variantes [s] fricativa alveolar e [ʃ] fricativa alveopalatal, principalmente. São comparados resultados obtidos através

do Goldvarb X, Rbrul, R, SPSS 26 com modelos de regressão de efeitos mistos quando se é possível. O estudo utiliza amostra de 30 informantes caravelenses, estratificados por idade, sexo e escolaridade. São entrevistas sociolinguísticas realizadas entre 2015 e 2017 com 2051 ocorrências de fricativas antes de /t/, das variantes [s] fricativa alveolar e [ʃ] fricativa alveopalatal, assim como é feito o levantamento bibliográfico de outras pesquisas. O Rio de Janeiro é reconhecido pela variação das fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas e não apresenta restrição contextual para a realização alveopalatal [ʃ] pós-vocálica. No Norte do Brasil, em Macapá - AP, as fricativas também não apresentam a mesma restrição que aparece em Caravelas. As fricativas alveopalatais ocorrem independentemente do contexto linguístico antes do /t/. No sul do Brasil, em Santa Catarina, Florianópolis - SC, também não existem restrições linguísticas contextuais. A variante alveopalatal das fricativas ocorre e tem maior frequência nas realizações da fricativa coronal pós-vocálica.

Em Recife - PE, na Região Nordeste, não existe a restrição linguística para a realização alveopalatal, parecendo com o Rio de Janeiro - RJ (Sudeste), Florianópolis - SC (Sul) e Macapá - AP (Norte). No entanto, na mesma região, em João Pessoa, na Paraíba, há uma situação diferente. As oclusivas dentais em João Pessoa - BA antes da fricativa favorecem a realização alveopalatal, permitindo uma quase distribuição complementar. A ocorrência da alveopalatal, em João Pessoa - PB, limita-se ao aparecimento das oclusivas /t, d/ e da nasal /n/ (HORA, 2003). Na capital da Bahia, em Salvador, a ocorrência alveopalatal é favorecida pelos segmentos oclusivos em contextos linguísticos antecedentes como [vaʃtɐ], [kɔʃtɐ], [piʃtɐ], mas não se restringe a isso. A restrição linguística em Caravelas mostra uma diferença em relação ao fenômeno no restante do país. Por conta disso, percebe-se que há influência da assimilação de traços nos contextos consonantal e vocálico. A associação de traços nesses contextos parece ser a causa da restrição. Para Lima e Scherre (2018), o segmento vocálico [u] que é [+alto] e [+posterior] tem as mesmas características [+alto] e [+posterior] que a alveopalatal [ʃ] e pode favorecer a palatalização na palavra [kuʃtw], por exemplo, e ajudar na produção da palatalização antes de /t/. A variação de fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas no Brasil tem influência de diferentes fatores. Algumas comunidades apresentam contextos linguísticos restritos para ocorrência da variante alveopalatal. Em outras, não são necessárias restrições linguísticas para sua realização. Em Caravelas, a restrição antes de /t/ condiciona a ocorrência da variante alveopalatal. Sendo assim, no Brasil, algumas influências sobre a variação de fricativas coronais pós-vocálicas são bastante específicas e, logo, não são as mesmas nas diversas comunidades.

Author Translation

In Brazil, the realization of postvocalic coronal fricatives is diverse. This survey presents data from the State of Bahia, Northeast Brazil, specifically from a community called Caravelas in the extreme south of the state. This study investigates a unique linguistic restriction in Caravelas that differs from other data in Brazil. The postvocalic coronal fricatives variation only occurs before /t/ with variants [s] alveolar fricative and [ʃ] alveopalatal fricative. Comparing different results from the Goldvarb X and Rbrul, R, SPSS 26 to conduct mixed effects regression models, the study uses a sample of 30 informants native to the Caravelas, stratified by age, gender, and education. Data are from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in 2015 and 2017 with 2051 tokens of fricatives before /t/ reduced to the variants [s] alveolar fricative and [ʃ] alveopalatal fricative and a bibliographic search of the other studies. The most representative case of palatalization of the postvocalic fricatives is in Rio de Janeiro in the Brazilian southeast. Rio de Janeiro has the most recognition throughout the country for the variation of postvocalic coronal fricatives. Rio de Janeiro does not show contextual linguistic restriction for the alveopalatal postvocalic realization [ʃ]. In the North of Brazil, in Macapá - AP, the fricatives do not have the same restrictions context as Caravelas. There are more alveopalatal fricatives regardless of linguistic context before /t/. South of Brazil, the State of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis - SC, does not present linguistic restrictions either. The variant alveopalatal fricatives occur freely in postvocalic position. Another community from the Northeast, Recife - PE, does not show contextual linguistic restriction for the alveopalatal realization like Rio de Janeiro - RJ (Southeast), Florianópolis - SC (South), and Macapá - AP (North). Therefore, there is a different situation in João Pessoa - PB (Northeast), the occlusive segments in João Pessoa - BA before the fricative mold the alveopalatal realization. The occurrence of the alveopalatal variant is limited to the appearance of occlusives /t, d/, and nasal /n/ (HORA, 2003). In the capital Salvador - BA, State of

Bahia, the occurrence of alveolopalatal occurs before occlusive segments in linguistic contexts like [ˈvaʃtɐ], [ˈkɔʃtɐ], [ˈpiʃtɐ] but not restricted to that. The linguistic restriction in Caravelas shows a difference from the rest of the country related to the variation of postvocalic coronal fricatives. Since the linguistic context is restricted, we found the influence of assimilation concerning linguistic variables. The similarity of features in the preceding and following contexts seems to cause the restriction. According to Lima and Scherre (2018), the vowel segment [u] that is [+high] and [+posterior] have the same features [+high] and [+posterior] as alveolopalatal [ʃ] and may promote palatalization as in the word [ˈkuʃtw] and help palatalization production before /t/. Generally, the variation of postvocalic coronal fricatives throughout the country has different influences. Some communities present extremely linguistic contexts to the alveolopalatal realization. Other communities do not need any circumstances favoring a variant. In Caravelas, the restriction before /t/ favors the occurrence of the alveolopalatal variant. It shows that some influences on the same phenomenon can supply different faces.

Construção contrastiva no português em uso

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Este projeto tem como objeto de análise as construções contrastivas específicas (ou microconstruções) não prototípicas, que se aproximam sintaticamente da coordenada, cujos segmentos A e B podem se conectar por oração, orações complexas e enunciados. Utilizo os modelos centrados no uso, incorporando a proposta da Linguística Centrada no Uso (LCU), que abarca o Funcionalismo e a Linguística Cognitiva. As construções em foco estabelecem efeito de contraste, resultante de quebra de expectativa (não) inferencial que resultará numa leitura de negação, desigualdade, contrariedade, rejeição, oposição (PEZATTI & LONGIN 2008; CASTILHO, 2010). Proponho identificar qual o grau de compartilhamento das construções não prototípicas com a adversativa *mas*, a partir das relações semânticas de *oposição*, *inferência* e *desconsideração* da informação anterior. Pela frequência de uso, é possível dizer que os novos conectores formam um *chunk* e que, por relação analógica com os usos já constantes da categoria contrastiva, o falante os coloca na mesma categoria, fixando-os mais ao centro ou mais à periferia da relação contrastiva. Tais relações contrastivas podem decorrer de uma simultaneidade, indeterminação ou futuridade temporal, e podem as relações apresentarem ainda comparação de eventos. A título de exemplificação, podemos observar que a construção com *enquanto* que se realiza predominantemente por comparação de *frames* de eventos, apresentando uma quantidade maior das relações semânticas do *mas*, a com *sendo que* se adequa mais ao contraste por oposição, com variação na relação de oposição por parcialidade e por generalidade, já a construção com *JUSTO X* focaliza o contraste por oposição inferencial e se apoia em *frames*. Os dados para este trabalho são selecionados na modalidade escrita sincrônica brasileira e nos gêneros digitais *memes* e *tweets*, comprovando os processos de mudança sincrônica dos referidos conectores

How Salience Influences Dialectal Persistence and Covariation: Insights from Boston's Spanish-Speaking Community

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recent sociolinguistic research has shifted towards examining the relationship between multiple variables, emphasizing the concepts of *covariation* – the statistical relationships between multiple variables – and *coherence*, where linguistic features systematically align within a speech community such

that the use of variable X aligns with the use of variable Y (Guy 2013; Guy and Hinskens 2016; Cole 2020). This study investigates the themes of covariation and coherence within the Spanish speaking community of Greater Boston, focusing on six variable features: coda /s/, liquids, filled pauses (FPs), subject pronouns (SPPs), pronoun placement, and general subject placement. While all six variables are sites of structured variability in Spanish, the first two are much more prominent in folk linguistic awareness than the latter four, which are less socially salient. We hypothesize that this difference in salience bears on the extent to which the variables covary. This study analyzes 25172 tokens. The data comes from Spanish sociolinguistic interviews with 22 speakers (ages 18 to 73) from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Additionally, the speakers completed a questionnaire providing demographic, social, and linguistic background information. The methodology utilizes multivariate regression analyses to understand the linguistic, acoustic, social, and language contact variables influencing variation. The findings indicate that less salient variables tend to exhibit more covariation, forming cohesive patterns of variation through structural convergence with grammatical norms of English, whereas highly salient features, such as coda /s/ and liquid variation, show more independent trajectories. This pattern aligns with previous research by Oushiro and Guy (2015) and Erker (2022), which found covariation among low-salience features while the salient features remained independent. This distinction underscores the role of salience in linguistic variation and highlights the influence of speakers' awareness and metalinguistic commentary on their treatment of certain features. Structural pressure towards convergence with English affects less salient features, as in Figure 1, where higher Percent Life in the US correlates with increased use of centralized FPs, pronouns, preverbal pronouns, and preverbal general subjects. In contrast, the highly salient features coda /s/ and liquid variation do not follow these patterns. If these features converged with English, we would expect a downward slope for both coda /s/ weakening (less weakening) and liquid variation (less variation). In other words, in the context of dialectal and linguistic contact, these features demonstrate a tendency towards persistence rather than convergence driven by their salience. This study contributes to the theoretical understanding of covariation and coherence by demonstrating that these concepts are only part of a more complex picture. By bridging individual variable studies and broader sociolinguistic patterns, this research provides valuable insights into the complexity of language variation in a multilingual urban environment. It also offers empirical evidence on the sociolinguistic dynamics of a community characterized by language and dialect contact. By examining a range of sociolinguistic variables that vary in their salience, we can better understand the role of salience in the tendency towards convergence versus persistence.

Robotic Cuteness: ChatGPT evaluations of Korean aegyo

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Rapid advancement of AI in natural language processing has led researchers to question whether large language models (LLMs) and chatbots like ChatGPT genuinely reflect human language use or merely simulate it superficially (Cai et al., 2023; Mahowald et al., 2023). Cai et al. (2023) demonstrated that ChatGPT exhibits human-like behaviors, such as sensitivity to interlocutor dialect (e.g., determining the meaning of ‘bonnet’ depending on the interlocutor's nationality). Despite these capabilities, there is a gap in research on its ability to comprehend culturally-specific communication styles, such as *aegyo*, a Korean cute-style associated with young women (Authors, 2023). *Aegyo* has been shown to be associated with several segmental alternations, including affrication (e.g., /s/ → [tɕ]), stopping (e.g., /s/ → [t]), [j]-insertion (e.g., /t/ → [tj]), and orthographic resyllabification (e.g., 잤어 /teas*.Λ/ ‘slept’ spelled as 자씨 [tea.s*Λ]) (Moon, 2013; Jang, 2021). To evaluate ChatGPT (GPT-3.5, GPT-4, GPT-4o)’s ability to reproduce human behavior, we replicated Jang’s (2021) cuteness-rating experiment on the following *aegyo* alternations: resyllabification (S’), /j/-insertion (SJ), affrication (C), affrication + /j/-insertion (CJ), stopping (T), and stopping + /j/-insertion (TJ). She found that *aegyo* forms are rated as CJ>T>C>TJ>S’>SJ, that older participants give higher cuteness scores than younger participants, and that

there was no significant gender effect. We generated 74 “participants” with assigned gender and age based on Jang’s (2021) participants. To obtain *aegyo* ratings, we asked ChatGPT to imagine itself as a person with said demographics and then to rate the cuteness of 77 stimuli (Jang’s 11 words $\times$ 6 *aegyo* plus the non-*aegyo* form (S) of each word) on a seven-point scale. Then, following Jang (2021), we built a linear regression for each ChatGPT version with cuteness rating as the dependent variable, and (alternation) *category* (S, C, CJ, S’, SJ, T, TJ) and the interaction of *age group* (under 31, over 31) and *gender* (men, women) as independent variables.

Results reveal that ChatGPT consistently rates *aegyo* variants as cuter than the non-*aegyo* variants ($p < 0.01$), but that the precise ranking depends on version: ChatGPT3.5’s ranking was $S' > CJ > SJ > C > T > TJ$, ChatGPT4’s was $SJ > CJ > C > S' > T > TJ$, and ChatGPT4-o’s ranking was $CJ > TJ > S' > SJ > T > C$. These results suggest that ChatGPT perceives *aegyo* variants as cute but not in the same way as humans. For example, ChatGPT ranks Jang’s (2021) least cute forms (SJ, S’) as near the top of the hierarchy. Additionally, regarding demographic factors, ChatGPT appears to be evolving to give higher ratings when imagining itself as the stereotypical *aegyo* user (i.e., a young woman). ChatGPT3.5, the earliest version, shows no significant demographic rating differences, ChatGPT4, has older “participants” ($p = 0.034$) and men ($p < 0.001$) giving higher scores than younger “participants” and women, and ChatGPT4-o, the most-recent version, has younger “participants” ($p < 0.001$) and women ($p = 0.0247$) giving higher scores than older “participants” and men. This suggests that ChatGPT is acquiring knowledge of style, but knowledge based on stereotypes (i.e., *aegyo* is a young women’s style) and not human rating patterns.

It’s new-fave

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction In this talk, we will introduce new-fave, a successor to the FAVE-suite (Rosenfelder et al., 2024) that is more flexible for researchers, and maintainable for developers.

Background The FAVE-suite has helped to enable larger scale vowel formant analysis in sociolinguistics. However, it has a number of both user-facing and developer-facing shortcomings. Some of these include:

- Difficult to use with non-English data due to reference formant values based on North American English
- Limited phonological flexibility due to hard-coded CMU pronunciation dictionary labels and Labov/Trager labels
- Restrictive formant tracking options based on binary categories labelled either as “sex” (in fave-extract) or fundamental frequency (in DARLA (Reddy & Stanford, 2015)).
- Difficult to study vowel dynamics because formant optimization is based on single point measures rather than formant tracks

While revolutionary for the time, these limitations of fave-extract make it inappropriate for developing work in sociophonetics in language varieties beyond North American English, with greater gender diversity, and on phenomena involving formant dynamics. After thorough review of the current FAVE codebase, we determined it is infeasible to fix these issues through incremental updates.

new-fave new-fave is a complete rewrite of the FAVE-method. The output of new-fave is backwards compatible, and default settings return data similarly structured to FAVE-classic for use in existing workflows. new-fave improves on the methodology of FAVE-classic by not privileging a language variety as a reference set, formant tracking without regard to demographics like binary gender, and optimizing measurements based on full vowel formant tracks by being built on top of FastTrack (Barreda, 2021;

Fruehwald & Barreda, 2024). Additionally, new-fave allows users to customize both vowel label recoding (e.g. from CMU to Labov/Trager) and point measurement heuristics without the need to interact with the python source code. These innovations are supported by an ecosystem of packages for the specific fave-approach tasks (e.g. parsing Praat TextGrids (Fruehwald & Brickhouse, 2024), recoding vowel labels, automated transcription, specifying measurement point heuristics). Users won't need to interact with most aspects of this ecosystem, but the codebase is more interpretable and maintainable for new-fave developers, allowing for faster bug fixes, feature implementation, and the importation of new-fave into other projects.

Comparison to other methods new-fave was used to extract formants from 397 speakers in the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov et al., 2013), using as closely matching measurement point heuristics and vowel labels to FAVE-classic as possible. While a token-by-token comparison wasn't possible, vowel means within speakers were compared. The median absolute difference between the two methods on F1 was 11Hz, and on F2 was 48Hz. Figure 2 plots a comparison of the Nearey normalized vowel means between the two methods. fasttrack alone was also compared to the FAVE-classic measurements, and while the median absolute errors were comparable, the higher end of differences on F2 was much larger than new-fave (comparing Tables 1 and 2).

Conclusion We will also discuss any shortcomings of new-fave vs FAVE-classic, as well as configuration options available to users to address formant-tracking issues they may face

Cross-Modal Cue-Weighting: Talker information on bilinguals' VOT sensitivity and voicing contrast perception

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Social speech perception research has shown that explicit instructions about a speaker's native language status [1] or implicit visual cues [2, 3] influence speech processing. However, little is known about how non-native speakers perceive L2 phonetic variables based on talker language background. This study addresses this gap by investigating how L2 sequential bilinguals' voicing stop boundaries reflect expectations about a talker's L1.

Method. We examine Russian-English and Mandarin-English bilinguals, known for distinct VOT ranges in voiceless stops: Russian (18 ms to 39 ms) [4], Mandarin (82 ms to 92 ms) [5], and English (58 ms to 80 ms) [6]. Examining these two groups thus enables us to observe VOT perceptual shifts from both directions. Previous studies have also highlighted challenges for English listeners in perceiving reduced VOT [7, 8], motivating our exploration of cross-linguistic perception of shorter VOTs. Our experiment uses a modified visual analog scale (VAS) paired with social cues to assess judgments of /pa/-/ba/ sounds. We recorded pa and ba tokens from four American English speakers, creating a 9-step continuum (-70 to 90 ms) for each, yielding 36 distinct sounds. These tokens are controlled for *f0* and aspiration intensity. Social cues are operationalized with images: an Asian male for Chinese guise, a White male for Russian, and a Black male for American. Participants undergo two phases. In the baseline phase, participants hear each distinct synthetic syllable three times in random order. They then click to indicate where they perceive the voicing contrast on the continuum. In phase two, participants perform the same listening task once for each of the three social guises, the order of which is counterbalanced across participants. For each guise, an image and basic information are displayed at the center of the screen. We use click location values to compare how evaluations of the voicing contrast vary as a function of the social guise we manipulate. Demographic and language background questionnaires are also administered to track individual variations, with analysis underway.

Results. Current data from 31 participants (16 Mandarin-English bilinguals; 15 Russian-English bilinguals) reveal the following insights: ANOVA analyses demonstrated significant effects of VOT step

on voicing perception ($p < 0.001$) for both groups. While social guise did not reach statistical significance ($p = 0.85$), intriguing patterns emerged: for the same range of VOTs (-70ms to 10ms), Russian guise was rated most "PA"-like by Russian listeners, while the Chinese guise was rated least "PA"-like by Mandarin listeners.

Implications. These findings suggest that bilinguals' phonological systems and expectations based on talker guise influence voicing perception. The nuanced influence of social guise indicates that listeners' expectations based on talker identity subtly affect their perceptual judgments. This highlights the complex interplay between phonetic cues and social information in bilingual speech processing, aligning with insights into the merging of phonological boundaries [9] and the influence of regional identities on perceptual expectations regardless of actual speech content [10].

Author Translation

La investigación sobre la percepción social del habla ha demostrado que las instrucciones explícitas sobre el estado de la lengua materna de un hablante [1] o las señales visuales implícitas [2, 3] influyen en el procesamiento del habla. Sin embargo, se sabe poco sobre cómo los hablantes no nativos perciben las variables fonéticas L2 en función de los antecedentes lingüísticos del hablante. Este estudio aborda esta brecha al investigar cómo los límites de detención de la voz de los bilingües secuenciales L2 reflejan las expectativas sobre la L1 de un hablante. Examinamos bilingües ruso-inglés y mandarín-inglés, conocidos por diferentes rangos de VOT en oclusivas sordas: ruso ($18\text{-}39\text{ ms}$) [4], mandarín ($82\text{-}92\text{ ms}$) [5] e inglés ($58\text{-}80\text{ ms}$) [6]. Así, podemos observar cambios perceptuales de VOT desde ambas direcciones. Estudios previos resaltan los desafíos para los oyentes de inglés al percibir VOT reducidos [7, 8], motivando nuestra exploración.

Método. Nuestro experimento utiliza una escala analógica visual modificada (EVA) con señales sociales para evaluar juicios de /pa/-/ba/. Grabamos tokens de cuatro hablantes de inglés estadounidense, creando un continuo de 9 pasos (-70 a 90 ms) para cada uno, produciendo 36 sonidos. Las fichas se controlan para f_0 y la intensidad de aspiración. Las señales sociales se operan con imágenes: un hombre asiático para chino, un hombre blanco para ruso y un hombre negro para estadounidense. Los participantes pasan por dos fases. Primero, escuchan cada sílaba tres veces en orden aleatorio y hacen clic para indicar el contraste sonoro. Luego, repiten la tarea para cada forma social, con el orden equilibrado entre los participantes. Para cada disfraz, se muestra una imagen e información básica. Usamos los clics para comparar cómo varían las evaluaciones del contraste según la apariencia social. También se administran cuestionarios demográficos y de antecedentes lingüísticos para rastrear variaciones individuales, con análisis en curso.

Resultados. Los datos actuales de 31 participantes (16 bilingües mandarín-inglés; 15 bilingües ruso-inglés) revelan las siguientes ideas: Los análisis ANOVA demostraron efectos significativos del paso VOT en la percepción de la voz ($p < 0,001$) para ambos grupos. Si bien la apariencia social no alcanzó significación estadística ($p = 0,85$), surgieron patrones intrigantes: para el mismo rango de votos (-70 ms a 10 ms), la apariencia rusa fue calificada como más "PA" por los oyentes rusos, mientras que la apariencia china fue calificada como menos "PA" por los oyentes en mandarín.

Implicaciones. Estos hallazgos sugieren que los sistemas fonológicos de los bilingües y las expectativas basadas en la apariencia del hablante influyen en la percepción de la voz. La influencia matizada de la apariencia social indica que las expectativas de los oyentes basadas en la identidad del hablante afectan sutilmente sus juicios perceptuales. Esto resalta la compleja interacción entre las señales fonéticas y la información social en el procesamiento bilingüe del habla, alineándose con las ideas sobre la fusión de los límites fonológicos [9] y la influencia de las identidades regionales en las expectativas perceptivas independientemente del contenido real del habla [10].

I'm Just Me: A Mixed-Methods Analysis of Phonetic Variation in a Gender Diverse Corpus

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Linguistic variation is an important tool for identity construction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). However, linguistic variation is also conditioned by non-social factors, such as physiology or embodiment. In particular, so-called ‘gender’ differences in speech have often been attributed to physical differences between sexes, where differences may just as plausibly be attributed to socially learned patterns of identity expression that are malleable and subject to change through talker agency (Zimman, 2018). The current work explores the relationship between physical embodiment and self-expressive agency in speech by examining gender differences in F0, formant dispersion, and /s/ acoustics within a corpus of gender diverse talkers, focusing on non-binary individuals. The first analysis used Bayesian modelling to make group-level comparisons between cisgender women and men and non-binary individuals, both in terms of group means and group-internal between-talker variance. The analysis found only limited evidence for self-expressive agency. A second analysis used a qualitative approach to reassess the implicit assumption built into the first model that if non-binary individuals were capable of modifying the gender presentation of their voices, that they would do so in consistent ways. **A Reflexive Thematic Analysis** (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2019) was conducted exploring non-binary individuals’ relationship to gender presentation and the voice. Using participant interview responses, various themes were developed relating to why non-binary individuals either did or did not (wish to) modify their voices for the purpose of gender presentation. Two themes were developed: (1) **VOICE DISCOMFORT**, and (2) **NON-BINARY IDENTITY IS INDEPENDENT OF VOICE**. **VOICE DISCOMFORT** related to the primary motivation that non-binary individuals expressed for modifying or wanting to modify the gender presentation of their voices, namely a discomfort with **how their voices were perceived by others**. The theme **NON-BINARY IDENTITY IS INDEPENDENT OF VOICE** related to reasons why individuals did not modify the gendered presentation of their voices, which were divided into four sub-themes: (1) **LIMITED ABILITY**, (2) **I’M JUST ME**, (3) **DEFIANCE**, (4) **FREEDOM**. A final analysis applied a mixed-methods approach. Individual non-binary talkers were selected based on their self-described relationships toward gender presentation, the voice, and voice modification. These qualitative insights guided a quantitative analysis using the posteriors from the Bayesian models of the first analysis, and compared individual non-binary talkers’ posterior estimates to those of cisgender men and women in the corpus as prototypes of masculine and feminine speech. This analysis suggested that some non-binary individuals do modify their voices to align with their desired gender presentation, and that individuals’ voices could be better understood relative to their self-described relationship to gender presentation and attitudes toward voice modification. This work makes theoretical contributions to phonetic and sociolinguistic research. It provides evidence for talker agency in conditioning the patterning of gender differences in speech. It also applies novel ways of analyzing variation through the combined use of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method analyses. The application of qualitative approaches here allowed for quantitative models to be interpreted in a way that better reflected the social meaning that that variation had for the non-binary talkers in the study.

Speaker Normalization of Vowel Formant Tracks

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction

This paper will introduce a general method for taking any speaker formant normalization method defined for single point measurements of vowels, and adapting it for the normalization of vowel formant tracks.

There is an extensive literature on the topic of vowel point measurement normalization (Adank, Smits, and Hout 2004; Barreda 2021b; Stanley 2022, among many others), but with more tools making full formant tracks available (e.g. FastTrack and fasttrackpy (Barreda 2021a; Fruehwald and Barreda 2024), and increasing research interest in formant dynamics (Fox and Jacewicz 2009; Risdal and Kohn 2014; Tanner, Sonderegger, and Stuart-Smith 2022, among many others), speaker normalization of formant tracks deserves further attention.

The method proposed here involves smoothing formant tracks using the Discrete Cosine Transform (DCT) (Watson and Harrington 1999), then applying the normalization procedure directly to the DCT coefficients. The general method is illustrated in Figure 1.

1. Starting with formant tracks in Hz, any non-linear transformations of a normalization technique (log, Mel, Bark, etc) need to be applied.
2. Then the DCT can be applied to the formant tracks (discussed below).
3. The addition or subtraction of a constant value (l) in the normalization technique should be applied to the 0th DCT coefficient.
4. The multiplication or division of a constant value (s) should be applied to all DCT coefficients.

Furthermore, the l and s values can also be estimated directly from the 0th DCT coefficients for each speaker.

The Discrete Cosine Transform

The DCT is a method of signal compression, similar to the Fourier Transform, by which data is re-described in terms of weights on a bank of cosine functions. When just the first few DCT coefficients are taken and inverted, this has the effect of smoothing the data. Figure 2 shows how taking the first 5 DCT coefficients of an F1 formant track results in a smoothed formant track.

Normalizing DCT Coefficients

For a sample demonstration, we can implement Lobanov normalization (formant intrinsic centering on the mean, scaling by the standard deviation) directly on DCT coefficients. There are a few different definitions of “the” DCT, but one implemented in the `scipy` python library (Virtanen et al. 2020), and utilized by `fasttrackpy`, returns a zeroth DCT coefficient (y_0) equal to the overall mean of the formant track divided by $\sqrt{2}$. It can be demonstrated that in order to center all smoothed formant tracks on the speaker’s mean, we need to subtract the $\text{mean}(y_0)$ from all y_0 , and in order to scale all formant tracks according to the speaker’s standard deviation, we need to divide all coefficients y_k by $\sqrt{2} \text{sd}(y_0)$. Figure 3 illustrates the result of applying this normalization procedure to two speakers’ DCT coefficients, then applying the inverse DCT. In both panels, average smooths for the speakers’ long vowels are plotted.

Conclusion

This method of defining DCT-based normalization is not restricted to work only work for Lobanov normalization, and in the talk we will outline how it can be extended to any point-based normalization method.

Modelling the Voice Quality of Young Shanghai Wu Speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores the phonation characteristics of low-register vowels in young Urban Shanghai Wu (SW) Chinese speakers. It emphasizes the multidimensional nature of voice quality from the perspective of time-series change, which reflects demographic variation and language contact influences. Previous

research has examined the variability of voice quality metrics across languages (Keating et al., 2023), with harmonic and noise features demonstrating particular significance in SW. However, exploratory studies either do not encompass time-series information or only evaluate the relative salience across time portions (Gao & Hallé, 2017; Tian & Kuang, 2021). Time-series analysis can offer a more intricate understanding of phonation than static measures, revealing sociolinguistic variations in spectral timing features that characterize Wu-Chinese breathiness (Ge et al., 2023). SW, a tonal language, features breathier low tones (t3), but this breathiness is diminishing among young speakers due to increased contact with Mandarin and early bilingualism. This study integrates time-series dynamics into a multi-dimensional analysis and considers the impact of Mandarin tonal system, providing nuanced insights into SW sound change. The study extracts noise and harmonic features from vowels carrying t2 and t3 tones in recordings of SW native speakers born after 1985, constructing a series of two-dimensional (2D) function datasets. The relative amplitude difference between the first harmonic and the first formant (H1*-A1*) and cepstral peak prominence (CPP) datasets are analyzed using 2D Functional Principal Component Analysis (FPCA) in combination with linear regression models (Gubian et al., 2015). FPCA visualizes the simultaneous harmonic and noise dynamics, showing how functional principal component (PC) scores manipulate mean curves of time-series change. Lower PC1 results in higher H1*-A1*, and lower PC2 results in lower CPP: less constricted glottis and more noise (Figure 1). PC3 affects both but explains less variance (10%) compared to PC1 (46%) and PC2 (27%). Harmonic and noise features are generally controlled by separate PCs, with PC scores predicted by both demographic and linguistic factors. For PC2, unlike those born before 2000, speakers born after 2000 are less differentiated by SW tone type than by the corresponding Mandarin tone type. Qualitative evidence indicates both groups may produce t3 syllables of Mandarin 214 with higher PC1 (Figure 2), and with lower mean f0 than other t3 types (Figure 3). Regression-model predicted H1*-A1* and CPP mean curves suggest that youngest speakers have a more constricted glottis and more noise when producing such t3, resembling phonatory strategies of Standard Mandarin (Figure 4). While previous studies highlight the levelling of breathiness, this study reports both conservative and innovative implementations of spectral and noise cues in tonal distinction among young SW speakers. It emphasizes the greater reliance on Mandarin phonatory and tonal system by the youngest generation. Multidimensional time-series analysis depicts the independence of harmonic and noise metrics and incorporates curve dynamics into regression modelling, which mean analysis may overlook. It provides evidence from the evolution of SW voice quality to show how phonetic features transferred through bilingualism may direct sound change (Yao & Chang, 2016).

Spanish-Origin Adverbial Calques in Miami English: Testing Production and Perception

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The principal English variety in Miami (Miami English, ME) is characterized by the systematic use of Spanish-origin calques by speakers of various national origin backgrounds and all degrees of Spanish proficiency. This study seeks to build upon the groundwork of ME calque literature—which has until this point focused mostly on lexico-semantic items—by focusing specifically on adverbial calques. While adverbs can function on a mostly-lexico-semantic level, such as the well-attested adverbial use of *super*, many adverbs also function on a syntactic and/or grammatical level, which has not yet been explored in the variationist literature. To assess these calques, two separate tasks—perception and production—were conducted using Qualtrics and disseminated via Mechanical Turk to two groups of participants: 200 non-Miamians (G1) and 200 Miamians (G2) [total N=400]. The Miami group was split into 100 adult immigrants (G2a) and 100 participants who were either born in Miami or arrived earlier than the age of 10 years old (G2b). For the perception task, participants in both groups (G1 and G2) were asked to rate 24 test sentences written in English containing 12 adverbial expressions ordered in initial, mid, and final positions relative to the main clause for two perceptual dimensions: (1) use and familiarity and (2)

grammaticality, both using 5-point Likert scales. Test sentences, which were interspersed with filler statements, were randomized in Qualtrics to mitigate the effects of experimental ordering on perception. Test expressions include the variables *ya/already*; *ahorita/right now*; *últimamente/recently*; *igual/equally*; *nunca/never*; *jamás/never (ever)*; *actualmente/currently*; *de verdad/actually*, etc., which were selected because of the well documented semantic-syntactic incongruence in Spanish and English. For the production task, all 200 participants from both subgroups of G2 (Miamians) were asked to translate Spanish sentences containing the same test stimuli into English. Translations from English to Spanish were used as fillers and did not contain test stimuli. Stimuli were culled from geotagged tweets and revised as necessary for alignment in the test sentences. For the perception task, linear mixed model regression analysis using R shows that G1 was significantly more likely to judge Spanish origin adverbials calqued in English disfavorably, followed by G2b and G2a. Grammatical position seems to play a mediating role in perception, constrained by the conditions of manner, time, and degree. In terms of perceptions of familiarity, both Miami subgroups differed significantly from G1 across the board, though G2a and G2b did not differ significantly from each other. For the production task, G2a produced significantly more adverbial calques in English than G2b, though at least some participants in G2b produced calque forms for each of the expressions studied. This result sheds light on the transmission phase in change induced by language contact in which a source-language form becomes embedded in a new language. Taken together, the perception and production tasks offer new perspective on the development of grammatical aspects of ME, which is as yet unstudied, and provide linguists with further insights on the role of calques in grammatical change.

Cuban and Puerto Rican Varieties in Miami-Dade County and New York City: Perceptions and Identity in the Spanish-Language Theater Industry

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Caribbean Spanish varieties have been extensively documented in the United States, particularly within the two major communities of Miami-Dade County and New York City (e.g. Alvord & Rogers, 2014; Lynch, 1999, 2000, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Toribio, 2003; Zentella, 1990). This previous research prompts questions about how Caribbean speakers perceive and construct their linguistic identity in public spaces in front of other Hispanic speakers. This study examines the identities and perceptions evoked by Caribbean Spanish features among Cuban and Puerto Rican actors, directors, and audiences within the Spanish-language theater industry in Miami-Dade County and New York City. To address this question, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with actors and directors. These participants answered questions regarding their perceptions of Caribbean Spanish features in performances. A sample audience completed a survey after observing recordings of two performances in Miami-Dade County and two in New York City, featuring the interviewed actors. They responded to open-ended questions and rated the performances on a 5-point Likert scale for linguistic comprehensibility, naturalness, and neutrality. The actors and directors were Cuban and Puerto Rican. The audiences consisted of ten first-generation Cubans in each city (n=20) who had no prior familiarity with any of the performers. The findings suggest that actors and directors perceive Caribbean Spanish dialect features negatively in non-Caribbean performances (e.g., Shakespeare's Hamlet). They recognized the elision of /s/ as a trait of these dialects and as a reflection of Caribbeaness. However, there are slight differences in the perceptions of Cuban and Puerto Rican actors and directors in the two cities. In Miami, Caribbean actors and directors explicitly stated that Caribbean dialectal features are not suitable for non-Caribbean performances. On the other hand, in New York, Cuban and Puerto Rican actors and directors stated that performers should employ their "original" accents in non-Caribbean performances. However, Cuban actors in New York worked to avoid Caribbean dialectal features in performances, suggesting that these might diminish the quality of the play. Regarding the audiences, the quantitative and qualitative data reveal a discrepancy between what the audience perceives the actors are doing on stage and what the performers believe they

are achieving. The quantitative data indicates that audiences in both cities recognize the features of Caribbean varieties in performers from Miami and New York. They associate these features with a Cuban identity rather than a Puerto Rican one. In addition, they do not consider that the Cuban dialect affects comprehensibility. However, the qualitative data reveals a difference in perception between the two audiences regarding the actors in New York. In Miami, the audience perceives naturalness in the speech of the New York actors. In contrast, the audience in New York describes the actors' speech as forced, attributing the Cuban accent to a lack of proper theatrical diction. These findings illustrate how the indexicality of Caribbean Spanish varieties simultaneously constructs and contests ethnolinguistic identity across multilingual contexts in the United States.

Author Translation

Las variedades del español caribeño han sido ampliamente documentadas en los Estados Unidos, particularmente en Miami y Nueva York (e.g. Alvord & Rogers, 2014; Lynch, 1999, 2000, 2009; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Toribio, 2003; Zentella, 1990). Sus hallazgos motivan a cuestionar el cómo los caribeños perciben y construyen sus identidades lingüísticas en espacios públicos frente a otros hispanos. El presente estudio examina las identidades y percepciones evocadas por las características del español caribeño entre actores, audiencias y directores cubanos y puertorriqueños dentro de la industria del teatro en español en Miami y NY. Para abordar esta cuestión, se realizaron entrevistas sociolingüísticas con actores y directores. Estos participantes respondieron preguntas sobre sus percepciones de las características del español caribeño en las representaciones teatrales. Una muestra de la audiencia completó una encuesta después de observar grabaciones de dos producciones en Miami y dos en NY, donde aparecen algunos de los actores entrevistados. Respondieron a preguntas abiertas y calificaron las actuaciones en una escala Likert de 5 puntos, en términos de comprensibilidad, naturalidad y neutralidad lingüísticas. Los teatristas eran cubanos y puertorriqueños. Las audiencias consistieron en diez cubanos de primera generación en cada ciudad (n=20) que no tenían familiaridad previa con ninguno de los actores. Los hallazgos sugieren que los actores y directores perciben negativamente las características dialectales del español caribeño en actuaciones no caribeñas (e.g., Hamlet de Shakespeare). Reconocieron la elisión de /s/ como una característica de estos dialectos y como una reflexión de la caribeñidad. Sin embargo, hay ligeras diferencias en las percepciones de los teatristas cubanos y puertorriqueños en las dos ciudades. En Miami, los actores y directores caribeños declararon explícitamente que las características dialectales caribeñas no son adecuadas para actuaciones no caribeñas. Por otro lado, en NY, los actores y directores cubanos y puertorriqueños afirmaron que los intérpretes deberían emplear sus acentos "originales" en actuaciones no caribeñas. No obstante, los actores cubanos en NY trabajaron para evitar características dialectales caribeñas en las actuaciones, sugiriendo que estas podrían disminuir la calidad de la obra. Con respecto a las audiencias, los datos cuantitativos y cualitativos revelan una discrepancia entre lo que la audiencia percibe que los actores están haciendo en el escenario y lo que los artistas creen que están logrando. Los datos cuantitativos indican que las audiencias en ambas ciudades reconocen las características de las variedades caribeñas en los actores de Miami y NY. Asocian estas características con una identidad cubana en lugar de puertorriqueña. Además, no consideran que el dialecto cubano afecte la comprensibilidad. Sin embargo, los datos cualitativos revelan una diferencia en la percepción entre las dos audiencias con respecto a los actores en NY. En Miami, la audiencia percibe naturalidad en el habla de los actores de Nueva York. En contraste, la audiencia en NY la describe como forzada, atribuyendo el acento cubano a una falta de dicción teatral adecuada. Estos hallazgos ilustran cómo la indexicalidad de las variedades del español caribeño simultáneamente construye y cuestiona la identidad etnolingüística en contextos multilingües en los Estados Unidos.

Shmooze and Chutzpah: A Comparative Analysis of Lexical Variation Across Ethnoreligious Identities

Emma Breslow

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores how Jewish diasporic communities in Australia and the United States maintain distinctive uses of lexical items even as those items are borrowed into English. Through an online survey of self-reported familiarity with ‘Jewish English’ lexical items—terms that entered English from languages like Yiddish and Hebrew—this study examines variation in Jewish, non-Jewish, Australian, and American awareness and usage of the terms ‘shmooze’ and ‘chutzpah.’ Both are widely used in English, but have different possible meanings which retain or diverge from the original Yiddish senses. In analyzing how ethnoreligious identity correlates with these different senses, this study also presents a case for the efficacy of variationist sociolinguistic study of lexical items and meaning. This study is part of a larger project which adapts and expands on Benor and Cohen’s survey of Jewish American English (Benor 2011; Benor & Cohen 2009) by comparing lexical variation in populations across Australia and the US. Lexical variation by social factors is a less common focus of variationist sociolinguistics, as noted by Childs & Mallinson (2006) and Sandow (2020). The present study expands on these by focusing on variation within word meaning in a diaspora context. The survey was conducted via Qualtrics and circulated using snowball-style recruitment. A total of 611 respondents (88 Jewish Australians, 162 non-Jewish Australians, 253 Jewish Americans, and 108 non-Jewish Americans) reported their familiarity with and use of the various meanings of ‘shmooze’ and ‘chutzpah.’ Results were analyzed using generalized linear mixed effects models from the *glmer* package in R, and variation in responses by demographic features were further analyzed using the *glm* package. The results of Figure 1 attached suggest Jewish and non-Jewish participants in both countries have significantly different understandings of ‘shmooze’ ($p < 0.001$). Whereas Jewish respondents select the original Yiddish meaning, “chat,” and “network” more than other meanings, non-Jewish respondents select “network” and “kiss up to” the most. Figure 2 shows a similar pattern, where Jewish identity is again significant ($p < 0.001$). Jewish respondents select the original Yiddish negative nominal form of ‘chutzpah’ and the positive form about equally, with somewhat fewer selecting the Yiddish negative adjectival form as well. Non-Jewish respondents, however, select the positive form more than the negative, and have hardly heard and never used the adjectival form. Factors like Yiddish ability and involvement in or exposure to the Jewish community appear to influence which meanings of both terms an individual selected in the survey. Overall, this study offers an example of using survey data to conduct quantitative analysis of sociolinguistic lexical variables with multiple possible senses. Results support the idea that ethnoreligious identity plays a role in Jewish English word usage. Since many participants live in diasporic situations where they often interact with people who do not share that identity, Jewish speakers may selectively draw from Jewish English terms to index their ethnic identities. Lexical sociolinguistic studies can therefore provide valuable insight into how community members maintain their distinctive identities while living amongst many people not in that community.

Different ways to intensify: (Extreme degree) adjectives of taste in Mexican Spanish

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In the adjectival domain, intensity can be expressed through the use of degree modifiers (Bolinger, 1972; Kennedy & McNally, 2005) or extreme degree adjectives (Morzycki, 2012). While the sociolinguistic study of intensification has primarily focused on the former (e.g., Tagliamonte, 2008; Beltrama, 2015), less is known about the sociolinguistic nature of adjectival sources of intensification. A variationist analysis of intense adjectival expressions of taste in Mexican cooking shows demonstrates that extreme degree adjectives (e.g., *delicioso* ‘delicious’ and *exquisito* ‘exquisite’) and their modified non-extreme counterparts (e.g., *buenísimo* ‘good-INTS, muy rico ‘very tasty’, *bien sabroso* ‘well flavorful’) display contrasting social patternings. I argue that different semantic sources of intensity can index different and sometimes contrasting social meanings. The data for the analysis comes from A COMER, a new corpus consisting of 14,312 YouTube transcripts from cooking shows based in Mexico. A total of 54,585

adjectival expressions were retrieved from the speech of 47 speakers representing six personae, interactionally emergent social constructs associated with specific linguistic repertoires (D'onofrio, 2020). These emerging types are positioned on a, sometimes aged and gendered, upper-class to working-class continuum: Chefs (n=7), Entrepreneurs (n=8), Hobbyists (n=10), Suburban Cooks (n=9), Grillers (n=5), and Traditional Cooks (n=8). Tokens were coded for linguistic (syntactic function, modification), pragmatic (context of use), and social (persona, age, gender) factors. A mixed effects logistic regression model was run to assess how these factors influence the occasion of extreme degree adjectives with the speaker as a random effect. The model shows significant effects of modification and persona: extreme degree adjectives are less likely to be modified than their non-extreme counterparts (Figure 1) and their proportion increases in personae with upper-class associations (Figure 2). When only intense expressions are considered (extreme degree adjectives and modified non-extreme degree adjectives), we observe that personae with upper class associations are significantly more likely to use extreme degree adjectives while personae with working-class associations are more likely to use modified non-extreme degree adjectives (Figure 3). Even though different semantic sources of intensification are not exclusive to specific personae, their increased use among certain types suggests that they could be available as a resource for indexing a variety of social meanings. Much like specialized terms in wine-tasting notes (Silverstein, 2006), extreme degree adjectives may convey not only sensory experiences but also prestige and refined tastes, which chefs enjoy, and entrepreneurs aspire to. Degree modifiers, which highlight age and gender differences (Tagliamonte, 2008) as well informality (Beltrama, 2015), may convey the clearly gendered nature of suburban and traditional cooking and informality of grilling. The fact that hobbyists show no significant preference for either strategy might suggest that they are drawing on both strategies to construct a younger upper-class identity. The observed contrasting patterns of usage between extreme degree adjectives and their modified non-extreme counterparts underscore the multifaceted and cross-categorical sociolinguistic nature of semantic intensification and highlights that linguistic variation can be an active means of constructing and negotiating social identities in interaction.

Coronal stop deletion in Megan Thee Stallion's rap and casual speech

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Speakers use sociolinguistic variables to convey characteristics that relate to distinct social categories and styles [1]. One style where this process occurs is hip-hop language (HHL), used in rap music and/or by those who participate in hip-hop culture [2]. HHL was largely studied in the 2000s, with primary focus on the style's syntax, vocabulary, and use by White men [2]. Today, HHL's phonetics remain unclear, along with its use by non-men, people of color, and other marginalized groups. Thus, by examining rappers from marginalized communities, we can elaborate on the features of HHL and determine whether HHL varies according to race, gender, and other characteristics. To expand our understanding of HHL, I focus on the phonetics of Megan Thee Stallion, a contemporary Black woman rapper. Here, I report rates of coronal stop deletion (CSD), where word-final /t,d/ in consonant clusters is variably produced, as CSD correlates widely to differences across styles and dialects [3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]. Across HHL and casual speech, White rappers (n=2) delete at a rate of 49% to 68%, while Black rappers (n=3) delete more, between 70% and 89% [9]. In my study, independent variables were: 1) style, HHL or casual speech, 2) phonological environment, the segment following the deletion target (**Fig. 1**) [3], and 3) morphological category of the word containing the deletion target (**Fig. 2**) [7]. Traditionally, deletion decreases as sonority of the following segment increases [3]; deletion is also highest in monomorphemes, then semiweak verbs, then regular verbs [7]. However, these phonological and morphological patterns often don't hold for non-mainstream dialects [5, 6]. I coded CSD in Megan's music and interviews, resulting in 219 rap tokens and 100 speech tokens. I coded /t,d/ impressionistically, excluding repetition in songs (e.g., choruses) and the word *and* in songs and speech [3]. Unreleased /t,d/ and glottalization were coded as deletion, as they

obscure underlyingly released /t,d/. My dependent variable was CSD rate. Fig. 3 shows that Megan deletes significantly more in HHL than in casual speech ($p=0.002$). Her HHL deletion rate, 83%, is similar to other Black rappers'. Fig. 4 shows that Megan's HHL and casual speech differ, with HHL following the expected pattern and casual speech differing from it. Further, logistic mixed effects models show that vowels and approximants drive deletion in HHL, but that deletion occurs at similar rates across categories in speech (all p 's > 0.1). Fig. 5 shows different morphological patterns between Megan's HHL and casual speech, and that both styles differ from the expected pattern. Additionally, regular verbs drive deletion in rap ($p=0.05$), whereas deletion occurs at similar rates across morphological categories in casual speech (all p 's > 0.3). Altogether, results suggest Megan Thee Stallion employs a higher rate of CSD in rap than in casual speech in order to differentiate the two styles. Further, the data provides clear phonological and morphological constraints that may characterize CSD's function in HHL. Additional analysis (e.g., of articulation rate) and implications for HHL will be discussed.

A *very* subjective but *really* interesting phenomenon: Intensifier Variation and Change in Salinas, California.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociolinguistic studies of intensification have found that *really* is replacing *very* as the most frequent adjective intensifier in North American varieties of English (e.g., Toronto, Tagliamonte, 2008; New Hampshire, Brown, 2014; New Mexico, Jones, 2017; Sacramento, Esposito, 2023). A variationist analysis of adjective intensifiers in Salinas, California shows similar trends and points to a pragmatic motivation for this longitudinal change. Asymmetries in the types of adjectives modified by intensifiers over apparent time reveal that lexically subjective adjectives (e.g., *good*, *cool*) serve as the bridging context for the emergence of the intensification function of *really* from its original use to emphasize the truth of a proposition. A total of 1,301 intensified adjectival head tokens were extracted from 46 sociolinguistic interviews (M=22, F=24) collected in Salinas, California in 2016. The variable context is circumscribed on the basis of a shared semantic function (Brown & Cortes-Torres, 2013) to account for the semantic differences associated with specific intensifiers (Beltrama, 2015). As such, the focus is on meaning boosters (e.g., *very*, *really*, *so*), intensifiers whose semantic contribution is to raise the standard of comparison associated with the modified adjectives (Kennedy & McNally, 2005). Tokens are coded for linguistic (adjective syntactic function, subjectivity type) and social factors (age, gender). Special attention is drawn to adjective subjectivity because the semantic differences at this level of adjective meaning may play an important role in making certain types of intensifiers more suitable than others. We distinguish between contextually subjective adjectives (**CSAs**) (e.g., *tall*, *expensive*) and lexically subjective adjectives (**LSAs**) (e.g., *good*, *cool*, *fun*). All mixed-effects logistic regression models (*very* vs *really*, *very* vs other variants, *really* vs other variants) that were run to identify the linguistic and social factors that influence the occurrence of *really* and *very* showed significant effects of subjectivity type and age. Particularly, *really* is more likely to be used with LSAs than CSAs and younger speakers are more likely to use *really* than older speakers. We find the opposite effects for *very*. Importantly, the effect of age is stronger for LSAs than CSAs (Figure 1). Since disagreements about the veridicality of LSAs arise from differences in opinions and tastes (Lasersohn, 2005) rather than vagueness (Kennedy, 2012), they cannot truly be settled. Empathic *really*, which simply reinforces the veridicality of a proposition, can help to mitigate the disagreements associated with these otherwise generally questionable claims. Listeners can reinterpret this emphasis in veridicality as a pure emphasis in adjective meaning. If this reinterpretation is frequent enough, *really* will develop a general meaning-boosting function. The distribution of *really* with CSAs, particularly among younger speakers, provides evidence to that effect. This study presents quantitative evidence that supports a pragmatic explanation for an instantiation of a broader phenomenon in English referred to as the modal-to-intensifier shift (Partington, 1993; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003). We underscore the importance of attending to the diachronic semantic differences of

seemingly equivalent functional variants as remnant uses can be crucial for understanding the grammaticalization pathways of upcoming forms.

What is Dad's job in language change?

Alexandra D'Arcy

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since Labov (2001) and Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2009), variationist attention to early incrementation and caregiver performance has intensified (e.g., Bermúdez-Otero 2020; Holmes-Elliott 2021; Smith & Holmes-Elliott 2022). A fundamental challenge this works seeks to address concerns the mechanisms and conditions that account for the unbroken transmission of the structural detail of adult language on the one hand (e.g., Ringe et al. 2002; Labov 2007) and the observed mismatch between community norms and caretaker norms on the other (e.g., Foulkes et al. 2005; Smith et al. 2013). This focus has necessitated close analysis of caretaker speech, where the object of attention has generally been the mother. Indeed, Labov (2001:415) has summarized the general condition for language change to be that “children must learn to talk differently from their mothers.” But what is the role of fathers in language change? Do they have a job, which we may infer through patterns of variation in language that diverge from community norms, or are they inert actors in the ambient linguistic context of the home? To answer these questions, this exploratory poster draws on a combination of apparent time adult data (speaker N=162) and a longitudinal child and caretaker corpus (family N=16) to compare the community baseline to what happens in the home. The specific focus is data from men with the aim of gaining insight to the linguistic dynamics that operate on the ground. In other words, I abstract away from the children to focus on fathers and how their language varies across talk within familial versus community settings. (The data are from white speakers of English in an urban, North American setting; to maintain review anonymity I provide no further details here.) I focus here on two ongoing changes, one lexical, one morphosyntactic, and both from below: adjectives of positivity (*cool*, *great*; N = 6317) and deontic modality (*have to*, *need to*; N = 2255). The results reveal that fathers are not passive participants in modelling language change within the home. Like mothers (reference withheld), fathers markedly shift the frequency of forms in child-directed speech, decreasing outgoing forms and promoting incoming ones. And as with mothers, patterns of variation in the home reflect the broader community social norms. I suggest on the basis of these findings that the home sociolinguistic ecosystem is foundational for establishing the socio-symbolic representations that are enacted in vernacular practice in the broader community, priming children for their assumed roles as they acculturated into them. Together, by providing not only gendered performances but also advanced models of community-level change, caretaker speech—understood broadly as that of the adults in the home and not simply mothers—initiates incrementation not by providing the adult community vectors but by providing advanced vectors for children to then act upon through vernacular reorganization. Such results provide potential insight into how children are able to continue diachronic trends in real time.

Gendering English Loanwords in Italian: A Contemporary Analysis

Matthew Guyton-Docherty

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since at least the mid-20th century, English has been the primary donor of loanwords in Italian, largely in the specialized lexical domains of technology, politics, finance, and entertainment. Recently, however, socio-cultural change has driven an unprecedented influx of non-specialized borrowings in modern Italian

discourse, such as *call* and *break*, which are seeing increasing usage especially in the world of work. Based on what criteria, though, do Italian professionals acquire *delle skill* to improve *la performance* (in the feminine) by completing *un workshop* in *un open space* (in the masculine)? As Corbett (1991: 71) noted, ‘borrowings of nouns into languages with gender systems [...] are like a continuously running experiment, which allows us to verify the assignment system in the languages in question’. This study responds to previous debates on grammatical gender assignment (GA) of loanwords in which researchers sought to establish hierarchical relationships between semantic and formal rules and constraints (Neset, 2006; Rice, 2006; among others), reaching little consensus. We posit, rather, that the dominance of one criterion over another depends greatly on the contact setting that gave rise to the borrowing itself. Past research has shown how phonological criteria—determined by the sound shape of the English borrowing—predominate in earlier contact situations of Italian spoken in North America (Correa-Zoli, 1973; Rabeno & Repetti, 1997) where loans were adopted out of ‘necessity’. In contrast, newer English borrowings in contemporary Italian society, encountered primarily in academic or professional settings, appear motivated more by ‘prestige’ or a desire to convey a sense of innovation or professionalism, often in alternance with a native Italian synonym. We assume, therefore, that the semantic criterion, or ‘analogical gender’ (Poplack et al. 1982)—where loanwords are assigned gender on the basis of semantic translational equivalents—may be a strong predictor of GA in contemporary borrowed nouns. This hypothesis is tested using empirical evidence obtained from KIParla, a new corpus of contemporary spoken Italian recorded across various contexts and socio-demographic variables. A total of 640 tokens of English borrowed nouns were extracted from the corpus, coded according to their assigned grammatical gender, and categorized based on semantic and phonological cues, drawing inspiration from Poplack’s (1982) multivariate analysis of gender assignment criteria. Findings indicate that semantically-motivated GA is prominent in contemporary borrowed nouns, with feminine-assigned loanwords showing the greatest degree of correspondence with the gender of their translational equivalents in the host language, reflecting similar findings for English>Spanish loanwords (Morin, 2006). This research highlights the complexity of GA in genderless lexical borrowings, with multiple factors of variation at play even within the same language. It contributes to our understanding of loanword integration and the impact of ongoing socio-cultural change on language use.

Author Translation

El inglés ha sido la principal fuente de préstamos léxicos en el italiano desde al menos mediados del siglo XX, especialmente en áreas como la tecnología, la política, las finanzas y el entretenimiento. Sin embargo, en la actualidad, el cambio sociocultural ha impulsado una afluencia sin precedentes de préstamos no especializados en el discurso italiano moderno, como *call* y *break*, que están viendo un uso creciente especialmente en el mundo laboral. ¿Pero en base a qué criterios adquieren los profesionales italianos *delle skill* para mejorar *la performance* (en femenino) completando *un workshop* en *un open space* (en masculino)? Como señaló Corbett (1991: 71), ‘los préstamos de sustantivos en lenguas con sistemas de género [...] son como un experimento continuo, que nos permite verificar el sistema de asignación en las lenguas en cuestión’. Este estudio responde a debates previos sobre la asignación de género gramatical (GA) de préstamos léxicos en los que los investigadores buscaron establecer relaciones jerárquicas entre reglas y restricciones semánticas y formales (Neset, 2006; Rice, 2006; entre otros), sin lograr un consenso claro. Nosotros postulamos, más bien, que el predominio de un criterio sobre otro depende en gran medida de la situación del contacto que dio lugar al préstamo en sí. Investigaciones anteriores han mostrado cómo los criterios fonológicos, determinados por la forma sonora del préstamo inglés, predominan en italiano norteamericano (Correa-Zoli, 1973; Rabeno & Repetti, 1997) donde los préstamos se adoptaron por ‘necesidad’. En contraste, los préstamos recientes del inglés en la sociedad italiana contemporánea, encontrados principalmente en entornos académicos o profesionales, parecen motivados más por ‘prestigio’ o por un deseo de transmitir un sentido de innovación o profesionalismo, en muchos casos en alternancia con un sinónimo propio al italiano nativo. Asumimos, por lo tanto, que el criterio semántico, o ‘género analógico’ (Poplack et al. 1982) – donde los préstamos obtienen un género en base a equivalentes semánticos de traducción – puede ser un fuerte pronosticador de GA en sustantivos prestados recientes. Esta hipótesis es probada utilizando evidencia empírica obtenida de KIParla, un nuevo corpus de italiano hablado contemporáneo grabado en diversos contextos y variables sociodemográficas. Se extrajeron un total de 640 tokens de sustantivos prestados del corpus, codificados

según el género gramatical asignado y categorizados en base a los criterios semánticos y fonológicos, inspirándose en el análisis multivariado de criterios de asignación de género de Poplack (1982). Los resultados indican que la GA determinada de forma semántica es prominente en los sustantivos prestados contemporáneos, y que los préstamos con género femenino muestran un mayor grado de correspondencia con el género de sus equivalentes sinonímicos en la lengua anfitriona, reflejando hallazgos similares en los préstamos del inglés al español (Morin, 2006). Esta investigación destaca la complejidad de la asignación de género, con múltiples factores de variación en juego incluso dentro de la misma lengua; y contribuye a nuestra comprensión de la integración de préstamos léxicos y el impacto del cambio sociocultural continuo en el uso del lenguaje.

/ay/ glide weakening in North Carolina and the origins of the Southern Vowel Shift

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

As arguably the most salient regional speech feature in the American South, /ay/ glide weakening is already well-documented there a century ago (Johnson, 1928). Phonologically, this phenomenon is disfavored before voiceless consonants (PRICE) and favored elsewhere (PRIZE). /ay/ glide weakening is thought to be the trigger for the Southern Vowel Shift (SVS) (Labov et al., 2006), but the historical origins and development of the SVS are still not fully understood, and several competing theories exist on where this shift originated. This study presents evidence from Charlotte, North Carolina that aligns with Dinkin and Dodsworth's (2017) findings in Raleigh, further supporting Labov et al.'s (2006) proposal that the SVS originated in the Inland South. Adopting a modular feedforward architecture for phonological structure, Dinkin and Dodsworth (2017) contend that if /ay/ glide reduction is the trigger for the Southern Shift, then a system in which the /ay/ variants are realized along a gradient phonetic continuum is necessary for the internal development of the Southern Shift as a chain shift. In contrast, a system in which the /ay/ variants are realized as discrete allophones will not trigger the shift. The presence of distinct /ay/ allophones among elderly participants in Raleigh supports the hypothesis that /ay/ glide reduction there is the result of geographic diffusion rather than internal linguistic change. The current study reveals similar patterns in Charlotte, providing additional evidence for this hypothesis. The possibility that there might be an alternative sociohistorical explanation for this geographical contrast is also explored, however. The Piedmont and mountain regions of North Carolina had different historical language inputs and legacies, resulting in different patterns of /ay/ production (Thomas, 2001). Charlotte's recent and rapid growth make it an ideal location for examining language change. As the largest city in the southeastern United States and the fifth fastest-growing American metro area, Charlotte's population has more than quadrupled from 538,000 in 1993 to 2.3 million in 2023. Study findings, based on acoustic and quantitative analysis of normalized apparent time wordlist data (2412 /ay/ tokens) from 98 Charlotte natives, reflect the mix of competing influences on Charlotte speech. MANOVA results on F1/F2 of /ay/ in all three environments at 20% (vowel onset) and 80% of duration (offglide) find no statistically significant correlations with age, gender, education level, or housing cost. Further investigation explains these results by revealing widespread in-group variation. Pillai score comparisons of each pair of allophones at onset and offglide indicate the strongest contrasts at glide offset. Subsequent qualitative comparison of vowel charts at 80% of duration show three distinct patterns of distribution. For Pattern 1 speakers, pre-voiceless offglide tokens are clustered as distinctly separate in the vowel space (n = 25). Pattern 2 speakers demonstrate a gradient phonetic continuum (n = 26); finally, for pattern 3 speakers, the variant offglides mix and overlap with no clear continuum in phonetic space (n = 47). These findings thus display both systems discussed by Dinkin and Dodsworth (2017), suggesting multiple phonologies in the speech of Charlotteans.

Phonetics of Liquid Neutralization in Isla Margarita, Venezuela

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Liquid neutralization has been studied extensively in Caribbean Spanish dialectology, attested in the Dominican Republic (Díaz-Campos & Willis, 2021), Puerto Rico (Matluck 1961), and Cuba (Alfaraz, 2007). In Spanish, this is the process of /r/ and /l/ losing contrast in coda position resulting in substantial variation in the acoustic outputs for these two phonemes. Most work on this phenomenon has reported two main realizations for each of these phonemes: [r] and [l]. However, previous work has also highlighted a vocalized variant in the Dominican Republic (i.e. [i]) (Díaz-Campos & Willis, 2021), and suggested potential acoustic differences between lateralized /r/ and canonical /l/ (Simonet et al. 2008). To more thoroughly investigate the variation in the phonetic realization of liquid neutralization in Spanish, the present study explores this phenomenon in Isla Margarita (Venezuelan) Spanish, a variety of Spanish heretofore only characterized impressionistically as featuring liquid neutralization (Obediente, 1998). 97 tokens of coda (i.e., neutralized) liquids were collected with an elicited production task of twelve open-ended interview questions (e.g. Tell me about your childhood, What did you like to as a kid?), recorded through WhatsApp in a quiet room. Data were analyzed in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2024) using formant, intensity, and bandwidth metrics. Results revealed a total of five unique allophones of /r/ and two unique allophones of /l/. The first variant of /r/, shown in Figure 1, is classified as a more canonical tap where there is a short occlusion with no burst. Another variant was the lateralized tap, shown in Figure 2, which shows a slight rise in F2 as well as no evidence of occlusion. Figure 3 shows an approximant tap, characterized by a slightly lower F2 and no evidence of occlusion. Figure 4 presents a tap with an epenthetic vowel. This is characterized by having a canonical tap, which is then followed by an epenthetic vowel whose formant structure is similar to that of the preceding vowel. Figure 5 shows the last observed variation of /r/: an elided tap. For /l/ the allophones that surfaced were canonical /l/, and rhotacized /r/, as shown by Figures 6 and 7 respectively. In contrast to previous generalized dialectological descriptions of liquid neutralization in Caribbean Spanish, the present findings showcase a much wider scope of liquid variation, attesting seven distinct allophones from Isla Margarita Spanish. The observed patterning of allophones, with five reflecting the production of /r/ and only two for /l/, mirrors that found in Cuban Spanish (Alfaraz, 2007) and may likewise be suggestive of greater social stratification and perceptual salience for /r/ production relative to /l/. Additionally, this work contributes to a wider discussion on the scope of variation for neutralized phonemes, and the importance of diversity in the languages researched in the linguistic literature. I conclude with a discussion of the different phonological environments that favor each variant, as well as an analysis of the phonetic correlates that best distinguish each variant.

Author Translation

La neutralización de líquidos ha sido ampliamente estudiada en el español caribeño, observada en República Dominicana (Díaz-Campos & Willis, 2021), Puerto Rico (Matluck 1961) y Cuba (Alfaraz, 2007). Éste es el proceso por el cual /r/ y /l/ pierden contraste en la posición coda, lo que resulta en una variación sustancial en las realizaciones acústicas de los dos fonemas. La mayoría de la investigación sobre este fenómeno ha evidenciado dos realizaciones principales, [r] y [l], para cada uno de estos fonemas. Sin embargo, estudios previos también han destacado una variante vocalizada en la República Dominicana (es decir, [i]) (Díaz-Campos & Willis, 2021), y han sugerido posibles diferencias acústicas entre la /r/ lateralizada y la /l/ canónica (Simonet et al. 2008). Para investigar más detalladamente la variación de la neutralización de líquidos en español, este estudio explora este fenómeno en el español de Isla Margarita (venezolano), una variedad de español en la que hasta ahora la neutralización de líquidos sólo se ha caracterizado de manera impresionista (Obediente, 1998). La muestra consiste en 97 instancias de líquidos en la coda con una tarea de producción provocada por una entrevista de doce preguntas abiertas, grabadas a través de WhatsApp en un lugar silencioso. Los datos se analizaron en Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2024) utilizando métricas de formante, intensidad y ancho de banda. Los resultados revelaron cinco alófonos de /r/ y dos alófonos de /l/. La primera variante de /r/, mostrada en la

Figura 1, se clasifica como un vibrante simple canónico donde hay una oclusión corta sin estallido. Próxima es la /r/ lateralizada, que se muestra en la Figura 2, que muestra un ligero aumento en F2 sin evidencia de oclusión. La Figura 3 muestra un vibrante simple aproximante, caracterizada por una F2 más baja y sin evidencia de oclusión. La Figura 4 presenta un vibrante simple con una vocal epentética. Éste se caracteriza por un vibrante simple, seguido por una vocal epentética. La Figura 5 muestra la última variación observada de /r/: la elisión. Para /l/ los alófonos que surgieron fueron canónicos [l] y róticos [r], como se muestra en las Figuras 6 y 7 respectivamente. En contraste con descripciones dialectológicas generalizadas previas de la neutralización de líquidos en el español caribeño, los presentes hallazgos muestran un alcance mucho más amplio de la variación de líquidas, atestiguando siete alófonos distintos del español de Isla Margarita. El patrón observado de alófonos, cinco de los cuales reflejan la producción de /r/ y solo dos para /l/, refleja el hallazgo paralelo en el español cubano (Alfaraz, 2007) y también puede sugerir una mayor estratificación social y prominencia perceptual de la producción de /r/ rcomparado con /l/. Además, este trabajo contribuye a una discusión más amplia sobre el alcance de la variación de los fonemas neutralizados y la importancia de la diversidad en las lenguas investigadas en la literatura lingüística. Concluyo con una discusión de los diferentes entornos fonológicos que favorecen cada variante, así como un análisis de los correlatos fonéticos que mejor distinguen cada variante.

Local exposure and global social effects on perceived linguistic geography: Mandarin accents in China

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Experimental sociolinguistics often assumes perceptual category labels of linguistic variation, but categories may change in social context. Previously focusing on the United States, perceptual dialectology research has found that people make fine-grained categories for talkers from regions close to them, but broad categories for those far away (Preston 1986; Clopper & Pisoni 2007). US Northerners reliably identify the US South as a broad perceptual category (Clopper & Pisoni 2004). However, the US South is also a robust *social* category (Montgomery 1993), reinforcing this broad categorization. This reinforcement can mask fine-grained representations that participants may have, but might not access in context. Thus, one cannot disambiguate, in the US, between the geographical proximity explanation for a broad label like “South,” and other factors that may reinforce this category’s activation in a participant’s mind. We predict that in a different social structure that does not reinforce one broad category, listeners may make fine-grained categories even for linguistic variation geographically far away from themselves. The present study uses perceptual dialectology methods to investigate category-making of linguistic variation in a non-US context: China, where fine-grained labels from remote regions may be available due to different linguistic and social landscapes (Szeto et al. 2018). Compared to the US, such fine-grained labels may be activated more easily in China due to unique ideological relationships between standard and nonstandard language (Zhao & Liu 2021), and an abundance of socially enregistered varieties (Gao & Forrest 2023; Wong 2023; Zhang 2008, 2017). Here, participants (n = 56) were presented with a blank map of China (i.e. Map Survey Instrument, Bucholtz et al. 2007; Figure 1) and instructed to draw regions where they think people spoke Mandarin differently, thus creating mental categories of Mandarin-accent variation. Using QGIS software analysis, aggregated heatmaps for two participant groups (Chinese Northerners and Southerners) show both groups creating fine-grained categories for all regions in China, whether local or remote (Figures 2, 3, 4). Northerners’ heatmap (Figure 2) shows fine-grained categories in both North and South China. In Southerners’ heatmaps, one specific category is highly defined in the South (Figure 3), but—importantly—does not preclude formation of other fine-grained categorical structures in both the North and South (Figure 4). In sum, our results show that Chinese Northerners and Southerners both make fine-grained categories for variation local and distal, standing in contrast to what the geographic proximity hypothesis alone predicts. We argue that other factors such as social enregisterment and the official status of a standard language can

also affect how labels become activated and accessible to people when eliciting categorical distinctions within linguistic variation. This study problematizes some of the assumptions within current perceptual dialectology literature and experimental sociolinguistic methods. The results suggest there is not a one-to-one mapping between having mental representations of linguistic variation and actually producing categories in tasks—categorizations are inevitably mediated by social and experimental context. These results also make predictions for what other categories of variation we might find in the US if the tasks and social prevalence of certain labels were different.

Place, Politics, and the Southern Vowel Shift

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A central focus of modern sociolinguistics is the relationship between language and identity. According to the principles of third-wave sociolinguistic research, language not only reflects the social categories to which a speaker belongs, but can be used as a way of positioning oneself in the social landscape (Eckert 2012). Speakers draw upon linguistic variables in their repertoire to align or disalign themselves with groups they perceive as using those features in order to communicate aspects of their identity, such as gender (Ochs 1992), ethnicity (Becker 2014), sexuality (Podesva 2007), and political affiliation (Hall-Lew, Coppock & Starr 2010). Recently, studies have further focused on the use of local dialect to express an identity which is tied to place, finding stronger local features among those with stronger ties to the local culture (Carmichael 2014; Reed 2016). The present study investigates phonetic variation in two Southern US counties with the goal of untangling how cultural and place-based identities can contribute to linguistic behavior. Clarke and Oconee are two northeastern Georgia counties that are adjacent to each other but have strongly different local cultures. Clarke County is a small urban area which houses the University of Georgia; its culture is heavily influenced by the university, as well as by a historically thriving bohemian arts scene; it is relatively ethnically and economically diverse; and its voters and public policies lean liberal. Oconee County is a historically rural area, increasingly developed in recent years but still distinctly exurban, with a population that is overwhelmingly White, middle-class, and conservative.

In this study, 21 residents of Clarke and 20 residents of Oconee, all lifetime residents of Georgia, participated in sociolinguistic interviews designed to focus on local culture and history. These interviews, totaling over 21 hours of audio, were manually transcribed and forced-aligned using DARLA, and all vowels over 0.05s were extracted for analysis. It was hypothesized that speakers from Oconee County would show more extensive use of Southern linguistic features, in line with previous findings that the Southern Vowel Shift is retreating in urban areas (Dodsworth & Kohn 2012; Renwick et al. 2023), and due to the fact that rurality and conservatism are often conflated with Southernness (Hayes 2013). Clarke residents, who might be expected to value these attributes less, and who are in more frequent contact with people from non-Southern backgrounds, were expected to make less use of Southern variables. Instead, results showed little to no difference between the two places (see Figures 1 and 2), despite the content of the interviews suggesting distinct cultural values in line with expectations. This suggests that a regional label like “Southern” can cover a variety of cultures. On the other hand, self-identified ratings on a political scale did predict the extent of features such as FACE lowering and PRIZE monophthongization (Figures 3 and 4), providing evidence that the speakers were still using language to communicate or reflect aspects of their cultural identity.

An overview on rhotics in Southern Brazil: border dialects (Panorama geral sobre os róticos na região Sul do Brasil: dialetos fronteiriços)

Dinah Callou, Caio Korol²

Abstract (Language of presentation)

Este trabalho tem um duplo objetivo: o primeiro, apresentar um panorama geral sobre os róticos e, o segundo, discutir a questão sobre do dialeto ‘fronterizo’, falado na fronteira entre Brasil e Uruguai. (Rona, 1959). Em latim, um R simples intervocálico contrasta com o R duplo e a diferença na articulação reside na duração (longa/breve) da consoante que é pronunciada como um segmento apical na história das línguas românicas. Hoje, a oposição reside não mais na quantidade, mas na qualidade: um segmento simples (um tepe) em oposição a um forte (vibrante ou fricativo), como em português, espanhol, catalão e, durante algum tempo, em francês (Martinet, 1969). A nova oposição qualitativa parece ter aberto caminho a múltiplas realizações. No português brasileiro, *R* ‘o fonema que tem a mais ampla de alveolar, uvular de variação, uma vez que o segmento vai de uma vibrante a uma fricativa, assim como de alveolar, uvular, velar, glotal até seu apagamento, em posição de coda silábica final. O processo de posteriorização parece representar uma tendência universal e foi registrada no espanhol de Porto Rico (Granda Gutiérrez (1966) e na Venezuela, Colômbia e Trinidad. Esta pesquisa tem por foco o apagamento do rótico nos dialetos fronteiriços do Chui e Santana do Livramento (Rio Grande do Sul/região Sul do Brasil), a partir de oito amostras de fala semi-espontânea do *corpus* do ALiB (Atlas linguístico do Brasil): entrevistas com falantes de menos de nove anos de escolaridade. Nossa perspectiva teórica é a da Teoria da mudança linguística (Weinreich et al., 1968), incorporando a visão sociolinguística (Labov, 1994) e dialetológica (Thun, 2005), fazendo uso do programa computacional GoldVarb X (Sankoff et al., 2005). Levando em conta o estudo de Korol and Serra (2023), com base em 1165 dados (847 verbos – *cantar* ‘to sing’ e 318 não-verbos – *cantor* ‘singer’), podemos chegar à conclusão de que os resultados nesses dois dialetos de fronteira são muito semelhantes aos da capital, Porto Alegre, situado a cerca de 520 km de distância e aos de todas as comunidades do Estado do Rio Grande do Sul e aos de outras cidades da região Sul (Figura 1). O processo de apagamento, em verbos, é quase categórico e, em não-verbos, corresponde a uma mudança ainda incipiente. Nos dois dialetos fronteiriços, o tepe alveolar e o retroflexo são as variantes mais frequentes, quando o segmento é realizado. Embora o bilinguismo se espalhe nas comunidades de fronteira, tem um significado social diverso entre uruguaios e brasileiros e o esperado é que a maioria dos uruguaios fale português e apenas uma minoria de brasileiros fale espanhol. O aumento do bilinguismo parece estar diretamente relacionado ao fenômeno de mobilidade para cima e urbanização de indivíduos de *status* social mais baixo.

When men speak like that, it’s a turn-off: Generation 1.5 Korean-Canadians’ Perceptions of Korean Dialects

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Existing work on Generation 1.5 Korean immigrants focuses on using the Korean language to construct identity (Kim and Duff 2012, Roh and Chang 2020). This research presupposes a homogenous Korean

language, when in reality, there are approximately six Korean dialects identified by province (Brown and Yeon 2015). These dialects are known as Pyongan, Hamgyong, central (Gyeonggi, Gangwon, Chungcheong), Jeolla, Gyeongsang, and Jeju (Brown and Yeon 2015). Ideologies in favour of linguistic standardization are maintained on the Korean peninsula and in heritage communities in North America (Silva 2011, Brown and Yeon 2015). This research investigates how language ideologies on dialect are created and maintained across migration, particularly with Generation 1.5 Korean immigrants whose childhoods are marked with high mobility. Six participants were interviewed for this study. Participants' demographic backgrounds are presented in Table (1). A sociolinguistic interview was first conducted; participants then drew dialect areas on a blank map of Korea, presented in Figure (1), with provincial boundaries marked to replicate Jeon and Cukor-Avila (2015)'s methodology. Five out of six participants identified Seoul and Gyeonggi, and four stated this was the area where Standard Korean is spoken, associating the standard with a geographic region (Jeon and Cukor-Avila 2015). Gyeongsang and Jeju were the next two salient dialect regions identified across all speakers. Two participants labelled Gyeongsang varieties with major city names (Busan and Daegu) instead of provincial names, mirroring the reassociation of dialect to city rather than province (Jeon and Cukor-Avila (2015). The accuracy of provincial labels varied by participants. While participants recognize the role of regional dialects, they did not have strong associations with its geospatial location. However, participants had stronger intuitions about what dialects sounded like and stereotypes about its speakers. Seoul/Gyeonggi was rated as the most pleasant variety by all participants. Chungcheong was the most negatively perceived, with participants describing the speech as "slow", "indirect", and "sarcastic." Contrary to Jeon (2013), participants showed distinct geographic and perceptual separation between Gyeonggi speech and Chungcheong speech. Lastly, speakers did not feature the Gyeongsang "inferiority complex" where speakers of Gyeongsang dialect rated their own dialect negatively (Kang and Kim 2015). Two female participants identified as bidialectal between Gyeongsang and Gyeonggi varieties and noted that while Gyeongsang dialect could sound "rough", female speakers sounded cute. One participant stated male speakers "[were] an immediate turn-off" due to negative stereotypes. Gender was only associated with Gyeongsang, similar to Kang and Kim (2015). Speakers cited media and parents' speech as the primary sources of dialect exposure. Participants who attended high school in Korea reported that they learned about regional dialects in class but drew primarily upon their experiences with friends and family in their descriptions. Heritage speakers' social networks influence their perceptions of language (Valdez 2023), where speakers with high mobility do not faithfully reproduce national ideologies of linguistic homogeneity from the homeland. Instead, speakers' engagement with media and peer networks reveal that language ideologies are reshaped outside of educational contexts, providing an optimal comparison to future research with second generation speakers.

Vowel Mergers in the Melting Pot: Parental Influence and Multilingualism in New York City English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

New York City's exceptional ethnolinguistic diversity provides an ideal backdrop for examining the interplay of social variables in urban linguistic variation. This study addresses the distinctive resistance within New York City English (NYCE) to the low back merger (LBM) and the Merry-Mary-Marry (MMM) merger, features that notably distinguish NYCE from other North American dialects. Previous research suggests that the language practices of parents influence the adoption of phonemic mergers by their children (Herold, 1990; Johnson, 2010; Haddican et al., 2016). Additionally, Becker (2013) highlights the role of social meaning in directing linguistic change, which is pertinent to understanding how these mergers are perceived and adopted. This current study builds on these insights to explore how multilingualism and parental influence affect vowel realization in NYCE. The analysis included 753 responses out of 1056 after extensive data cleanup from the New York City Metro Area Language Survey

(Authors, in progress). Participants cover all major demographics and were raised and educated in NYC and its surrounding dialect region (Newman, 2014). The questionnaire included sociodemographic questions, “same or different” homophony judgments for COT/CAUGHT and DON/DAWN pairs, six pairs for the Mary-marry-merry distinction, and 5-point Likert-scale responses to three attitudinal statements. Chi-square tests determined significant associations. Parental influence, indicated by parents’ birthplaces, was a strong predictor of vowel distinctions in NYCE. Participants whose parents were born outside the U.S. were more likely to exhibit merged pronunciations in both LBM and MMM homophony pairs. For instance, participants with mothers whose first language is not English exhibited a higher rate of merger, particularly for the MMM distinction (Mary vs. marry: $p < 0.001$, Merry vs. marry: $p < 0.001$). Similarly, fathers’ first language showed a substantial influence on vowel distinctions (Mary vs. marry: $p < 0.001$, Merry vs. marry: $p = 0.040$). Multilingualism, operationalized by the first language of parents and home language, also played a crucial role. Participants whose home language was not exclusively English were more likely to show merged vowel pronunciations across various pairs. For the LBM, both father’s first language (COT/CAUGHT: $p = 0.007$, DON/DAWN: $p = 0.013$) and mother’s first language (COT/CAUGHT: $p = 0.0898$, DON/DAWN: $p = 0.016$) were influential predictors. Similarly, home language was a key factor (COT/CAUGHT: $p < 0.001$, DON/DAWN: $p < 0.001$). For MMM, home language continued to show significant influence (Mary vs. marry: $p < 0.001$, Merry vs. marry: $p = 0.002$). These findings indicate that the linguistic environment at home significantly shapes vowel distinctions in NYCE. We discuss these and the comprehensive set of significant findings and present explanations for why parents’ birthplace, parents’ native language, and home language are correlated with the LB and MMM mergers.

The socioprosodics of Peruvian Spanish Declaratives: An analysis of gender and intonation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Intonation in Spanish has been described according to the combination of pitch targets associated with the stressed syllable and phrase boundaries, divided according to position in the utterance (Hualde 2003; Prieto and Roseano 2010). Both laboratory and semi-spontaneous speech have been analyzed to determine the extent to which syllable-aligned peaks appear, often with a preceding low tone, represented as L+H* (Face 2003, 2014; Hualde and Prieto 2016). In addition, analysis of contact and conventionalized L2 varieties has found frequent use of this configuration in non-final prenuclear position (cf. post-tonic peaks, L+<H* in other varieties) (Baird 2015; Barnes and Michnowicz 2013; Colantoni 2011; Butera, Sessarego and Rao 2020). Contributing linguistic factors such as syllable structure and stress have been examined (Henriksen 2015; Prieto and Torreira 2007). Regarding extralinguistic factors, some intonation differences have been observed according to gender (Enbe and Tobin 2008; Hernandez 2020; Simonet 2011; cf. Fenton, Bustin and Muntendam 2020). Also, influence from Quechua has been addressed in the literature (e.g., Buchholz 2024; Muntendam and Torreira 2016; Portocarrero and Stewart 2021; Stewart 2015); see also Elias-Ulloa 2022 and García 2024 for early alignment in monolingual Peruvian Amazonian Spanish. The present study examines Peruvian Spanish intonation found in the context of Lima and Cuzco. The alignment of prenuclear peaks in read broad focus declaratives produced by female and male speakers ($n=18$) is examined (cf. final nuclear peaks); a subset of the speakers from Cuzco is also bilingual in Quechua ($n=6$). 432 declaratives are analyzed (12 utterances x 2 productions x 18 speakers), for a total of 3,888 pitch accents. This includes 10 tokens of closed syllables, 12 of antepenultimate stress, and 6 of final stress in prenuclear position per speaker (cf. 26 prenuclear tokens of open syllables with penultimate stress). Following the distinction in Gabriel and Reich (2021), the contact scenario is between two intonation languages (Spanish and Quechua), both of which have lexical stress. Preliminary findings point towards tonic-alignment (L+H*) with closed syllables and final stress, but also frequent use by Cuzco males and female bilinguals (Table 1). A more fine-grained analysis of the timing

of peaks is needed to further investigate differences which may arise at the microprosodic level (cf. McGuire et al. 2004). Findings will be compared to recent work on other contact varieties (e.g., Elordieta, Romera, and Illaro 2024) while noting methodological differences (e.g., read vs semi-spontaneous speech). This paper is a response to the call for more investigation of social factors that contribute to variation in intonation or ‘socioprosodics’ in which external factors are centered in the research agenda. In the present study, the contribution of gender to variation in peak alignment is the primary focus, although several linguistic factors are also considered. In all, this study contributes to the notion that “phonological variation triggered by multiple competencies must not be reduced to single mechanisms of transfer. Rather...The systemic and social restrictions on their combination should be one of the main topics in research on multilingualism” (Gabriel and Reich 2021, pp. 490-491).

Author Translation

La entonación en español se ha descrito según la combinación de objetivos de tono asociados con la sílaba acentuada y los límites de la frase, divididos según la posición en el enunciado (Hualde 2003; Prieto y Roseano 2010). Se han analizado tanto el habla de laboratorio como la semiespontánea para determinar en qué medida aparecen picos alineados entre sílabas, a menudo con un tono bajo precedente, representado como L+H* (Face 2003, 2014; Hualde y Prieto 2016). Además, el análisis de variedades L2 de contacto y convencionalizadas ha encontrado un uso frecuente de esta configuración en posición prenuclear no final (cf. picos postónicos, L+<H* en otras variedades) (Baird 2015; Barnes y Michnowicz 2013; Colantoni 2011 ; Butera, Sessarego y Rao 2020). Se han examinado los factores lingüísticos que contribuyen, como la estructura de las sílabas y el acento (Henriksen 2015; Prieto y Torreira 2007). En cuanto a los factores extralingüísticos, se han observado algunas diferencias de entonación según el género (Enbe y Tobin 2008; Hernandez 2020; Simonet 2011; cf. Fenton, Bustin y Muntendam 2020). Además, la influencia del quechua se ha abordado en la literatura (p. ej., Buchholz 2024; Muntendam y Torreira 2016; Portocarrero y Stewart 2021; Stewart 2015); véase también Elias-Ulloa 2022 y García 2024 para una alineación temprana en el español monolingüe de la Amazonía peruana. El presente estudio examina la entonación del español peruano encontrada en el contexto de Lima y Cuzco. Se examina la alineación de los picos prenucleares en declarativas leídas de foco amplio producidas por hablantes masculinos y femeninos (n=18) (cf. picos nucleares finales); un subconjunto de hablantes cusqueños también es bilingüe en quechua (n=6). Se analizan 432 declarativas (12 enunciados x 2 producciones x 18 hablantes), para un total de 3.888 acentos tonales. Esto incluye 10 fichas de sílabas cerradas, 12 de acentuación antepenúltima y 6 de acentuación final en posición prenuclear por hablante (cf. 26 fichas prenucleares de sílabas abiertas con penúltima acentuación). Siguiendo la distinción de Gabriel y Reich (2021), el escenario de contacto es entre dos lenguas de entonación (español y quechua), ambas con acento léxico. Los hallazgos preliminares apuntan hacia una alineación tónica (L+H*) con sílabas cerradas y acento final, pero también un uso frecuente por parte de hombres en Cuzco y mujeres bilingües (Tabla 1). Se necesita un análisis más detallado del alineamiento de los picos para investigar más a fondo las diferencias que pueden surgir a nivel microprosódico (cf. McGuire et al. 2004). Los hallazgos se compararán con trabajos recientes sobre otras variedades de contacto (p. ej., Elordieta, Romera e Illaro 2024) y se observarán diferencias metodológicas (p. ej., habla leída versus semiespontánea). Este trabajo es una respuesta al llamado a realizar más investigaciones sobre los factores sociales que contribuyen a la variación en la entonación o "socioprosódicos". Este estudio contribuye a la idea de que “Las restricciones sistémicas y sociales a su combinación deberían ser uno de los temas principales en la investigación sobre el multilingüismo” (Gabriel y Reich 2021, pp. 490-491). [Google Translate]

Evaluating wav2vec2 Speech Recognition and Forced Alignment on a Multi-Varietal Language Documentation Collection

Connor Bechler

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Applying sociolinguistic analysis in documentary contexts offers many benefits (Meyerhoff, 2019), but also poses several challenges: many documentation collections lack sufficient metapragmatic information (Di Carlo et al., 2021), include low-fidelity and noisy recordings (Amith et al., 2021; Ćavar et al., 2016), and remain partially unannotated or untranscribed. One solution to the latter two challenges is partial automation of the baseline annotation tasks required in documentation through automatic speech recognition (ASR), forced alignment (FA), and natural language processing (Ćavar et al., 2016; He et al., 2024; Jimerson et al., 2023; Tsoukala et al., 2023). However, as Coto-Solano (2022) notes, adapting these tools for minority and indigenous languages is still “difficult and expensive.” This work is part of an ongoing project exploring semi-automatic annotation of the Northern Prinmi Oral Art Collection, a multi-genre and multi-varietal documentation collection (Daudey & Gerong, 2018). The project aims to assist in the transcription and analysis of an existing documentation collection, stress-test semi-automatic annotation tools in a challenging context, and increase the accessibility of these tools for non-programmers. To achieve these aims, I developed a Python tool, wav2vec2fasr. Wav2vec2fasr includes functions for describing transcribed audio corpora, preprocessing transcripts and audio, and training, applying, and evaluating wav2vec2 models for ASR and FA. I applied wav2vec2fasr to the Northern Prinmi Oral Art collection, fine-tuning a variety of models with different tokenization schemes and hyperparameters. Analyzing model performance on automatic transcription of previously transcribed documentation recordings, the best model achieved an overall character error rate (CER) of .325, comparable to previous work on automatic transcription for sociophonetic analysis (Coto-Solano et al., 2021), but worse than models from similar projects, which range from .05 to .25 (Coto-Solano et al., 2022; Guillaume et al., 2022; Macaire et al., 2022). CER varied widely by recording, correlating most obviously with average utterance duration, recording location, and recording genre (Fig. 1). Internal regional variation within Northern Prinmi may impact model performance, as there are at least four varieties present in the collection (Fig. 2; drawn from Daudey and Gerong, personal communication, 2024 April 9). To evaluate the performance of wav2vec2 for FA, I aligned the transcribed recordings from the documentation corpus with both wav2vec2fasr and Montreal Forced Aligner (MFA) (McAuliffe et al., 2017). Following Chodroff et al. (2024), I applied MFA with an English acoustic model. As the corpus did not include word or phone alignments, I calculated inter-aligner agreement between wav2vec2 and MFA as a proxy for aligner performance. Alignments differed substantially, with a median word onset difference of 80 milliseconds and 90% interaligner agreement on word onset boundaries only occurring at 410 milliseconds. Recording genre strongly correlates with inter-aligner agreement (Fig. 3). Examining specific alignments, Wav2vec2 appears less precise in terms of phone boundaries, severely truncating consonant duration, while MFA struggles to align recordings of songs and deletes numerous words. This suggests that Chodroff et al.’s finding that MFA performs more consistently than wav2vec2 aligners on extremely small datasets may be influenced by the speech genre of the dataset.

Spanish-language origin discourse markers across languages in bilingual Spanish/Basque speech

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The use of Spanish-language origin discourse markers^[1] in the colloquial Basque register of Spanish/Basque bilinguals has been a point of interest for several years now (e.g., Lantto, 2014, 2015a, b, 2016, 2018). Although previous studies have quantified the frequency and dispersion rates of these Spanish-language origin items in purportedly Basque-language speech, the current study’s aim was to compare the rates of these items across both Basque-language speech and Spanish-language speech. A total of 50 participants were recruited in Vitoria-Gasteiz, Alava, Spain for interviews that included mini sociolinguistic interviews in which they spoke with a local, bilingual associate familiar with local speech conventions. They picked a conversation topic from such usual ones as music, sports, food, etc., and spoke for 5-8 minutes in one language before picking another topic and switching to the other language.

In total, participants completed six mini conversations, three in each language, providing an average of 36:30 of recorded conversation. A subset of the 37 participants who had grown up in Vitoria-Gasteiz was selected for analysis, of which one participant's recordings had to be discarded, and four age outliers were excluded, leaving n=32 between the ages of 18-33, allowing for a focus on the generation that grew up with Basque-language education. These audio recordings were transcribed first with AI (SimonSays and Sonix.ai) and manually edited by Basque-speakers. Following usual sociolinguistic interview procedure, the first mini conversation in each language was excluded, leaving two in Spanish and two in Basque.

Spanish-language discourse markers were identified in these transcriptions and tabulated. It was found that *bueno*, *es que / eske*, *osea*, and *en plan* were the most frequent items, in terms of both individual usage, regardless of the language being spoken, and dispersion across the community. Focusing on these four items and comparing rates across participant Basque-language conversations and Spanish-language conversations, it was found that there wasn't a significant difference for individuals with a BLP (Birdsong, et al., 2012) dominance score lower than approximately 50 (on a score from -180 more Basque-dominant to 180 more Spanish-dominant) but there was one for those that had a score indicative of higher Spanish dominance. This is interpreted as indicative that for this bilingual community, for those that exhibit a range of 'balance' of their bilingualism, these items are not code-switches but part of community norms and established borrowings, a part of their bilingual system that considers these items constitutive of both systems simultaneously.

[1] For present purposes, no distinction is made between discourse markers and discourse particles.

Utah Teens' Polynesian Ethnolinguistic Repertoire

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Benor (2008, 2010) defines *ethnolinguistic repertoire* as "a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities." While her initial study applied the concept to African American, Latino, and Jewish groups in the United States, the concept can be applied to many other groups and contexts. This paper considers the ethnolinguistic repertoire of six focal individuals with different connections to a Pacific Islander community in two Utah high schools. The six students are divided into three subgroups based on those social identities: prototypical PI, "in-between" PI, and PI-aligned Euro Americans (EA). The ethnographically informed analysis considers how speakers in each group incorporate different features associated with a PI identity within the controlled context of a word list reading. Some features--those associated with native pronunciations of Polynesian place names--are directly connected to Polynesian culture and are shown to be used as a kind of intentional identity performance. Other features are related to differential realization of vowels implicated in the Low-Back Merger Shift (LBMS; Becker 2019), which has been studied in the American West, Canada, and beyond. Those features are likely used and interpreted below the level of conscious awareness. Features considered in place name pronunciation include:

- Glottal stop usage in *Hawaii*
- Full peripheral vowel pronunciation in the first syllable of *Samoa*
- *Tonga* pronounced with unaspirated /t/, first vowel as [o], and <ng> as [ŋ] rather than [ŋg].

The LBMS features selected for analysis are those found to be significantly different between PI and EA speakers in a previous study:

- BOT retraction
- BAT retraction
- BAT lowering

- BET lowering

The results demonstrate that a small set of linguistic variants may be sufficient to convey an ethnic identity in a given context. They also demonstrate the way outsiders use key features to demonstrate cross-ethnic affiliation (Rampton 1995). For continuous variables, such as formant frequencies, speakers may take advantage of the space between extremes to express hybrid or boundary-crossing identity. Finally, because basic vowel realizations are habitual and develop over time, they may be more difficult for outsiders, even those closely affiliated with a group, to acquire and convincingly produce than more salient performance features.

Trade-offs in computational sociolinguistics methods: Accuracy vs. fairness in forced alignment-based auto-coding

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In recent years, there has been increased interest in **sociolinguistic auto-coding**: the use of machine learning to assign variants to tokens of sociolinguistic variables (e.g., Kendall et al. 2021). However, numerous questions remain about how best to implement auto-coding (e.g., Bailey 2016; McLarty et al. 2019; Villarreal et al. 2020; Kendall et al. 2021), not to mention whether auto-coders are meant to replicate human coding (Kendall et al. 2021) and how to account for intergroup fairness (Villarreal 2024). The present study expands this body of research by investigating accuracy and fairness in auto-coding English coronal stop deletion (CSD), a well-studied sociolinguistic variable whereby (e.g.) *best* can surface as [best] (retained) or [bes] (deleted). Specifically, this study attempts to derive predicted CSD codes from forced-alignment output from the Montreal Forced Aligner (MFA; McAuliffe et al. 2017). In forced-alignment approaches to auto-coding (e.g., Bailey 2016), the dictionary used for mapping word forms to strings of segments is augmented with additional pronunciation(s) reflecting sociolinguistic variants; in other words, for any given instance of *best*, the forced-aligner can choose between the pronunciations [best] or [bes]. This approach was tested with data from the Archive of Pittsburgh Language and Speech (APLS), a soon-to-be publicly available sociolinguistic corpus (currently 27 hours of speech from 30 interviewees). I aligned the entire corpus with MFA, in several implementations: an off-the-shelf alignment with the `english_mfa` acoustic model (version 3.1.0), adapting `english_mfa` to APLS, and a train-and-align approach. I also tested alignments with MFA's off-the-shelf US English dictionary, dictionaries with additional variants (retained vs. deleted (vs. flapped vs. glottalized)), MFA's phonological rules, and separate alignments by race. First, these predictions were assessed against hand-codes from a race-balanced sample of 494 CSD tokens. Overall prediction accuracy ranged from 49.8% for train-and-align with phonological rules to 67.5% for adapted `english_mfa`. There were wide differences in class accuracies; train-and-align implementations with variant dictionaries performed well predicting deleted tokens ($\geq 84.2\%$) but poorly with retained tokens ($\leq 39.0\%$). Furthermore, implementations differed in terms of intergroup fairness, as overall accuracy differences ranged from 0.2pp (train-and-align with 4 variants) to 15.6pp (off-the-shelf). In terms of class accuracies, all models overpredicted deletion for Black speakers and retention for White speakers. Next, to assess the impact of choosing an implementation, these predictions were extracted for all 8554 CSD tokens currently in APLS. The choice of implementation drastically affected the overall rate at which tokens were predicted to be deleted; almost no deletion was predicted for off-the-shelf, roughly 50% deletion for adapted `english_mfa`, and nearly 75% deletion for train-and-align with 4 variants. Despite these differences in overall rates, most implementations predicted Black speakers deleted CSD tokens at a rate 11–12pp greater than White speakers. Taken together, these results add further weight to the principle articulated in previous work (Kendall et al. 2021; Villarreal 2024) that, given the trade-offs inherent in machine learning methods for sociophonetics, the choice of the right implementation depends crucially on the needs of the individual researcher, research question, community, and variable.

Back vowel fronting, covariation, and suburbanization in Sacramento

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Variationists are increasingly interested in whether and why changes in progress *covary across* speakers (e.g., Becker 2016; Waters and Tagliamonte 2016; Tamminga 2019; Brand et al. 2021). This paper brings data to bear on these questions through an analysis of two changes in progress that often appear together across varieties of North American English: TOE and TOO fronting. Focusing on these changes in California English, I investigate whether: (1) the changes covary at the individual level, such that speakers' productions of TOE predict their productions of TOO; (2) covariation patterns shift over time; (3) social factors mediate the covariation. Speech data come from sociolinguistic interviews (conducted 2014) with a socially-stratified sample of 100 English speakers born/raised in the Sacramento Metropolitan Area. Interviews were FAVE-aligned, and formant values were FAVE-extracted and Lobanov normalized. Tokens <50ms and followed by /l/, /r/, or a glide were excluded. I assess interspeaker covariation between TOE and TOO F2 at midpoint, which is the primary site of TOE/TOO change in Sacramento. To examine covariation patterns over time, the sample was broken down into two birthyear cohorts of 50 speakers each, which reflect important junctures of urbanized change in Sacramento: Generation1 (1924-1964), Generation2 (1965-1996). For both cohorts, mixed-effects regression models were constructed for TOE and TOO F2. Fixed effects included socio-demographic factors, token duration, and following place/manner of articulation. By-speaker random intercepts were then extracted from each model, and Pearson correlations were run on the intercepts within each cohort separately to examine covariation.

In both cohorts, TOE and TOO covary, such that even when demographics are controlled for, speakers producing fronter TOE also produce fronter TOO (both $p < 0.001^{***}$). The strength of the correlation is also steady over time (Generation1 $R = 0.40$ | Generation2 $R = 0.48$). Linguistic factors may play some role in the covariation, either because TOE/TOO share membership in a phonological class (Fruehwald 2013), or are subject to similar articulatory constraints (Havenhill 2024). But as the changes progressed in Sacramento, they also took on a distinct social life in Generation2. For Generation2 in particular, whether speakers grew up in the downtown of Sacramento, or in one of its contiguous suburbs, is highly salient social contrast. The suburbs are seen as “country”, and the downtown as “city.” While suburban communities existed when Generation1 was growing up, suburbanization (and ideologies surrounding it) kicked off in Generation2, as the bulk of the population shifted from the urban core to the surrounding neighborhoods. A hierarchical clustering analysis of the TOE and TOO intercepts (and confirmed by additional statistical testing) shows that for Generation2 only, how fronted speakers are for both TOE and TOO is tied to this emergent social contrast (i.e., whether they're from the city or a suburb (Figure 1)). The cluster of speakers composed primarily of suburbanites is driving change in TOE and TOO. Overall, findings suggest that as covarying changes spread in a community, they may pick up connections to new social distinctions through social change, even if the covariation relations themselves are linguistically structured.

How multilinguals do verbs

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Bilingual compound verbs (BCV), or *do*-verb constructions, are prevalent cross-linguistically and have been analyzed as light verb constructions (Alexiadou, 2017; Au, 2020; González-Vilbazo & López, 2012) and a strategy of integrating non-native verbs into a recipient language, i.e., borrowings (Eze, 1998; Au, 2021; Wichmann & Wohlgemuth, 2008). They consist of a verb meaning *to make* or *to do* combined with a non-native lexical item which, together, jointly predicate as illustrated in (1) for Spanish-English data from Belize where BCVs are both frequent and productive among multilingual speakers of Spanish, English and Kriol (English-lexified Creole).

1. Lo hicieron report

it do3pl.pret report

‘They reported it’

According to a proposed loanverb hierarchy based on a typological survey by Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008), these structures occur in contexts of lower levels contact and bilingual proficiency. This survey both summarizes observed loanverb strategies and presents testable hypotheses. To test whether BCVs are the domain of lower proficiency bilinguals, the frequency of BCVs among lower proficiency multilingual speakers is compared to that of the higher proficiency speakers in the contemporary corpus. Second, by drawing on data from two sociolinguistic corpora, collected 40 years apart in Spanish-speaking communities in Belize, and which represent lower and higher levels of contact, it becomes possible to test if BCVs emerge in contexts of lower levels of language contact. Data from 20 interviews contained in the Older Recordings of Belizean varieties of Spanish (ORBS, Au 2022) collected in 1977-78 (Hagerty 1979) is compared to 15 interviews from a contemporary corpus collected in 2013 (Au 2021). The ORBS was collected at a time when infrastructure was nascent and prevented high levels of mobility and contact between the various ethnolinguistic communities and therefore represents a lower level of contact. Results of real-time analysis of BCVs across the two corpora show that the ORBS contains vastly lower levels of mixed discourse overall and no bona fide BCVs in contrast to the frequent use of BCVs (N=215) and robust language mixing in the contemporary data. In addition, a comparative analysis of BCV use among higher versus lower proficiency multilinguals in the contemporary data revealed that, the former used higher rates of both BCVs and intrasentential code-switching as compared to the latter. Thus, these data indicate that BCVs emerge as a function of increasing contact and bilingualism forming part of the community patterns of language use rather than a provisional strategy. The naturalistic data in the ORBS together with that of the contemporary data provide a rare opportunity to operationalize the fuzzy concepts of level of contact making it possible to test hypotheses afforded by typological surveys thus providing insight into the sociolinguistic factors which may determine choice of loanverb strategy.

Models of Variation Applied to the Case of Judeo-Spanish in the Sephardic Landscape of the United States

Bryan Kirschen

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Classified by *Ethnologue* (2024) as a shifting (level 7- Turkey), *moribund* (level 8a - Israel), and nearly extinct (level 8b - Greece and Bosnia) language, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) has seen a sharp decrease in L1 speakers around the world since the second half of the twentieth century. Though not accounted for in the aforementioned catalogue, the linguistic vitality of the language is similarly endangered in the United States. And while scholarship has documented Sephardic migration from the former Ottoman Empire to the United States over the past century, as well as assimilation to English or even Spanish, the ways in which Judeo-Spanish has been used in recent decades illustrate considerable variation (Harris 1994, Romero 2013). Such variation is evident through the linguistic construct of the language as well as patterns of intergenerational transmission (Enrique Arias 2014, Kirschen 2020). This paper applies four

sociolinguistic models to the case of Judeo-Spanish in the United States to not only document the ways in which speech communities utilize their heritage language today but also as a means to explore recent initiatives to document, teach, and revitalize the language (Fredholm 2023). Research is based on the author's ethnographic fieldwork throughout the country's largest Sephardic populations: New York City, Los Angeles, Seattle, and South Florida. As a result, the following frameworks are applied: ethnolinguistic repertoire approach (Bunin Benor 2010), ethnolinguistic infusion (Bunin Benor 2019), post-vernacularity (Shandler 2006), and metalinguistic communities of practice (Avineri 2012). An application of Bunin Benor's (2010) ethnolinguistic repertoire approach allows us to highlight the ways in which *speakers* of Judeo-Spanish construct their language and select or deselect other languages from which Judeo-Spanish has entered into contact (e.g. English, French, Turkish, Hebrew, or Castilian Spanish); this approach applies to each of the aforementioned communities, evinced not only in their linguistic output but also ideologies of how the language should be rendered. Bunin Benor's (2019) ethnolinguistic infusion model need not apply to speakers of a given language, but rather community members who embed elements of a heritage language throughout discourse in their majority language; this scenario appropriately describes the linguistic situation and language planning of Washington's Sephardic Adventure Camp, where children "infuse" Judeo-Spanish throughout their English. Shandler's (2006) research on postvernacularity among Yiddish speakers, in which secular Jewish communities maintain and utilize their heritage tongue for extra-linguistic purposes can similarly be applied to Judeo-Spanish populations; in this instance, the act of speaking Judeo-Spanish takes priority over the message itself. Lastly, Avineri's (2012) research on metalinguistic communities, also in Yiddish-speaking spaces, considers affinity groups who come together to celebrate the language though they may not speak it themselves; in the case of Judeo-Spanish, the populations under exploration apply such measures in creating online communities and regional "Ladino Days," often taking place *in* English about Judeo-Spanish. Together, these models provide for an understanding of diverse ways that Sephardic populations in the United States utilize their heritage tongue and expand upon the notion of what it means to be a speaker of Judeo-Spanish today.

Syntactic change in the formation of neutral questions in Cantonese

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The formation of neutral questions in Cantonese involves the juxtaposition of the positive and negative verb phrases (Cheung 2001). While the full retention of both verb phrases was generally permissive in both early and contemporary Cantonese, several diachronic changes have been observed regarding how partial truncation is performed on either the positive or the negative verb phrases over the past two hundred years (Yue-Hashimoto 1993, 2006; Cheung 2001; Chin 2022). The present study investigates the syntactic changes involved in the formation of neutral questions in Cantonese, specifically focusing on two highly frequent verbs: the copula *hai6* "be" and the possessive *jau5* "have". Based on electronic datasets of Cantonese textbooks published between the 19th and early 20th century (Cheung 2012; Yiu 2012, 2019) and Cantonese films and radio dramas produced between the mid-20th and late-20th century (Chin 2012, 2020), the following research questions are addressed:

- (i) What are the neutral question forms used with the copula *hai6* "be" and the possessive *jau5* "have" in early and contemporary Cantonese?
- (ii) What are the similarities and differences in the syntactic changes of neutral question forms between these two verbs (the copula *hai6* "be" and the possessive *jau5* "have") and other lexical verbs?
- (iii) How can we account for the observed variations in the neutral question forms involving *hai6* and *jau5*?

Our findings show that the copula *hai6* “be” and the possessive *jau5* “have” have adopted the same old and new neutral question forms as other lexical verbs, with the forms of [VP-neg-VP] (1), [VP-neg-V] (2), and [VP-neg] (3) occurring in early Cantonese and the forms of [VP-neg-VP] and [V-neg-VP] (4) occurring in contemporary Cantonese. These two verbs, however, differ from other lexical verbs in appearing in several additional patterns. These include the occurrence within a [VP-neg-VP] form in the tag clause (“tag”) (5), the co-occurrence within a [VP-neg-VP] form in both the main clause and the tag clause (“main-cum-tag”) (6), as well as the occurrence within a [VP-neg-VP] form in the tag clause together with an additional copy of the V in the main clause (“pseudo-tag”) (7). Additionally, these two verbs exhibit distinct patterns compared to other lexical verbs, displaying a more notable decline in the usage of the old [VP-neg-V] form and a more pronounced rise in the usage of the new [V-neg-VP] form (Figure-1). While around 26% of general verbs still appeared in the old [VP-neg-V] form in the 1940s, *jau5* “have” accounted for only 7.3% in this form and *hai6* “be” did not occur in this form at all. Furthermore, whereas the new [V-neg-VP] form constituted around 39% of neutral questions for general verbs in the 1940s, it became the dominant form for both *jau5* “have” (85.4%) and *hai6* “be” (58.2%) during the same period. As the various tag-like forms, such as [V-neg-V] or [V]+[V-neg-V], are structurally compatible with the initial portion of the new [V-neg-VP] form, the partial overlap serves as a bridging form that facilitates the syntactic change from the old to the new form in Cantonese.

COMPLETED RESEARCH POSTERS

Laayli' kuxa'ano'one: code choice, language attitudes, and stances towards the use of Yucatec Maya in Black Panther: Wakanda Forever

Cecelia Cutler

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Building on the pioneering work of Cru (2015, 2018, 2023) and Farfán & Cru (2021) on 'rap originario' in the Yucatan and recent work on pop culture (Werner 2018), this paper explores the explosion of interest among young people in Mexico and Central America regarding Indigenous identities and languages (Mexican, Central, and South American) following the release of the sequel Black Panther: Wakanda Forever (Coogler, 2022). The film features an epic struggle between the people of 'Wakanda', a fictional African nation, and the 'Tolokanos', an underwater civilization based on the myth of Atlantis. The Tolokanos speak Yucatec Maya throughout the film and at the end, there is a track in Yucatec Maya (*Laayli' kuxa'ano'one* 'We are still here') performed by members of the group Cru has worked with for many years (Pat Boy and the ADN MAYA COLECTIVO 'Maya DNA Collective'). This paper analyzes multilingual written comments (N=1,047) of YouTube viewers, focusing on code choice (Spanish, English, and Yucatec Maya), language attitudes, and affective/epistemic stances towards Yucatec Maya. Viewers responded in a variety of codes. While most comments were in English (57%) or Spanish (31%), approximately 6.3% were in Yucatec Maya or a mix of Yucatec Maya and Spanish. The comments are notable for their positive affective responses to hearing Yucatec Maya in the track and the film (see example 1).

1. Suku'un o'ob jach ki'ima in wóol. Super contenta de escuchar una rolita cantada en lengua maya por jóvenes mayas. Desde la capital cultural de Quintana Roo, Felipe Carrillo Puerto pal mundo. To'on mayaa'on!

Brothers, I am very happy. I'm super happy to listen to a song sung in Maya by young Mayas. From the capital of Quintana Roo, Felipe Carrillo Puerto to the world. We are the Maya!

The paper highlights the potential of pop cultural products (rap music, film, and social media) to transform language ideologies and promote the (re)valuation (Agha 2003) and maintenance of minoritized linguistic and cultural practices. It also considers the tendency for pop culture and social media to allay our concerns by making us feel good in ways that depoliticize forms of public activism and reproduce the social order (Roberts, 2014: 93).

Reconstructing American English inputs in a globally available mass media product: Intensifiers in the television series *Gilmore Girls*

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The role played by mass media in the propagation of the patterns of structured variability has developed into one of the most challenging and hotly debated issues in modern sociolinguistics (Stuart-Smith 2007; Bell & Sharma 2014). Current epistemological models (Sayers 2014) propose that the study of possible media effects on (non-)acquired speech patterns must involve systematic comparisons across source speech communities, adopting speech communities and mass media texts. Against this backdrop, the study sets out to explore language-specific and sociolinguistic conditioning underlying the use of intensifiers in the television series *Gilmore Girls* and compares it to that of L1 English and English

spoken as a foreign language (EFL). Firmly grounded in the methodological paradigm of variationist sociolinguistics, this investigation pinpoints some indisputable similarities in the use of intensifiers by fictional characters and real speakers of L1 English and EFL. These are revealed by the overall rates of intensification; the general make-up of the (most frequent) linguistic variants and their sociolinguistic conditioning. The system of language-internal conditioning triggering the realization of individual intensifiers is found to be quite distinctive from that reported for both L1 English vernaculars and English language learners. I discuss the possible contribution that these findings make to the existing models of L2 acquisition and language change, while also proposing directions for future research.

Mudanças na linguagem, gênero neutro e Feminismo

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A partir da bastante conhecida alegação de que a Língua Portuguesa, assim como outras línguas que diferenciam claramente masculino e feminino, é sexista, temos acompanhado o debate sobre a criação de novas expressões neutras, que procuram torná-la mais inclusiva. As propostas para tais mudanças, oriundas, principalmente, do movimento LGBTQIA+ que vem ao longo do tempo numa luta para conquistas de direitos sociais, reivindicam também a mudança na língua(gem) para designá-los, com a inserção de novas categorias que não existem na Língua Portuguesa. Dessa forma, alternativas como o -@; -X e o -E, podem ser analisadas a partir da “teoria da mudança” da Sociolinguística, formalizada por Uriel Weinreich, William Labov e Marvin I. Herzog (2006), mas é fundamental que também se tenha em mente seus aspectos político e ideológico. Na Suécia, por exemplo, o neutro “hen”, criado na década de 1960, indicando uma terceira opção entre o “han” (ele) e “hon” (ela), ressurgiu por volta do ano 2000, e em 2012, tornou-se mais frequente a partir da publicação do livro “Kivi och Monsterhund” (Kivi e o carro monstruoso), de Jesper Lundqvist, que justificou o seu uso pela opção de poder dirigir-se às crianças de um modo geral, sem distingui-las entre meninos e meninas. Sobre esse assunto, a Real Academia Espanhola (RAE), em 2020, publicou um relatório explicando sua rejeição à tal linguagem, e a França, em 2021, com a publicação de uma circular do Ministro da Educação daquele país, proibiu o seu uso nas salas de aula. Críticas e proibições também foram observadas em outros países como Argentina, Uruguai e Chile e recentemente, o uso dessa chamada “linguagem neutra” tornou-se alvo de muitos debates no Brasil, envolvendo, inclusive, o Supremo Tribunal Federal (STF). Como alternativa à mudanças mais drásticas, foram criados manuais que abordam a abolição do masculino genérico, com as várias opções possíveis para tornar nossa língua(gem) mais inclusiva, principalmente no que se refere às mulheres. Sendo assim, e tendo em vista as várias tentativas, não apenas no Brasil, da implementação do gênero neutro na linguagem, meu objetivo nesse trabalho é refletir sobre o que se tem feito para que isso ocorra, os entraves específicos da Língua Portuguesa, muito similares às outras línguas latinas, além de procurar entender os motivos dos defensores e os dos opositores às tais mudanças. E como objetivo maior, refletir sobre o que essas possíveis mudanças na língua(gem) representam para o Feminismo, pois se considerarmos que o “neutro” designa pessoas intersexos e não-binárias, e uma das lutas do Feminismo é a inclusão das mulheres na história, não deveríamos temer o uso do feminino e nem substituí-lo, pois para nós é necessário mencionar expressamente as mulheres, sempre que se pretenda fazer uso feminista da linguagem.

Author Translation

From the well-known claim that the Portuguese language, like other languages that clearly differentiate between masculine and feminine, is sexist, we have witnessed the debate over the creation of new gender-neutral expressions aimed at making it more inclusive. Proposals for such changes, mainly stemming from the LGBTQIA+ movement, which has long been fighting for social rights, also advocate for language changes to designate them, by introducing new categories that do not exist in the Portuguese language. Thus, alternatives such as -@, -X, and -E can be analyzed through the “theory of change” in

Sociolinguistics, formalized by Uriel Weinreich, William Labov, and Marvin I. Herzog (2006), but it is essential to also consider their political and ideological aspects. In Sweden, for example, the neuter pronoun "hen," created in the 1960s to indicate a third option between "han" (he) and "hon" (she), resurfaced around the year 2000. In 2012, its usage became more frequent following the publication of the book "Kivi och Monsterhund" (Kivi and the Monster Dog) by Jesper Lundqvist, who justified its use by the option to address children in general without distinguishing between boys and girls. Regarding this issue, the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE), in 2020, published a report explaining its rejection of such language, and France, in 2021, with the publication of a circular from the Minister of Education of that country, banned its use in classrooms. Criticisms and prohibitions have also been observed in other countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile, and recently, the use of this so-called "gender-neutral language" has become the subject of much debate in Brazil, involving even the Supreme Federal Court (STF). As an alternative to more drastic changes, manuals have been created that address the abolition of generic masculinity, with various possible options to make our language more inclusive, especially concerning women. Therefore, considering the various attempts, not only in Brazil, to implement gender neutrality in language, my aim in this work is to reflect on what has been done to achieve this, the specific hurdles of the Portuguese language, very similar to other Romance languages, and to understand the reasons of both proponents and opponents of such changes. Primarily, we question what these potential changes in language represent for Feminism. If we consider that the "neutral" refers to intersex and non-binary individuals, and one of the goals of Feminism is the inclusion of women in history, we should not fear the use of the feminine nor replace it, as it is necessary for us to expressly mention women for feminist use of language is intended.

Japanese vowel devoicing - linguistic factors

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This presentation adds to recent discussion of Tokyo Japanese vowel devoicing according to social variables by adding findings from linguistic settings. The data of more than 30,000 tokens were analyzed some years ago in GoldVarb but more recently subjected to mixed effects logistic regression as well as conditional inference tree and random forest investigations. The principal new findings discussed here are the following: 1) The variability based on preceding and following consonants has been hampered by mixed phonetic/phonemic analyses and by consideration of preceding and following consonants separately (both as in e.g. Maekawa & Kikuchi 2005). For example, this reanalysis does not find the "fricative sandwich" to be such a strong deterrent on devoicing when fricative sibilants and nonsibilants are considered separately. Additionally, all the newer work suggests the overwhelming effect of the following consonant, contrary to much preceding work. 2) The restriction on devoicing in a continuous devoicing environment was found to hold even when the previous devoicing opportunity was not fulfilled; that is the potential for devoicing in the previous syllable had as large a deterring effect in subsequent devoicing as actual devoicing in that preceding segment did. 3) Morpheme boundary types and pitch accent pattern influences on devoicing do not show significantly different results in these new analyses. Finally, in agreement with recent work by Tamminga et al. (2016), the separation of these earlier data into conversation, reading passage, and word list stylistic environments are not principally stylistic at all but represent physical and cognitive dimensions. This approach, in combination with the fact that these data show hardly any social status differentiation, suggests that the conversational data reflect the Tokyo vernacular for nearly all social groups, one not internally tied to the nationwide treatment of this pattern of devoicing to standardness, an otherwise troublesome finding for the usual social group treatments of the variable in much sociolinguistic practice.

VARIATIONS IN APHASIC LANGUAGE BEHAVIOURS {A CASE STUDY OF SOME SELECTED BILINGUALS AT THE UCH IBADAN}

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Bilingual aphasia, a medical condition in which an individual with an acquired language disorder exhibits parallel impairment in the different modalities of speech in two languages, is a major public health issue globally. The major focus of this paper is to establish the relevance of Linguistics to the remediation of speech deficits among bilingual patients. Based on clinical linguistic findings, possible solutions to bilingual aphasia will be suggested with special focus on patients within the Yoruba speaking communities in Nigeria. Unstructured interview and spontaneous speech recording were used to obtain the speeches of the participants who were patients with Aphasia and who use English as a second language at the University College Hospital, Ibadan. Attention was also devoted to the discussion of the various language problems associated with brain damage, most especially aphasia or dysphasia which is often associated with people with speech disorder, while attempting to identify the different types, syndromes and causes of aphasia as well as the relationship between the brain and language disorder. The study established the relevance of linguistics to the remediation of speech deficits. Therefore, the treatment of language disorders should not be approached from the medical perspective alone but should involve an inter-disciplinary effort as evidenced in the results of the study.

Speak(ING) Australian English in Melbourne

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The city of Melbourne, Australia, is considered the largest Greek city outside of Greece and Cyprus (Hajek & Nicholas 2004; Tamis 2005). Although Greek culture, religion and language in Melbourne all remain strong, the generational shift toward English (Walker & Nikoloudis, in press) raises the question of whether Greek identity in Australia is being expressed less through the use of Greek and more through different ways of speaking English – that is, an ‘ethnolect’ (Carlock & Wölck 1981). While a putative Greek ethnolect of Australian English has been proposed, previous studies in Melbourne have largely relied on qualitative examination of features that distinguish it from mainstream accents (e.g. Clyne et al. 2001), rather than through quantitative analysis of the distribution and conditioning of linguistic variables that are shared across ethnolinguistic groups (cf. Travis et al. 2023; Hoffman & Walker 2010; Horvath 1985). In this paper, we focus on the realisation of word-final velar nasal /ŋ/, which, as part of the (ING) variable, has been shown to differ according to ethnic background in other cities (e.g. Horvath 1985; Kendall & Thomas 2019; Travis et al. 2023; Walker 2013, in press). An additional stopped variant ([ŋɡ]/[ŋk]) has been reported among English speakers of different backgrounds in Australia and Canada, though at very low rates (Horvath 1985; Walker 2013, in press). The data for this study come from sociolinguistic interviews conducted by in-group community members with residents of Melbourne: 15 speakers of Greek background (second and third generation), ranging in age from 18 to 61; and 27 speakers of Anglo-Celtic background, ranging in age from 21 to 85. We extracted a representative sample of 1,260 word-final velar nasal tokens and coded them impressionistically for their phonetic realisation (velar, alveolar or stopped) as well as for the speaker’s ethnic background, sex and age/generation. Results show a high degree of inter-speaker variability in rates of the alveolar (0%-42%), but no significant differences across groups. For stopping, Greek-background speakers show higher rates than Anglo-Celtic speakers, with rates highest among third-generation male speakers, and outside of the traditional Australian English context of stopping in *-thing* compounds. Speakers with a stronger attachment to their Greek background

seem to have higher rates of stopping. These results suggest that, while (ING) is not ethnically stratified, velar stopping may be taking on the status of an ethnic marker in Melbourne English.

Abstract (Translation)

A cidade australiana de Melbourne é considerada a maior cidade grega fora da Grécia e de Chipre (Hajek & Nicholas 2004; Tamis 2005). Embora a presença da cultura, da religião e da língua grega em Melbourne seja forte, a mudança geracional para o inglês (Walker & Nikoloudis, no prelo) leva à questão sobre se a identidade grega na Austrália é expressa menos por meio do grego e mais por diferentes formas de expressão em inglês – um 'etnoleto' (Carlock & Wölck 1981). Um suposto etnoleto grego do inglês australiano já foi proposto, mas estudos anteriores em Melbourne se basearam amplamente no exame qualitativo de características que o diferem dos sotaques dominantes (por exemplo, Clyne et al. 2001), em vez de análises quantitativas da distribuição e condicionamento de variáveis linguísticas compartilhadas entre grupos etnolinguísticos (cf. Travis et al. 2023; Hoffman & Walker 2010; Horvath 1985). Este estudo se concentra na realização da velar nasal /ŋ/ em final de palavra, que, como parte da variável (ING), demonstrou diferir de acordo com a origem étnica em outras cidades (por exemplo, Horvath 1985; Kendall & Thomas 2019; Travis et al.). Uma variante adicional oclusiva ([ŋg]/[ŋk]) foi relatada entre falantes de inglês de diferentes origens na Austrália e no Canadá, embora em taxas muito baixas (Horvath 1985; Walker 2013, no prelo). Os dados para este estudo provêm de entrevistas sociolinguísticas realizadas por membros de grupos residentes de Melbourne: 15 falantes de origem grega (segunda e terceira geração), com idades entre 18 e 61 anos; 27 falantes de origem anglo-céltica, com idades entre 21 e 85 anos. Extraímos uma amostra representativa de 1.260 palavras com nasais velares finais, cuja codificação (velar, alveolar ou oclusiva) foi feita de oitiva. Os dados também foram codificados de acordo com a origem étnica, o sexo e a idade/geração do falante. Os resultados mostram um alto grau de variabilidade entre falantes (com taxas 0%-42% para a variante alveolar), mas sem diferenças significativas entre os grupos. Os falantes de origem grega apresentam taxas mais altas da variante plosiva do que os falantes anglo-célticos, com taxas mais altas entre os falantes do sexo masculino de terceira geração e fora do contexto tradicional do inglês australiano (oclusivas em compostos *-thing*). Os falantes com uma orientação mais forte à sua origem grega apresentam taxas mais elevadas de oclusivas. Esses resultados sugerem que, embora (ING) não seja etnicamente estratificado, a variante oclusiva velar pode estar assumindo o status de um marcador étnico no inglês de Melbourne.

Variation acquisition in Chinese as a heritage language: Subject pronominal expression

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Learning a language means not only mastering the grammatical structures in a target language but also becoming a legitimate member of the target speech community. It requires knowledge about how to recognize and produce contextually appropriate language, or sociolinguistic competence, which has been examined by measuring the native-like patterns of sociolinguistic variables (Bayley et al., 2022; Bayley & Regan, 2004; Lyster, 1994; Regan, 1996). Previous studies have shown that besides internal linguistic constraints, external factors including age, gender, language proficiency, and language contact (e.g., studying abroad) all may affect learners' choice between different linguistic variants (Edwards, 2011; Eisenstein, 1982; Kennedy Terry, 2022; Pozzi, 2022; Preston & Bayley, 1996; Regan et al., 2009; Romaine, 2003). However, language learning often differs in typical L2 learners and heritage language learners due to input, language environment, and learner background. It may be reasonable to suspect that these factors also contribute to the development of sociolinguistic competence. This study investigates the subject personal pronoun expression (SPE) variation in Chinese Mandarin by young adult and child Chinese Heritage Language (CHL) learners and explores the trajectory of variation acquisition in early

childhood and early adulthood. As shown in Example 1, the presence of subject pronoun is optional in Mandarin and to some extent can reflect the sociolinguistic competence of the speaker: the absence of pronoun in some cases may cause misunderstanding while the overuse of pronoun may sound inappropriate. To explore the acquisition of SPE variation in CHL, spontaneous data were collected from 15 CHL young adults (11 females, 4 males, aged 18-27) and 27 CHL children (12 girls, 15 boys, aged 3;01 – 5;09). SPE variation (overt pronouns vs. null pronouns) was examined in mixed effects linear regression models. In total, three types of constraints, namely internal linguistic constraints (e.g., person and number, clause type), psychophysiological constraints (e.g., referent continuity, priming), and social constraints (e.g., discourse type, age, gender, region of origin, and heritage generation), have been tested. Regression analyses show that internal linguistic constraints, psychophysiological constraints, and social constraints all significantly affect SPE variation in CHL. Among all tested factors, linguistic constraint person and number of the subject, psychophysiological constraints referent continuity and priming, and social constraint discourse type appear to be strong predictors of the variable. Overall, CHL children used fewer subject pronouns (69.76%) than young adults (70.73%) in all contexts. And the use of pronouns in both child language and young adult speech is constrained by similar factors. However, the difference in SPE patterns between the two groups is not statistically significant. These findings suggest that in early childhood, children may have already established some adult-like variation patterns, and the variation patterns or the corresponding sociolinguistic competence could be reserved but would not be further developed until early adulthood. By exploring variation acquisition and the development of sociolinguistic competence in heritage language, this research contributes to the current understanding of how sociolinguistic variables are acquired and employed by heritage language learners at different developmental stages.

Searching for homophony avoidance in English coronal stop deletion

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Word-final coronal stop deletion (CSD), also called T/D-deletion, is one of the most-studied linguistic variables in English. A frequently-discussed property of CSD is the conditioning effect of morphological structure: deletion is disfavored if the final coronal stop constitutes the regular past-tense suffix *-ed*, as in *missed* (Labov et al. 1968, Guy 1991, Baranowski & Turton 2020, MacKenzie & Tamminga 2021, *inter alia*). One influential hypothesis is that this morphological conditioning effect is functionally motivated: i.e., that CSD is disfavored for regular past tenses in order to reduce the likelihood that a past tense such as *missed* becomes indistinguishable from the present tense of the same lexical item, *miss* (Kiparsky 1972, Guy 1996). Such a functional hypothesis might also predict that words that become confusable with **other** words under CSD should also disfavor deletion. For example, *bald* and *chest* become homophones for *ball* and *chess* when the final coronal stops are deleted; a functional model suggests that CSD might be disfavored for such words. Kaplan & Muratani (2015) propose that absolute homophony avoidance—i.e., a phonological rule being categorically blocked when its application would eliminate the contrast between two forms—can only occur when the homophony is between forms of the same inflectional paradigm; but that variable processes can be probabilistically disfavored by homophony between distinct lexical items. CSD is a potential test case for this hypothesis. We investigate this question in data from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov & Rosenfelder 2011). We calculate four different regression models for CSD, based on different ways of coding for the existence of potential homophones. Our first model includes only monosyllabic monomorphemic words, coded for whether or not CSD creates a homophone (e.g., *bald* → *ball*). The second model adds polysyllabic monomorphemic words (*talent* → *talon*); the third model uses the same set of words, but considers the possibility of homophones consisting of multiple words (*attract* → *a track*); and the final model expands the data set to include polymorphemic words other than those containing the *-ed* suffix (*lowest* → *Lois*). In no case do we find evidence that homophony avoidance reduces the likelihood of CSD, failing to support Kaplan & Muratani (2015)’s

hypothesis; $p > 0.6$ in all models, with coefficient magnitude at most 0.1 and in most cases in the wrong direction. Although this does not necessarily demonstrate that no homophony-avoidance effect exists, if it does exist it is too small for us to detect. Several potential explanations for **why** it might be difficult to detect would predict the same for the morphological conditioning effect, which is easily detected. We therefore believe that this null result poses a challenge to the functional hypothesis regarding the morphological pattern. If the explanatory force involved were that language users aim to avoid ambiguity, then we might expect that principle to apply regardless of whether ambiguity is morphological or lexical; the apparent lack of lexical homophony avoidance at least limits the generality of the functional explanation.

(Author Translation)

La elisión de oclusivas coronales al final de palabras (*Coronal Stop Deletion* o CSD), también llamada elisión de T/D, es una de las variables lingüísticas más estudiadas en inglés. Un aspecto frecuentemente discutido de la CSD es el efecto condicionante de la estructura morfológica: la elisión se desfavorece si la oclusiva coronal final es el sufijo regular de pasado *-ed*, como en *misses* (Labov et al. 1968, Guy 1991, Baranowski & Turton 2020, MacKenzie & Tamminga 2021). Una hipótesis influyente es que este efecto está motivado funcionalmente: la CSD no se favorece en los tiempos pasados regulares para evitar que un pasado como *misses* se vuelva indistinguible de *miss* en presente (Kiparsky 1972, Guy 1996). Esta hipótesis también podría predecir que las palabras que se vuelven confundibles con **otras** debido a la CSD también deberían desfavorecer la elisión. Por ejemplo, *bald* y *chest* se convierten en homófonos de *ball* y *chess* sin las oclusivas coronales finales; un modelo funcional sugiere que la CSD podría ser desfavorecida en tales palabras. Kaplan & Muratani (2015) proponen que la evitación absoluta de la homofonía (bloqueo categórico de una regla fonológica cuando su aplicación elimina el contraste entre dos formas) solo puede ocurrir entre formas del mismo paradigma flexivo; pero que los procesos variables pueden ser probabilísticamente desfavorecidos por la homofonía entre distintos elementos léxicos. La CSD es un posible caso de prueba para esta hipótesis. Investigamos esta cuestión con datos del *Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus* (Labov & Rosenfelder 2011). Calculamos cuatro modelos de regresión para la CSD, basados en diferentes formas de codificar homófonos potenciales. El primer modelo incluye solo palabras monomorfémicas monosilábicas, codificadas según si la CSD crea un homófono (*bald* → *ball*). El segundo modelo añade palabras monomorfémicas polisilábicas (*talent* → *talon*); el tercer modelo utiliza el mismo conjunto de palabras, pero considera homófonos compuestos por múltiples palabras (*attract* → *a track*); y el modelo final expande el conjunto de datos para incluir palabras polimorfémicas distintas de aquellas con el sufijo *-ed* (*lowest* → *Lois*). No encontramos evidencia de que la evitación de la homofonía reduzca la probabilidad de CSD, lo cual no respalda la hipótesis de Kaplan & Muratani (2015); $p > 0,6$ en todos los modelos, con una magnitud del coeficiente de máximo 0,1 y en la mayoría de los casos en la dirección incorrecta. Esto no demuestra que no exista un efecto de evitación de la homofonía, pero si es que existe, el efecto es demasiado pequeño para ser detectado. Varias posibles explicaciones de **por qué** podría ser difícil de detectar predecirían lo mismo para el efecto de condicionamiento morfológico, que se detecta fácilmente. Por lo tanto, creemos que este resultado nulo desafía la hipótesis funcional respecto al patrón morfológico. Si la explicación es que los usuarios del lenguaje intentan evitar la ambigüedad, esperaríamos que este principio se aplique independientemente de si la ambigüedad es morfológica o léxica; la falta de evitación de la homofonía léxica limita la generalidad de la explicación funcional.

Understanding Language and Identity in the Miss Universe Puerto Rico Pageant

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In this paper, I aim to understand what matters for the Puerto Rican identity in the context of beauty pageants and how Puerto Rican identity is constructed in the discourse when contestants are called into

question as representatives of the island. I analyze online social commentary regarding three Miss Universe Puerto Rico contestants 2019 whose race or ethnicity was highlighted in public discourse. More than 6,000 tweets were gathered from September 2021- January 2022. Only ~ 2,000 tweets focused on Miss Universe Puerto Rico (MUPR) and Miss Universe (MU). The process of gathering the data was by using the Python library Tweepy. In my code, I had set up the names of the candidates, the town they represented, and hashtags as queries. They were gathered in both English and Spanish language. Using Nvivo, I observed and grouped the tweets based on their content and context. I began to divide the themes into different categories. This qualitative project used grounded theory (Charmaz 2006, Walsh et al. 2015, Timonen 2018, Tie et al. 2019) a data-driven approach involving recursive coding. This paper explores identity, nation, and language as critical frameworks. Identity is crucial for these candidates since they must embody cultural aspects to prove they are worthy of representation. As well as nation and language, they are key in the context of Puerto Rican representation because of the relationship that exists between Puerto Rico and the U.S. and the role of both English and Spanish for the Puerto Rican community. **Madison Anderson** and **Oxana Rivera** attracted commentary because they were both born outside of the island, their Spanish not being Puerto Rican enough. It was debated if they would be a good representation of Puerto Rico. In contrast, **Michelle Colón** attracted commentary because of her afrolatina narrative. The data demonstrated that beauty pageant enthusiasts spoke of language, race, and physical traits on Twitter. Three main observations emerged regarding Puerto Rican's standards for representation. 1. Spanish is used as a method of authenticating Puerto Rican representation. As some of the candidates lacked Puerto Rican Spanish proficiency, Twitter users were more likely to criticize them as authentic Puerto Rican representation. 2. English is associated as the language of opportunity. In the data, I saw instances where Twitter users directly referenced how, on the international stage such as (MU) candidates often use English to impress judges and the broader audience, regardless of their proficiency in Puerto Rican Spanish when they are in MUPR, their English proficiency can influence their chances of winning. 3. Color (non-white) has a stronger resemblance to Puerto Rican roots. There was an indication of how Michelle Colón's narrative and afrolatina traits reminded Puerto Ricans about their heritage and offered a more authentic and cultural representation. Overall, discussions in beauty pageants in Puerto Rico are not just about beauty and femininity but also bring forward broader issues of identity, race, authenticity, and representation that are historically linked with Puerto Rico's socio-political relationship with the United States.

Autophon.org – Improving access to phonetic forced alignment technology

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Autophon (autophon.org) is a web application designed to consolidate existing forced alignment tools into a single portal while providing easy access for the phonetics research community.

Access First We take the position of *access first*, meaning that even the best tools lose their utility if they are too computationally arduous. FAVE-Align (Rosenfelder, Fruehwald, Evanini, and Yuan 2011) and the Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe, Socolof, Mihuc, Wagner, and Sonderegger 2017) are powerful phonetic tools, but they pose challenges for students and researchers who are less computationally savvy. Autophon consolidates these tools into a single, user-friendly portal. By virtue of being a web app, it is OS-agnostic, which further ensures universal access. The best tools are also of little use if few people know of their existence. The various branches of linguistics are siloed, which makes it difficult to know about specific tools without the correct professional connections. Autophon has prioritized search engine optimization (SEO) to break down these barriers, allowing researchers and students from the "wrong network" to easily find and access every forced alignment tool. This feature, along with Autophon's free and intuitive platform, democratizes access to phonetic analysis tools, fostering a more inclusive research community.

Low-Resource Languages Autophon has streamlined the widely-practiced process known as bootstrapping (Coto-Solano and Solórzano 2017; Tang and Bennett 2019; Young and McGarrah 2023), which involves adapting existing models from resource-rich languages to new target languages. For example, bootstrapped models for Faroese and Icelandic have been published using Norwegian data. Autophon thereby also facilitates phonetic investigations of underrepresented languages.

Mitigating the Paradox of Choice Sometimes known as the "paradox of choice" (Schwartz 2004), an abundance of options can lead to decision paralysis, consuming time and distracting from the original mission. In the context of phonetic tools, researchers face a growing number of forced aligners, making it resource-intensive to select the right one. This sidelines theoretical work, so Autophon aims to alleviate this problem by consolidating tools and validation metrics into a single platform. Ease of Use Autophon integrates suggested pronunciations and a grapheme-to-phoneme (g2p) function into its user interface. It also offers transcription formats favored by various linguistics subfields – named also accordingly: *Experimental Linguistics*, *Computational Linguistics*, and *Variationist Linguistics*. These features reduce the need for multiple file-conversion and preparation stages, which saves time and reduces human error. In the current market-driven environment of sociolinguistics, which increasingly favors smaller Third Wave (Eckert 2012) studies, big-data projects can only survive if administrative and technological tedium is minimized. Autophon's primary contribution lies in consolidating existing tools and making them as accessible as possible, thus supporting broader and more inclusive phonetic research while helping users stay focused on their more important empirical and theoretical goals.

Universal vs. language-specific constraints on variation: subject pronoun expression in five languages

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Disentangling universal and language-specific constraints on variation requires a cross-language comparative approach. Subject pronoun expression (SPE), variable in nearly two-thirds of the world's languages (Dryer 2013), provides a suitable phenomenon for such comparison. In this paper we compare constraints on SPE using a multilingual corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with over 1000 speakers of eight regional varieties of five languages: Tehrani Persian, Swabian German, Mandarin, Brazilian and European Portuguese, and Caribbean, European, and mainland Latin American varieties of Spanish. We discuss three linguistic constraints associated with different domains of the language faculty: with cognitive properties (reference continuity), grammar (clause type), and a combination of cognitive, grammatical and social factors (person-number).

Reference continuity is a discourse-pragmatic constraint associated with principles of accessibility (Ariel 2001). All eight varieties have higher pronoun rates when the subject referent differs from that of the previous clause (see Figure 1). We conclude that reference continuity is a universal constraint, arising in cognitive processes. There are modest language-specific differences in the constraint *strength*: it is strongest in Portuguese and Mandarin, but is highly significant for all varieties ($p < .0001$).

Person-number is an element of the grammar – pronoun systems and verbal inflection – which may differ across languages, but it also reflects cognitive accessibility, since local referents (1sg, 2sg) are situationally present while nonlocal referents (3sg, 3pl) are not permanently activated. It also engages with social practice (politeness) where languages have T/V distinctions. Six of the varieties shown in Figure 2 have significantly higher pronoun rates with local persons ($p < 0.001$) and Mandarin has the same effect but weaker ($p < .05$). Swabian, with the highest overall pronoun rate, shows no effect. Given the omnipresent accessibility of local person referents, their overt expression is counter to economy

considerations like the Maxim of Quantity (Grice 1975:173) and the Avoid Pronoun Principle (Chomsky 1981). These results indicate that communicative factors like relevance and social norms about reference to self and interlocutor play important roles in pronoun choice.

Clause type refers to the syntactic distinction between main and embedded clauses. Unlike reference continuity, this constraint seems language-specific. Overt pronouns are strongly favored in embedded clauses in Portuguese and Swabian German (both $p < 0.001$), but there is no significant effect of clause type in the other languages (see Figure 3). Notably, none of these varieties favors *null* forms in embedded clauses, despite the high discourse accessibility of embedded subject pronouns when coreferential with a matrix clause referent. This is problematic for claims in the theoretical literature that nulls are favored in lower clauses with higher clause antecedents: e.g. Holmberg et al. (2009) state that “in consistent null subject languages the pronoun has to be null” in such contexts.

In sum, constraints that are mainly cognitively motivated are cross-linguistically consistent, while syntactic constraints are more language-specific. Some constraints may be simultaneously associated with structural and social domains (morphosyntax and politeness) that differ across languages. Theories of pronoun expression that focus solely on the grammar cannot adequately distinguish universal and language-specific conditioning.

“I’m always asked am I from Ireland”: Inversion in Embedded Questions in Local and Newcomer Mid-Ulster English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In the context of critical theories and frameworks generated by recent research in the sociolinguistics of globalization^[1], this study highlights the importance of testing novel theoretical approaches (particularly the “Fourth Wave” model^[2]) to the acquisition of local patterns of variation by newcomers. It is underpinned by formal syntactic and linguistic contact orientations not usually considered in variationist studies of L2 speech.^[3] The availability of subject-auxiliary inversion in embedded questions (EIQs) (1a below), has been well-attested in Irish English (IE).^[4,5,6,7,8] This study examined how the variation is acquired by comparing the production of monolingual Mid-Ulster English-speaking (MU-E) youngsters to that of “Polish newcomers” (Polish as L1 or heritage language) in three Northern Irish (NI) locations [Figure 1]. The investigation uncovered: (i) The linguistic and social conditioning of the variation; (ii) The extent to which these constraints are readily acquired; (iii) The impact which Polish potentially had on successful acquisition. The variation in (1) is not available to all IE monolinguals. Some accounts assume it is constrained only by the semantics of the embedding predicate, whereby interrogative-like predicates (e.g. *ask*) allow inversion, but resolutive predicates (e.g. *know*) do not.^[7,8] Certain speakers also show a preference for inversion in *yes/no* over *wh*-questions,^[4,6] suggesting distinct syntactic analyses are required for each type.^[6] Prior to this investigation there were no studies of variation in Polish EIQs. However, our fieldwork suggests that a distinction likewise operates between *yes/no* and *wh*-questions, whereby subject-verb order is preferred in embedded *yes/no* questions, and dispreferred in embedded *wh*-questions. Question-embedding predicates discussed in previous literature^[4,5,6,7,8] were extracted from the *Múin Béarla* corpus.^[2] These were coded for a range of intralinguistic and extralinguistic conditioning factors and analyzed using logistic mixed effects regression models. Only significant results ($p < .05$) are reported here. In the local cohort, the following internal factors conditioned EIQ variation: (i) Embedding predicate semantics (*ask/say* favor inversion); (ii) Auxiliary verb category (modal verbs favor inversion); (iii) Embedded question type (*yes/no* questions favor inversion). The Polish cohort had acquired these particular patterns of MU-E variation. However, additional internal and external factors were also discovered to operate, i.e. NP embedded subjects favor inversion, and older speakers dispreferred EIQs. Thus, while Polish newcomers have acquired some of the intralinguistic constraints on EIQ variation locally, they do not produce EIQs that exactly replicate MU-E patterns. Instead, as older pupils in the

newcomer cohort move (in apparent time) towards EIQ usage that more closely matches their local peers, they continue to use different intralinguistic constraints on this variation, an example of “transformation under transfer”.^[9] Moreover, newcomers use different rates of EIQ in *yes/no* versus *wh*-questions, just as they would in Polish, in a possible case of “positive transfer”,^[2,10,11,12] thereby supporting the value of “Fourth Wave” accounts which consider how the acquisition of variation may be constrained by a learner’s L1. Additionally, the distinction uncovered between question types supports syntactic accounts that analyze each as distinct^[6] over others that do not.^[7,8]

Frequency of variants and the cognitive organization of variation in speaker’s linguistic knowledge

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This presentation focuses on the processing of post-alveolar and back coda fricatives (fe[ʃ]tival ~ fe[h]tival) by university Brazilian-Portuguese speakers of Rio de Janeiro that are more exposed to the former variant, more frequent among university speakers. Callou and Brandão (2009) found an overall rate of 1% of back fricatives among university speakers. The frequency of which a word is produced with a given variant has been considered in modelling the cognitive organization of linguistic variation. Connine et al. (2008) showed that the processing of words that alternate a posttonic vowel with its absence (*opera* ~ *op’ra*), in two different tasks (lexical access, syllable number judgment), is related to the frequency of the spoken word variant in a corpus. Words more frequently produced without the vowel were recognized faster in stimuli without the vowel than with it; low-deletion words showed more three syllable judgments than did high-deletion words in ambiguous two-syllable stimuli. Taken the exemplar-based hypothesis of detailed phonetic representation of wordforms in the lexicon (Bybee, 2001; Pierrehumbert, 2016), the authors conclude that the more frequent variant is dominant in relation to the others in the cluster of word’s exemplars. Differently from the case studied by Connine et al. (2008), Melo (2012) provided evidence that, in Rio, the same words may present different frequencies of the observed variants per speakers’ social group, defined by level of education and social inclusion: for the most frequent items in two spontaneous speech samples, post-alveolar predominates among High- and Elementary School speakers (Censo-2000), while back fricative prevails among socially excluded teenagers with incomplete Elementary School (EJLA-2008). According to Melo (2012), the cognitive organization of these items differs among the speakers of the two samples: back fricative is the dominant variant for EJLA speakers and post-alveolar, for Censo 2000 speakers. Forty-two university students completed a lexical decision experiment, containing 20 words, and 20 pseudowords, produced with the two coda variants in medial or final syllable, totaling 80 stimuli, split into two lists. Each participant heard twenty words, and twenty pseudowords, but never the same word with the two variants. Response (if the stimulus is a BP word) and response time as dependent variables were submitted respectively to both generalized and linear mixed models (stimuli and participants as random effects). For response, logistic regression revealed the significance of stimulus type (<.001), variant (<.001), and interaction between both variables (<.001): participants showed high accuracy in rejecting pseudowords (75%) and in identifying BP words (72%), especially words with the post-alveolar variant (93%). They were less accurate when the word variant is a back fricative (51%). For RT, only the interaction between response and stimulus type (<.001) was significant: participants were faster in answering yes for a word (mean = 37.1ms), and slower for a pseudoword (mean = 49.4ms). These results provide evidence that speaker’s social experience with the frequency of the spoken word variant affects its processing, and they corroborate Melo’s hypothesis for production data as well: the post-alveolar is the dominant variant for higher schooling-level speakers.

(Author Translation)

Esta apresentação enfoca o processamento de fricativas pós-alveolares e posteriores em coda (fe[ʃ]tival ~ fe[h]tival) por falantes universitários do Rio de Janeiro que estão mais expostos à primeira variante, mais frequente entre universitários. Callou e Brandão (2009) encontraram uma taxa geral de 1% de fricativas posteriores nos universitários. A frequência com que uma palavra é produzida com uma determinada variante tem sido considerada na modelagem da organização cognitiva da variação linguística. Connine et al. (2008) mostraram que o processamento de palavras que alternam vogal postônica com sua ausência (ópera ~ op'ra), em duas tarefas distintas (acesso lexical, julgamento do número de sílabas), está relacionado à frequência da variante da palavra falada em um corpus. Palavras produzidas mais frequentemente sem vogal foram reconhecidas mais rapidamente em estímulos sem vogal do que com ela; palavras mais frequentemente com vogal mostraram mais julgamentos de três sílabas do que palavras com alta ausência em estímulos ambíguos de duas sílabas. Partindo da hipótese de representação fonética detalhada das formas de palavras no léxico (Bybee, 2001; Pierrehumbert, 2016), os autores concluem que a variante mais frequente é dominante em relação às demais na representação em exemplares. Diferentemente do estudo de Connine et al. (2008), Melo (2012) mostrou que, no Rio, as mesmas palavras podem apresentar frequências diferentes das variantes observadas por grupo social dos falantes, definido por nível de escolaridade e inclusão social: em itens mais frequentes em duas amostras de fala espontânea, a pós-alveolar predomina entre falantes do ensino médio e fundamental (Censo-2000), enquanto a fricativa posterior prevalece entre adolescentes excluídos socialmente com ensino fundamental incompleto (EJLA-2008). Segundo Melo (2012), a organização cognitiva desses itens difere entre falantes das duas amostras: a fricativa posterior é a variante dominante para falantes da EJLA e a pós-alveolar, para falantes da Censo 2000. Quarenta e dois universitários realizaram um experimento de decisão lexical, contendo 20 palavras e 20 pseudopalavras, produzidas com as duas variantes em sílaba medial ou final, totalizando 80 estímulos, divididos em duas listas. Cada participante ouviu vinte palavras e vinte pseudopalavras, mas nunca a mesma palavra com as duas variantes. A resposta (se o estímulo é uma palavra do PB) e o tempo de resposta como variáveis dependentes foram submetidos respectivamente a modelos mistos generalizado e linear (estímulos e participantes como efeitos aleatórios). Para resposta, a regressão logística revelou significância do tipo de estímulo ($<0,001$), variante ($<0,001$) e interação entre ambas as variáveis ($<0,001$): houve alta acurácia na rejeição de pseudopalavras (75%) e identificação de palavras (72%), principalmente palavras com variante pós-alveolar (93%). Houve menos acurácia em palavras com fricativa posterior (51%). Nos TRs, foi significativa a interação entre resposta e tipo de estímulo ($<0,001$): participantes foram mais rápidos em responder sim para palavra (média = 37,1ms) e mais lentos para pseudopalavra (média = 49,4ms). Esses resultados mostram que a experiência social do falante com a frequência da variante da palavra falada afeta seu processamento, e corroboram também a hipótese de Melo: a pós-alveolar é a variante dominante para falantes de maior escolaridade.

When the historical, social, and linguistic meet: A study on variation in Heritage Belgian Dutch in 19th and 20th century North America

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research on heritage languages, broadly defined as minority languages present in multilingual contexts (cf. Montrul and Polinsky 2021), has surged in recent decades. While most studies on heritage languages adopt a more formal and structural perspective, heritage speakers have recently attracted attention from sociolinguistic researchers as well (see e.g., Brown & Bousquette 2018; Kasstan, Auer & Salmons 2018). In addition to this social turn, the field of heritage language linguistics is currently also experiencing a historical turn. As such, attention has shifted from contemporary to historical heritage languages and their speakers by relying on historical sociolinguistic approaches (see e.g., Hoffman & Kytö 2019). Analyzing the language use of the first generations of heritage speakers provides a deeper understanding of the input

varieties of contemporary heritage languages and offers greater insight into the dynamics of language contact in historical multilingual contexts as well. This paper aims to advance historical heritage sociolinguistic research by providing a comprehensive analysis of heritage language use and its influencing factors. Whereas most studies thus far tend to take a micro-perspective approach, focusing on specific linguistic variables in smaller corpora comprising texts of one or two scribes, we propose exploring heritage language variation through a bigger lens. Specifically, this entails conducting multivariate analyses of linguistic, pragmatic, and socio-demographic variables on a larger dataset containing texts from a range of different scribes. Our goal is to determine if different population subgroups use distinct repertoires and to characterize those repertoires in more detail linguistically. Specifically, this paper will analyze the incorporation of English lexemes in Heritage Belgian Dutch in 19th and 20th century North America, employing random forests and conditional inference trees (cf. Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012). To this end, we rely on the Flemish American Letters and Newspaper (FALN) corpus: a self-compiled corpus that contains 324 ego-documents sent from the U.S. and Canada to Belgium by 98 scribes on the one hand, and 105 editions of three Flemish-American heritage newspapers on the other. To determine whether certain socio-demographic groups display a greater inclination toward using English lexemes, we investigate the social variables ‘sex’, ‘age’, ‘neighborhood of residence’, ‘duration of residence in North America’, and ‘level of English proficiency’ in the ego-documents. Linguistic variation is explored in the whole corpus through ‘loan process’, ‘loan type’, ‘level of integration’, and ‘part of speech’ to identify the specific types of English interferences in the Flemish-American repertoire. The final objective is to chart the impact of pragmatic variables by examining ‘semantic domain’, ‘level of necessity’, and the effect of speech context. The latter is operationalized through text type, as ego-documents constitute more informal language use and newspapers more formal, based on the continuum of communicative immediacy and distance (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985). The first results of our study show ‘duration of residence’ as a significant social predictor, whereas the other social variables have a smaller effect. We further find great variation in linguistic predictors according to speech context, while the effect of the other pragmatic variables is similar in both text types.

Phonetics and Phonological Error Analysis of the /n/-/l/ Merger in Xiang Dialect: Implications for Mandarin and English Pronunciation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study investigates the phonetic production and phonological error rates of the phonemes /n/ and /l/ among Xiang dialect speakers, with a focus on their pronunciation in both Standard Mandarin and English. Utilizing Praat software, the analysis provides a comprehensive look at formant and bandwidth metrics, revealing a consistent pattern of pronounced nasalization and broader bandwidths in these speakers, which suggest an open nasal passage in Mandarin and a similarly open nasal cavity in English. This articulation style leads to distinctive phonetic profiles characterized by lower formant frequencies and wider bandwidths, indicative of the dialect's influence on phoneme production. Phonological observations highlight how vowel contexts and word structures impact the accuracy of consonant articulation across the two languages. In Mandarin, error rates vary with vowel rhymes, with lower errors in non-high vowel contexts and in disyllabic combo words that provide phonetic support. In contrast, English presents more challenges, particularly in non-combo words where lateral sounds are less supported by adjacent vowels, resulting in higher error rates. This analysis shows that English is generally more error-prone due to its phonetic complexity and the varied familiarity of Xiang dialect speakers with the language, indicating a misalignment with their native phonological patterns, especially for lateral sounds. The findings underscore the complex interplay of linguistic factors that affect bilingual phonetic production and emphasize the distinct phonological obstacles faced by speakers of the Xiang dialect when navigating multiple languages.

Keywords: phonetic production, Xiang dialect, Standard Mandarin, English, nasal sound, lateral sound

Reinventing an identity for a more liberal audience

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

We examine individual lifespan change in the speech of an Icelandic MP, Þorgerður Gunnarsdóttir, who style-shifts after she switches parties, by becoming less formal as her political stance becomes more liberal. We argue that the change in her linguistic behavior is a part of a successful identity reconstruction that caters to a more liberal audience. We also monitor pivotal moments in Gunnarsdóttir's career and we see correspondence between the use of SF and fluctuations in Gunnarsdóttir's political career.

Background: While some linguistic lifespan change is systematically connected to community change (e.g. Sankoff and Wagner 2006; 2011), reasons for change can be individual-specific; tied to personal histories (Stefánsdóttir and Ingason 2018). Furthermore, as in the case of Barack Obama, it has been suggested that politicians make use of their variable linguistic behavior in order to align themselves with particular sets of constituents (Holliday 2020). Cases where politicians change their use of stylistic variation as they enter new periods in their career can be analyzed as examples of audience design (Bell 1984).

Variable: Stylistic Fronting (SF) is optional movement of elements to a phonologically empty Spec,TP in Icelandic, see (1–2). SF reflects formal style (Maling 1980) and was historically stable, but gradually became less frequent in the 20th century. Designing a more liberal audience across the lifespan: As a member of a conservative party, Gunnarsdóttir's speech was quite formal, with an average rate of SF of 65%, but as a member of a more liberal party, her speech is considerably less formal, with an average rate of SF at 38%. This trend can be observed in Figure 1. Note that the one high point in 2016 reflects sparse data. Interestingly, a less formal language use is not the only change that can be seen in Gunnarsdóttir, as her image has shifted quite a lot since she changed parties, going from a pantsuit-wearing conservative to a casual looking liberal and a devoted handball fan, the latter resembling Joe Biden's attempts to connect to younger voters by posting his TikTok debut about the Super Bowl in 2024. We analyze these changes as a successful identity reconstruction that was necessary for Gunnarsdóttir's political future, as she had previously been forced out of office due to morally questionable actions before and during the economic crash of 2008. The downward style-shift monitored is, therefore, an example of audience design where she alters her linguistic performance to be a better match for a more liberal audience, resulting in a more casual speech pattern than before.

Conclusion: We find that a marker of formal speech such as Stylistic Fronting can be adjusted as part of constructing an identity that caters to a different set of voters. In the case of Gunnarsdóttir, her process of reinventing herself as a more liberal politician was successful as she was able to gain popularity among the voters of her new party.

The use of hedges in conversational speech: Gendered or generational?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Some discourse markers (Schiffrin, 1987) assume the function of hedging, the function of which emerged when the referential meaning developed into a more interactional one in addressing potential face concerns (Aijmer, 2002; Holmes, 1988; Overstreet, 2010; Pomerantz, 1984). Many studies have rightfully

shown that hedges are optimally understood in a localized context (Coates, 1988; Holmes, 1990; Beeching, 2002). However, our understanding of hedges can also benefit from systematic examination of their synchronic and diachronic trends (D'Arcy, 2012; Denis, 2015; Wagner et al., 2015). The current study seeks to contribute to the latter by taking a variationist approach. In exploring how frequently hedges are used in conversational speech, the present study extracted 14 hedges (4 words, 7 bigrams, 3 trigrams) – namely, *like, maybe, probably, well, kind of, sort of, I mean, I think, you know, or whatever; but uh/um, stuff like that, things like that, something like that* – from sociolinguistic interviews collected between 2019 and 2021. 42 speakers of American English were included, age ranging from 19 to 80, with 24 identifying themselves as female and 18 as male. From each interview, an average of 28.1 minutes of interviewee speech was extracted and analyzed. There were a total of 42,714 utterances and 234,147 words included in the dataset. Data preparation and analyses were conducted using R (R Core Team, 2021), utilizing the Package ‘tidytext’ (Silge & Robinson, 2016). Results show that the hedges occur, on average, 5.25 percent of the time, and that the frequency of hedges is negatively correlated with speaker age ($R = 0.64$, $p < .0013$). This pattern is mainly attributed to *like* and *kind of / sort of*, both of which increasing over time without gender as a mediating factor. The use of *well*, on the other hand, seems to be decreasing over time, in which younger speakers use this item less frequently than older speakers. It is also found that the rate of *you know* is marginally higher among males than females ($p = 0.09$). The results provide apparent time evidence that the hedges are becoming more frequent in speech over time, and that this trend is being predominantly led by a small number of particular items. The study discusses the findings in light of other linguistic features such as creaky voice and High Rising Terminal (i.e., ‘uptalk’), which have been documented to be either gendered and generational (or both).

Perceptual Differences between Seoul and Kyungsang Dialect Speakers on Tensification in English Loanword Adaptation in Korean

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

English [b, d, g, dʒ] can map to either Korean plain [p, t, k, ʈ] or tense [p', t', k', ʈ'] in word-initial prevocalic positions in English loanwords. Tensification occurs more when a word-initial consonant is alveopalatal and when a vowel following the word-initial consonant is non-high. The Kyungsang dialect has tones, and a high tone (H) has similar characteristics to tense sounds (e.g., greater intensity, higher pitch). Thus, a consonant onset in a syllable with H might be perceived similarly to a tense onset in the Kyungsang dialect, and Kyungsang speakers might apply tone patterns to tensification in English loanwords. Specifically, HL is the most common pattern in disyllables, and LHL is the most common pattern in trisyllables in the Kyungsang dialect (Do, 2014). Hence, tensification in trisyllables in the Kyungsang dialect possibly does not occur as frequently as in Seoul Korean under the same linguistic environments. This study used perceptual experiments. Perceptual studies (Kenstowicz, 2003) argue that a higher degree of perceptual similarity between non-native inputs and native outputs causes phonological changes in loanword adaptation. Based on this, perceptual hypotheses are formulated: i) English words with a word-initial alveopalatal consonant are perceived as similar to Korean words with tensification more often than English words with other consonant places (consonant effect); ii) English words with a non-high vowel right after the word-initial consonant are perceived as similar to Korean words with tensification more often than English words with a high vowel (vowel effect); iii) Kyungsang speakers apply tone patterns to tensification in English loanwords. Perceptual experiments were conducted with Seoul speakers (f=4, m=4) and Kyungsang speakers (f=4, m=4). In the experiment for the consonant effect, X is an English disyllable [CVp.du] or trisyllable [CVp.du.du] with C being one of alveopalatal/bilabial/velar/alveolar and V being one of high [i, u]. A and B are the corresponding Korean forms (e.g., A: [CVp.tu], B: [C'Vp.tu], X: [CVp.du]). In the experiment for the vowel effect, X is an English disyllable [dVp.du] or trisyllable [dVp.du.du] with V being one of high/mid/low vowels. A and B are the corresponding Korean forms (e.g., A: [tVp.tu], B: [t'Vp.tu], X: [dVp.du]). Participants were asked to

choose the Korean form (A or B) which sounds more similar to the English X. 1280 ABX sequences were collected for each experiment. The results showed that the consonant effect and the vowel effect in disyllables are statistically significant for both Seoul and Kyungsang speakers, with no significant difference in tensification rates between the two groups. However, in trisyllables, although both groups follow these effects, the tensification rate for Kyungsang speakers is significantly lower than for Seoul speakers. This may be due to the influence of tone patterns in the Kyungsang dialect, where H is rarely placed in the first syllable, leading to less frequent tensification in trisyllabic loanwords. These findings highlight a crucial perceptual difference between Seoul and Kyungsang speakers, suggesting that the tonal nature of the Kyungsang dialect significantly impacts their perception and adaptation of English loanwords.

Crafting Belonging: Identity and Code-switching Among Chinese International Students in the U.S.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While identity has been extensively explored, many studies in sociolinguistics overlook the affective dimension of identification processes [1]. This research examines how Chinese international students in the U.S. construct a sense of belonging through code-switching and other discursive practices. Drawing on in-depth interviews with six mainland Chinese international students, this study identifies pronoun use and ethnic labeling as pivotal linguistic features for identity construction. Additionally, code-switching, the practice of alternating between English and Chinese in conversation, is instrumental in developing a "middler" identity—a term used by participants to denote their affective experience of being in a cultural interstitial position—along with various non-linguistic practices. The tradition of studying abroad in the U.S. among Chinese students dates back to the 1870s. China has been the largest source of international students in the U.S. since 1990, with 380,000 students reported in 2023. Despite their significant presence, this demographic has been significantly understudied in sociolinguistic contexts. This project involves six graduate students who participated in interviews to elicit spontaneous Mandarin speech, which was transcribed, analyzed, and coded for pronoun use and ethnic labeling using MaxQDA. All participants completed their pre-university education in China and earned bachelor's degrees in engineering in the U.S. This analysis sheds light on how these linguistic practices contribute to identity negotiation and belonging. Firstly, the results reveal that Chinese international students utilize pronouns and ethnic labels to index belonging. Their use of language extends beyond merely creating a collective ethnic identity; for example, they use the ethnic label "Americans" and the pronoun "they" to create narratives of otherness [2], thereby emphasizing the differences between American and Chinese student communities (Excerpt 1). Furthermore, these linguistic tools are also used to define group boundaries at an individual level. One participant, while discussing his engineering peers, alternates between "we" and "they" to reflect his alignment or separation from those who obtained their bachelor's degrees from Chinese universities or those following different career paths. This usage highlights the fluidity and intricacy of belonging among Chinese students abroad (Excerpt 2). Moreover, responses to interview questions targeting discursive practices reveal that these students do not entirely assimilate into U.S. culture despite their educational pursuits, termed "intellectual prospects" [3]. Instead, they cultivate a "middler" identity that straddles their native and adopted cultures. Practices such as participating in cultural festivities, enjoying ethnic foods, and employing code-switching in conversations facilitate this identity. Participants believe that their increasing time spent in the U.S. academic environment reinforces their code-switching behavior. Code-switching, therefore, serves not merely as a communicative tool but also as a marker of belonging, delineating insiders from outsiders within the Chinese international students' community [4]. This behavior underscores a broader ideological and cultural divergence between students educated in the U.S. and those in China, emphasizing language's role in defining membership and enhancing community bonds. Overall, this study showcases the complex interplay

between linguistic and non-linguistic practices in shaping the sense of belonging among Chinese international students, contributing to a broader understanding of affective belonging in diasporic context.

How does [mi] brain make [mi] talk?: An acoustic analysis of First-Person Possessive and First-Person Object

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Our paper contributes to the question of how phonological information is stored in the mind. Previous research has suggested that systematic variation is encoded at the level of the lemma (e.g., Drager 2011). In a similar vein, Gahl (2008) refuted the assumption that perceived homophones are realised in the exact same way regardless of their meaning or function. As a result of phonetic differences in homophone pairs in which one meaning/function is used more frequently than its counterpart, Gahl (2008) suggests that acoustic information is stored individually in a speaker's mind for different lemmas. Our analysis adds novel data to this discussion. We present an acoustic analysis of the first-person possessive (1POS), which can be realised as [mai], [mi], [mə], and [mɑ] in the North-East of England (Childs 2013) as well as the first-person object (1OBJ), which is realised as [mi], [me], [mə] and [mei] in the community we study. To this end, we investigate the phonetic profile and the extent to which lemma-specific realisations of 1POS [mi] are different from 1OBJ [mi]. To date, the research has focused on the change of variants of 1POS in real and apparent time (Childs 2013, Moelders to appear). Detailed analysis reveals that proportional differences in the realisation of 1POS are contingent on social factors (see Moelders to appear). Less attention has been paid to variation in the phonetic realisation of 1POS. The present study fills that gap by exploring a panel sample of 30 speakers aged 19 to 81 from Tyneside in the North-East of England. We rely on auditory coding of approximately 2,000 tokens taken from sociolinguistic interviews in conjunction with an acoustic analysis of F1 and F2 (measurements taken at 5% intervals) over the trajectory of the vowel. We find that the acoustic realisation of [mi] differs depending on its function as 1POS or 1OBJ. When fulfilling the role of 1OBJ, [mi] is longer than when acting as 1POS while the Euclidean Distance stays the same. This results in quicker rate of change over the trajectory, suggesting a reduction of the lemma/word of higher frequency (1POS). We also analyse the rate of change over the trajectory to investigate the behaviour of individual parts of the vowel. Preliminary findings show a significant difference at the offglide while onset and nucleus seem to behave similarly. These findings are fully in line with Gahl's (2008) argument that homophones are not necessarily realised in the exact same way regardless of their meaning or function. This supports exemplar-based models of processing, which assume that lemmas/words are stored with acoustic information (e.g., Pierrehumbert 2002). Our results thus point to by-lemma encoding, since 1POS and 1OBJ [mi] acoustically differ from each other. This finding, which supports Childs (2013), runs counter the assumptions that 1POS realised as [mi] is "an extension of the object form" (Anderwald 2004:177).

"They embody bureaucrat": how character types anchor social meaning for the construction of personae

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Persona is the enactment of style that emerges as social distinction (Eckert 2016). Understanding the social meaning of style needs an analysis of persona management (Coupland 2001). Persona has been studied as intra-speaker variation across interactional situations (Podesva 2007). Personae, like "diva," are

masks speakers put on for interactional purposes. However, how do interactants draw on and interpret the sociolinguistic resources that construct a persona? Where does the social meaning of these sociolinguistic resources come from? This talk addresses these questions via the conceptual and social construct of character type (Agha 2003) – a concept sometimes not treated as distinct from persona (D’Onofrio 2020). Character types are conventional social images of personhood enregistered with linguistic and other semiotic features. They are always abstracted from certain social situations and thus inhabit dialogic interactions. By presenting the stylistic elements of the Chinese character type *Bureaucrat*, and how these packaged features are taken into daily interactions as a persona, I argue that character types anchor the social meaning of sociolinguistic features for the construction of personae in interactions. The prominent Chinese character type *Bureaucrat* refers to older superiors, often from China’s party system, who give tedious and long-winded speeches that lack actual substance in meetings. The speech data come from an interactive game in triads, where Beijing Mandarin speakers took turns performing a selected group of locally salient character types without any scripts. Meta-discursive analysis to capture the social meanings of these styles comes from comments on social media and focus group discussions by these speakers. Quantitative and qualitative Linguistic analysis illustrates a wide range of resources packaged for the *Bureaucrat*. Speakers performed the *Bureaucrat* with a slow and steady speech rate but highly variable syllable duration. They used marked phrasing by inserting long and variable filled pauses between and within intonational phrases. Furthermore, they produced little variation in voice quality, pitch contours, and body gestures. Some lexical items the speakers employed evoked rigid, old-fashioned social relationships. The social meaning of individual or bundled features was revealed by mapping these features to meta-discursive comments. According to the social comments, the *Bureaucrat* can be used as a persona in moment-to-moment interactions outside the party structure and the meeting context. Personifying this way is termed *daguanqian* ‘gesturing the bureaucratic style’. Social actors can enact PART of character type’s stylistic package in various situations to present SOME perceived qualities of the character type - for example, using substanceless speech to create plausible deniability, indexing ideology aligned with the party, or portraying the power dynamics the character type inhabits. These findings demonstrate that the abstract and ideological character type connects social meanings to stylistic packages in a semiotic landscape. Speakers familiar with this landscape can draw on these resources to construct personae in everyday interactions. Repeated enactments of personae in different contexts can eventually shift the social meaning associated with character types. As conceptual tools to understand social meaning, personae can be observed and captured in real-time interactions, while character types can be elicited by ecologically-minded experiments

Analyzing variation in strategies of evaluation: The #BritishLatinos comment section

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recently, there has been an increasing interest within sociolinguistics in how identities are constructed and contested on online platforms such as TikTok and YouTube (Callesano, 2023; Chun, 2013; 2018; Ilbury, 2023; Slobe, 2018). As part of this process of identity construction, it is important to also consider the “uptake” (Agha, 2011) of these mediatized identities and figures - as Wortham & Reyes (2015) explain, this is most robustly achieved through analysis of viewer and audience comments. Various studies (Chun, 2013; 2018; Koven & Simões Marquez 2015; Walton & Jaffe, 2011) have analyzed variation in discourse evaluation within viewer comments - or uptake - from a variety of theoretical positions. Chun (2018) analyzed the varying discourse strategies viewers use to construct the speech of the “Southern Redneck” on YouTube - chief amongst these are “discourse flags” in which viewers respond to particular stretches of discourse and “discourse evaluations” in which viewers elaborate affective stances towards the discourse of the video. Koven & Simões Marquez (2015) likewise analyze how viewers use variation in discourse evaluation to appraise the videos of French performers *Ro et Cut*

and identify several positive evaluation strategies including direct requotation and declarations of authenticity and familiarity. On the other hand, negative evaluations are indexed through critical commentary from those positioned as insiders. The present study continues this line of enquiry by qualitatively analyzing the discourse strategies viewers use to evaluate a series of videos from TikTok tagged with the following hashtags: *#britishlatino*, *#latinosinlondon*, *#uklatinos*, *#latinosuk* and *#latinosenlondres*. Following the selection criteria from Chun (2018), 550 comments were qualitatively analyzed from an initial corpus of 26,566 comments. Each comment was firstly classified based on positive and negative sentiment. Comments which could not be classified in this way were classified as neutral; ie, as lacking a discourse marker or strategy which indexed positive or negative evaluation. Following the findings of previous studies (Chun, 2013; Chun & Walters, 2011; Koven & Simões Marquez, 2015), the comments were then coded for the use of evaluative/affective language, stance markers, such as attitude markers, hedges and boosters (Hyland, 2005), and quotations. Results show that similar to previous work (Chun & Walters, 2011), the majority of viewers elaborated positive stances towards the videos. Furthermore, due to the short-form nature of the videos, viewers were less likely to use quotations as a strategy of evaluation. Instead, viewers indexed stances of alignment and solidarity through agreement and love (Chun, 2013), and also, through declarations of familiarity (Koven & Simões Marquez, 2015). This study therefore provides important insights into the various discourse strategies viewers use when evaluating mediatized discourse and identities on the social media platform, TikTok. As part of this, it confirms that many of the strategies viewers use for discourse evaluation on Youtube are also present on TikTok.

Endangered languages and Family Language Policy interventions: evidence from a QR PSF project

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper presents the insight gained from the implementation of a QR PSF (Quality Research Policy Support Fund) research project that examined why Cypriot Maronite Arabic (CMA) is severely endangered (Karyolemou 2019) and demonstrates how this informed the design of an intervention that supports the transmission of the language. Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted in the framework of the project; four interviews with families in which both parents are speakers of CMA, and four interviews with families in which only one of the parents is a CMA speaker. The analysis of the data revealed that the fact that CMA speakers were forced to migrate from Kormakitis, the village where the language was spoken, to the south part of the island after 1974, had a significant impact on CMA Family Language Policy (FLP). CMA speakers' attitudes towards their native language changed, and they stopped transmitting the language to the young generation. The study's participants reported that the language will not be "useful" to their children; that is why they did not transmit it to them. Nevertheless, they stated that they are proud of their language and culture. Studies on home language transmission have shown that speakers who are proud members of an ethnolinguistic community want to transmit their language to their children (Schwartz 2010). This study showed that this is not the case with CMA speakers. Their attitude towards the "usefulness" of their language, as a consequence of the forced migration, is the FLP factor that prevails over the other factors reported in the study. The knowledge acquired from the analysis of the interview data informed a policy proposal that was submitted to local stakeholders and policy makers in Cyprus. A Family Language Policy intervention has been designed to support the transmission of CMA. The intervention builds on the research outputs of the award-winning "Planting Languages" Erasmus+ project, further developing the project tools to educate CMA families on how to design their own family specific language planning strategy, so that they successfully transmit CMA to the young generation and maintain their language and culture. The FLP tools are currently being pilot tested with families of the CMA community. Family Language Policy interventions that are informed by a thorough investigation of the features and the language ideologies of the endangered

language's community are a promising way of effectively addressing language death that threatens language diversity.

Becoming a “Treehouser”: Identity, power, and language variation in a small online community

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This project investigates the linguistic behavior of one individual from 2002 to 2006 in an online community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992) as she becomes a core member. It is both variationist and autoethnographic, as “Amy” – a Canadian teenager – is the author’s younger self before linguistic training. The data encompass 208 forum threads saved to Amy’s hard drive at the time, amounting to 750,000 words, analyzed with AntConc 4.3.0 (Anthony 2024). “MusicTreeHouse” (1997-2006) was an international online forum aimed at young adults interested in Western classical music. By 2001, the approximately 20 core members have developed a collective in-group identity as “Treehousers,” establishing group norms, jargon, and a hierarchy that is playful but overtly codified. Led by two Canadians – sensible, assertive “Laura” and her sidekick “Ian,” more theatrical and imperious – the Treehousers act much like the “nerd girls” of Bucholtz (1999). Normative English is prized as a supposed sign of intellectualism; orthographic deviations are derided; but there is considerable shared language play, often via facetious hyperstandardness and/or “comic archaism” (Crystal 2008:147). Amy’s idiolect is already a normative variety of Canadian English, but MusicTreeHouse exposes her to unfamiliar British morphosyntactic variants via three members from the UK and also Ian, who has one British parent. Since Britishness in general is prestigious for the Treehousers, these variants may stand out to Amy as forms to use for [+in-group] meaning (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Eckert and Wenger 2005:584). The overarching hypothesis is that she – promoted to third in the Treehouser hierarchy at the end of 2002 – will use these increasingly thereafter. As a test-case variable, this study examines auxiliary-negative sequences with *have+not*, *will+not*, and *would+not* after pronominal subjects. While variation between auxiliary-contraction and negative-contraction is established in a disparate set of UK varieties (Tagliamonte and Smith 2002), Canadian English almost categorically contracts the negatives (Qian 2023). Amy should therefore begin using only *haven’t*, *won’t*, and *wouldn’t*. If she observes the alternatives *‘ve not*, *‘ll not*, and *‘d not* around MusicTreeHouse and attributes [+in-group] value to them, she will begin showing variability. Results (see Table 1) reveal a Canadian baseline provided by Laura (N = 42): no use of auxiliary-contraction with any of *have+not*, *will+not*, and *would+not*. Ian, while also Canadian, shows presumed intergenerational influence: in his tokens (N = 96), 18.9% of *have+not*, 10.3% of *will+not*, and 6.7% of *would+not* are contracted. Amy (N = 43) develops variability as anticipated, 14 months after she joins MusicTreeHouse. However, the reason is not time, but persona/stance. Amy uses *‘ve not* and *‘d not* only in exceptional situations where she holds power – when Ian is away. Given a pre-existing longer absence of Laura, Amy’s “authoritative” style is modeled on Ian in general. This exemplifies how, as per Eckert and Wenger (2005:584), “the process of identity construction leads speakers to...find their own ways of asserting their own places in group practice” – even in computer-mediated communication with people from all over the world.

I am part and I am whole: Raciopragmatics of “part” labels for mixed-race categorization in the Fiji Islands

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Mixed-race individuals are typically labeled and treated as outsiders, “in-betweeners” or living embodiments of hybridity, representing multiple social categories. Studies examining language and mixed-race further show individuals use of various linguistic resources to perform complex identities, and the same linguistic resources creating “mixedness” as a category (Holliday 2016, Reyes 2020, Bucholtz 1995, Kitolelei 2013). However, there is little research on how mixed-race as a concept is reflected in other aspects of language, such as the process of label construction and assignment for categorization and social distinction. In this research, I examine the use of assigned racial labels, naming, and switching practices, among mixed-race individuals in Fiji, in order to further explain how mixedness is conceptualized and performed as a salient social category. I investigate how the compositional structure and socio-pragmatics of various mixed-race labels interact with racial ideologies through a combination of raciolinguistic frameworks (Rosa & Flores 2017), compositional semantics, socio-pragmatics, sociolinguistic interviews and linguistic fieldwork. I show how labels reflect changing conceptualizations of race and “mixedness” by both mixed and mono-racial individuals in Fiji using data collected over a one-month period of linguistic fieldwork consisting of sociolinguistic interviews, identity discussions, and metapragmatic discourse with mixed-race individuals in Suva, Fiji. Part-European (P.E.), is one of the common terms used in Fiji, describing, and labeling those who are mixed-race with European. P.E. elicits a first, and strongest, reading of *European/iTaukei*, with *European/other* being a secondary reading. In order for the term in a Part-X structure to complete this work, *part* does several things, creating a relationship with the following term, placing it as the *marked*, differentiated, or focused, racial grouping, where the *unmarked* form is then filled in according to local or social racial ideologies, the *iTaukei* in Fiji.

Part:

1. Presupposes that race is a salient social category used to attribute belonging to individuals.
2. Presupposes a conceptualization of racial mixing where groups are distinct and mixing results in a composite combination.
3. Creates an abstract upper-level pragmatic entity, *human*, which can be categorized and referenced as the sum of its racial components

Mixed-race labels in the structure “part-x” (like P.E.) establish a relationship of racial meronymy whereby, the label itself establishes a part-whole relationship with the marked race (part) and the pragmatic human entity (whole) of the referent. This analysis of P.E. eliciting a somewhat stable *European/iTaukei* reading first is supported through metalinguistic statements, “*One parent was full on European while the other was Fijian*” from field data. As a result, the label itself, coupled with racial ideologies, reinforces the saliency of race and the construction of mixedness. The ‘part-x’ structure also allows for various forms of productive in- and out-group use to describe mixedness through the use of a marked/unmarked distinction referencing the abstract pragmatic human entity through racial meronymy in a process of *raciopragmatics*. This research highlights the need for more socio-pragmatic and raciolinguistic work examining how compositional structures and ideologies of labels reflect constructions of race and mixedness.

Expect the Unexpected: Considerations when Collecting Children’s Speech Data for Spanish Voice AI in the Classroom

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The aim of this project is to collect audio data suitable for evaluating the performance of a commercial Spanish Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) system. This system is intended for use by children across

the US as a component of various educational products. A primary motivator for developing and testing such a system is the growing requirement for educational content in the US to be available in both English and Spanish - allowing for assessment and practice to be carried out in a child's dominant language. To evaluate the accuracy of this ASR, a large-scale speech data collection project is designed with the primary intention of ensuring it is representative of the Spanish varieties used throughout the US. Five key states are chosen as focus areas for data collection: Texas, California, Florida, Illinois, and New York. This allows for a diverse range of Spanish speakers with different spoken varieties including Mexican, Argentinian, Puerto Rican, Colombian, Guatemalan, Venezuelan, Ecuadorian and Dominican. When it comes to language technologies, children are not just "small adults" and a system designed for use by children needs to be evaluated specifically on children's voice data. The collection of children's data for this purpose, specifically in the 4 to 12 year age range, presents new challenges over that of adults. There are additional considerations when designing text prompts for young children still acquiring literacy skills. Whilst text prompts for adult speakers might be constructed with a focus on such things as phonetic coverage or eliciting specific variation, children's prompts must also take into account the developing language skills of the participants and the accessibility of the language used within the prompt. Indeed, for those particularly young, pre-literate children, reading a prompt may be entirely unfeasible. In these instances, best results are obtained by adopting listen-and-repeat style prompting whereby the guardian or facilitator speaks an utterance and then records the child repeating it back. It is especially important in this case to ensure that the prompt is short, simple, and memorable so as not to add unnecessary cognitive load to the child. In a similar vein, it would be unreasonable to expect a young child to sit at a microphone for any length of time reading or repeating a large number of utterances. Child participants, when compared with adults, are much more prone to distraction, incomplete recording tasks, and significant variation in microphone placement. Throughout this project, participants are asked to complete a limited number of short speech elicitation tasks, with each speaker contributing about 6-12 minutes of audio in total. The tasks themselves are designed to be representative of how the technology will be used in an educational setting. Whilst older children are more likely to be reading long-form text passages, early literacy learning tends to focus on things like letter naming and the production of short single words. As such, the evaluation data needs to capture these use cases to accurately assess how the system will perform in the real world.

Abstract (Translation)

El objetivo de este proyecto es recopilar datos de audio adecuados para evaluar el desempeño de un sistema comercial de reconocimiento automático de voz (ASR, sigla en inglés) en español. Este sistema será utilizado por niños de todo EE. UU. como componente de diversos productos educativos. La principal motivación para desarrollar dicho ASR es la creciente necesidad de que el contenido educativo en los EE. UU. esté disponible en inglés y en español. El niño puede de esta forma practicar y ser evaluado en su idioma dominante. Para evaluar la precisión de este ASR, se diseña un proyecto de recopilación de datos de voz a gran escala con la intención de garantizar la representación de las variantes del español utilizadas en los EE. UU. Se eligen cinco estados clave para la recopilación de datos: Texas, California, Florida, Illinois y Nueva York. Esto permite capturar una amplia gama de hispanohablantes incluyendo mexicano, argentino, puertorriqueño, colombiano, guatemalteco, venezolano, ecuatoriano y dominicano. Cuando se trata de tecnologías del lenguaje, los niños no son solo "adultos pequeños" y un sistema diseñado para ser usado por niños debe evaluarse con datos de voz de niños. La recopilación de datos de voz, concretamente en los rangos de edad de 4 a 12 años, presenta nuevos desafíos comparados con la grabación de adultos. Hay consideraciones adicionales al diseñar textos para niños que recién empiezan a adquirir habilidades de alfabetización. Mientras los textos para participantes adultos pueden enfocarse en cosas como la cobertura fonética o la obtención de variaciones específicas, las indicaciones de los niños también deben tener en cuenta el desarrollo de las habilidades lingüísticas de los participantes y la accesibilidad del idioma utilizado en el texto. De hecho, para niños particularmente jóvenes y pre-alfabetizados, la lectura de un texto puede ser inviable. En estos casos, se obtienen mejores resultados adoptando un estilo de escucha y repetición en el que el tutor o facilitador pronuncia una frase para luego grabar al niño repitiéndola. Es importante asegurarse de que la frase sea corta, simple y memorable para no agregar una carga cognitiva innecesaria al niño. No se esperaría que un niño pequeño se siente frente a un micrófono durante un largo tiempo leyendo en voz alta o repitiendo frases. Los niños participantes, en

comparación con los adultos, son mucho más propensos a distracciones, tareas de grabación incompletas y a una variación significativa en la posición del micrófono. A lo largo de este proyecto, se pide a los participantes que completen un número limitado de ejercicios cortos de habla, aportando de 6 a 12 minutos de audio por persona. Las tareas están diseñadas para representar el uso del ASR en un entorno educativo. Aunque es más probable que los niños mayores lean textos largos, el aprendizaje temprano de la lectoescritura se centra en el nombre de las letras y la producción de palabras cortas e individuales. Por lo tanto, los datos de voz deben capturar dichos casos para evaluar con precisión al sistema en el mundo real.

Perceptual acquisition of a dialect-specific sound by L2 and heritage listeners during a short-term study abroad

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

There is an increased interest in the acquisition of dialect-specific sounds by L2 and heritage language speakers during study abroad (henceforth SA), particularly phonetic *production* (George 2014; Knouse 2012; Pozzi & Bayley 2020; Regan 2023; Ringer-Hilfinger 2012; Schmidt 2020). Less is known about *perception* of dialect-specific phones. A few studies have examined Spanish coda /s/ aspiration (Escalante 2018; Del Saz 2019; Schmidt 2018) and Andalusian post-consonant aspiration [t^h] for /s.t/ (Bedinghaus 2015), finding that SA listeners increase their ability to perceive/identify regional allophones over time. Most studies, however, have not included gradient auditory stimuli, heritage speakers, or proficiency level comparisons. This study aims to address these gaps by examining the perception of Andalusian post-consonant aspiration of word-internal /sp, st, sk/ (*pasta* as [ˈpa.t^ha]) (Gilbert 2022; Ruch & Harrington 2014; Ruch & Peters 2016). The aims were to examine: (i) the effect of short-term SA on the perception of post-consonant aspiration (/s.t/ as [t^h]) among L2 and heritage Spanish listeners; (ii) how perception varies by proficiency level; (iii) how perception varies by bilingualism type. 57 U.S. undergraduate students (43 women, 14 men; ages 18-23) (25 intermediate [19 L2, 6 heritage], 32 advanced [24 L2, 8 heritage]) participated in a 5.5-week SA program in Sevilla, Spain. 17 *sevillano/as* (11 women, 6 men; ages 19-38) also participated. Realizations of *pasta* (/s.t/), *tasca* (/s.k/), and *caspa* (/s.p/) produced by a female speaker from Sevilla were phonetically manipulated in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021) to create a 7-step VOT continuum (65, 55, 45, 35, 25, 15, 5ms), following Ruch and Harrington (2014). These stimuli were used to construct a binary forced-choice identification task consisting of 168 audios (3 places of articulation x 7-steps x 8 repetitions) in which listeners selected between *pata-pasta*, *capa-caspa*, and *taca-tasca* in PsychoPy3 (Peirce et al. 2019) at the beginning and end of SA. The independent variables consisted of VOT (7-steps), time (T1, T2), proficiency level (intermediate, advanced), and bilingualism type (L2, heritage) with the random effect of listener. The dependent variable was the binary selection of minimal pairs. Mixed effects logistic regressions in R (R 2024) using the *lmer* function (Bates et al. 2015) found that *sevillano/as* were sensitive to changes in VOT for all places of articulation (Figure 1A), while L2 and heritage Spanish listeners only showed a change in perception over time with /s.t/ realizations in which they perceived /s.t/ (versus /t/) at a cross-over point nearly identical to *sevillano/as* (Figures 1B-D). There were no significant differences for proficiency level nor bilingualism type. The implications are: (1) as [t^h] is more phonetically salient than [p^h] and [k^h] for *sevillano/as* (Ruch & Peters 2016), L2 and heritage listeners show more sensitivity to this salience revealing its role in acquisition; (2) gradient stimuli allow L2 and heritage listeners to show gradient gains in the perception of dialect-specific phones during a short-term SA (increased perception of [t^h] as /s.t/); (3) examining the perception of dialect-specific phones during SA, the intersection between SLA and sociolinguistics, provides insights into L2 and second dialect acquisition.

Sarcasm Socially Contextualized: Socio-indexical Information Selectively Modulates the Evaluation of Pragmatic Behavior

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Humans commonly deploy pragmatic reasoning to infer social information about a speaker ([1,3,4,10]). We enrich this work by asking how comprehenders utilize independently available social information in these inferences, focusing on the social perception of sarcasm. Sarcastic Insults (SIs) – e.g., uttering “*great job*” to comment on someone’s mistake – are face-threatening speech acts requiring a non-literal interpretation ([9-11]). Prior work showed that these moves are perceived as less threatening than **Literal Insults (LIs)**, with speakers using SIs rated as more polite and friendlier than those using LIs ([15-17]). Yet, this work did not provide or manipulate social information about the speaker, raising the question of how the perception of SIs vs. LIs is modulated by contextually-available social information. We explore this question by comparing the evaluation of sarcastic insults uttered by stereotypically *Nerdy* vs. non-*Nerdy* speakers. Linguistically, Nerds have been described as inclined to use literal language ([5,14]), thus less likely to engage with sarcasm; socially, they have been claimed to be associated with traits highlighting Status over Solidarity ([8]). We see two alternative hypotheses on the perception of SIs from Nerds vs. non-Nerds.

Hyp.1: SIs from Nerds – speakers independently associated with low Solidarity – should lead to *lower* Solidarity ratings than from Non-Nerds, offsetting the face-mitigating effects of sarcasm.

Hyp.2: being a sociolinguistically surprising move, SIs from Nerds should come off as especially socially salient, and thus be perceived as even more Solidarity-boosting, increasing the face-mitigating effects of sarcasm.

We created 12 face-threatening dialogues (textually-cued; +12 fillers) in US English crossing 2 factors: speaker Persona (*Nerdy* vs. non-*Nerdy*), implemented visually (Fig.1); and **Insult Type** (SI vs. LI; see Fig.2). Participants (n=183) rated the speaker on 4 Solidarity traits (Cool, Friendly, Likable, Sympathetic) on a 7-point Likert scale. Post-study, participants completed a S(arcasm) S(elf-Report) S(cale), tracking respondents’ own proclivity for sarcasm ([12]). Via PCA (Fig.3), the 4 ratings were reduced to 2 dimensions (Sympathetic-Friendly-Likable vs. Cool; Table 1). We fit linear mixed-effects models for each dimension with Persona, Insult Type and SSS score as fixed effects. We found a main effect of Insult Type (Symp-Friendly-Lik: $p=0.012$; Cool: $p<0.001$), with SIs rated more positively than LIs along all Solidarity measures. Limited to Cool, we also found an interaction of Persona*InsultType ($p=0.033$): for SIs, Nerds were evaluated as cooler than Non-Nerds ($p=0.008$); with no difference for LIs ($p=0.140$). Finally, in both models, evaluation ratings positively correlated with the SSS for SIs and negatively correlated for LIs (see Fig.4, Cool; Fig.5, Sympathetic-Friendly-Likable). Our results suggest that SIs lead to higher Solidarity ratings than LIs, replicating prior findings ([15-17]); and that this effect features a limited interaction with speaker Persona. For “Cool” ratings only, *Nerdy* speakers are rated higher than non-*Nerdy* ones with SIs, in line with **Hyp.2**. We ascribe this effect to the unexpectedness of this pragmatic maneuver, which diverges from Nerds’ stereotypical linguistic practices (i.e., commitment to literalness) and social characteristics (i.e., projecting Status over Solidarity), and is thus perceived as highly socially salient – in line with the idea that *marked* linguistic forms are ascribed greater social significance than unmarked ones ([1-3]).

Iconicity and indexicality: The manifold social meanings of African American English features in blues music.

Romeo De Timmerman, Stef Slembrouck

Abstract (Language of presentation)

Over the past few decades, the sociolinguistic study of language in popular culture has steadily expanded, and has paid particular attention to the use of language in staged performances (Bell and Gibson 2011). Within this scholarship, the study of music has become increasingly popular, ranging from studies on highly localized musical practices such as choral singing in Trinidad (Wilson, 2017), to research on heavily globalized and commercialized genres such as hip hop (Gilbers, 2021) and pop (Gibson, 2019). The present paper can be situated within this scholarly tradition, and specifically reports on a mixed-method study into the use of African American English (AAE) features by blues performers across several time periods, sociocultural backgrounds and performative modes. Our quantitative analysis finds eight phonological and lexico-grammatical features of AAE to be strikingly prevalent in a corpus of 540 blues songs, indicating that blues artists from various time periods and sociocultural backgrounds rely heavily on these features when singing. A qualitative analysis of twelve semi-structured interviews with contemporary African American and non-African American blues performers suggests that these features of AAE can be interpreted both as (i) stylistic expressions of artistic authenticity which can help construe one's on-stage persona, and as (ii) linguistic characteristics which are simply part and parcel of the blues genre. Strikingly, the interviewed participants simultaneously criticized other performers who are unsuccessful in adopting the singing style expected of blues performers, while also disapproving of those artists who do so too excessively or ungracefully. By building on third wave variationist scholarship, and the sociolinguistic study of music specifically, this study hence aims to tease apart how such features of AAE relate to perceived artistic authenticity in the blues genre. In doing so, it will additionally consider how linguistic patterns may simultaneously be construed as having indexical (Silverstein, 2003) as well as iconic social meanings (Irvine & Gal, 2000), and how these may be in tension, especially in the context of popular culture.

I'm Knowin: AAE and the Verb *know* in the Progressive

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper examines a previously undocumented use of the stative verb *know* African American English (AAE) as illustrated in the phrase “I’m knowing.” According to accepted AAE grammar, a stative verb in progressive form is possible in AAE only when following a preverbal tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) markers such as BIN, invariant *be* and steady, e.g. *I BIN knowing*. Conventional analyses regard the construction under analysis as ungrammatical or at best, circumstantially grammatical (Green 1998, Scott 2016) e.g. *she knowing how to drive* (Green 1998). However, the persistent presence of “I’m knowing”, attested among young adult speakers of AAE, is an apparent contradiction to this analysis. It is important to note that I have not witnessed any uses of “I’m knowing” or similar phrases from older speakers. This suggests that the usage of this phrase is age graded. As I show in this paper, “I’m knowing” is not an isolated phrase: progressive stative sans TAM may occur with complement, as in “Im knowing the sound of the storm when it come” and extends beyond use in the first person singular, as in “he knowing wassup.” This suggests that the accepted view of progressive *know* in AAE may be incorrect or may no longer be accurate. I use the Corpus of Regional African American Language (CORAAL) to examine documented past usage of *know* in the progressive form and analyze age distribution. Drawing on data from Twitter, I analyze contemporary use, verifying the day-to-day usage of the form, and identify its grammatical contexts. I consider possible origins of progressive *know* and explore the possibility that progressive *know* in *I’m knowing* may be a recent development in AAE, emerging from its use with preverbal markers that indicate remote past and continuous aspects (eg. BIN knowing, be knowing). I conclude that TAM-less *knowing* may be an indicator of an important change in progress in the grammatical system of AAE.

Author Translation

Atik sa ekzamine yon itilizasyon nouvo vèb estatif “know” Anglè Afriken Ameriken (African American English, AAE) jan egzanp la montre nan “I’m knowing”. Daprè Gramè AAE a, li posib pou yon vèb estatif pran fòm pwogresif sèlman lè li vini aprè makè prevèbal tan, aspè ak mòd (TAM) tankou *BIN*, be envaryan e steady, pa egzanp : *I BIN knowing*. Analiz konvansyonèl konsidere mòd konstriksyon sila pa gramatikal, oubyen omwen gramatikal nan kèk sikonstans (Green 1998, Scott 2016) pa egzanp : she knowing how to drive (Green 1998). Sepandan, prezans “I’m knowing” lakay jèn lokitè adilt AAE yo sanble kontredi analiz sa a. Sa enpòtan pou m note ke m pa temwen okenn itilizasyon “I’m knowing” oubyen lòt fòm similè bò kote lokitè mi pi aje. Sa sijere itilizasyon fòm sa baze sou laj. Jan mwen montre sa nan atik sa a, “I’m knowing” pa yon sentag izole: Vèb estatif pwogresif san TAM ka parèt avèk konpleman, tankou “Im knowing the sound of the storm when it come” epi li ale pi lwen pase premye pèsòn sengilye, pa egzanp “he knowing wassup”. Sa sijere ke pwennvi ki aksepte fòm pwogresif “know” nan AAE a kapab enkòrèk oubyen pa gen rapò avè l ankò. Mwen itilize Kòpis Lang Rejyonal Afro-Ameriken (Corpus of Regional African American Language, CORAAL) pou ekzamine ansyen izaj “know” nan fòm pwogresif li ak analize li nan evolisyon li. Mwen apiye sou done mwen jwenn sou Twitter pou mwen analize itilizasyon kontanporen li, verifye itilizasyon kotidyen fòm nan ak verifye kontèks gramatikal li. Mwen konsidere kèk orijin posib fòm pwogresif “know” nan “I’m knowing” kapab yon nouvo fòm ki devlope nan AAE, ki sòti nan itilizasyon li avèk makè prevèbal ki endike pase lwenten ak aspè kontini (eg. *BIN knowing*, *be knowing*). Kòm konklizyon, m ap di “knowing” san makè TAM kapab yon endikatè chanjman enpòtan ki ap devlope nan sistèm gramatikal AAE a.

Analyzing Linguistic Features and Academic Experiences: Puerto Rican Heritage Speakers of Spanish in Western Massachusetts

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Latinx students in the United States face many challenges around language use. For instance, speakers of Chicano English are often perceived to speak a “broken” form of English due to interference with Spanish, even though they may not actually speak Spanish (Fought, 2014). Fought notes that monolingual Chicano English-speaking children are often required to take tests for “limited-English” speakers as a result of speaking Chicano English. This is just one example of how speaking a variety that is deemed “non-standard” can influence the academic experiences of youth in the U.S., particularly within Latinx communities. Even for Latinx students who are bilingual, these students are often doubly stigmatized: it may be assumed that they do not speak English, while at the same time they are also presumed to have low proficiency in Spanish (Rosa, 2019). Their bilingualism is often not seen as a valuable linguistic resource, especially when they are speakers of a negatively stigmatized dialect, as is the case with varieties of Caribbean Spanish (e.g., Puerto Rican Spanish, Dominican Spanish) (Zentella, 2007). Language ideologies mediate between language and broader social structures and phenomena, such as socioeconomic status, gender, or race (Leeman, 2012). The connection between language and social structures has recently been examined, emphasizing the relationship between standard language and race in “raciolinguistic ideologies” (Flores & Rosa, 2015). This refers to the link between “certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices” (150). Such ideologies about Spanish correctness tend to privilege the varieties of monolingual Spanish speakers outside of the U.S. and stigmatize the Spanish spoken by heritage speakers. This linguistic discrimination is even stronger when heritage speakers of Spanish use features that are stigmatized, as is the case for Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS). This research focuses on describing the linguistic profiles and language ideologies of young Spanish speakers of Puerto Rican origin in Hampden County to see if they produce features traditionally documented in Puerto Rican Spanish (Lamboy, 2004; Lipsky, 1994, 2008; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012). The features under analysis were phonological – /s/ weakening, coda /r/ lateralization,

velar realization of /r/, and lexical choices. While these linguistic features vary in social salience (Erker, 2020) and indexicality (Irvine & Gal, 2000), which refers to how certain linguistic features index determined social values, they all share the common trait of not aligning with the so-called standard variety of Spanish. The standard ideology holds significant influence in language classrooms and academic settings, where it is considered the superior and correct variety (Fuller, 2018; Milroy, 2001; Siegel, 2006). Speakers who do not align with the standard may have their educational experiences impacted by how their language is treated in schools (Charity Hudley & Mallison, 2011; Siegel, 2006). Analysis of the data collected through sociolinguistic interviews reveals high rates of maintenance of the features under analysis as well as the presence of negative linguistic ideologies regarding those features in school environments.

Stylistic Impacts of Generative AI Use on Multilingual Student Writing: Two Case Studies

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Using discourse analytic methods, this project investigates the impact of the use of generative AI, including ChatGPT, at varying stages of the writing process, on first-year undergraduate writers' linguistic style. This presentation focuses on case studies of two multilingual writers' syntactic and lexical choices throughout their writing processes, including the writing of one writer who identifies as female and Nepali-American and one writer who identifies as male and Mexican-American. This IRB-approved research provides an analysis of student writing from prewriting to editing and writer reflections completed as part of a first-year writing class in Spring 2024. The study argues that generative AI impacts student writers' voice and style as writers integrate ideas and language from generative AI output into their writing, with greater impacts to writer voice and style associated with AI use later or throughout in the writing process (compared to AI used during brainstorming or idea generation). This impact is especially noteworthy as Owusu-Ansah (2023) argues that generative AI "erases" the voices of underrepresented and minoritized writers. Eckstein (2022) argues for "embracing grammatical diversity" (167) as a means of supporting language acquisition and multilingual writers. However, theorists and teachers supporting translanguaging, e.g., García, et al (2020) go further in arguing the importance of a translanguaging literacies framework to strengthen multilingual students' abilities and confidence both to read and to write diverse texts, as well as to promote their critical language awareness (Fairclough 2014). Discourse analytic methods provide a portrait of students' style with attention to syntactic complexity and variation, including the frequency of features such as dependent clauses, introductory prepositional phrases, copula, and passive voice, as well as lexical choices. To explore voice, the research also grounds the discussion in Hyland's theory of writer voice (2005, 2008) to look for features like hedges, such as "sometimes" and stance phrases, such as "I think" and keywords. The impact of generative AI was evident in students' work, even as they worked to maintain their own voice. For instance, one student noted, "I think my current strength with this paper was my voice and personal experience [...]. I was able to connect personal stories to make it my own story that not even an AI could generate." Indeed, her first essay, on which she was reflecting, featured regular use of first-person pronouns, stance phrases such as "I believe," and copula plus evaluative adjectives providing her stance on her topic. However, a subsequent essay she completed with earlier and more substantial generative AI use featured much more passive voice, very limited first-person, and more syntactic complexity. As Owusu-Ansah notes, generative AI "drown[s] out the language of missing people who do not have the global capital to increase the volume of their utterances" (146). While generative AI can help to support certain types of editing work, critical language awareness is needed to help student writers make informed decisions about when, how, and to what extent they might want to use generative AI without diminishing their own voice and style.

Voices of Boston: Language diversity, ideologies, and politics in the urban sociolinguistic landscape

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This poster presents findings from Voices of Boston, a collaborative sociolinguistic research and outreach project documenting the multilingual repertoires and sociolinguistic landscape of the diverse communities of Greater Boston. Through ethnographic participant observation, sociolinguistic interviews, linguistic landscape analysis, and public and social media discourse analysis, we have documented sociolinguistic diversity and Bostonians' perspectives on community change in seven distinct geographic- and ethnic-based communities across the city. We synthesize our findings by highlighting three *voicing phenomena* represented in the VOB corpus, which include fieldnotes from 4 months of participant observation, 25 interviews, and numerous digital artifacts documenting linguistic representations in the material environment and cityscape. The three voicing phenomena we highlight are those of (a) amplification, (b) modulation, and (c) suppression. Through **amplification**, some voices in the urban center are rendered more audible and accessible to locals and outsiders alike, at the expense of others. Amplification may occur acoustically, discursively, or multimodally. Examples of amplification from our corpus include the projection of voices on a physical neighborhood billboard, the commodification of a stereotypical Boston accent and regional vocabulary on tourist paraphernalia, and mediatized performances by social influencers with global reach. Examples of **suppression**, an inevitable consequence of amplification, include interruptions during a public political speech and instances of graffiti obscuring public murals. We also documented indirect instances of suppression, such as when municipal institutions neglect to provide multilingual services for language minority residents. When new residents arrive in the superdiverse city of Boston, they adjust their linguistic repertoires to accommodate new audiences, address new needs, and express new identities. This **modulation** was documented in the form of style shifting in sociolinguistic interviews, in the online discourse of Boston-based diasporic communities (specifically, from China, Egypt, Iran, Japan, and Latin America), and in signage and product advertising in specialty grocers, restaurants, and community organizations. While residents modulate their language to adjust to their new geographic contexts, communities, and networks, we also identified top-down modulation in the form of official municipal discourses accommodating to the needs of neighborhoods experiencing demographic changes due to migration and gentrification. We use these voicing strategies as a metaphor to highlight sociolinguistic trends we found across the diverse communities of Boston, and to illustrate how conviviality, conflict, and negotiation by community members is represented in the material and symbolic linguistic landscape of the city. We also highlight how top-down discourses respond to these changing dynamics and project certain voices of Boston as typifying the city's identity. This project aims to not only add to current sociolinguistic knowledge about linguistic diversity and change in Boston (e.g., Erker 2022, Stanford 2019), but to contribute to the body of ethnographically informed research on superdiverse urban centers undergoing rapid demographic, linguistic and cultural changes in contemporary American society.

Abstract (Translation)

Este póster presenta los hallazgos de Voces de Boston, un proyecto sociolingüístico colaborativo de investigación y difusión pública que documenta los repertorios multilingües y el panorama sociolingüístico de las diversas comunidades del área metropolitana de Boston. A través de la observación etnográfica participativa, entrevistas sociolingüísticas, análisis del paisaje lingüístico y análisis del discurso público y de las redes sociales, hemos documentado la diversidad sociolingüística y las perspectivas de los bostonianos sobre el cambio comunitario en siete comunidades bostonianas distintas geográfica y étnicamente. Sintetizamos nuestros hallazgos destacando tres fenómenos de sonoridad

representados en el corpus VOB, que incluyen notas de campo de 4 meses de observación participativa, 25 entrevistas y numerosos artefactos digitales que documentan representaciones lingüísticas en el entorno material y el paisaje urbano. Los tres fenómenos sonoros que destacamos son los de amplificación, modulación y supresión. A través de la amplificación, algunas voces en el centro urbano se vuelven más audibles y accesibles tanto para los lugareños como para los forasteros, a expensas de otras. La amplificación puede ocurrir de forma acústica, discursiva o multimodal. Ejemplos de amplificación de nuestro corpus incluyen la proyección de voces en un cartel físico de un vecindario, la mercantilización de un acento estereotipado de Boston, un vocabulario regional en la parafernalia turística, y actuaciones mediatizadas de personas influyentes sociales con alcance global. Entre los ejemplos de supresión, que es una consecuencia inevitable de la amplificación, se incluyen interrupciones durante un discurso político público y casos de grafiti que oscurecen los murales públicos. También documentamos casos indirectos de supresión, como cuando las instituciones municipales descuidan brindar servicios multilingües a los residentes de minorías lingüísticas. Cuando nuevos residentes llegan a la superdiversa ciudad de Boston, ellos ajustan sus repertorios lingüísticos para adaptarse a nuevas audiencias, abordar nuevas necesidades y expresar nuevas identidades. Esta modulación se documentó en forma de cambio de estilo en entrevistas sociolingüísticas, en el discurso en línea de las comunidades de la diáspora con sede en Boston (específicamente, de China, Egipto, Irán, Japón y América Latina) y en carteles y publicidad de productos en tiendas de comestibles especializadas, restaurantes y organizaciones comunitarias. Mientras los residentes modulan su lenguaje para adaptarse a sus nuevos contextos geográficos, comunidades y redes, también identificamos una modulación de vertical de arriba hacia abajo en forma de discursos municipales oficiales que se adaptan a las necesidades de los vecindarios que experimentan cambios demográficos debido a la migración y la gentrificación. Usamos estas estrategias de sonorización como metáfora para resaltar las tendencias sociolingüísticas que encontramos en las diversas comunidades de Boston y para ilustrar cómo la convivencia, el conflicto y la negociación por parte de los miembros de la comunidad están representados en el paisaje lingüístico material y simbólico de la ciudad. Este proyecto tiene como objetivo no solo aumentar el conocimiento sociolingüístico actual sobre la diversidad y el cambio lingüísticos en Boston, sino también contribuir al conjunto de investigaciones etnográficas sobre centros urbanos superdiversos que experimentan rápidos cambios demográficos, lingüísticos y culturales en la sociedad norteamericana contemporánea.

Variation in Lenition Degree in L2 Spanish: A Machine Learning Approach

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Lenition, or consonant weakening, is a prevalent phonological feature of Spanish. In most non-word-initial environments, voiced stops /b, d, g/ are lenited to approximants [β, ð, ɣ]. This process is influenced by environmental characteristics such as syllable stress, adjacent vowel height, and stop place of articulation. Learning how and when to produce these voiced stop allophones presents a challenge for L2 learners. Influenced by their native language phonology, exposure to Spanish, and overall proficiency, these learners encounter both production and perception difficulties. For example, English speakers struggle with Spanish voiced stops due to the absence of an allophonic lenition rule in English. In a departure from previous methods, this study introduces a novel approach to quantify the lenition of Spanish stop consonants among one group of native speakers of English over the course of a study-abroad program and three groups of classroom-based L2 Spanish learners with varying degrees of Spanish proficiency using Phonet. Phonet's posterior probabilities enable a gradient analysis of phonological features, complementing traditional acoustic measures. Inputs to Phonet consist of feature sequences derived from log energy distributed across triangular Mel filters, calculated from 25-ms windowed frames of 0.5-second chunks of the input signal. These sequences are processed by two bidirectional GRU layers, which model both past and future states of the sequence simultaneously. The sequences from the second bidirectional GRU layer are then processed through a time-distributed, fully connected dense layer,

resulting in an output sequence of the same length as the input. The final classification is made by a time-distributed output layer with a soft-max activation function, which assigns a phonological class to each sequence. Sonorant and continuant are the phonological classes relevant to this study. For the study-abroad learners, the results showed that their voiced stops became more continuant (i.e., fricative-like) near the end of their one-year study abroad, but their production returned to more stop-like after one year of returning to the UK. More importantly, their voiced stop production never increased in sonorance (i.e., approximant-like) and did not reach a native-like degree. For the classroom-based L2 Spanish learners, the results indicate that the degree of lenition, as suggested by the sonorant posterior probability, increases with proficiency. However, the continuant posterior probability showed no significant proficiency effects. These results suggested that while all learners exhibit lenition of stops as fricatives, only some advanced learners (in the classroom setting) showed lenition as sonorants.

Author Translation

La lenición, o debilitamiento consonántico, es una característica fonológica prevalente en el español. En la mayoría de los entornos no iniciales de palabra, las oclusivas sonoras /b, d, g/ se lenifican a aproximantes [β, ð, ɣ]. Este proceso está influenciado por características ambientales como el acento silábico, la altura de las vocales adyacentes y el lugar de articulación de la oclusiva. Aprender cómo y cuándo producir estos alófonos de oclusivas sonoras presenta un desafío para los estudiantes de L2. Influenciados por la fonología de su lengua materna, la exposición al español y su competencia general, estos estudiantes enfrentan dificultades tanto en la producción como en la percepción. Por ejemplo, los hablantes de inglés tienen dificultades con las oclusivas sonoras del español debido a la ausencia de una regla alofónica de lenición en inglés. En una desviación de los métodos anteriores, este estudio introduce un enfoque novedoso para cuantificar la lenición de las oclusivas sonoras del español entre un grupo de hablantes nativos de inglés a lo largo de un programa de estudios en el extranjero y tres grupos de estudiantes de español como L2 en el aula con diferentes grados de competencia en español utilizando Phonet. Las probabilidades posteriores de Phonet permiten un análisis gradual de las características fonológicas, complementando las medidas acústicas tradicionales. Las entradas a Phonet consisten en secuencias de características derivadas de la energía logarítmica distribuida a través de filtros triangulares de Mel, calculadas a partir de tramas de 25 ms de fragmentos de 0,5 segundos de la señal de entrada. Estas secuencias son procesadas por dos capas GRU bidireccionales, que modelan simultáneamente los estados pasados y futuros de la secuencia. Las secuencias de la segunda capa GRU bidireccional se procesan luego a través de una capa densa completamente conectada y distribuida en el tiempo, resultando en una secuencia de salida de la misma longitud que la entrada. La clasificación final se realiza mediante una capa de salida distribuida en el tiempo con una función de activación softmax, que asigna una clase fonológica a cada secuencia. Sonorante y continuante son las clases fonológicas relevantes para este estudio. Para los estudiantes de estudios en el extranjero, los resultados mostraron que sus oclusivas sonoras se volvieron más continuantes (es decir, similares a fricativas) hacia el final de su año de estudios en el extranjero, pero su producción volvió a ser más similar a oclusivas después de un año de regresar al Reino Unido. Más importante aún, su producción de oclusivas sonoras nunca aumentó en sonorancia (es decir, similar a aproximantes) y no alcanzó un grado similar al nativo. Para los estudiantes de español como L2 en el aula, los resultados indican que el grado de lenición, según lo sugerido por la probabilidad posterior de sonorante, aumenta con la competencia. Sin embargo, la probabilidad posterior de continuante no mostró efectos significativos de competencia. Estos resultados sugieren que, aunque todos los estudiantes exhiben lenición de oclusivas como fricativas, solo algunos estudiantes avanzados (en el entorno del aula) mostraron lenición como sonorantes.

A Snapshot of Language Shift in Progress: Individual Multilingualism in Lusophone Africa

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Although multilingualism may be considered normal in Africa, this does not mean that language shift is not occurring. However, the degree of language shift varies from place to place. The present analysis addresses language shift by analyzing individual multilingual profiles of participants from three African countries with Portuguese as an official language, namely Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. These three countries are already known to have very different profiles as Guinea-Bissau uses a Portuguese-lexified creole as a lingua franca spoken by 90.5% of the population (Clements 2022), while the other two countries do not. The three countries also differ in the knowledge of Portuguese among their populations. For example, whereas 71.15% of Angolans speak Portuguese, only 47.3% of Mozambicans and 33.6% of Guineans do. Language shift manifests in various ways, the most obvious of which is the complete inability to use the former community language; however, it also manifests in the inability to carry out certain tasks in the language. The current paper is an initial analysis of data gathered as part of a new sociolinguistic corpus project in which participants, all students at a Northeastern Brazilian university established for Lusophone integration, engaged in four activities: (1) a version of the Bilingual Language Profile (Birdsong et al., 2012) modified to include more than two languages, (2) a conversation in Portuguese with (an)other participant(s) from the same country, (3) a conversation with a participant of another nationality, and (4) an individual session in which the participant did, in each language they were able, a Pear Story narration, a paragraph reading (when available in the language), and a word list (when available in the language). Of the 92 participants that completed at least one recording session, 20 Angolans, 22 Guineans, and 20 Mozambicans participated. All Guineans and Mozambicans completed the individual session while 15 Angolans did so. The data from these 57 participants form the basis of this study. The questionnaire data were analyzed for languages reported and then cross-referenced with the data gathered in the individual session. While an inability to read in a language is often due to lack of access to formal schooling in the language, a choice not to carry out the narration can be an index of more limited abilities in the language. The results of the analysis vary widely by nationality. All 22 Guinean participants speak at least Portuguese and Guinean (the creole); however, only 13 Guineans (59.1%) report speaking another local language. Eight Angolan participants (53.3%) report speaking at least one language indigenous to Angola, usually Kikongo. By comparison, 19 of 20 Mozambicans (95%) report speaking at least one (and often more) local languages, suggesting that language shift is the least advanced in Mozambique. Nevertheless, although Mozambicans nearly always reported speaking a local language and usually more than one, many participants were unable to carry out the narration task in some languages, a sign of ongoing language shift.

Author Translation

Mesmo que o multilinguismo seja considerado normal na África, a assimilação linguística ainda assim ocorre. No entanto, o grau de assimilação linguística varia de lugar para lugar. Esta análise lida com a assimilação linguística por meio de uma análise dos perfis multilingues individuais de participantes de três países africanos lusófonos, especificamente Angola, Guiné-Bissau e Moçambique. Sabemos que estes países apresentam perfis muito diferentes, considerando que Guiné-Bissau usa uma língua crioula de base lexical portuguesa falada por 90,5% da população (Clements 2022), perfil não apresentado pelos outros dois países. Os três países também se distinguem quanto ao conhecimento do português pela população. Por exemplo, enquanto 71,15% da população angolana fala português, o mesmo não se pode dizer de angolanes (47,3%) e de guineenses (33,6%). A assimilação linguística se manifesta de várias maneiras, a mais óbvia sendo uma incapacidade do uso da língua comunitária anterior; no entanto, também se manifesta em não poder realizar certas tarefas na língua. Esta pesquisa figura como uma análise inicial de um novo projeto de corpus sociolinguístico no qual os participantes, todos alunos de uma universidade do Nordeste brasileiro criada com fins de promover a integração lusófona, realizaram quatro atividades: (1) uma versão do Bilingual Language Profile (Birdsong et al. 2012) modificado para incluir mais de duas línguas, (2) uma conversa em português com outro(s) participante(s) do mesmo país, (3) uma conversa com um(a) participante de outra nacionalidade e (4) uma sessão individual na qual o(a) participante realizou, em cada língua na qual tinha habilidade, uma narração da Pear Story, uma leitura de um parágrafo (quando disponível na língua) e uma lista de palavras (quando disponível na língua). Dos 92 participantes que realizaram pelo menos uma sessão de gravação, 20 angolanes, 22 guineenses e 20

moçambicanes participaram. Todos os guineenses e moçambicanes realizaram a sessão individual enquanto 15 angolanos a realizaram. Os dados destes 57 participantes representam a base desta pesquisa. Os dados do questionário foram analisados com relação às línguas reportadas e depois comparados com os dados recolhidos durante a sessão individual. Enquanto a ausência de alfabetização em uma língua em particular com frequência se deva à falta de acesso à educação formal na língua, a escolha por não realizar a narração pode ser um índice de habilidades mais limitadas na língua. Os resultados desta análise variam muito de acordo com a nacionalidade. Todos os participantes guineenses falam pelo menos português e guineense (a língua crioula); no entanto, apenas 13 guineenses (59,1%) indicam que falam outra língua local. Oito participantes angolanos (53,3%) indicam que falam pelo menos uma língua indígena da Angola, normalmente o kikongo. Para comparar, 19 dos 20 moçambicanos (95%) indicam que falam pelo menos uma (e com frequência mais) línguas locais, o que sugere que a assimilação linguística está menos avançada em Moçambique. De qualquer modo, enquanto moçambicanos quase sempre dizem que falam uma língua local e geralmente mais, muitos participantes não conseguiram realizar a tarefa de narração, o qual é um sinal de assimilação linguística em andamento.

Concordantia Temporum in Peruvian and Spanish Tweets

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

According to normative Spanish grammars, the Spanish language must comply with Concordantia Temporum when using the subjunctive; that is, when the main clause verb is in the past tense, the subordinate clause subjunctive verb must also be in the past tense (Gili Gaya 1948). Several researchers have observed, however, that most dialects of Spanish do not follow the rule of Concordantia Temporum, opting to use the present tense subjunctive form even when the matrix verb is in the past (Arrizabalaga Lizarraga 2009; Castro Yauri 2021; Crespo del Río 2018; Sessarego 2008, 2010, among others). Given the infrequent nature of subjunctive governed by a past tense matrix clause in spontaneous speech, most research thus far has opted to analyze subjunctive tense variation in books and journalistic press. The current paper contributes a study of subjunctive tense variation in the less formal, more spontaneous-like context of Twitter, analyzing Concordantia Temporum, and the factors that condition it, in twitter data extracted from two dialects, Peru and Spain. Approximately 650 tokens of subjunctive verbs governed by a past tense matrix clause were coded and analyzed using logistic regression. Results show that Concordantia Temporum is strictly followed in the Peninsular dialect, with only 4.8% of the subjunctive verbs conjugated in the present tense when the matrix clause verb is in the past. In contrast, more than half of the Peruvian tweets (55.4%) utilize a present tense conjugation in past tense matrix verb contexts, which is a significantly higher rate of Concordantia Temporum violations than has been found in most previous studies of more formal speech. When looking exclusively at the Peruvian data, the significant variables found to condition subjunctive tense variation include clause type and the possibility of the action continuing at and past the time of communication, or a Double Access Reading (DAR). Specifically, adverbial, nominal and adjectival clauses all favor the present tense while conditional clauses nearly categorically appear with past tense subjunctive. Furthermore, a DAR, or the possibility of a DAR, significantly increases the odds of a Concordantia Temporum violation in Peru. Importantly, though, a Double Access Reading is not a requirement for present tense subjunctive to be used in Peru, and in fact, slightly less than half of the tokens (43.4%) still use present tense subjunctive for actions that have clearly been completed in the past.

Spanish, English, and Street Art: Artistic expression and commercialization in the linguistic landscape of Calle Cerra (Puerto Rico)

Elise DuBord

Abstract (Language of presentation)

Santurce, the largest barrio of San Juan, Puerto Rico, is situated in between the tourist areas of Old San Juan to the west and Isla Verde to the east. Santurce itself has 40 subbarrios with a wide socioeconomic range of private residences, commercial outlets, and is home to quintessential cultural institutions, like the Luis A. Ferré Performing Arts Center and the Museum of Art of Puerto Rico. This research presents a linguistic landscape analysis of the subbarrio of Gandul, a primarily residential area in a gentrifying neighborhood on the outskirts of tourist zones. Calle Cerra in the Gandul neighborhood is known for its vivid murals and nightlife where locals gather to listen to bomba and other kinds of live music in bars that spill out into the streets next to tables of dominos. Tourists also visit the area seeking out the famous murals and stopping to patronize local restaurants and bars. This neighborhood is undergoing rapid transformation as private homes and small businesses coexist with Airbnb apartment rentals, abandoned lots, new constructions, social service agencies, and churches. This site provides a rich linguistic landscape for analyzing this Spanish-English contact zone in Puerto Rico, a place where the relationship between these languages has been historically complex and dynamic over the past century and a quarter (Carroll, 2016; Arias Alvarez & Gubitosi, 2021; González-Rivera, 2021). Over a one month period, just under 1000 photographic images were collected of street signs, graffiti, advertisements, business facades, and street art on Calle Cerra and surrounding areas in the Gandul neighborhood. The linguistic landscape software Lingscape was used to archive and code the language, content, and context of images. In addition, geo-mapping allowed for a nuanced analysis of minute geographic areas and gradations in the use of Spanish, English, and language mixing. While street art and graffiti are often considered subversive forms (Rodríguez Barcia & Ramallo, 2015), their commercialization is a common feature of urban linguistic landscapes (Muth, 2017). In the area surrounding Calle Cerra, local businesses have integrated multilingual practices in the commercialization of popular street art, which is a reflection of the multiplicity of Puerto Rican expressions of identity, while simultaneously catering to monolingual English-speaking outsiders. Multimodal spaces where translanguaging occurs in tandem with visual representations such as murals, offer an alternative form of expression (García et al. 2013); yet we must also consider that artists simultaneously act as agents of gentrification through neighborhood beautification (Ley, 2003). In sum, this semiotic analysis explores official, artistic, transgressive, and commercial use of Spanish, English, and language mixing in dialogue with street art to reveal the complex interplay between autochthonous expression and commercialization.

Abstract (Author translation)

Santurce, el barrio más grande de San Juan, Puerto Rico, está situado entre las áreas turísticas de Viejo San Juan al oeste e Isla Verde al este. Santurce mismo tiene 40 sub-barrios con un rango socioeconómico amplio de residencias privadas, tiendas comerciales y es el hogar de instituciones culturales por excelencia, como el Centro de Bellas Artes Luis A. Ferré y el Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico. Esta investigación presenta un análisis del paisaje lingüístico del sub-barrio Gandul, una área principalmente residencial en un vecindario que está pasando por la gentrificación en las afueras de las zonas turísticas. Se conoce la Calle Cerra en el barrio Gandul por su murales vívidas y vida nocturnas donde la gente local se junta para escuchar bomba y otros tipos de música en vivo en bares que se desparrraman a las calles a lado de mesas de dominó. Los turistas también visitan el área en busca de los murales famosos y para patrocinar los restaurantes y bares locales. El vecindario está pasando por una transformación rápida y casas privadas y pequeños negocios coexisten con apartamentos de alquiler de Airbnb, lotes baldíos, construcciones nuevas, agencias de servicios sociales e iglesias. Este sitio provee un paisaje lingüístico rico para analizar esta zona de contacto entre español e inglés en Puerto Rico, un lugar donde la relación entre estos idiomas ha sido históricamente compleja y dinámica a través del último siglo y cuarto (Carroll, 2016; Arias Alvarez & Gubitosi, 2021; González-Rivera, 2021). A través de un mes, un poco menos de 1000 imágenes fotográficas fueron recolectadas de signos de tráfico, graffiti, anuncios, fachadas de negocios y arte callejero en la Calle Cerra y las áreas alrededores en el barrio Gandul. El programa Lingscape se usó para archivar y codificar el idioma, contexto y contenido de las imágenes. Además, el geomapeo permitió un análisis detallado de áreas geográficas minutas y gradaciones en el uso de español, inglés y la mezcla de lenguas. Aunque el arte callejero y graffiti a menudo se consideran formas

subversivas (Rodríguez Barcia & Ramallo, 2015), su comercialización es una característica común de paisajes lingüísticos urbanos (Murth, 2017). En el área alrededor de la Calle Cerra, los negocios locales han integrado prácticas multilingües en la comercialización de arte callejero popular, lo cual es un reflejo de la multiplicidad de expresiones de identidad puertorriqueña, a la vez que atiende a los forasteros que son monolingües en inglés. Los espacios multimodales donde ocurre el translanguaging junto con representaciones visuales como los murales, ofrecen una forma alternativa de expresión (García et al. 2013); aunque también debemos considerar que artistas simultáneamente actúan como agentes de la gentrificación a través del embellecimiento del vecindario (Ley, 2003). En resumen, este análisis semiótico explora los usos oficiales, artísticos, transgresivos y comerciales del español, inglés y la mezcla de lenguas en diálogo con el arte callejero para revelar la interacción compleja entre expresión autóctona y la comercialización.

Los peyorativos en el español del Caribe Antillano: Un análisis sociolingüístico

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

El español del Caribe Antillano (Puerto Rico, Cuba, República Dominicana) es una variedad rica y compleja, caracterizada por particularidades léxicas y fonéticas que reflejan la historia y la diversidad cultural de la región (Lipski 1994). Este trabajo aborda distintos aspectos sociolingüísticos relacionados con el uso de los peyorativos en el español de esta región. Al hacerlo, se propone analizar la *depreciación lingüística*, fenómeno sociolingüístico mediante el cual se utilizan palabras o expresiones con el propósito de denigrar, menospreciar o expresar desprecio hacia un individuo o grupo social (Montes 2004; Martínez 2018). La depreciación lingüística puede realizarse no sólo mediante insultos directos (*pendejo*, *comemierda*, *singao*), sino también mediante el uso de expresiones que, en contextos convencionales, no son inherentemente peyorativas (Alvar 1996): descalificación mediante uso de diminutivos (*trabajito*, *casita*, *muchachito*); términos coloquiales con carga despectiva (*jíbaro*, *guajiro*, *tiguere*), sino también a través de expresiones de género y orientación sexual (*maricón*, *pájaro*, *bugarrón*), uso de nombres propios y apodos (*Doña Fulana*, *Pepito*, *Juan de los Palotes*), y expresiones peyorativas menos evidentes (*gallo loco*). Las entrevistas se llevaron a cabo en Puerto Rico, Cuba y la República Dominicana entre 2022 y 2024 e incluyen a 24 participantes (12 hombres, 12 mujeres) que nunca han vivido fuera de sus respectivos países. El análisis tiene en cuenta las variables de género y edad, y los resultados reportan un fuerte aumento de los peyorativos a la hora de tocar algunos temas de conversación específicos (política, economía, etc.). Los resultados revelan un uso distintivo y marcado de los peyorativos, influenciado por variables de género y edad (Pérez 2010). Además, se reporta un notable incremento en el uso de términos peyorativos en discusiones sobre temas específicos (p. ej. política, economía), reflejando una dimensión sociolingüística rica y compleja que tiene implicaciones significativas en la dinámica de poder y las relaciones sociales dentro de una comunidad (Hernández, 2015). Este estudio proporciona una comprensión más profunda de las dinámicas lingüísticas y sociales que subyacen al uso de los peyorativos en el Caribe Antillano hispanohablante.

Author Translation

Pejoratives in the Spanish of the Antillean Caribbean: A sociolinguistic analysis

The Spanish of the Antillean Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic) is a rich and complex variety, characterized by lexical and phonetic particularities that reflect the history and cultural diversity of the region (Lipski 1994). This work addresses different sociolinguistic aspects related to the use of pejoratives in the Spanish of this region. In doing so, it is proposed to analyze linguistic depreciation, a sociolinguistic phenomenon through which words or expressions are used with the purpose of denigrating, belittling or expressing contempt towards an individual or social group (Montes 2004; Martínez 2018).

Linguistic deprecation can be carried out not only through direct insults (*pendejo, comemierda, singao*), but also through the use of expressions that, in conventional contexts, are not inherently pejorative (Alvar 1996): disqualification through the use of diminutives (*trabajito, casita, muchachito*); colloquial terms with derogatory charges (*jíbaro, guajiro, tiguere*), but also through expressions of gender and sexual orientation (*maricón, pájaro, bugarrón*), use of proper names and nicknames (*Doña Fulana, Pepito, Juan de los Palotes*), and less obvious pejorative expressions (*gallo loco*). The interviews took place in Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic between 2022 and 2024 and include 24 participants (12 men, 12 women) who have never lived outside their respective countries. The analysis takes into account the variables of gender and age, and the results report a strong increase in pejoratives when touching on some specific conversation topics (politics, economy, etc.). The results reveal a distinctive and marked use of pejoratives, influenced by gender and age variables (Pérez 2010). Furthermore, a notable increase in the use of pejorative terms is reported in discussions of specific topics (e.g. politics, economics), reflecting a rich and complex sociolinguistic dimension that has significant implications for the power dynamics and social relations within a community (Hernández, 2015). This study provides a deeper understanding of the linguistic and social dynamics underlying the use of pejoratives in the Spanish-speaking Antillean Caribbean.

Neopronomaj vortoj: Variation in gender-inclusive language in Esperanto

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper examines the development and use of neopronouns and gender-inclusive language through the case study of Esperanto. As a constructed language, yet counting a healthy community of speakers including a limited number of native speakers, Esperanto presents a unique case through which to examine gendered language attitudes. Starting with Lakoff's (1975) analysis of language use by women in her social circle, sociolinguists began to examine the correlation of language and gender. Spender (1980) argued that much of the English language reflected the social power that men had/have, where language more often reflected men's experience of the world than women's. Subsequently, Eckert's (1989) examination of phonological data in the Northern Cities vowel shift demonstrated that variationist sociolinguists' use of demographic categories (like gender) has often been overly conflated with social meaning. The central text of the Esperantist movement is *Fundamento de Esperanto* (Zamenhof, 1905). At the first world Esperanto Congress, the *Fundamento* was recognized as the sole and eternal authority over Esperanto, with modifications to that text being prohibited (Schor, 2016). Following a proposal by Zamenhof himself, the Akademio de Esperanto was founded (*Historio de la Akademio*, 2017), which is modeled on other national bodies with the intent of regulating language and language use within the lines set out in *Fundamento*. As per *Fundamento*, nouns are prescriptively unmarked masculine gender for animate referents, with the affix *-ino* to denote female. For pronouns, Esperanto possesses two that intrinsically denote singular masculine and feminine animates, *li* and *ŝi* respectively, plus a gender non-specific plural *ili*. There are two further pronouns, *ĝi* and *oni*, the former being singular and non-specific in referent (equivalent to the English *it*) and the latter being indefinite (equivalent to the French *on*). Since the publication of *Fundamento*, however, a number of neopronouns and other gender-neutral language changes have been proposed, *ri* (as described below in 1) being the most prominent of these.

1. “*Ri kaj ria estas neoficialaj vortoj, kaj ne ĉiuj esperantistoj konas ilin. “Riismo” estas tamen jam sufiĉe disvastiĝinta, precipe inter junuloj, kaj multaj, kiuj mem neniam uzas ri aŭ ria, tamen komprenas la novajn vortojn. Aliflanke iuj forte kontraŭas la novajn pronomojn, opiniante, ke tia uzo estas neakceptebla reformo de la lingvo.*”

Ri and *ria* are unofficial words, and not all Esperantists know them. “*Riism*” is nonetheless common, especially amongst youth, who may themselves never use *ri* or *ria*, but understand these new words all the same. On the other hand, some strongly oppose these new pronouns, believing that they constitute an

unacceptable reform of the language (Wennergren, 2024). Perception studies have shown that there are consequences to the use of gender-exclusive language (e.g., in job advertisements; Stout & Dasgupta, 2011). And Sczesny et al. (2015) demonstrate in their research that language-use intentions are tied to sexist attitudes and ideologies. This paper presents select changes which have occurred in Esperanto despite its rigidity, with a particular focus on *riismo*, and other gender-based language reform movements (Gobbo, 2017; Kramer, 2020), and analyzes attitudes towards these changes as presented in online spaces. Ultimately, we show that the conflict between language prescription and change transcends language boundaries, including even *la lingvo internacia*.

Author Translation

Este artículo examina el desarrollo y el uso de neopronombres y el lenguaje inclusivo de género a través de un estudio del caso de esperanto. Como una lengua construida que aún cuenta con una comunidad bastante de hablantes que incluye un número limitado de hablantes nativos, esperanto presenta un caso único a través del cual examinar las actitudes lingüísticas de género. A partir del análisis de Lakoff (1975) sobre el uso del lenguaje por parte de las mujeres en su grupo social, los sociolingüistas comenzaron a examinar la correlación entre lenguaje y género. Spender (1980) argumentó que gran parte del idioma inglés reflejaba el poder social que han tenido/tienen los hombres, mientras que el lenguaje reflejaba más la experiencia de hombres que la de las mujeres. Después de más de una década de estudios, la examinación de Eckert (1989) de los datos fonológicos en el cambio vocal de las Ciudades del Norte demostró que el uso de categorías demográficas por parte de los sociolingüistas variacionistas a menudo se ha confundido demasiado con el significado social. El libro central del movimiento esperantista es *Fundamento de Esperanto* (Zamenhof, 1905). En el primer Congreso global de esperanto, mandó que el *Fundamento* fuera reconocido como la única y eterna autoridad, prohibiéndose modificaciones a ese texto (Schor, 2016). A propuesta del propio Zamenhof, se estableció el Akademio de Esperanto (*Historio de la Akademio*, 2017), que sigue el modelo de otras organizaciones nacionales con la intención de regular el uso del lenguaje dentro de los estándares marcados en *Fundamento*. Los sustantivos son prescriptivamente no marcados de género masculino para referentes animados, con el afijo *-ino* para denotar femenino. Para los pronombres, hay dos que denotan intrínsecamente a animados y a animadas singulares, *li* y *ŝi* respectivamente, más un plural no marcado de género *ili*. Además, hay dos pronombres, *ĝi* y *oni*, siendo el primero singular y no específico en referente y el segundo indefinido. Sin embargo, desde la publicación, se han propuesto algunos neopronombres y otros cambios de lenguaje inclusivo de género, siendo *ri* el más destacado.

1. *Ri* y *ria* no son palabras oficiales, y no todos los esperantistas los conocen. No obstante, el “*riismo*” es común, especialmente entres los jóvenes, quienes tal vez nunca usen *ri* o *ria*, pero entienden estas nuevas palabras de todos modos. Por otro lado, algunos se oponen firmemente a estos nuevos pronombres, considerando que constituyen una reforma inaceptable de la lengua. (Wennergren, 2024)

Los estudios de percepción han demostrado que el uso de lenguaje exclusivo de género tiene consecuencias (e.g., en anuncios de empleo; Stout & Dasgupta, 2011). Y Sczesny et al. (2015) demuestran en su investigación que las intenciones del uso lingüística están ligadas a actitudes e ideologías sexistas. Este artículo presenta cambios selectos que han ocurrido en esperanto a pesar de la rigidez, con un enfoque particular en el *riismo*, y otros movimientos de reforma lingüística (Gobbo, 2017; Kramer, 2020), y analiza las actitudes hacia estos cambios tal como están presentados en los espacios virtuales. En última instancia, mostramos que el conflicto entre la prescripción lingüística y el cambio trasciende las fronteras lingüísticas, incluida incluso la *lingvo internacia*.

Unplaceably Posh: A sociolinguistic analysis of television’s Moira Rose

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Television dialogue analysis offers unique insights into variation by way of how fictional characters' speaking styles are matched with their particular (often stereotypical) social identities (Queen, 2015; Bednarek, 2018; Beers Fägersten, 2016). This study presents an analysis of Moira Rose, from the sitcom *Schitt's Creek*, whose eccentric bundle of linguistic features has prompted audiences to question the veracity and origin of her speaking style, even as it aligns with—and is successfully parsed as—belonging to a culturally sophisticated diva (Hedash, 2022; [glowdirt], 2022). Using a third-wave variationist approach (Eckert, 2012), this study illustrates how the high-class yet bombastic character of Moira Rose is manifested in salient features of her vocabulary, phonology, and prosody. Real-world audiences and in-show characters alike often remark on Moira's highbrow vocabulary, which regularly features archaisms like “dragooned,” “lupanarian,” and “spanandry” (New York Magazine, 2019; Merriam-Webster, 2023). Formal and esoteric vocabulary indexes an educated and sophisticated identity, which is precisely the image formerly-famous-and-wealthy Moira wants to create for herself while living among the mundane townspeople in Schitt's Creek. Moira is also known to ‘upgrade’ idioms with more impressive-sounding alternatives, e.g., “I’m afraid that dirigible has ascended” for “I’m afraid that ship has sailed”; she also infuses her speech with theater parlance, like saying she’s “not quite off-book” to mean she needs more time to peruse the café menu. Equally fascinating to fans is Moira’s unplaceable accent, with its predominant British [p] in “can’t” and “that,” hyperarticulated [tʰ] in “be[tʰ]er” and “ci[tʰ]y,” and famous French-infused pronunciation of “baby” as [be'be] within an otherwise North American English dialect. In fact, Moira is keen to infuse her vocabulary with foreign words and (often inaccurate) pronunciations, like “issue” [isju], “scordatura” [skordə'tura], and “coiffure” [kwafyʁ]. These borrowings come from prestige European dialects, the souvenirs of Moira’s world travels, and contribute to her air of superiority and sophistication. Moira has essentially created her own version of the pre-1950’s Hollywood “transatlantic” accent, meant to sound fancy by incorporating elements from multiple prestige dialects (Kozloff, 2020). Along with her manipulation of volume and vowel length, two major elements of Moira’s prosody demonstrate her tendency toward melodrama: ‘staccato’ stress (Marcella Lentz-Pope, 2022), a stylized hyperemphasis of consecutive syllables within a word or at the end of a phrase (Figure 1), and exaggerated high-low (HL) pitch contours (Figure 2). These attention-grabbing variables are perfectly fitting for a woman always looking to steal the show (Podesva, 2007; 2011). With so many fans of Schitt's Creek fascinated by Moira’s language use and imitating her in an attempt to sound sophisticated (Michael Judson Berry, 2023), this case study demonstrates “how characters are established as stylised representations of particular social identities” (Bednarek, 2012, pp. 201-202) and how language use in the televisual domain helps audiences to parse said characters alongside multimodal elements like wardrobe and personality (Queen, 2015). It further underlines the mirroring of society and media, in that ideologies about language inform characters’ speech, and linguistic variables within that speech can take on new meaning.

Author Translation

El análisis del diálogo televisivo ofrece perspectivas únicas sobre la variación mediante la forma en que los estilos de habla de los personajes ficticios se corresponden con sus identidades sociales particulares (Queen, 2015; Bednarek, 2018; Beers Fägersten, 2016). Este estudio presenta un análisis de Moira Rose, del programa de televisión *Schitt's Creek*, cuyo conjunto excéntrico de características lingüísticas ha llevado al público a cuestionar la veracidad y el origen de su estilo de habla, incluso cuando este se alinea con—y se interpreta exitosamente como—perteneciente a una diva culturalmente sofisticada (Hedash, 2022; [glowdirt], 2022). Utilizando un enfoque variacionista de tercera ola (Eckert, 2012), este estudio ilustra cómo el personaje de clase alta pero bombástico de Moira Rose se manifiesta en características salientes de su vocabulario, fonología y prosodia. Primero, el vocabulario culto de Moira regularmente incluye arcaísmos como “dragooned,” “lupanarian” y “spanandry” (New York Magazine, 2019). Este vocabulario esotérico indica una identidad educada y sofisticada, que es precisamente la imagen que Moira quiere crear mientras vive entre los habitantes mundanos de Schitt's Creek. Moira también es conocida por ‘mejorar’ modismos con alternativas que suenan más impresionantes, por ejemplo, “I’m afraid that dirigible has ascended” por “I’m afraid that ship has sailed”; también usa jerga teatral, como decir que no está “completamente fuera del libro” cuando necesita revisar el menú del café. El acento

indeterminable de Moira fascina los televidentes, con su predominante [ɒ] británico en "can't" y "that," [tʰ] hiperarticulado en "be[tʰ]er" y "ci[tʰ]y," y su famosa pronunciación francesa de "baby" como [be'be]. De hecho, Moira se esfuerza por infundir su vocabulario con palabras y pronunciaciones extranjeras, como "issue" [isju], "scordatura" [skordə'tura], y "coiffure" [kwafyʁ]. Estos préstamos provienen de dialectos europeos de prestigio, los recuerdos de los viajes de Moira por el mundo, y contribuyen a su aire de superioridad y sofisticación. Moira ha creado esencialmente su propia versión del acento "transatlántico" anterior a la década de 1950 en Hollywood, destinado a sonar elegante al incorporar elementos de múltiples dialectos de prestigio (Kozloff, 2020). Dos elementos principales de la prosodia de Moira demuestran su tendencia hacia el melodrama: el énfasis 'staccato' (Marcella Lentz-Pope, 2022), un estilo con acentos en sílabas consecutivas (Figura 1), y los contornos de tono exagerados alto-bajo (HL) (Figura 2). Estas variables llamativas son perfectamente adecuadas para una mujer que siempre busca ser la sensación (Podesva, 2007; 2011). Con tantos fanáticos de *Schitt's Creek* fascinados por el uso del lenguaje de Moira e imitándola en un intento de sonar sofisticados (Michael Judson Berry, 2023), este estudio de caso demuestra cómo los personajes se establecen como representaciones estilizadas de identidades sociales particulares (Bednarek, 2012) y cómo el diálogo televisivo ayuda a las audiencias a interpretar dichos personajes junto con elementos multimodales como el vestuario y la personalidad (Queen, 2015). Además, subraya el reflejo de la sociedad y los medios, porque las ideologías sobre el lenguaje informan el habla de los personajes y las variables lingüísticas dentro de ese discurso pueden adquirir nuevos significados.

Heritage and Second Language Learner Discourse: Language Ideologies, Expertise and Learning Gains in the K-12 classroom.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The current reality of heritage language learners enrolled in language courses that have been traditionally designed for second language learners has prompted exploration into task-based activities that educators can utilize to support achievement for both groups of learners. Taken together, several studies have explored such learner collaborations in which both heritage language (HL) and second language (L2) learners leverage their complementary skills in order to support each other's bi/multilingualism (Blake & Zyzik, 2003; Bowles, 2011; Henshaw & Hetrovicz, 2015; Henshaw, 2021). Although this research has provided insight into the learning opportunities of both learners, much is still unknown in terms of peer-to-peer discourse and positioning practices during such collaborations. As noted from recent work, these factors have potential to affect learning gains for both groups of learners (Henshaw, 2022; Leeman & Serafini, 2021; Fernández-Dobao, 2023). Furthermore, most of the work on this topic has been solely conducted in postsecondary contexts, no work has explored these factors in a longitudinal study in the K-12 context (Bowles et al. 2014, Fernández-Dobao, 2020; Henshaw, 2022; Leeman & Serafini, 2021). The K-12 classroom is worth attention as many deficit-based language ideologies, such as standard and monoglossic language ideologies, may be cultivated during these formative years (Hill, 2008; García & Torres-Guevara, 2009; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Valenzuela, 1999; Lippi-Green, 2012). Such language ideologies have potential to play a role in positioning practices (Fernández-Dobao, 2023). This preliminary exploration seeks to study the discourse of HL and L2 learners to understand how learners construct and negotiate positions of expert and nonexpert during task-based collaborations. Additionally, this work seeks to understand how expert and nonexpert positioning is constructed and negotiated through the lens of language ideologies. The main research questions are: 1) What do discourses reveal about how learners construct and negotiate positions of linguistic expertise?, 2) What is the role of language ideologies in constructing and negotiating linguistic expertise?, 3) How do these positioning practices create or deter opportunities for HL and L2 learning? Findings of this preliminary exploration will contribute to a research basis on HL-L2 positioning practices and learning gains, through studying learner discourse in the K-12 context.

Black Mecha(linguistics): Addressing antiblackness in automated speech recognition systems

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

African Americans report feeling unrepresented by voice technology that is supposedly built for them (Mengesha, 2021). However, efforts to remedy this problem focus on a process of de-biasing existing language models. This approach overlooks the rampant antiblack discrimination occurring within natural language processing. This work provides insight into how language technology can adequately satisfy Black users in two ways: by addressing how 1) technology creator biases and prejudices are embedded in technology products, and how 2) the relationship that African Americans have with technological advancement is shaped by foundational antiblackness. A frequent response intended to remedy missing representation is to increase the speech data available from Black populations. However, the existing sociolinguistic understanding of Black identity may further contribute to antiblack discrimination by reinforcing flawed assumptions about what data is relevant. Black Language is often depicted as monolithic, and Blackness in linguistic expression is described as a pan-regional construction, which itself is filtered through geography and other social identities. Though the supra-regional myth (Wolfram, 2007) and others like it were debunked, linguists still have little knowledge of regionality's effects on Black self-identity, and what that means for defining Black Language (King, 2018). For example, Black Language as a whole is heavily influenced by Black Queer Language, Black Queer individuals, and their subsequent linguistic identities (CO Davis, 2021; Lane, 2018; Ultra Omni and Harris, 2023). The practice of describing Blackness as standing separate from other identities reflects a racist conception that Black individuals either do not experience coherence between their racialized status and other aspects of their identity, or that these experiences of racialization are not pertinent to understanding the operation of other systems of social categorization and control (Tripp, 2023). For example, there continues to be limited documentation of the possible connection between Queer Black Language and the more mainstream Black Language, due to a marked focus on cishet populations. Without a more inclusive understanding of social identity, conducting quantitative and solely phonetic work to improve ASRs risks reinforcing rather than investigating and dismantling institutional practices of Othering. This research applies a metalinguistic method of sociolinguistic interview (Wright, 2022). Through interviews with Black Queer individuals in the Greater Boston Area, I examine these questions: how are Blackness, queerness, and regionality are intertwined; and how do these facets of Black identity influence both Black linguistic identities and metalinguistic perceptions? I then explore possible misgivings that participants have with voice technology, whether these reservations affect their usage of automatic speech recognition systems (ASRs) such as Siri, and what they believe should be done to correct the bias within voice technology. Interviews will include one-on-one interviews and focus group forms. This investigation is part of a broader effort to understand Black engagement with language technology and its subsequent (and preceding) social implications, which I name Black Mecha(linguistics). Analysis of interview data is expected to demonstrate participants experience multiple identity categories as imbricated, and in using technology rely on communicative resources unaccounted for in traditional ASR approaches, most notably metalinguistic awareness.

The expression of the future in the varieties of Portuguese from Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe: an analysis from the perspective of cognitive sociolinguistics

Jussara Abraçado

Abstract (Language of presentation)

Unlike the past and the present, through which we have already lived, the future does not yet form part of our experiences. So, we cannot speak objectively about what has still to happen and any allusion we make to the future is usually mediated by expectations, suppositions or desires. As a result, the notion we have of the future is associated with modalization processes. In this paper, theoretically based on the interface between Sociolinguistics and Cognitive Linguistics, we aim to present the result of study about the use of the three most frequent forms of expressing the future tense in the varieties of Portuguese from Brazil, Portugal, Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe, namely: (i) the verb in the present tense, ex: Eu viajo de navio amanhã (I travel by ship tomorrow.); (ii) verb “ir”(to go) in the present tense + verb in the infinitive, ex: Eu vou viajar de navio amanhã (I'm going to travel by ship tomorrow.); (iii) Verb with a morphological mark of the future, ex: Eu viajarei de navio amanhã (I will travel by ship tomorrow). The data analyzed come from a corpus composed of headlines and lead paragraphs, collected from Portuguese, Brazilian, Angolan, Cape Verdean, Mozambican, Bissau Guinean and Santomean online newspapers, giving a total of 720 data. Statistical analysis of the data showed that: (i) that factors of an epistemic nature, such as ‘scheduled event’ and ‘event realization close to the moment of conceptualization’, among others, influence the use of such forms of expression of future; (ii) the use of these forms, with regard to such factors, tends to be similar in the varieties of Portuguese investigated.

Author Translation

Diferentemente do passado e do presente, que já vivemos, o futuro ainda não faz parte das nossas experiências. Assim, não podemos falar objetivamente sobre o que ainda está por acontecer e qualquer alusão que fazemos ao futuro é normalmente mediada por expectativas, suposições ou desejos. Como resultado, a noção que temos do futuro está associada a processos de modalização. Neste artigo, baseado teoricamente na interface entre a Sociolinguística e a Linguística Cognitiva, pretendemos apresentar o resultado de estudo sobre o uso das três formas mais frequentes de expressão do tempo futuro nas variedades do português do Brasil, Portugal, Angola, Cabo Verde, Moçambique, Guiné Bissau e São Tomé e Príncipe, nomeadamente: (i) o verbo no presente, ex: Eu viajo de navio amanhã; (ii) verbo “ir” no presente + verbo no infinitivo, ex: Eu vou viajar de navio amanhã.; (iii) Verbo com marca morfológica de futuro, ex: Eu viajarei de navio amanhã. Os dados analisados provêm de um corpus composto por manchetes e lides, recolhidos em jornais online portugueses, brasileiros, angolanos, cabo-verdianos, moçambicanos, guineenses e santomenses, perfazendo um total de 720 dados. A análise estatística dos dados mostrou que: (i) que fatores de natureza epistêmica, como ‘evento programado’ e ‘realização de evento próximo ao momento da conceituação’, entre outros, influenciam o uso de tais formas de expressão de futuro; (ii) o uso dessas formas, no que diz respeito a tais fatores, tende a ser semelhante nas variedades de português investigadas.

Diverging trajectories of change in Arabic interdentalals

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Traditional dialects of Arabic differ in their consonantal phonemic inventories. It has long been observed, almost categorically, that traditional city dialects in the Levant (e.g., Damascus, Beirut, Jerusalem) have merged the historical non-emphatic interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ with the dental stops /d/ and /t/, respectively, while traditional dialects in surrounding villages and Bedouin communities have retained the phonemic distinctions in both cases. The case of the voiced emphatic coronals /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/ is more complex, as most dialects do not maintain a phonemic distinction between these two phones, regardless of

their phonetic value. Migration, mobility, and other facilitators of dialect contact have introduced more variability surrounding this feature. We report on three cases where dialect contact has caused a shake-up of the consonantal inventories. While in both regions these features are variable, in the Levant the long-established merger of interdental fricative and dental stop is progressively expanding to include dialects that had hitherto maintained this phonemic distinction, and in Saudi Arabia the dialects that maintain the distinction are the ones expanding. Data come from three locales: Amman (Jordan), Umm al-Fahm (Palestine), Mecca (Saudi Arabia). Because differing quantitative methods were available to us over the years, we restrict ourselves here to qualitative, theoretical observations. We argue that these two geographically adjacent regions, the Levant and the Arabian Peninsula, have been diverging in terms of what constitutes linguistic prestige on the one hand and stigma on the other. This, in turn, drives sociolinguistic changes in diverging trajectories.

1. Amman: a newly formed dialect resulting from the establishment and expansion of a capital city. In addition to the traditional, non-merging, Jordanian dialects, an influx of Palestinian speakers, whose traditional urban dialects had the merger, has led to contact between speakers of both dialect types within the same social context, resulting in variation stratified by age, ethnicity, and gender.
2. Umm al-Fahm: located south of the old Palestinian city of Nazareth, a rapid process of urbanization has caused this historical village to balloon in size and become a significant regional city. Its traditional dialect is of a rural-Palestinian type, which maintains interdentals, as well as other conservative features. This dialect is currently undergoing a gradual process of phonological merger, propelled by social forces related to the hegemony of neighboring city dialects.
3. Mecca: Tribal groups have migrated to the city from elsewhere in western Saudi Arabia. The traditional city dialect is of the type that historically merged the interdental fricatives and dental stops, while the tribal migrants' traditional dialect maintains the distinction. Contrary to expectation, the migrant population has been slow to adapt to the host dialect and has shown particular resistance to adopting the merger. We know from ongoing research elsewhere in Saudi Arabia and further afield that an even more extreme process of "re-splitting the merger" may be taking place as well.

This study augments previous research by the authors (and associates) on diverging patterns of change in the region driven by evolving social norms.

The effects of language variety on CV confusions

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The aim of this study is to expand the knowledge we have regarding how language variety effects the perception of CV sequences, by examining how a speaker's variety can affect the frequency and types of confusions that occur. While a great deal of work has been done in phonetics examining the relative confusability of Cs and Vs under different conditions such as varying noise levels (cf. Benki 2003), relatively little work has been done to show the effect of specific language varieties on confusability. We distributed a survey over the web which presented a series of randomized sound clips of CVC words and nonwords spoken by a European American English (EAE) speaker and an African American English (AAE) speaker. The words and nonwords were composed of 10 consonants occurring word initially, and 6 vowels which all occurred word-medially (offsets were varying stop consonants, or the syllables were open), creating 118 total test tokens. Because of the self-selecting nature of an online survey, we were not able to control the ethnicity of the respondents. Our respondent pool was thus comprised of 48 people who self-identified as were either European-American or Asian-American; we made the assumption that

the respondents, who self-reported as L1 speakers of English, were European- or Asian-American English. Furthermore, we assumed that none of the respondents were native speakers of one of the stimulus varieties (AAE). Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that language variety (EAE vs AAE), was highly significant. We did find several things surprising, however. First, Cs demonstrated much greater confusability than Vs. This is noteworthy because the vowel tokens between the speakers differed substantially: across the vowel space, vowels differed with regard to height, frontness, roundness, and tenseness. To illustrate: the highest confusability for consonants in the AAE context was seen in /n/ and /p/, which were confused in 36% and 35% of the tests, respectively. In contrast, the highest confusability for vowels was found with /ε/, which was misperceived in the AAE run 27% of the time. Finally, our respondents demonstrated a surprising tendency to flout the linguistic-category bias (Ganong 1980). That is, when faced with an ambivalent choice regarding what token they were hearing, their confusion was more likely to move them towards *nonwords*, rather than actual words. Taken together, the findings from this study indicate a clear bias toward EAE speech when identified by non-AAE participants. Again, this is perhaps not surprising: listeners are better at recognizing phonemic categories in their own variety.

Certainly, this study argues for making clear what the varieties of the listeners are, vis à vis the speaker(s). But we were surprised how great the difference actually was: in the EAE context, no token was confused more than 2% (*m/ for /n/); as mentioned above, confusability was much greater for the AAE context.

Monophthongization of Diphthongs in Southern American English: A Perception Study

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The more prevalent monophthongization of /ai/ compared to /au/ in certain dialects, particularly in Southern American English, can be attributed to several factors. Historically, /ai/ has been more susceptible to dialectal variation and change. Phonetically, the tongue movement required for /ai/ (from a low to a high front position) may be more easily simplified or reduced than the movement for /au/ (from a low to a high back position). Sociolinguistic factors might also play a role, with certain vowel changes becoming markers of regional or social identity, leading to their widespread adoption in speech. This study examines the monophthongization of the diphthongs /ai/ to /a/ and /au/ to /a/ in Southern American English. Two 11-step continua, [a-ai] and [a-au], were presented to listeners for identification. The hypothesis is that a higher incidence of /a/ will be perceived in the /a-ai/ continuum than in the /a-au/ continuum among Southern dialect speakers compared to non-Southern dialect speakers. Preliminary results obtained from 4 southerners and 12 non-southerners partially support the hypothesis. Specifically, boundary positions for the two continua were nearly identical (Ms = 5.688, 5.708 for southerners and 5.813, 5.816 for non-southerners, respectively). However, in terms of boundary widths, southern participants showed a smaller mean for /a-au/ (M = 0.854) compared to /a-ai/ (M = 1.188), indicating a narrower boundary width for /a-au/ within this group, suggesting that southern participants perceive a clearer distinction between categories in the /a-au/ continuum than in the /a-ai/ continuum. Conversely, non-southern participants had similar means for boundary widths of /a-ai/ (M = 1.318) and /a-au/ (M = 1.335), suggesting equal and consistent perceptual precision across continua within this group. The findings suggest that the monophthongization of /ai/ in Southern American English subtly affects perceptual precision, resulting in a less sharply defined perceptual boundary for /a-ai/ compared to /a-au/. This reduced perceptual precision may reflect the greater susceptibility of /ai/ to dialectal variation and phonetic reduction. In contrast, the consistent boundary widths for non-southern participants indicate a more stable perceptual system that is less influenced by dialectal variation, maintaining uniform perceptual precision across both continua. Understanding these perceptual differences enhances our knowledge of how regional dialects influence phonetic perception and provides insights into the interplay between speech production and perception in different linguistic communities.

Author Translation

La monoptongación más prevalente de /ai/ en comparación con /au/ en ciertos dialectos, particularmente en el inglés sureño de Estados Unidos, puede atribuirse a varios factores. Históricamente, /ai/ ha sido más susceptible a la variación y al cambio dialectal. Fonéticamente, el movimiento de la lengua requerido para /ai/ (de una posición baja a una alta frontal) puede simplificarse o reducirse más fácilmente que el movimiento para /au/ (de una posición baja a una alta posterior). Los factores sociolingüísticos también pueden desempeñar un papel, con ciertos cambios vocálicos convirtiéndose en marcadores de identidad regional o social, lo que lleva a su adopción generalizada en el habla. Este estudio examina la monoptongación de los diptongos /ai/ a /a/ y /au/ a /a/ en el inglés sureño de los Estados Unidos. Se presentaron dos continuos de 11 pasos, [a-ai] y [a-au], a los oyentes para su identificación. La hipótesis es que se percibirá una mayor incidencia de /a/ en el continuo /a-ai/ que en el continuo /a-au/ entre los hablantes de dialecto sureño en comparación con los hablantes de dialecto no sureño. Los resultados preliminares obtenidos de 4 sureños y 12 no sureños apoyan parcialmente la hipótesis. Específicamente, las posiciones de los límites para los dos continuos fueron casi idénticas ($M_s = 5.688, 5.708$ para sureños y $5.813, 5.816$ para no sureños, respectivamente). Sin embargo, en términos de anchura del límite, los participantes sureños mostraron una media menor para /a-au/ ($M = 0.854$) en comparación con /a-ai/ ($M = 1.188$), lo que indica una anchura del límite más estrecha para /a-au/ dentro de este grupo, sugiriendo que los participantes sureños perciben una distinción más clara entre categorías en el continuo /a-au/ que en el continuo /a-ai/. Por el contrario, los participantes no sureños tenían medias similares para las anchuras de los límites de /a-ai/ ($M = 1.318$) y /a-au/ ($M = 1.335$), lo que sugiere una precisión perceptual igual y consistente a través de los continuos dentro de este grupo. Los hallazgos sugieren que la monoptongación de /ai/ en el inglés sureño de Estados Unidos afecta sutilmente la precisión perceptual, resultando en un límite perceptual menos definido para /a-ai/ en comparación con /a-au/. Esta precisión perceptual reducida puede reflejar la mayor susceptibilidad de /ai/ a la variación dialectal y a la reducción fonética. En contraste, las anchuras de los límites consistentes para los participantes no sureños indican un sistema perceptual más estable que está menos influenciado por la variación dialectal, manteniendo una precisión perceptual uniforme a través de ambos continuos. Comprender estas diferencias perceptuales mejora nuestro conocimiento de cómo los dialectos regionales influyen en la percepción fonética y proporciona conocimientos sobre la interacción entre la producción y la percepción del habla en diferentes comunidades lingüísticas.

Conscious Expression: How Speakers Navigate Inclusive Language In French

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Since the 1970s, advocates for gender-inclusive language in French have encouraged different practices focusing on women's visibility in society, particularly in the workplace, by ensuring their inclusion in language. Others argued for a different approach, seeking a more gender-neutral system. Recent efforts have seen innovative solutions, including typographical contractions to represent both feminine and masculine forms, and neologisms for non-binary identities. Recent scholarship of diaethical variation (Alpheratz, 2018), i.e. the conscious decision to apply inclusive language, has underscored the importance of reevaluating the use of the “neutral masculine”. For instance, speakers who do not identify as masculine have a more positive cognitive response to both gender forms explicitly present, or to gender neutral collective nouns (Liénardy et al., 2023; Pozniak et al., 2023). Diaethical variation is also demonstrated in the Belgian press, with feminist publications opting for strong visibility in form of double flexion or the median points (Simon & Vanhal, 2022). Studies centering on political dimensions have shown a correlation between conservative political ideology and less frequent use of inclusive language, particularly within universities (Burnett & Pozniak, 2021) and among students with conservative leanings (Sauteur et al., 2023). Institutional attitudes also differ between French-speaking

territories: while the Académie française indicates strong opposition to various typographical or lexical alterations of the language, the Office québécois de la langue française, conversely, exhibits support to many, although not all practices. This paper examines practices and ideologies among speakers in France and Québec, by exploring how diversity inherent to multilingual environments as Canada influences diaethical variation. Data is collected via a survey distributed to 120 participants. The instrument includes formal and informal registers (e.g. political discourse, job ads, social media posts, friendly conversation), various inclusive forms compared to the “neutral masculine”, and open ended questions about attitudes toward inclusive writing and the role of institutional planning in French. Our preliminary analysis reveals clear regional differences, with Québec exhibiting greater openness to inclusive language innovations compared to France. This finding is further supported by qualitative data, confirming that inclusive writing in France has become politicized. This study thus sheds light on how language users navigate the increasingly mainstream phenomenon of inclusive practices, particularly when intertwined with political stances.

PROJECT LAUNCH POSTERS

Vietnamese Perceptual Dialectology: A Pilot Study

Nathan Nguyen

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Previous research traditionally identifies three major Vietnamese dialect areas: Northern, Central, and Southern. These regional dialects are exemplified by the urban centers that have served as capitals for the regions, namely Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon, respectively. Few studies discuss the diversity of Vietnamese dialects, and even fewer mention ideological perspectives attached to these dialects. None have conducted a formal survey that asks Vietnamese speakers of their perspectives on different dialects, which this present study has done. This study follows the methodology of perceptual dialectology in developing survey questions targeting constructs pertaining to solidarity and status. The survey was distributed online in Facebook groups for Vietnamese language and culture, spaces which would attract native and heritage speakers of Vietnamese. The survey was completed by 451 respondents, of which the majority (72%) were speakers of the Southern dialect. Most respondents were familiar with the Southern dialect (94%) and the Northern dialect (83%) and were least familiar with the Central dialect (46%). Northern dialect ranked highly for constructs of status. Southern dialect ranked highly in constructs of solidarity. Central dialect ranked lowest for constructs of status. Relatedly, the Northern and Southern dialects were considered the best, whereas the Central dialect was considered the worst. Familiarity was influential in determining the “best” and “worst” dialects and significantly correlated with solidarity and status ratings. A political correctness effect emerged, such that some respondents questioned the wording as well as overall premise of the survey, and instead explicitly embraced diversity. Also, an absence of explicit political commentary is surprising but may point to a shift in attitude for the younger generation of Vietnamese speakers. The findings point to the interactions of language ideologies on social perceptions for Vietnamese speakers.

A potential phonological change in an under-studied speech community: Tunisian Tamazight variety of Fahmine.

Soubeika Bahri

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The goal of this study is to describe the use of /f/ instead of /t/ as in uflay ‘speak’ (elsewhere in Tunisian Tamazight: utlay) and instead of /k/ in the personal pronouns of 2nd person prefixed to the verb, like in a f-d-asey “I will come to you” (elsewhere in Tunisian Tamazight a k-d-asey, ta fen-uflayey “I will speak to you” (elsewhere in Tunisian Tamazight ta ken-utlayey) in *Fahmine* village, a multilingual Amazigh speech community located in *Djerba* island in the Gulf of Gabes governorate off Tunisia’s southern coast (Brugnatelli, 2023). The study attempts to adopt a variationist sociolinguistic approach, which with a few exceptions (e.g., Sanford 2016, Ding et al. 2019, Abtahian 2020), has rarely engaged with endangered or minority languages in non-Western contexts (Guy 2022). By focusing on the variations in *Fahmine* sub-variety of Tunisian Tamazight (mostly known as Tunisian Berber), the study raises three main questions: (i) what linguistic factors motivate the use of /f/ instead of /t/ and /k/; (ii) is there a style-shifting effect triggering the use of /f/ in the aforementioned situations; and (iii) how is this phonological variation socially meaningful? Data were gathered from ten Djerbi Amazigh folktales that were read and recorded on YouTube by a member of the *Fahmine* speech community as part of his documentation project of Tunisian Tamazight. All the folktales were transcribed and translated into English for analysis yielding 13 tokens of uflay ‘speak’ and 29 tokens of /f/ in the personal pronouns of 2nd person prefixed to the verb.

The same community member participated in a classic sociolinguistic interview; the data considered for this study is from the informal conversation portion. Two Tamazight speakers from the villages of *Guellala* and *Sedouikech*, also located on the island of *Djerba*, took part in informal interviews for comparison purposes. The findings reveal evidence of phonological change in the Tamazight variety spoken by the *Fahmine* community suggesting a shift away from Tunisian Tamazight varieties towards a local-oriented one. The findings also show the effects of style on the distinction of the phonemic variant in the speech community in question, as well as suggest that Tamazight speakers in the *Fahmine* speech community are linguistically and creatively engaged in constructing a distinct Amazigh indigenous identity through a set of phonological features.

Sociolectal Variation in Jamaican Creole: The Influence of Age and Language Attitudes on 'Seh' and 'Dat' Usage

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Jamaican Creole (JC) occupies a unique position within the linguistic landscape of Jamaica, reflecting a complex relationship between historical, social, and linguistic factors. This research investigates sociolectal variation in JC through a focused analysis of two key complementizers, 'seh' and 'dat', which play critical roles in syntactic structures akin to "that," "if," or "because" in Standard English. The study aims to elucidate how age and language attitudes influence the usage of these complementizers across different sociolectal levels within the JC continuum. Creole languages, including JC, emerged from the historical context of the transatlantic slave trade, blending elements of English (superstrate) with West African languages (substrate). The resulting Creole Continuum illustrates a spectrum of linguistic forms, from basilect (closer to substrate languages) to acrolect (closer to Standard English). The mesolect occupies an intermediary position, incorporating features from both ends of this continuum (DeCamp, 1971a). Central to this investigation are the factors of age and language attitudes, pivotal in understanding language variation and sociocultural dynamics within JC-speaking communities. Age-related linguistic patterns reflect generational shifts and evolving norms, while language attitudes shape perceptions of linguistic forms and social identities (Kristiansen & Jørgensen, 2005; Wassink, 1999). The project hypothesizes that younger speakers may exhibit differing linguistic behaviors compared to older generations, influenced by changing societal norms and educational influences (Baker, 1992; Escure, 1991). The complementizers 'seh' (basilect) and 'dat' (mesolect) serve as linguistic markers of particular interest, yet while 'seh' has received considerable attention in previous studies, 'dat' remains comparatively underexplored in JC contexts (Cassidy & LePage, 1967; Durrleman, 2008). This study aims to fill this gap by examining their usage across sociolectal forms and exploring how these choices are influenced by age-related linguistic behaviors and language attitudes. Methodologically, the research employs a sociophonetic approach, combining qualitative and quantitative analyses of naturalistic speech data. Participants from diverse age groups and socio-economic backgrounds will be engaged through speech corpus development and structured interviews, providing rich insights into the sociolectal variation of 'seh' and 'dat'. Findings are expected to contribute not only to the understanding of JC's linguistic dynamics but also to broader discussions in sociolinguistics concerning language variation, identity formation, and language policy.

Echoes of Digital Voices: The Role of Media Engagement on Intraspeaker Dialectal Variation and Change

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Despite the rapid increase of media usage in the United States, where individuals average eight hours per day consuming media (Guttmann, 2023), the role of digital media in language variation remains ambiguous and largely unexplored (Sayers, 2014; Nycz, 2019). This project aims to empirically evaluate the impact of media engagement on individual-level dialectal change among New York City English speakers exposed to Canadian English through digital platforms. Building on the media debate in the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (18/2), this study integrates theories from media effects research (Bimber et al., 2012; Gunter, 2014), behavioral psychology (Gerbner et al., 1980; 2002), and sociolinguistics to analyze how exposure and engagement contribute to modern dynamics of intraspeaker dialectal variation in an increasingly digitalizing world. Previous literature has noted a gap in understanding how media-based linguistic input affects dialectal change at both community and individual levels (Stuart-Smith et al., 2013; Sayers, 2014). While traditional research emphasizes face-to-face interaction as essential for dialectal change (Trudgill, 1986; Chambers, 1992; Labov, 2007), recent findings suggest media also plays a role in improving cross-dialectal awareness of second dialect features (Walker, 2018; Lincoln & Starr, forthcoming) and accelerating dialectal changes (Stuart-Smith et al., 2013; Starr, 2019). This study proposes a new theoretical model that incorporates both the quantity of media exposure and the depth of user engagement as key factors that may influence individual-level dialectal variation. Furthermore, drawing on Goldinger's (1998) Exemplar Theory, this work seeks to contribute to broader theoretical understandings of how media engagement not only embeds new linguistic exemplars into memory, but also fosters parasocial relationships with content creators. Through empirical investigation, this study aims to clarify the extent to which media engagement may or may not amplify the salience and influence of these exemplars on dialectal variation. The project involves a mixed-methods approach, collecting data from 30-60 native New Yorkers. Participants will be stratified into three groups based on their exposure to Canadian content creator Kurtis Conner: New Viewers (<1 year), Regular Viewers (1-3 years), and Long-Term Viewers (3 years+). The study will monitor changes in stable Canadian English features, such as the CAUGHT-COT merger and Canadian Raising (Nycz, 2016; Denis et al., 2023), which are generally absent in NYC English (Newman, 2014). New Viewers will engage with media content for 90 days, logging all interactions on the following platforms: TikTok, Instagram, Twitch, and YouTube. To track any dialectal shifts, sociolinguistic interviews will be conducted at the beginning, middle, and end of the data collection period, complemented by surveys assessing participants' social networks, language attitudes towards both dialects, and feelings of interpersonal attachment to the content creator. Analytical methods will include regression models to identify the effects of media engagement on dialectal changes, alongside qualitative analyses of epistemic and affective stance-taking to better understand how media affects constructions of place-identity and authenticity (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen, 2012; Heritage, 2012a; 2012b; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Jesus et al., 2024). The findings are expected to advance sociolinguistic models of dialect change by integrating media exposure and engagement as factors in linguistic variation.

Author Translation

A pesar del aumento del uso de medios en EE.UU., donde los individuos consumen un promedio de ocho horas diarias (Guttmann, 2023), el papel de los medios digitales en la variación lingüística sigue siendo ambiguo e inexplorado (Sayers, 2014; Nycz, 2019). Este proyecto busca evaluar empíricamente el impacto de la participación con los medios en el cambio dialectal individual entre hablantes de inglés de Nueva York expuestos al inglés canadiense a través de plataformas digitales. El estudio integra teorías de los efectos de los medios (Bimber et al., 2012; Gunter, 2014), psicología del comportamiento (Gerbner et al., 1980) y sociolingüística para analizar cómo la exposición y participación contribuyen a la variación dialectal en un mundo digitalizado. La literatura ha señalado una laguna en la comprensión de cómo la entrada lingüística mediada afecta el cambio dialectal a nivel comunitario e individual (Stuart-Smith et al., 2013; Sayers, 2014). Mientras la investigación tradicional enfatiza la interacción cara a cara para el cambio dialectal (Trudgill, 1986; Chambers, 1992; Labov, 2007), hallazgos recientes sugieren que los medios también mejoran la conciencia interdialectal y aceleran los cambios dialectales (Walker, 2018; Lincoln & Starr, en prensa; Stuart-Smith et al., 2013; Starr, 2019). Este estudio propone un nuevo modelo teórico que incorpora la cantidad de exposición a los medios y la profundidad del compromiso del usuario

como factores clave en la variación dialectal individual. Además, basándose en la Teoría del Exemplar de Goldinger (1998), busca ampliar la comprensión de cómo la participación mediada incorpora nuevos ejemplares lingüísticos en la memoria y fomenta relaciones parasociales con creadores de contenido. A través de una investigación empírica, este estudio clarificará en qué medida la participación mediada amplifica la relevancia y la influencia de estos ejemplares en la variación dialectal. El proyecto utilizará métodos mixtos, recolectando datos de 30-60 neoyorquinos nativos. Los participantes se estratificarán en tres grupos según su exposición al creador canadiense Kurtis Conner: Nuevos Espectadores (<1 año), Espectadores Regulares (1-3 años) y Espectadores a Largo Plazo (3 años+). El estudio monitoreará cambios en características del inglés canadiense, como la fusión CAUGHT-COT y el Canadian Raising (Newman, 2014; Nycz, 2016; Denis et al., 2023), características generalmente ausentes en el inglés de Nueva York. Los Nuevos Espectadores participarán con el contenido de los medios durante 90 días, registrando todas las interacciones en TikTok, Instagram, Twitch y YouTube. Para rastrear cambios dialectales, se realizarán entrevistas sociolingüísticas al inicio, mitad y final del período de recolección, complementadas con encuestas sobre redes sociales, actitudes lingüísticas, y sentimientos del apego al creador de contenido. Los métodos analíticos incluirán modelos de regresión para identificar efectos del compromiso con los medios en cambios dialectales y análisis cualitativos de la toma de postura epistémica y afectiva para comprender cómo los medios afectan la identidad y autenticidad (Du Bois y Kärkkäinen, 2012; Heritage, 2012; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Jesus et al., 2024). Se espera que los hallazgos avancen los modelos sociolingüísticos del cambio dialectal al integrar la exposición y la participación con los medios como factores en la variación.

Status or stigma: Bilingualism and identity in Japan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Linguistic attitudes, beliefs and ideologies can strongly affect how language users communicate and navigate in society. The Japanese government, since the 1940s, has pushed for monolingualism, specifically the speaking of Standard Japanese, as the cultural norm and as a symbol of unity in the country. Historically, this has been to the detriment of local indigenous languages and migrant populations. In recent years however, issues of globalization and the need for increased migration, due to a declining birth rate, have rapidly increased the need for people with multilingual language abilities in this once-isolated island nation. This study seeks to explore the ways in which this monolingual language ideology has affected the language use and linguistic identities of Japanese-English bilinguals of mixed-cultural backgrounds in Japan. To examine this issue, a small-scale survey was conducted to gather information regarding language ideologies in Japan, followed by interviews with three participants who were selected for their multicultural backgrounds and bilingual language abilities. Results suggest that the presence of this monolingual language ideology is still strongly felt, and can make fitting into Japanese society difficult for those who do not use language in ways that are deemed normal or correct. At the same time, the findings show a shift towards multilingualism as the growing linguistic diversity of the country begins to push the boundaries of the current dominant language ideology. Of particular note is the case of English, which has enjoyed an elevated status above other foreign languages in Japanese culture and continues to become more and more widely spoken throughout Japan. It is hoped that these findings will raise awareness about the discriminatory and detrimental effects of nationalistic language ideologies while highlighting the need for greater acceptance of linguistic diversity, and could lead to future research of this topic in other similar contexts.

TRANSLANGUAGING PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES AMONG MULTILINGUAL NOVICE TEACHERS OF FRENCH IN THE USA.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Translanguaging has gained prominence in multilingual education due to globalization. This approach suggests that learners' dominant language(s) can support acquiring a target language in and beyond the classroom. However, traditional beliefs advocate isolating learners' other language practices when learning a new language, leading to criticism of translanguaging. Therefore, educators' attitudes and perceptions towards translanguaging remain an open question. This paper explores the self-reported discursive practices, attitudes, and perceptions of translanguaging among multilingual novice French teachers in the USA, an area that has yet to be extensively studied. Although researchers have examined the significance of translanguaging in educational contexts, noting the development of multilingual repertoires and practices among language educators and learners in the USA, the specific experiences of novice French teachers have yet to be a focal point. Through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, this study highlights the classroom and social practices of novice French teachers—those with less than five years of teaching experience—and their varied opinions and beliefs shaping their attitudes towards translanguaging. This explorative mixed-method research investigates how these teachers perceive translanguaging within and beyond the classroom and how they prepare for and implement it in their lessons. While the pedagogical approach to translanguaging is widespread, this study aims to generate more research to define the concept from a sociolinguistic perspective further, projecting the correlation between the linguistic ideologies of translanguaging and multilingualism development in the USA and promoting sustainable cross-linguistic practices.

Author Translation

El translanguaging ha ganado prominencia en la educación multilingüe debido a la globalización. Este enfoque sugiere que la(s) lengua(s) dominante(s) de los estudiantes pueden apoyar la adquisición de una lengua objetivo dentro y fuera del aula. Sin embargo, las creencias tradicionales abogan por aislar las prácticas lingüísticas de los estudiantes cuando aprenden un nuevo idioma, lo que lleva a críticas del translanguaging. Por lo tanto, las actitudes y percepciones de los educadores hacia el translanguaging siguen siendo una cuestión abierta. Este artículo explora las prácticas discursivas auto-reportadas, actitudes y percepciones del translanguaging entre profesores novatos de francés multilingües en los EE.UU., un área que no ha sido extensamente estudiada. Aunque los investigadores han examinado la importancia del translanguaging en contextos educativos, observando el desarrollo de repertorios y prácticas multilingües entre educadores y estudiantes en los EE.UU., las experiencias específicas de los profesores novatos de francés no han sido un punto focal. A través de cuestionarios y entrevistas semiestructuradas, este estudio destaca las prácticas en el aula y sociales de los profesores novatos de francés —aquellos con menos de cinco años de experiencia en la enseñanza— y sus variadas opiniones y creencias que moldean sus actitudes hacia el translanguaging. Esta investigación exploratoria de método mixto investiga cómo estos profesores perciben el translanguaging dentro y fuera del aula y cómo se preparan para implementarlo en sus lecciones. Aunque el enfoque pedagógico del translanguaging es generalizado, este estudio tiene como objetivo generar más investigaciones para definir mejor el concepto desde una perspectiva sociolingüística, proyectando la correlación entre las ideologías lingüísticas del translanguaging y el desarrollo del multilingüismo en los EE.UU., y promoviendo prácticas lingüísticas sostenibles y translingüísticas.

Social meaning of closure duration in the affrication of /ls/ and /lθ/ in Utah English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Insertion/affrication (or more broadly, fortition) has been documented in some sonorant-fricative environments in English, both historically (*pumpkin*) and contemporarily (*prin(t)ce*, *ham(p)ster*). While insertion in some environments is mainstream, in others it is less widespread. Utah English features affrication in /ls/ clusters (*el(t)se* [ɛʎts]) and in /lθ/ clusters (*wealth* [wɛʎθ]). Savage (2014) shows that presence/absence of affrication in /ls/ is perceived as being less friendly in Utah, and Stanley & Shepherd (ms) show that the closure duration in /lθ/ is longer among people who are younger, female, suburban-oriented, and members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which may be especially significant given the scarcity and infrequency of these clusters. There are currently no studies reporting evidence of social meaning in stop closure durations outside of languages with geminate stops (Chodroff & Foulkes 2024), but we believe that the degree of affrication in /ls/ and /lθ/ clusters may socially meaningful. This study investigates listener perceptions of affrication to examine 1) if listeners are sensitive to the duration of stop closures in /ls/ and /lθ/ clusters and 2) if there is an empirical link between closure durations and listeners' judgments of a speaker. We hypothesize that listeners will perceive speakers with longer closure durations in /ls/ as less friendly, and in /lθ/ as younger, more feminine, more suburban, and more likely to be practicing Latter-Day Saints. We approach this using a matched-guise test (Campbell-Kibbler 2007). We will create stimuli by asking six Utahn speakers to read sentences containing one of these clusters and no other words containing phonological environments known to be variable in Utah English. Speakers will be coached on /ls/ and /lθ/ variants and produce recordings of each sentence with and without stop closure. One version of each sentence will be selected and both variants will be spliced in. The closure of the affricated version will then be digitally modified to be 40ms, 80ms, ..., 200ms in duration (these lengths are based on Stanley & Shepherd's (ms) report of a mean of 80ms and a standard deviation of about 40ms). Utahn and non-Utahns listeners will hear recordings of different speakers (no listener will hear multiple versions of the same speaker-sentence combination) and will rate the speaker on a 6-point Likert scale on qualities like masculinity, femininity, friendliness, and intelligence and answer multiple choice questions on urban status, occupation, and education level. We will statistically evaluate whether there is a relationship between closure length and these characteristics. This study aims to add what is known about the Latter-day Saint religiolect and Utah English in general. It could also expand linguists' understanding of the degree of ubiquity and salience necessary for a phonological feature to carry social meaning. Perhaps most importantly, ours will be among the first to show social meaning in stop closure duration in a language without gemination. We feel that it is important to investigate these understudied aspects of the speech signal to uncover further sociolinguistic variation.

Author Translation

A inserção (ou africacão) foi documentada em alguns contextos soante-fricativa no inglês, tanto historicamente (*pumpkin*) quanto contemporaneamente (*prin(t)ce*, *ham(p)ster*). Inserção em alguns contextos é difundida, mas em outros não é. A inglês de Utah tem africacão nos aglomerados /ls/ (*el(t)se* [ɛʎts]) e /lθ/ (*wealth* [wɛʎθ]). Savage (2014) mostra que a presença ou a ausência de africacão em /ls/ é percebida como menos amigável na Utah, e Stanley & Shepherd (ms) mostram que a duração da oclusão em /lθ/ é mais longa entre as pessoas que são mais jovens, mulheres, orientadas para o subúrbio, e membros da Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias, que é especialmente significativo dado a escassez e a infrequência desses aglomerados. Não há pesquisas que reportem evidência de significados sociais nas durações de oclusões fora dos idiomas com consoantes geminadas (Chodroff & Foulkes 2024), mas cremos que o grau de africacão nos aglomerados /ls/ e /lθ/ seja socialmente significativo. Esta pesquisa examina percepções do ouvinte de africacão para examinar 1) se ouvintes são sensíveis às durações de oclusão nos aglomerados /ls/ e /lθ/, e 2) se existe uma ligação empírica entre as durações de oclusão e os julgamentos dos ouvintes de uma falante. Levantamos hipóteses que os ouvintes perceberão os falantes com durações mais longas em /ls/ como menos amigáveis, e em /lθ/ como mais jovens, mais femininas, mais suburbanas, e mais prováveis a ser membros praticantes da Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias. Abordamos estas hipóteses com uma técnica de *matched-guise* (Campbell-Kibbler 2007). Criaremos estímulos por peça para seis falantes de Utah lerem frases que contém um desses aglomerados e nenhuma outra palavra que contém contextos fonológicas conhecidos por serem variáveis no inglês de Utah. Os falantes serão treinados nas variantes de /ls/ e /lθ/ e produzirão gravações de cada frase com e sem a africacão. Uma versão de cada frase será selecionada e modificada

digitalmente para ser 40ms, 80ms, ..., 200ms em duração (quais números são baseados no Stanley & Shepherd (ms) quem reportam que a média é 80ms e a desvio padrão é aproximadamente 40ms). Ouvintes de Utah e outras lugares ouvirão gravações de falantes diferentes (nenhum ouvinte ouvirá várias versões da mesma combinação de falante-frase) e avaliarão o falante numa escala de Likert com seis níveis em qualidades como masculinidade, feminilidade, simpatia e inteligência e responderão a perguntas de múltipla escolha sobre status urbano, ocupação e nível educacional. Avaliaremos estatisticamente se existe um relacionamento entre duração oclusão da africação e dessas características. Esta pesquisa acrescentará o que se sabe sobre o religioleto dos Santos dos Últimos Dias e o inglês da Utah mais geralmente. Também poderia expandir o entendimento dos linguistas sobre o grau de ubiquidade e saliência necessário por uma variável fonológica levar significativo social. Talvez mais importante, nossa pode ser a primeira pesquisa que mostra significativo social na duração de oclusão num idioma sem consoantes geminadas. É importante investigar estes aspectos menos estudados do sinal de fala para descobrir ainda mais variação sociolinguística.

Shut yo mouf: /th/ fronting in African American English

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Studies on the labialization of interdental fricatives (Hinton & Pollock 2000: 64) or /th/ fronting (Thomas 2015) in varieties of AAE have really focused on the phonological environments where the process occurs and has been described as occurring word-medially, word-finally, and as dependent on syllable structure. Some studies exist on the social perception of this variable (Sneller 2020) where the author discussed how /th/ is used to index masculinity, how rule spreading is happening within Philadelphia's white communities, or just generally how other varieties of English worldwide produce /th/ fronting. In this project launch, my interest is categorical and focuses on the social meanings attached to the production of /θ/ and /f/ in AAE. The two research questions at the center of my work are: 1) How do AAE users perceive both /θ/ and /f/? and 2) How do listeners judge and categorize stimuli based on the presence of /th/ fronting? To answer the first research question, I would employ identification and discrimination tasks. This will help me understand if AAE users are merging or distinguishing between /θ/ and /f/ to the extent that they deviate from Standardized American English. The second question would be addressed by examining how AAE phonological processes are perceived on a social scale, and if these processes elicit different emotional responses from participants. The role of emotional perception is pivotal in this research. It aims to determine if the presence of AAE influences listeners' interpretations of the stimuli, thereby shedding light on the social implications of AAE phonology. For example, listeners would be presented with both audio stimuli of 'MOUF' and 'MOUTH' in different racial guises. After listening, they would be asked about their perceived ethnoracial classification and perceived emotional valence for each trial and guise. This would lead to understanding how emotional valence is perceived based on the presence of AAE phonology during the different guises and whether these AAE features are directly associated with negative valence emotions. In Figure A, I briefly illustrate this process of where listeners hear the stimuli and they either 1) identify it racially which modulates their emotional classification response to categorize the stimuli as angry, or 2) they immediately associate the stimulus on an emotional scale despite ethnoracial information. Together, this study illuminates how AAE users distinguish between /θ/ and /f/ while also investigating how individuals perceive AAE phonology and categorize it in terms of emotions and race.

Kaaps: An Ideological and Perception Analysis

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The formation of Kaaps (Hollands) predates the formation of Afrikaans as a language. Afrikaans developed in South Africa out of a Dutch stem as a result of interaction between European colonists, who arrived in 1652. Therefore, Kaaps is considered an L1 variety of Afrikaans. However, due to its position in relation to Afrikaans, which can be attributed Apartheid's linguistic heritage, Kaaps is seen as inferior to its standard variety. Historically speaking, "Kaaps is an 'old' variety of Afrikaans [of which] many features more closely resemble continental West Germanic [language] than modern [Standard Afrikaans] (SA) does" (cf. Biberauer and Pretorius 2018). This investigation will contribute to the understanding of language attitudes toward consonantal deletion by examining its perception using an online attitudinal sound-based experiment in the Afrikaans L1 variety of Kaaps. This research draws its inspiration from *Díaz-Campos and Killam (2012) paper, Assessing Language Attitudes through a Matched-guise Experiment: The Case of Consonantal Deletion in Venezuelan Spanish*. I will be utilising aspects of their methodology which uses two experiments designed for testing language attitudes toward syllable-final /t/ deletion and retention, respectively. It is with hope that this research will support the hypothesis that the retention of syllable-final /t/ is perceived as a 'prestigious' variant, in Standard Afrikaans. Additionally, the deletion of syllable-final /t/ is perceived as the 'stigmatized' variant in Kaaps. The results of this investigation will contribute towards the study of language attitudes using a perceptual task, a practice that is not very commonly used to assess a linguistic variable in a non-standardised language variety. Moreover, as this investigation regarding their language attitudes towards Kaaps adds to the growing interest of surrounding this language variety, I will be using a language ideology framework in the hopes of understanding participant's attitudinal responses towards Kaaps. It is my hope to contribute to the ever growing interest in the language, its perceptions and participants' attitudes towards Kaaps.

Quantifying Degrees of Accentedness Using First Language (L1) Phonological Features

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

An accent arises when someone produces a second language (L2) using a sensorimotor control system that has become deeply accustomed to the sound contrasts of their first language (L1). This phenomenon is particularly prominent in regions with high linguistic diversity, such as in the Indian sub-continent where 22 official languages and over 200 mother tongues create complex variants of Indian English. The influence of the L1 phonological system on L2 pronunciation is widely accepted, and yet the measurement of degrees of accentedness has predominantly been assessed from the L2 perspective, i.e. by native speakers of the L2 detecting deviations from the L2 norm. The use of L1 phonological features to measure accentedness in L2 speech is yet to be explored and could offer a complementary perspective towards how accentedness may be defined and measured. This project introduces a novel approach to quantify degrees of accentedness by using a neural network-based system, *Phonet* (Vásquez-Correa et al., 2019), to leverage L1 phonological features for evaluating accented speech. *Phonet* is trained on speech segments annotated with phonological feature classes, and uses Gated Recurrent Units (GRU) to extract the probability distribution of the feature classes at the phoneme level in speech. The primary aim of this project is to quantify accentedness using these probability distributions generated by *Phonet* models trained on L1 and L2 data. We will compare the performance of *Phonet* when trained on L2 English data versus L1 Hindi data, focusing on three crucial phonological features: [±coronal], [±spread glottis], and [±anterior]. Hindi has a rich variety of coronal consonants and breathy voiced consonants, which differ significantly from English's alveolar and aspirated consonants. By training models on these different datasets, we aim to quantify how closely L2 pronunciation approximates L2 targets (English-trained model) and how closely it resembles L1 norms (Hindi-trained model). A regression analysis will reveal

the relative importance of the phonological feature classes in perceiving Hindi-accented English and show how the likelihoods of the feature classes estimated by the different Phonet models contribute to human evaluations of accentedness (as measured by accent ratings) by native English speakers with little or no experience with Hindi. This will allow us to quantify degrees of accentedness and understand the cue weighting in human perception of accented speech. For instance, the use of a soft categorization of feature classes via probability distributions may better detect subtle degrees of accentedness than a hard binary categorization, highlighting the importance of modeling the degrees of phonological variation in Hindi-accented English vis-à-vis the L1 and L2 languages. By providing a new way to quantify degrees of language variation, this project will enhance our understanding of how to best quantify the degree of accentedness (e.g., as deviation from the L2 norm or as the presence of L1 features). This deeper insight can inform the development of more effective ASR systems and educational tools to aid in language learning and pronunciation training.

Author Translation

Un acento surge cuando alguien habla una segunda lengua (L2) usando un sistema de control sensoriomotor profundamente acostumbrado a los contrastes de sonido de su primera lengua (L1). Este fenómeno es especialmente notable en regiones con alta diversidad lingüística, como el subcontinente indio, donde 22 idiomas oficiales y más de 200 lenguas maternas dan lugar a variantes complejas del inglés indio. La medición de los grados del acento se ha evaluado predominantemente desde la perspectiva de la L2, es decir, por hablantes nativos de la L2 que detectan desviaciones de la norma de la L2. El uso de características fonológicas de la L1 para medir la acentuación en el habla de la L2 aún no se ha explorado y podría ofrecer una perspectiva complementaria sobre cómo se puede definir y medir el acento. Este proyecto introduce un enfoque novedoso para cuantificar grados de acentuación mediante un sistema basado en redes neuronales, llamado Phonet (Vásquez-Correa et al., 2019), que utiliza características fonológicas de la L1 para evaluar el idioma influido por el acento. Phonet se prepara a partir de segmentos del habla anotados con clases de características fonológicas y utiliza las unidades recurrentes cerradas (GRU) para extraer la distribución de la probabilidad de las clases de características a nivel de fonema en el habla. El objetivo principal de este proyecto es cuantificar el acento utilizando estas distribuciones de probabilidad generadas por modelos Phonet preparados en función de los datos de L1 y L2. Compararemos el rendimiento de Phonet cuando se prepara con datos en inglés como L2 versus datos en hindi como L1, centrándonos en tres características fonológicas cruciales: [±coronal], [±glotis extendida] y [±anterior]. El hindi tiene una amplia variedad de consonantes coroneales y consonantes con voz susurrante, que difieren significativamente de las consonantes alveolares e aspiradas del inglés. Al entrenar modelos con estos diferentes grupos de datos, pretendemos cuantificar qué tan cerca se aproxima la pronunciación de la L2 a los objetivos de la L2 (modelo inglés) y qué tan cerca se asemeja a las normas L1 (modelo hindi). Un análisis de regresión revelará la importancia relativa de las clases de características fonológicas en la percepción del inglés acentuado con hindi, y mostrará cómo las probabilidades de las clases de características estimadas por los diferentes modelos Phonet contribuyen a las evaluaciones humanas del acento realizadas por hablantes nativos de inglés con poca o ninguna experiencia en hindi. Esto nos permitirá cuantificar los grados de acento y entender el peso de las señales en la percepción humana del idioma influido por el acento. Al proporcionar una nueva forma de cuantificar los grados de variación lingüística, este proyecto mejorará nuestra comprensión de cómo cuantificar mejor el grado de acento (por ejemplo, como desviación de la norma de la L2 o como la presencia de características de la L1). Este enfoque profundizado puede informar sobre el desarrollo de sistemas de reconocimiento automático del habla (ASR) más efectivos y herramientas educativas para ayudar en el aprendizaje de la lengua y el entrenamiento en pronunciación.

Pre-nuclear peak alignment in Afro-Mexican and non-Afro Mexican Spanish: ethnolectal or phonetic?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This paper presents on-going research into pre-nuclear peak alignment in two ethnically distinct varieties of Mexican Spanish: Afro-Mexican Spanish (AFS) (Afro-Indigenous communities, Costa Chica), and Altiplano Mexican Spanish (AMS) (European-indigenous communities, urban highlands). It examines peak offset according to focus and the segmental string, with further consideration for dialectal differences and their bearing upon a phonetic versus an ethnolectal model. Whilst prosodic descriptions exist for non-Afro Mexican Spanishes (Martín Butragueño 2003; de la Mota et al. 2011), the intonation of Afro-Mexican Spanish remains undocumented. 4 female speakers from each community participated. Participants read aloud 12-syllable sentences containing target words in broad and narrow focus. The target syllable contained the tonic vowel /a/ preceding /l/, /n/, or /s/ (C1). Syllable aperture was manipulated through the inclusion of /t/ (C2), e.g., *manto* (/ˈman.to/, ‘cloak’) versus *mano* (/ˈma.no/, ‘hand’). Target words received the 3rd and penultimate pitch accent. 899 rises were produced with tokens coded according to Sp_ToBI (de la Mota et al. 2011) (L+H* for tonic peaks, L+>H* for post-tonic peaks), focus condition (broad, narrow), and the syllabic affiliation of C1 (open, closed). Data was annotated in Praat, with visualisations made in R. In broad focus, peaks are majorly L+H* in /Vl.t/ and /Vn.t/ for both dialects (AFS: 95.45% and 100%, AMS: 100% and 77.78% respectively). In /V.IV/ and /V.nV/, L+>H* instead represents the majority (AFS: 91.77% and 90%, AMS: 81.25% and 94.12% respectively). For /s/, peaks are invariably L+H* across syllabic affiliations. For AMS, parallel segmental effects emerge in narrow focus, albeit to a lesser degree (Figure 2). Similar effects remain for /V.IV/ in narrow focus for AFS (L+>H*: 62.66%), yet for /V.nV/ and /V.sV/, L+H* is most common (62.96% and 98.43% respectively) (Figure 1). Results thus indicate that peaks align on syllables with /l/ and /n/ regardless of intervening syllable boundaries: in /VC.t/ peaks are tonic, and in /V.CV/, post-tonic. Dialectal differences emerge however, with segmental effects weakened in AFS relative to AMS with the narrowing of focus. Whilst peak alignment variation in Afro-Hispanic language has previously been attributed to historic contact with African tonal languages and community isolation (Hualde and Schwieger 2007; Lipski 2015; Sessarego 2015), the present data highlights their commonality across non-Afro varieties. Indeed, greater segmental effects are visible for AMS which shows greater resistance to focus. We therefore consider a phonetic explanation: with increased voicing and duration, /l/ and /n/ provide sufficient phonetic material for the peak to continue rising, such that it does. This material is not provided by the voiceless /s/, such that peaks are tonic regardless of syllable type. Additionally, differences between the two varieties may emerge due to phonetic differences between the sounds owing to focus: consonants in AFS may undergo shortening in narrow focus such that they no longer provide sufficient phonetic material for the rise. This requires confirmation through durational measures across focus conditions. Nonetheless, preliminary findings provide promising evidence that these behaviours are phonetically, not ethnolectally, motivated.

Author Translation

Se presenta aquí investigación en curso en el alineamiento de picos prenucleares en variantes distintas étnicamente del español mexicano: el español afromexicano (AFS) (comunidades afro-indígenas, la Costa Chica) y el español altiplano mexicano (AMS) (mestizo, el altiplano urbano). Examina el alineamiento de picos según el foco y los segmentos. Considera las diferencias dialectales y su impacto en un modelo etnolingüístico o fonético. Aunque existen descripciones prosódicas del español mexicano (Martín Butragueño 2003; de la Mota et al. 2011), la entonación del español afromexicano se queda por documentar. Participaron 4 mujeres de cada comunidad. Leyeron frases de 12 sílaba que llevaban la palabra de interés en foco amplio y ancho. La sílaba de interés consistía en la /a/ tónica antes de /l/, /n/, o /s/ (C1). La apertura silábica se manipulaba por la inclusión de la /t/, e.g., e.g., *manto* (/ˈman.to/) versus *mano* (/ˈma.no/). Sílabas de interés llevaban el tercer acento tonal. Se produjeron 899 picos que se codificaron según Sp_ToBI (de la Mota et al. 2001) (L+H* picos tónicos, L+>H* picos postónicos), el foco (amplio, ancho) y la afiliación silábica de C1 (abierto, cerrado). Se anotaron los datos en Praat con las visualizaciones realizadas en R. En foco amplio, los picos son mayormente L+H* en /Vl.t/ y /Vn.t/ para ambos dialectos (AFS: 95.45% y 100% respectivamente, AMS: 100% y 77.78% respectivamente). En /V.IV/ y /V.nV/, L+>H* representa la mayoría (AFS: 91.77% y 90% respectivamente, AMS: 81.25% y 94.12% respectivamente). Para /s/, los picos son constantemente L+H* independientemente de afiliación silábica. Se observan efectos segmentales parecidos en foco ancho para AMS, aunque en menor medida

(Figura 2). Se quedan efectos paralelos en contexto /V.IV/ para AFS en foco ancho (L+>H*: 62.66%), pero en /V.nV/ y /V.sV/, se queda más común L+H* (62.96% y 98.43% respectivamente) (Figura 1). Los hallazgos indican que los picos se alinean en sílabas con /l/ o /n/ independientemente de fronteras silábicas: en /VC.t/ los picos son tónicos, y en /V.CV/ postónicos. No obstante, los efectos segmentales reducidos en la condición ancha de AFS relativo a AMS. Aunque previamente se atribuyó el alineamiento tónico en variantes afros al contacto histórico con idiomas tonales africanos y el aislamiento social de las comunidades (Hualde y Schwegler 2007; Lipski 2015; Sessarego 2015), los datos aquí muestran efectos más divergentes en AMS que resistan los efectos de foco. Por eso, se considera una explicación fonética: con voz y duraciones amplias, la /l/ y /n/ proveen material fonético suficiente para que los picos sigan subiendo. La /s/ sin voz no provee este material, entonces los picos son tónicos en cualquiera sílaba. Se podrían atribuir esas diferencias de foco también a la fonética: podría ser que las consonantes en AFS se acorten en foco ancho para que ya no puedan proveer material fonético para el pico. Eso se debe confirmar con medidas duracionales entre las condiciones de foco. No obstante, estos resultados preliminares ofrecen evidencia positiva que esos patrones son motivados por la fonética, no la étnica.

Measuring voseo to tuteo accommodation among Salvadorans in Washington, DC: considering task, modality, and ethnic orientation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The demographic makeup of Spanish-speaking immigrants in the continental United States has undergone a recent shift. Whereas Mexicans and Puerto Ricans represent the largest groups of Spanish speakers in the United States, recent trends reveal a decrease in immigration from these regions and an increase in immigration from Central and South America (Lopez, 2023). The resulting contact between the Spanish varieties spoken by these groups, and the contact between Spanish and English, is a ripe area for sociolinguistic research, as demonstrated by Otheguy and Zentella (2011) on dialectal leveling of Spanish in New York City and Erker (2022) on the same phenomenon in Boston. This study will investigate potential leveling in the Spanish of the Salvadoran-American community, which is the third largest group of Spanish speakers in the U.S (Shah, 2023). One lens to understand Salvadoran Spanish in the U.S. is through the use of second person singular (2PS) forms. Previous studies (Hernández & Esteban, 2002; Raymond, 2012; Rivera-Mills, 2011; Sorenson, 2013; Woods and Rivera-Mills, 2012) have documented the accommodation of 2PS forms from the Salvadoran *voseo* to the more neutral *tuteo* among Salvadorans-Americans, reflecting the invisibility and “strategic non-identity” of Salvadorans in the U.S. as described by Arias (2003). However, most of these studies investigated Salvadoran immigrant communities within larger Mexican-American communities, and many relied on written tasks to collect data. This study will investigate the 2PS forms used in Salvadoran immigrant Spanish in a different context: the Washington, D.C. area, where the Salvadoran community is the largest Spanish speaking group. Salvadorans in D.C. are not invisible, which might imply different patterns of 2PS usage. This innovative study will not just measure the use of *voseo* but will also examine how *voseo* is being used by these speakers to reflect their identity needs in context. This study will elicit data from 90 participants using a novel translation task developed by Fernández-Mallat and Newman (2022) that measures *voseo* usage in various pragmatic contexts without calling explicit attention to the variable of interest. Given that *voseo* is a stigmatized feature in many Spanish varieties and written collection methods might result in data favoring *tuteo*, the task will be delivered in two modalities, oral and written, to determine whether there is a significant difference of *voseo* usage by modality. Finally, dynamic measures of ethnicity (adapted from Hoffman & Walker, 2010) will be included to determine whether a participants’ orientation towards their Salvadoran ethnicity affects their use of *voseo*. Data will be analyzed using mixed effects logistic regression to understand how pragmatic factors and participants’ ethnic orientation contribute to their *voseo* usage, and whether that usage differs significantly based on task modality. This study will contribute not just to the growing understanding of Central American

Spanish in the U.S. and the distribution of 2PS forms in Spanish but will also explore fundamental methodological considerations in sociolinguistic research, such as how task modality affects linguistic output and how an individual's level of ethnic orientation might shape their use of certain linguistic features.

Author Translation

La demografía de los inmigrantes hispanohablantes en los Estados Unidos continentales ha cambiado últimamente – mientras que los mexicanos y puertorriqueños representan los grupos más grandes de hispanohablantes en los EEUU, las tendencias recientes revelan una reducción en la inmigración de estas regiones y un aumento en la inmigración de Centroamérica y Sudamérica (Lopez, 2023). El contacto entre las variedades de español habladas por estos inmigrantes y entre el español y el inglés que resulta de esta inmigración son áreas listas para la investigación sociolingüística, como demuestran Otheguy y Zentella (2011) sobre la nivelación dialectal del español de Nueva York y Erker (2022) sobre el mismo fenómeno en Boston. Este estudio investigaría la posible nivelación en el español de la comunidad salvadoreña-estadounidense, la cual es la tercera comunidad más grande de hispanohablantes en los EEUU (Shah, 2023). Este estudio examinará el español salvadoreño hablado en los EEUU a través de las formas de tratamiento de segunda persona singular (las formas 2PS). Muchos investigadores (Hernández & Esteban, 2002; Raymond, 2012; Rivera-Mills, 2011; Sorenson, 2013; Woods & Rivera-Mills, 2012) han documentado la tendencia de acomodación de las formas 2PS del *voseo* salvadoreño al *tuteo* neutral entre los centroamericanos en los EEUU, reflejando la observación de Arias (2003) sobre la invisibilidad y la “estratégica falta de identidad” de los salvadoreños en los EEUU. Sin embargo, la mayoría de estos estudios examinaron comunidades salvadoreñas dentro de comunidades más grandes de mexicanos-estadounidenses, y muchos emplearon métodos escritos para recolectar datos. Este estudio investigará las formas 2PS usadas en la comunidad salvadoreña-estadounidense en un contexto diferente: Washington, D.C., donde la comunidad salvadoreña es la comunidad más grande de hispanohablantes, lo cual puede implicar distintos patrones de las formas 2PS. Este estudio innovador no solo medirá el uso del *voseo*, sino que también examinará cómo estos hablantes usan el *voseo* para reflejar su identidad. Este estudio recolectará datos de 90 participantes usando una tarea innovadora de traducción desarrollada por Fernández-Malla y Newman (2022) que medirá el uso del *voseo* en contextos pragmáticos sin llamar la atención del participante a la variable de interés. Como el *voseo* es un rasgo estigmatizado en muchas variedades del español, se completará la tarea en dos modalidades, oral y escrito, para determinar si hay una diferencia significativa según la modalidad. Finalmente, el análisis incluirá medidas dinámicas de la etnicidad (adaptadas de Hoffman y Walker, 2010) para determinar si la orientación de un participante hacia su etnicidad afecta su uso del *voseo*. Se analizarán los datos usando un modelo de regresión logística para entender cómo los factores pragmáticos, juntos con la orientación étnica de los participantes, contribuyen al uso del *voseo*, y si el uso difiere significativamente según la modalidad.

Este estudio contribuirá no sólo al entendimiento del español centroamericano en los EEUU y la distribución de las formas 2PS en el español, sino que también explorará las consideraciones metodológicas fundamentales en la investigación sociolingüística, como cómo la modalidad afecta la producción y cómo la orientación étnica de un individual puede determinar su uso de ciertos rasgos lingüísticos.

"Sticking to what you have": Strategies of preserving home languages in a rural Midwestern community from the Congo.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In the process of competing for employment, performing well in schools, and benefitting from other social opportunities, members of minority immigrant communities face the challenge of acquiring new

vehicular languages, while risking of losing their own over time [1] [2]. In principle, this could also apply to immigrant communities of predominantly Sub-Saharan origin who brought multiple African and European vehicular languages to monolingual rural communities of the American Midwest since the late 1990s [3]. This paper shows that the demise of home languages might not be the ultimate outcome of the African immigrant experience in the Midwestern United States. Thanks to strong and multiplex social ties to kinship, religious, and cultural groups, members of this community, on the contrary, report using actively up to three vehicular languages - French, Lingala, and English – in daily life. Ninety-two participants of diverse ages (18 to 60 years), gender, occupational, and educational backgrounds filled out a questionnaire on everyday language choice and reported proficiency and attitudes towards languages spoken in the community. The questionnaire survey was supplemented by participant observations conducted by the author of this paper at church services, community supermarkets, concerts, and cultural events, following established methodology [2]. Results show that multilingualism is the default for a large majority of participants of Congolese descent: all but eight of them reported using two or more languages in various social domains on a daily basis (Figure 1). **Lingala** emerged as predominant and **French** was present in domains where social ties [4] are strong: over 80% of participants reported to use either French and/or Lingala within the family, and 72% reported to use either one or a combination of both during religious services. **English** was predominant in contexts where individuals' social ties are mostly weak [4]: 92.4% of participants reported using it in education. Mirroring the earlier history of *Francophonie* in the United States [5] [6], at this moment in time, the two European languages seem to coexist in separate niches of public social domains: English has supplanted French as the dominant language in educational settings (92.4% vs. 6%) but French, despite being perceived as “minimally important” (76%), has preserved its vehicular status in religious contexts in the form of French-only church services and outreach to local Francophones in the area. Other key factors contributing to the joint preservation of Lingala and French within the community are active parental involvement, modeling, and encouraging language use (see excerpts below), and participation in community gatherings. While parental involvement is the primary driver in the intergenerational transfer of both languages within the family, church services and periodic cultural activities extended to Francophones in the region are also ensuring the maintenance of Lingala and French. Time will tell whether, in a complete reversal to the erasure of Cajun French in Louisiana and other historically French-speaking regions in the United States, church language practices will continue to act as catalysts of preservation rather than ‘assimilators’ [5] of French in this multilingual Francophone community in the American Midwest.

Hablantes de herencia de español, interpretación legal y variedades lingüísticas en el sistema de justicia juvenil en Florida, EE. UU.

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

El sistema legal juvenil en Florida enfrenta el desafío de manejar la diversidad lingüística debido a su significativa población de hablantes de herencia de español. Este trabajo se centra en los retos de la interpretación legal para los hablantes de herencia de español y las diversas variedades lingüísticas que pueden presentarse en el sistema legal juvenil de Florida. Florida alberga una amplia variedad de comunidades lingüísticas. Los hablantes de herencia de español, a menudo bilingües, presentan diferentes niveles de competencia tanto en español como en inglés, lo que puede generar desafíos únicos en contextos legales, especialmente en el sistema de justicia juvenil donde la comunicación precisa es crucial. Uno de los desafíos es la variabilidad en la competencia lingüística. Estas personas a menudo tienen un dominio desigual entre las lenguas, lo que puede llevar a malentendidos durante los procedimientos legales. La tendencia a cambiar de código (code-switching) y el uso de expresiones informales también pueden complicar la interpretación, ya que los intérpretes deben captar con precisión el significado sin perder información importante. Además, comprender los conceptos legales en un segundo idioma es difícil, pues los hablantes de herencia podrían no estar familiarizados con la

terminología legal específica o las referencias culturales del sistema legal estadounidense. Para abordar estos desafíos, Florida exige el uso de intérpretes judiciales certificados que reciben un entrenamiento para manejar las complejidades del lenguaje legal y las necesidades específicas de los hablantes de herencia. La traducción precisa de documentos legales es esencial para garantizar que los menores y sus familias entiendan todos los aspectos de sus casos. Además, la capacitación en competencia cultural para intérpretes y profesionales legales es vital, pues ayuda a proporcionar una comunicación más apropiada y efectiva, considerando las diferencias culturales que también influyen en los procesos legales. Una interpretación legal precisa es fundamental para garantizar la equidad en el sistema de justicia juvenil. Los hablantes de herencia deben comprender completamente los cargos, los procedimientos legales y sus derechos. La comunicación clara también es vital para el éxito de los programas de rehabilitación, ya que los menores que comprenden las órdenes judiciales y los requisitos de rehabilitación son más propensos a cumplir y participar en estos programas. Además, manejar efectivamente la diversidad lingüística ayuda a construir confianza en el sistema legal entre las comunidades de hablantes de herencia, mejorando la cooperación con las autoridades legales, las familias y la comunidad. En conclusión, el sistema legal juvenil de Florida debe manejar hábilmente la diversidad lingüística presentada por los hablantes de herencia de español para asegurar procesos equitativos. La interpretación legal, con intérpretes certificados, traducción precisa de documentos y capacitación en competencia cultural, es crucial para abordar los desafíos únicos que enfrentan estos hablantes. Al hacerlo, el sistema puede promover resultados justos, facilitar una rehabilitación efectiva y construir confianza dentro de las comunidades, asegurando que todos los jóvenes y sus familias puedan participar plenamente en sus procedimientos legales.

Author Translation

The Juvenile Justice System in Florida faces the challenge of managing linguistic diversity due to its significant population of Spanish heritage speakers. This work focuses on the challenges of legal interpretation for Spanish heritage speakers and the diverse linguistic varieties that may arise in Florida's juvenile legal system. Florida hosts a wide variety of linguistic communities. Spanish heritage speakers, often bilingual, exhibit varying levels of proficiency in both Spanish and English, which can pose unique challenges in legal contexts, especially in the juvenile justice system where accurate communication is crucial. One challenge is variability in linguistic competence. These individuals often have uneven proficiency between languages, which can lead to misunderstandings during legal proceedings. The tendency to code-switch and use informal expressions can also complicate interpretation, as interpreters must accurately capture meaning without losing important information. Additionally, understanding legal concepts in a second language is challenging, as heritage speakers may not be familiar with specific legal terminology or cultural references within the U.S. legal system. To address these challenges, Florida requires the use of certified court interpreters who receive training to handle the complexities of legal language and the specific needs of heritage speakers. Accurate translation of legal documents is essential to ensure minors and their families understand all aspects of their cases. Furthermore, training in cultural competency for interpreters and legal professionals is vital, as it helps provide more appropriate and effective communication, considering cultural differences that also influence legal processes. Accurate legal interpretation is fundamental to ensuring fairness in the Juvenile Justice System. Heritage speakers must fully understand charges, legal procedures, and their rights. Clear communication is also vital for the success of rehabilitation programs, as minors who understand court orders and rehabilitation requirements are more likely to comply and engage in these programs. Moreover, effectively managing linguistic diversity helps build trust in the legal system among heritage speaker communities, improving cooperation with legal authorities, families, and the community. In conclusion, Florida's Juvenile Justice System must skillfully manage the linguistic diversity presented by Spanish heritage speakers to ensure equitable processes. Legal interpretation with certified interpreters, accurate translation of documents, and training in cultural competency are crucial to addressing the unique challenges faced by these speakers. By doing so, the system can promote fair outcomes, facilitate effective rehabilitation, and build trust within communities, ensuring that all youth and their families can fully participate in their legal proceedings.

The Relationship between Attitudes and Experience on the Pronunciations of Hispanic Names: A Contribution to the Name Mispronunciation Microaggression

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Name mispronunciations can be interpreted as microaggressions, especially when the one producing the name is knowledgeable and capable of the correct pronunciation. However, even unintentional mispronunciations can lead to constructions of offense that have harmful effects (Kohli and Solorzano, 2012). This project aims to better understand the factors that contribute to name mispronunciations and give rise to variation in the perceived offensiveness of a mispronunciation. I propose a project consisting of two studies: (1) a production study that investigates the phonetic nature of Hispanic name mispronunciations by English speakers and whether those mispronunciations are linked to those speakers' attitudes towards the Spanish language and Spanish speakers, as well as to their exposure to the Spanish language and (2) a perception study that investigates the perceived (non-)offensiveness of the varying pronunciations elicited in the production study. The production study is a quasi-interactive audio-visual task. The auditory stimuli are 30 Hispanic names (15 female-sounding, 15 male-sounding) produced by native Spanish speakers of Latinx varieties. Each name involves differences in stress and vowel and/or consonant quality across the Spanish (e.g., David [da'vid]) and English (['dervid]) realizations. The visual stimuli are 30 images from the Chicago Face Database normed to be neutral Hispanic faces. In the experiment, participants are first presented with four faces on a computer screen and each face introduces itself with "Hi, my name is [name]." Participants will repeat the name immediately with "Hi, [name]." After all four faces have been introduced, each face is presented in random order; participants are asked to recall the name associated with that face with the phrase "That's [name]". This will elicit two repetitions for each Hispanic name. There are six trials (24 faces total; the remaining faces/names serve as practice trials). Post-test, participants' attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers will be assessed via an attitude rating study. Language experience and demographic background data will also be collected from these participants. Phonetic measures of participants' productions will be compared against these attitudinal and experiential data via logistic regression to determine if certain (mis-)productions are related to participants' attitudes and language experience. In the perception study, Spanish-speaking participants will listen to audio recordings of participant (mis-)pronunciations from the production study. Participants will be asked to rate, on a Likert scale, the (non-)offensiveness of the various productions. Demographic (e.g., age, ethnicity), language experience, and attitudinal data will also be collected. Ratings of productions' (non-)offensiveness will be assessed against these post-test questionnaire responses. This work tests the hypothesis that attitudinal and experiential factors influence the production and perceived offensiveness of name mispronunciations. This adds to our phonetic understanding of the factors contributing to the inaccurate production of what may be, for many English speakers, unfamiliar speech patterns. This work also adds, importantly, to a sociolinguistic understanding of the effects of name mispronunciations by exploring how and why they may occur, thereby bringing a linguistic justice perspective to the study of microaggressions more generally.

"Can't nobody in NYC tell me that children who speak AAL don't understand NAI constructions": Investigating the comprehension of Negative Auxiliary Inversion (NAI) constructions by children who speak AAL in NYC

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

As stated in “Force, Focus, and Negation in African American English,” declarative [Negative Auxiliary Inversion (NAI)] constructions in African American Language (AAL) “are characterized by an initial negated indefinite DP, which together [receive] a negative concord interpretation” - exemplified in the declarative sentence (1) (Green, 2014, p. 115).

(1) Don’t nobody want candy.

Building on this definition, I have accounted for the fact that NAI constructions in AAL can generate different sentence types dependent on the sequential ordering of the negated auxiliary and the following DP, illustrated in (2).

(2) Don’t nobody play with you

Don’t anybody play with you

Don’t Joshua play with you

Using my restructured definition of NAI constructions as the framework, I present an experiment that seeks to answer the question: How do children comprehend NAI constructions in AAL? The pilot data collected from children in NYC who are AAL speakers not only provides insights into this question but also paves the way for future child AAL research.

The Interaction of Space, Place, and Linguistic Variation in Social Media

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The advent of the internet and social media should have provided social geographers new avenues in determining the relationship between offline and online communities [1]. Similarly, these new avenues can be used advance our understanding of social geography in relation to linguistic variation. Despite these developments, complex geographic concepts such *space* and *place* continue to be ill-defined within variationist sociolinguistic research [2]. Our research aim is to determine how social media users construct and maintain space and place identity through language-use. We will take an integrationist approach in our research design by addressing each of the three social theoretical perspectives [3]: *social structure*, *social action*, and *social behaviour*. We propose a hybrid framework to determine the interaction between space and place with linguistic variation by synthesising these three contrasting yet complementary theoretical perspectives on two social media platforms: X (Twitter) and Reddit. Of interest to our research is the concept of *place identity* which refers to the subjective social construct to differentiate one place from another place [4]. A related concept is the *spatial self* which refers to the theoretical framework encapsulating the process of online self-presentation based on the display of offline physical activities [5]. With these concepts in mind, our research questions are:

1. What is the relationship between space and place? How are these relationships reproduced on social media?
2. How do people construct space/place identity on social media? Can we observe spatial/placial variation in language-use?
3. How do people enforce space/place identity on social media? Do space-based and place-based social media platforms differ in language-use? and lastly;
4. How does the spatial self navigate space/place identity on social media?

The components of our research align to the three social theoretical perspectives. The first study appeals to the theoretical perspective of social structure where fixed structures constrain individual action. We use

georeferenced language data from X (Twitter) using variationist sociolinguistic approaches to determine the relationship between language-use on social media and space. The second study appeals to the social theoretical perspective of social action where the process of social meaning is achieved through communicative interaction. We use language data from Reddit and developing the variationist sociolinguistic from the first study to determine language-use on social media and the construction of place. We then incorporate approaches from social network theory to determine how place is maintained. The third and final study appeals to the social theoretical perspective societal behaviour where we focus on the individual behaviour and the construction and maintenance of the spatial self. The spatial self, or location-based identity performance, assumes people want to be congruent with their place identity. We use the author's personal X (Twitter) data to determine how the author's space/place identity is mediated by 'the closet' - in a space without a sense of place [6]. The proposed contributions of this cross-disciplinary research will support variationist sociolinguists and social theorists in: a) determining space/place identity in social media language-use; and b) reinforcing sociolinguistic approaches within Social Theory.

Tracing Sibilance: A Sociolinguistic Exploration of Spanish Heritage Language Varieties in Brussels

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Coda /s/ variation has become one of the most studied socio-phonetic features in Spanish, allowing for a regional classification of the language into sibilance-retaining and sibilance-reducing varieties. Dialect leveling theory (cf. Trudgill, 1986; Britain, 2018) suggests that contact with other varieties can lead to the loss of coda /s/ weakening, a feature that is typically negatively perceived (Núñez-Méndez, 2022). However, the study of such dialect variation phenomena in heritage contexts has received far less attention, especially in Europe where the study of Spanish as a Heritage Language (SHL) is far behind that in the US, despite the nearly 5.5 million heritage speakers living in the continent (Loureda Lamas et al., 2023). This Project Launch presentation will introduce a four-year research project that intends to advance the state of the field in Europe through an integrative evaluation of SHL in Brussels, assessing (1) overall maintenance as well as (2) accommodation-driven coda /s/ change, while exploring (3) the role of social networks, language attitudes, and ideologies in this phenomenon. First, using an online questionnaire, we will map out the linguistic repertoires of SHL speakers and people with a hispanophone heritage. With a particular focus on shifting practices across generations, the obtained information will help paint a broad canvas of language use, maintenance, and generational shift, allowing for an estimation of the ethnolinguistic vitality of SHL in Brussels. Next, through sociolinguistic interviews with first- and second-generation participants, the study will turn to a sociophonetic analysis of Spanish coda /s/ variation in the context of dialectal accommodation across SHL speakers in Brussels in order to assess intergenerational accommodation and change. Data on /s/ production will be analyzed perceptually and acoustically, where the former evaluation will categorize instances of coda /s/ as discrete phonemes on a reduction continuum, while the acoustic examination in PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2024) will analyze (1) evidence of frication through visual inspection of their waveform and spectrogram (see examples 1 and 2), (2) duration of frication, and (3) center of gravity if there is evidence of frication (following Erker, 2012 and Erker & Reffel, 2021). Through the sociolinguistic interviews, we will also gather data to evaluate the role of social networks in intergenerational, contact-based coda /s/ variation through a social network questionnaire. Network profiles will be constructed for each respondent, using measures such as network strength, density, and multiplexity to evaluate social network structure as a potential factor involved in dialect leveling between varieties. Finally, through in-depth interviews and focus groups, we will zoom in on the role of speakers' attitudes, beliefs and ideologies in a heritage language maintenance context, allowing participants to reflect on themes such as regional pride, linguistic insecurity, dialect status, instrumental value, and the relation between language varieties and identity. As an in-depth

exploration of SHL in Brussels, this investigation will aim to contribute to the conception of an integrative approach to heritage languages, as well as a more complete, variation-driven understanding of the state and status of Spanish as a minority language in Brussels.

Author Translation

La variación de la /s/ implosiva es uno de los rasgos socio-fonéticos más estudiados del español, permitiendo clasificar la lengua regionalmente en variedades que retienen la sibilancia y aquellas que la reducen. La teoría de la nivelación dialectal (cf. Trudgill, 1986; Britain, 2018) sugiere que el contacto con otras variedades puede llevar a la pérdida del debilitamiento de la /s/, característica a menudo percibida de manera negativa (Núñez-Méndez, 2022). Sin embargo, esta variación dialectal ha sido menos estudiada en contextos de herencia, particularmente en Europa donde el estudio del Español como Lengua de Herencia (ELH) está muy por detrás del de EE.UU. a pesar de los casi 5,5 millones de hablantes de herencia viviendo en el continente (Loureda Lamas et al., 2023). Este "Project Launch" presentará un proyecto de investigación de cuatro años que busca avanzar el estado del campo en Europa a través de una evaluación integral del ELH en Bruselas, analizando (1) el mantenimiento general de la lengua, (2) la variación en la pronunciación de la /s/ implosiva como resultado de la acomodación dialectal y (3) el papel de las redes sociales, actitudes lingüísticas y las ideologías en este fenómeno. Primero, se utilizará un cuestionario en línea para trazar los repertorios lingüísticos de los hablantes de ELH y personas con herencia hispana, prestando especial atención a cambios en prácticas intergeneracionales. Con esta información se esbozará un panorama del uso y mantenimiento de la lengua y los cambios lingüísticos por generación, permitiendo estimar la vitalidad etnolingüística del ELH en Bruselas. Seguidamente, se realizarán entrevistas sociolingüísticas con participantes de primera y segunda generación para un análisis socio-fonético de la /s/ implosiva, evaluando su acomodación o cambio intergeneracional en la pronunciación. La producción de /s/ será analizada tanto perceptual como acústicamente, categorizando cada ítem en fonemas discretos dentro del continuo de reducción de /s/ y evaluando en PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2024) (1) la evidencia de fricación en cada oscilograma y espectrograma (véanse ejemplos 1 y 2), (2) la duración de la /s/ y (3) el centro de gravedad en caso de fricación (siguiendo a Erker, 2012 y Erker & Reffel, 2021). Las entrevistas también recopilarán información para la evaluación del papel de las redes sociales en la variación intergeneracional estudiada. Mediante cuestionarios, se construirán perfiles de red social para cada encuestado, utilizando medidas como fuerza, densidad y multiplexidad para evaluar estas redes como un factor implicado en la nivelación dialectal. Finalmente, a través de entrevistas más detalladas y grupos focales, se profundizará en el rol de las actitudes, creencias e ideologías lingüísticas en el contexto de herencia evaluado, permitiendo a los participantes reflexionar sobre temas como el orgullo regional, la inseguridad lingüística, el estatus dialectal, el valor instrumental y la relación entre las variedades lingüísticas y la identidad. Como exploración detallada del ELH en Bruselas, esta investigación pretende contribuir a un enfoque integral del estudio de las lenguas de herencia, así como a una concepción más completa, y orientada hacia la variación lingüística, del estado del español como lengua minoritaria en Bruselas.

Analysing sociolinguistic variation using legacy data: the STOA project

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Legacy data has become, in recent years, a crucial point for the study of sociolinguistic variation in real time [1]. Through the recovery of legacy data, it is possible to reconstruct (socio)linguistic contexts no longer accessible and evaluate their diachronic changes in light of the ones occurred within the same contexts (see, e.g., the studies by [2], [3]). This process can achieve crucial relevance when it comes to the preservation and restitution of historical materials that cover marginalized territories or areas experiencing forms of socioeconomic and administrative isolation, as is typical of the central Italian Apennines. Inland areas of Northern Marche and Eastern Tuscany, in particular, are good examples of

Italian langscape fragility. Representing historical transition areas between the Gallo-Romance, the central (Tiberine valley), and the Tuscan areas ([4], [5], [6]), local speech variants bear invaluable witnesses of both early (mediaeval dioceses) and modern dynamics of alternated contact and fragmentation. At the same time, their relative geographic marginality, economic insecurity, and depopulation tendencies risk hampering their progressive socio-cultural empowerment. Starting from this awareness, the *Space and Time in Oral Archives* (STOA) project aims to pave the way for linguistic research using Italian legacy data to understand language variation and change as cultural evolution, marking the first initiative of its kind in the Italian context. The project aims at: a) digitizing and preserving two historical speech archives, collected between 1970s and 1990s by Vittorio Dini (a sociologist from the University of Siena) in Eastern Tuscany and Sanzio Balducci (a linguist from the University 'Carlo Bo' of Urbino) in Northern Marche; b) developing a legal and ethical framework that allows researchers to reuse legacy data in accordance with European and Italian laws regarding privacy and copyright issues; and c) creating a protocol for a real-time study of langscape in marginal, non-urban areas of Italian inland, through socio-ethno-linguistic resurveys that link legacy language data provided by historical oral archives and new data samples collected in the same places. Within this framework of objectives, the project places a particular emphasis on evaluating the sociolinguistic status of dialects/regional varieties in the areas under investigation. From a sociolinguistic point of view, in fact, dialects are an important component of Italian landscapes ([7]): like heritage languages, they are transmitted across generations according to specific socio-indexical dynamics that differ from those of language contact in general ([8]). In our contribution, we would like to report on the launch of the STOA project, describing its placement in the Italian research context - still lagging behind in the intensive use of legacy data for research - and illustrating its relevance for the sociolinguistic study of marginalized areas.

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Author Translation

Los datos heredados se han convertido, en los últimos años, en un asunto crucial para el estudio de la variación sociolingüística en tiempo real ([1]). A partir de la recuperación de este tipo de datos, es posible reconstruir contextos (socio)lingüísticos que ya no son accesibles y evaluar sus cambios diacrónicos a la luz de aquellos que se han producido en los mismos contextos (véanse, por ejemplo, los estudios de [2], [3]). Este proceso puede alcanzar una relevancia determinante cuando se trata de la preservación y restitución de materiales históricos que cubren territorios marginalizados o áreas que experimentan formas de desamparo socioeconómico y administrativo, así como se destaca en los Apeninos centrales de Italia. Las zonas del interior del norte de Las Marcas y del este de la Toscana, en particular, brindan ejemplos claros de la fragilidad del paisaje lingüístico italiano. Como territorios históricos de transición entre las áreas galorrománicas, el centro y la Toscana ([4], [5], [6]), las variantes lingüísticas locales son testigos inestimables de las dinámicas de contacto y fragmentación, tanto tempranas (diócesis medievales) como modernas. Al mismo tiempo, su relativa marginalidad geográfica, su precariedad económica y sus tendencias a la despoblación pueden obstaculizar un progresivo empoderamiento sociocultural. Desde esa conciencia, el proyecto *Space and Time in Oral Archives* (STOA), reconocido como de interés nacional, intenta marcar el camino de la investigación lingüística a partir de datos heredados italianos, para comprender la variación y el cambio lingüísticos en términos de evolución cultural, recorriendo un marco innovador en el contexto italiano. El proyecto tiene entre sus objetivos: a) digitalizar y preservar dos archivos orales históricos, coleccionados entre los años 70 y 90 por Vittorio Dini (sociólogo, Universidad de Siena) en la Toscana oriental y Sanzio Balducci (lingüista, Universidad 'Carlo Bo' de Urbino) en el norte de Las Marcas; b) desarrollar un protocolo ético y legal que permita reutilizar los datos heredados de acuerdo con las leyes europeas e italianas en términos de privacidad y derechos de autor; y c) crear un protocolo para el estudio "en tiempo real" de langscapes en zonas marginales y no urbanas del interior de Italia, por medio de encuestas socio-etnolingüísticas que vinculen datos lingüísticos heredados proporcionados por archivos orales históricos y nuevas muestras de datos recogidas en los mismos lugares. En este marco de objetivos, el proyecto hace especial hincapié en la evaluación de la situación sociolingüística de los dialectos/variedades regionales en las zonas investigadas. Bajo una perspectiva sociolingüística, de hecho, los dialectos forman parte integrante fundamental de los langscapes italianos

([7]): tal como las lenguas patrimoniales, se transmiten de generación en generación, pero según dinámicas socio-indéxicas que difieren de aquellas típicas del contacto lingüístico en general ([8]). A través de nuestra propuesta, nos gustaría rendir cuentas del despegue del proyecto STOA, detallando su encaje en el contexto de investigación italiano - aún rezagado en el uso de datos heredados para la investigación - e ilustrando su relevancia para el estudio sociolingüístico de áreas marginalizadas y comunidades culturales en riesgo de dispersión.

Reevaluating Rejection: A Move Analysis of PhD Rejection Letters

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Rejection is never an easy subject, many people actively avoid rejection through a number of means, whether it's a rejection by a romantic prospect or a job position. However certain rejections are unavoidable and may sting more than others, such as rejections after immense amount of preparation: like applying for graduate school. Embarking on a PhD journey is an extremely arduous and difficult task. Carlino (2012) points out the immense physical and emotional challenges students face when producing doctoral theses, and how in the US and Australia the completion rate of a doctoral program is only between 50-60%. This project aims to understand the characteristics of PhD rejection letters through the lens of discourse analysis. While there has not been much work on PhD rejection letters, this work hopes to build off of some of the literature that has examined job rejection letters. Brown (1993) examines 500 rejection letters from his own personal collection, arguing that job applicants deserve dignity through the rejection process. Jablin and Krone (1984) and Thominent (2019) outline some of the characteristics of job rejection letters such as the length of the rejections, and the language that is used. Jablin and Krone (1984) found that applicants preferred rejection letters that used more formal language. Jansen and Janssen (2010) found that different positive politeness strategies have different levels of effectiveness when delivering bad news. However Locker (1999) found the circumstances of the rejection was more impactful than the actual language of the rejections. This present study aims to identify characteristics of PhD rejection letters. Presently 88 PhD rejection letters were collected from 10 academic disciplines. After removing duplicates/near duplicates, as institutions often reuse letters across years, 47 letters remain for analysis. The planned analysis includes conducting a move analysis using frameworks from Samraj (2014) to identify specific characteristics of PhD rejection letters. After some initial analysis one potential move is, perhaps no surprise, an obligatory "rejection move." This move was found in 100% of the letters (47/47), though it can also contain a variety of steps including thanking the applicant for their application, as well as giving a reason for the rejection (fit, funding, competitiveness, etc). Another obligatory move is the "goodwill move." This move was also found in 100% of the letters, and generally characterized by employing tactics of empathy such as apologizing for the news and/or wishing the applicant success in another program. This move was particularly interesting to identify as this signifies the universities' intentions of maintaining positive face, and a positive relationship with the applicant despite delivering bad news. One potential optional move is the "contact move" which was found in 30% of the letters (14/47), where institutions outlined how to contact them about the application decision, or perhaps what seems counterintuitive: to request the applicant not to contact them about the decision. This analysis hopes to bring attention to the ways in which bad news is delivered, especially in the wake of the grueling process of applying to graduate schools.

Investigating the malleability of heritage speaker phonology via convergence

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While phonetic convergence is a well-established phenomenon and has been posited as a mechanism for sound change, it has not yet been investigated in sound change spreading specifically within heritage language populations. Phonetic convergence is defined as one speaker changing the way they speak to sound more like another (Pardo 2006). Non-native (L2) speakers have shown greater amounts of convergence than native speakers in the same tasks, converging along more phonetic dimensions than native speakers (Gnevsheva et al. 2021). Heritage speakers, defined as “individuals from language minority groups who grow up exposed to a minority language in the home and the majority societal language” (Montrul 2015: 16), are in many ways distinct from both of these groups (Natvig 2021). They may, for diverse reasons, be predicted to behave more like homeland speakers or L2 speakers. This study investigates the question of how much Korean heritage speakers will exhibit convergence to homeland Korean speech, and specifically to speech that includes ongoing sound changes from the homeland variety. Two sound changes occurring in Seoul Korean are of interest in this study: one involves a pitch change in aspirated and unaspirated stop consonants (Bang et al. 2018) while the other involves raising of the vowel /o/ (Han & Kang 2013). Limited documentation regarding these phenomena outside of the Korean peninsula shows mixed results regarding their presence in heritage communities (Kang & Nagy 2016; Cheng 2019; Griffin 2023). This project will investigate whether phonetic convergence may facilitate the adoption of these sound changes by the heritage Korean population. Currently, the study is planned to include a baseline elicitation task, a shadowing task, and a second “post-test” production task. All stimuli are real two-syllable Korean words that contain either a target vowel (/o/ or /u/) or one of the voiceless stops participating in the sound change. The speech in the stimulus recordings is produced by a speaker with both sound changes present in their speech such that participants are exposed to the sound changes but will not be explicitly told to imitate them. Participants will complete a third “post-test” picture-naming or word reading task containing new and previously used target words to determine 1) if any convergence effects linger after the stimulus speech is removed, and 2) if any imitative changes are applied to new words containing the target segments. Three groups of participants – homeland Korean speakers, heritage speakers, and adult L2 learners – will be recruited for between-group comparison. The results of this study will inform current theories along two different dimensions. First, results will show how sound changes spread in heritage communities and specifically explore the role of phonetic convergence in such spreading. Second, the results of this study may also provide insight into the phonological system of heritage speakers and its relative malleability. Such findings could provide evidence for or against current theories such as Natvig’s (2021) model of the heritage sound system, as well as exemplar-based models of sound change driven by repeated exposure to a novel variant (e.g., Manker 2017).

Peasant Thems Can’t Get Dykes: Multilingual Practices in Queer Eastern Romania

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

When do queer speakers outside of the Anglosphere use English, and how does their usage relate to their identities and social lives? In this ongoing qualitative study, I investigate language ideologies around, and usage of, English among queer residents of Iași, Romania, who speak Romanian natively. I relate these language practices to involvement in queer life and place identity. Research in queer linguistics outside the US-context has grown in quantity and scope (Levon 2009, 2012, 2014; Phrao, Hall 2013, 2021; Boyd 2018; Wong 2005), but there is little research on queer language in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, regions with unique socio-political landscapes including post-socialism and prevalent homophobia. Building on studies that take self-assigned identity labels as their starting point (Willis 2024), I examine queer identity beyond identification with a label and consider participation in a queer community of practice (Eckert 2006) as a determinant of English usage.

Population and Methods: This ethnography focuses on LGBT adults assigned female at birth residing in Iași—a city in Eastern Romania—and originally from the historical Moldavian region. Data collection consists of 26 sociolinguistic interviews and participant observation at LGBT events, meetings, clubs, protests, and within friend groups, conducted over nine months. Participants exhibit diverse levels of engagement with the queer community, and use semiotic resources like makeup and clothing to index different queer identities. The study captures a spectrum of experiences and ideologies about the “correct” way to be queer in Iași: involvement in activism, participation in Pride, attendance at community workshops versus parties, etc. At events, participants use English to varying extents, ranging from sharing one’s English pronouns in introductions to using exclusively English, despite all being native speakers of Romanian.

Preliminary Analysis: Though this project is still at its beginning stages, the data suggests English usage can be understood through the analytic categories of personae (following King 2021) and social networks (following Gal 1978). Here, personae represent accumulations of locally relevant practices (Rauniomaa 2003), such as “flexers” who intend to move out of Romania and “flex” their connections to the West through using English, “activists” who are well-known across Romania as organizers but are ambivalent about moving from Iași and use English to engage in global queer discourses, or “gossips” who are as involved as “activists” in local queer life but insist on staying in Iași, and are not only proud to avoid English but use stigmatized regional forms in Romanian. Similarly, queer individuals in Iași exhibit variation in their social networks. Preliminary analysis suggests that the size and diversity of networks determine English usage. Those with more local ties to queer individuals pattern differently from those who don’t; individuals less connected to the local queer community often aspire to leave Romania and use English to accomplish this. This project contributes to understanding the relationship between local orientation and queer identity as they intersect with multilingual language practices. This research provides insight into queer identity and language use in a context marked by both homophobia and budding social change.

Variety-Aware Machine Translation – Investigating Challenges in Machine Translation to and from Norwegian Language Varieties

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Machine translation tools are easy to come by - who have not tried Google Translate [1], or even asked OpenAI's ChatGPT [2] to translate a text? Yet, amid the almost endless variation language can offer, the translation we are faced with are sometimes passable, but very *standard* translations. However, faced with the task of evaluating a translation system, we do not have, as far as we are aware of, any evaluation sets for Norwegian to evaluate differences when translating to and from the many varieties of Norwegian. In this project, we aim to investigate three facets of Norwegian language variation: normative variation, dialectal variation and learner language variation.

Normative variation The first type of variation we wish to explore is within-norm variation, i.e. variation within each of Norwegian's two official written norms (Bokmål and Nynorsk), both synchronically and diachronically. This includes evaluation of both the effect of radical vs. conservative language, in terms of quality in the target language, but also evaluation of consistency in translation *into* Norwegian, and an evaluation of which norm a model favors. Following the recent release of several large language models for Norwegian, we suggest investigating both prompting in different varieties, and exploring different methods of producing output, as a prompt alone might not contain enough information to infer the correct variety. Additional experiments would include using parts of the created datasets as instruction-tuning datasets, to see if this improves the models' performance.

Dialectal variation While translation from a *standardized* language to another can be a challenging task by itself, this task is further complicated if the source material is in a non-standard variety. While we might be able to choose what we translate into, we cannot always choose the variety of the source material. We suggest, similarly to the within-norm dataset above, to create an evaluation dataset with dialectal data. In this case, we also wish to extract features which could then be used following a method suggested by Artemova et al. [3], with which they create artificial datasets based on such features.

Learner language The unfair representation of speakers of Norwegian as L2 is a democratic problem. For certain groups of L2 speakers, their first language might benefit from even less access to translation systems, while the speakers might end up more fluent in Norwegian than in English. While there are datasets for learner language such as ASK [4], the availability is limited, and some data collection might be needed for this project. The main focus of this project would be to show whether variation in errors typical of L2-speakers lead to different results, compared to variation considered as dialect. We would like to know if a system is unfairly biased by learner mistakes, even when these do not lead to obvious communicative errors, such as agreement-mismatch or verb placement.

“Type Shit”: Discursive borrowing, Black diasporic relationality and musical rendering across Franco/Anglophone contexts

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The Black Atlanta discourse marker ‘type shit’ has become a location of innovation and expressive relationality between Black people across the diaspora. In particular, through Atlanta trap music, the term ‘type shit’ has facilitated lyrical and everyday expressions of Black life. As a discourse marker, ‘type shit’ can occur alone or sentence-finally and it sometimes functions as a backchannel marker for signaling alignment. Aside from the spoken history of ‘type shit’ starting around 2021, Atlanta staples like the Migos, Future, and Playboi Carti have contributed musically to the frequency and a canon of the discourse. In this paper, I consider the performance speech of Cameroonian, Congolese-French rapper La Fève of ‘type shit’ in a similarly named song featuring Atlanta native Yung LA. In the album 24, La Fève pays reverence not only to Atlanta’s musical history of people and places but also to the formalized structure of trap music with help of Atlanta producer, Zaytoven. This multilingual process, between Black French and Black Atlanta English, demands a new way of analyzing language variation, which motivates the present work, whose aims are threefold:

- 1) Analyze the history between France/French and the Black south and the ways in which the diaspora continues to influence each other’s culture, language, and sound;
- 2) Analyze the various realizations of the discourse marker ‘type shit’ in song in French and English (syntactically, morphologically, phonetically) and the work of discursive borrowing, language accommodation, language mixing and code-switching;
- 3) Analyze language variation through an epistemology of Black sound and music tradition, the geography of the trap, and the similarly-named genre of trap music (Rose 1994; Richardson 2007; Alim et al. 2009).

The work is informed by studies on African American Language (AAL), such as “African American Voices in Atlanta” (Lanehart 2021), and works of scholars on Black Francophone identity (in the Caribbean and Africa) amidst a white French universalism (Glissant & Wing 2021; Walsh 2013; Smith 2018). Black Franco-Anglophone contexts existing between the US and France has historically included the Black south— whether it be Louisiana’s French/English history, a history of Black people taking French names, or even African American expatriates in France post WWI who deeply inspired the French Avant-Garde movement (Archer Straw 2000). Amidst these contexts, Black diasporans have represented

their experiences with an expressive lineage from the arts to everyday language practice. In this case, I focus on the language variation in the song “TYPE SHIT”, between artists La Fève and Yung LA, and the project 24 as a whole. Ultimately, this project seeks to archive Black southern language as an undeniable, originary influence on African American language (AAL), musical and cultural traditions, and relationality for the global African diaspora.

Patterns of social meanings indexed to Low-Back-Merger Shifted vowels in Michigan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This project launch aims to directly and independently establish the social meanings of the Low-Back-Merger Shift (LBMS) pronunciations of the vowels LOT and pre-oral TRAP in Michigan, social meanings that have in previous work been assumed as dichotomous to the social meanings of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) pronunciations of those vowels (Nesbitt, 2021a; Savage et al., 2016). In the LBMS, which represents an ongoing sound change in Michigan, LOT and pre-oral TRAP are rapidly reversing from their historic NCS pronunciation counterparts (Nesbitt, 2021b; Nesbitt et al., 2019). Following Eckert’s (2019) hypothesis that the stylistic use of incoming variation by adolescents is a primary mechanism of sound change spread, these two vowel categories would be highly likely to exhibit social meaning, and therefore to be implicated in adolescent stylistic use. Despite this, in a previous stancetaking analysis I was unable to find evidence of such early-adolescent stylistic use of LBMS LOT and pre-oral TRAP in Michigan. This raises the question: Does the LBMS in Michigan actually carry overt social meanings at all, or is it still best considered a sociolinguistic indicator (Labov, 1972)? The social meanings of LBMS LOT and pre-oral TRAP were independently established using a matched-guise between-speakers design. One guise contained only NCS tokens of LOT and pre-oral TRAP, and the second contained only LBMS tokens. Participants listened to one of these guises and then answered free-response questions about their perception of the guise speaker. From these responses, possible social meanings for both the NCS and the LBMS were established. Suggestions and conversations around these social meanings and the methods used to elicit them are the primary feedback I would value from NWAV attendees. Following the establishment of these social meanings, I will conduct a more standard matched-guise experiment which presents these guises to participants and asks them to rate the imagined speaker on the previously established characteristics using a 1-100 slider. To determine whether the assignment of these meanings is the result of hearing either a full system or a single vowel token, participants will also be played a single individual token of LOT or pre-oral TRAP and asked to rate the speaker on a salient social characteristic. The results of this project as a whole will allow the formation of more nuanced hypotheses about the nature of the social meaning indexed to sound changes in progress.

Touching Base and Circling Back: Key Takeaways from a linguistic deep dive into Mock Corporate speech

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study introduces and examines the mock variety, Mock Corporate, variously referred to as “corporatespeak” or the “corporate accent.” This oft-parodied and routinely scrutinized mock language, which appears in comic strips, comedy sketches, and internet memes, draws from the highly formalized communication practices characterizing the American corporate workplace. Despite its saliency, few if

any linguistic studies have examined this variety through the mock language framework first established in Hill's (1998) study of Mock Spanish and subsequently taken up by linguists researching other mock varieties like Mock Asian (Chun, 2004) and Mock White Girl (Slobe, 2018). This study thus aims to describe Mock Corporate and the various semiotic resources deployed in performances of this mock variety, while simultaneously investigating its ideological underpinnings and its potential to both challenge and/or reinforce capitalist communication practices. To do so, this study will analyze virtual corporate jargon generators, like The Corporate B.S. Generator and the Corporate Buzzword Generator, to sketch the morphological structure and metaphorical constructions that are commonly employed in Mock Corporate. Additionally, it will analyze performances from two creators on the social media app TikTok who have become well-known for their satirical corporate personae, Lisa Beasley (@lisabevolving) as "Corporate Erin" and Sully Finlay (@sullyfinlay) as "Scott Synergy," in order to outline the prosodic and embodied resources these creators use to enact Mock Corporate. In particular, this study aims to document the use of the "corporate mumble" – elided speech whose meaning is primarily conveyed via exaggerated pitch alternation – and the "corporate gulp" – an inter-clausal "gulping" gesture used to emphasize a phrase and to highlight the performative nature of corporate speech. This study will analyze the ways creators strategically combine both these lexical and paralinguistic semiotic resources in performances of Mock Corporate to create often-nonsensical parodies which critique the absurdity, superficiality, and meaninglessness of corporate communication, and by extension capitalist working practices. It will also explore other adjacent racialized and gendered social personae directly or indirectly evoked by these performances. In so doing, this study hopes to evaluate the efficacy of Mock Corporate parodies in subverting and/or reinforcing hegemonic discourses of race, gender, and capitalism.

Non-binary and Trans Francophones' Linguistic Attitudes and Ideologies Towards Inclusive French

Jennifer Kaplan

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

My dissertation project combines an investigation of the frequency with which French inclusive language strategies are taken up (measured via survey) in Quebec with an investigation of trans, non-binary, and gender non-conforming individuals' language attitudes and ideologies regarding both *inclusive French* broadly and its specific forms (examined via participant observation and semi-structured interviews). I ask the following research questions: 1. What are the language attitudes and ideologies among trans, non-binary, and gender non-conforming Quebecers towards inclusive French? 2. How do these attitudes vary among language users with different age and class backgrounds? 3. How do these communities define inclusive French? 4. How do these attitudes vary based on the type of inclusive French? Data collection includes 1) ethnographic fieldnotes, 2) semi-structured interviews, and 3) a sociolinguistic survey. For my ethnography, I will be spending extended periods within LGBTQ+ organizations and spaces as part of a broader conceptual mapping of trans and non-binary communities in Montreal (following Valentine 2007: 7). My interview questions follow a "tree and branch structure" (Rubin and Rubin (2012 [1995])), with sections proportioning roughly equal attention to the prongs of my research questions, examining: (a) Participants' personal experiences using (inclusive) French, (b) general language attitudes towards French, (c) Meta-reflections on how participants perceive how class and age affect others' usage of and attitudes toward inclusive French, and (d) participants' experiences using inclusive French in different contexts. Through Qualtrics, I will survey 200 Quebecers, collecting data on participants' gender identities (free response), associations with the term *non-binary* (Likert Scale response), and degree of bilingualism in English. I will also collect grammaticality judgments on inclusive French through questions with blank spaces where participants may fill in a gender marker (e.g., *Jan aime chanter. Jan est un·e chant__*), and questions where respondents rate the grammaticality of sentences containing non-binary pronouns, articles, adjectives, and nouns collected during my 2018 and 2023 fieldwork (following Knisely 2020b; Roberts-Sampson 2020). **I particularly look forward to**

feedback on my survey, as I have yet to finalize my survey questions. In my data analysis so far I find that the 32 mostly young (20s-30s) trans and non-binary francophones I have interviewed exhibit low levels of linguistic purism compared to high degrees of anti-English language ideologies among the broader Quebec population, especially among older individuals (Walsh 2016: 234). Indeed, many participants express positive stances towards English as both (1) a model for gender-inclusive innovation, and (2) a more ‘neutral’ linguistic resource than French that they can use to avoid misgendering themselves or others (Kaplan 2022a; see also Jack-Monroe 2021). Yet they still report facing pressures to avoid terminology ideologically linked to anglicisms—including inclusive French. Simultaneously and somewhat paradoxically, I have also found that the cultural framework of francophone marginalization under anglophone rule is still salient in the discourse of some young people. I look forward to comparing these data with future interviews with primarily older francophones, who I expect may take more conservative stances towards the linguistic innovations of inclusive French.

LDS and Ex-Mormon Perception of “Primary Voice” in LDS Women

Jayce Garner

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

In 2014, Mormon feminist Nancy Ross coined the term “Primary voice” to describe a vocal tone unique to women who are religious leaders in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS). The term gets its namesake from the Primary Organization, a women-led group that teaches LDS children; despite its association with children, LDS women use Primary voice when speaking to audiences of all ages (Fletcher Stack 2014). Primary voice is often described as “sing-song,” “soothing,” “infantilizing” or similar to a “kindergarten teacher’s voice” (Hansen-Park 2016, Reiss 2014). Both Latter-Day Saints and ex-Mormons recognize the vocal quality and its position as a signifier of both “cultural soft power” and linguistic prestige in LDS women’s speech (Hansen-Park 2016, Labov 2006). This study would investigate listener perceptions of LDS women speakers using a modified matched-guise test (Lambert et al. 1960, Kircher 2015). For this study, I would collect audio clips of public speeches that fall into three categories: LDS women speaking in a religious context (e.g. speeches at the LDS Church’s General Conference), LDS women speaking in a secular context, and non-LDS women speaking in a secular context. Then, I would recruit participants to take a survey online, notably in online communities for current Latter-Day Saints and ex-Mormons. For each audio clip, participants would answer a variety of questions, including choosing from a list of adjectives to describe each voice (e.g. “authoritative,” “hesitant,” “spiritual”) and making judgments about each voice (e.g. “I would trust this person,” “This person knows what she’s talking about,” “This person should be louder”). After the listening task, participants would fill out a survey about their personal beliefs and identities, providing information about their gender, sexuality, political beliefs, and LDS affiliation (e.g. “current Latter-Day Saint,” “former member,” or “non-member”). The data would be analyzed for correlations between identity characteristics and participants’ perceptions of the speakers, followed by reaching out to participating LDS and ex-Mormon women for sociolinguistic interviews to better understand their experiences as women within and outside of the LDS Church. I predict that current members of the LDS Church will associate voices of LDS women with more positive qualities than non-members. I am most interested in differences between how LDS and ex-Mormon women perceive LDS women’s voices, as well as identifying a possible change in linguistic perception that occurs upon an individual leaving the LDS Church. Despite LDS communities having distinct linguistic patterns from non-members, research has focused almost exclusively on LDS men or on LDS speakers as a whole, with the linguistic habits of LDS women remaining uninvestigated (Baker-Smemoe & Bowie, 2009). Additionally, ex-Mormons’ participation in and subsequent disaffiliation from LDS linguistic habits have yet to be investigated through the lens of sociolinguistics, making this study a first step into documenting ex-Mormon linguistics. It would be extremely beneficial to this project’s development to participate in the Project Launch program and hear the perspectives of sociolinguists who are experts in gender, religious communities of practice, and tone.

MandoEcho: Revolutionizing Mandarin Learning through Generative AI

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Approximately 120 million people worldwide are learning Mandarin, driving the demand for innovative language learning tools (Issa, 2020). With the advent of large language models (LLM) and generative AI, many new tools have been developed for learning English (Galaczi, 2023). However, there is still a lack of similar tools designed specifically for Mandarin. We present MandoEcho, a Mandarin learning platform that combines generative AI technology and multimodal LLMs to provide a personalized and linguistically informed Mandarin learning experience. The core functionality of MandoEcho is reflected in its name: "Mando" (short for Mandarin) and "Echo" (symbolizing feedback and response), highlighting its focus on providing interactive and responsive practice sessions for learners. In recent years, advancements in Artificial Intelligence (AI) have opened new possibilities and challenges in language teaching and learning. Studies have shown that these AI-speaking applications effectively enhance speaking skills (Loewen et al., 2020). These tools not only help educators save time, thereby improving the quality of instruction, but also provide personalized feedback to students, facilitating teaching and learning (Ahn et al., 2016). Supported by AI and Automatic Speech Recognition (ASR) technology, a variety of tools for English-speaking practice have been developed, including ASR-based websites, intelligent personal assistants, and AI chatbots (Zou et al., 2023). Despite these advancements, current market offerings in AI language learning tools primarily focus on English, with a significant gap in authentic and professionally curated content for Mandarin Chinese. Even on multilingual Gen AI platforms, Chinese content quality is often inadequate, impacting learning outcomes and highlighting gaps in educational frameworks and phonetics expertise. Thus, developing Mandarin-specific AI tools like MandoEcho is essential, meeting market needs and pushing forward the modernization and internationalization of Chinese language education. The core of learning with MandoEcho is acquisition through interaction, with personalized and linguistically informed feedback in the process. The system integrates digital avatars and voice cloning to create a gamified learning experience where learners can practice Mandarin in diverse dialogue scenarios and tasks. Compared to regular voice chatbots, MandoEcho integrates phonetics analysis in its voice recognition process and second language acquisition theories to provide detailed and personalized feedback on articulation. Pedagogical supervision in classroom settings is also replicated in the learning process. For example, retroflexes and tones are targeted with the help of voice analysis tools where phonetic signals are compared across variants. As a result, learners will be given feedback and provided follow-up exercises on those phonemes and tonemes. With the help of multilingual LLMs, learners can also ask questions using code-switching sentences (e.g. 'What does [Mandarin word] mean?'). We will showcase the practical applications of MandoEcho and its potential impact on the study of language variation. Specifically, we will explore how AI-driven language practice platforms can innovate Mandarin learning in multilingual environments. We hope to get feedback on the platform from the linguistics community while we continue to refine our product. MandoEcho represents not only an innovation in language education technology, but also our commitment to promoting global language diversity, cross-cultural understanding, and educational equity.

Comparing Measurements of Gender in Sociolinguistic Research: A Test Using F0 and /s/

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This pilot study provides preliminary evidence that gender identity and presentation are more accurately representative of gendered linguistic behavior than gender assigned at birth in both cisgender and transgender speakers. While existing research on gendered speech focuses primarily on how speakers employ socially salient linguistic variables to index masculinity, femininity, and sexuality, this study proposes that a more fine-grained approach to measuring gender in sociolinguistic research can reveal previously invisible patterns in how linguistic variables are used and recombined to produce nuanced styles and identities. Two linguistic variables are investigated in this study: F0 and /s/ center of gravity (COG), both hallmark indices of gendered speech in cisgender and transgender speakers (Zimman 2017). 19 intonational phrase (IP) tokens and 14 word-initial /s/ tokens were collected from each of 12 recordings of the Rainbow Passage recited by 11 cisgender, transgender, and nonbinary speakers. After recording, each participant filled out a demographic survey eliciting information regarding gender identity and presentation, whose results were cross-verified with participant scores on the Transgender Congruence Scale (Kozee et al. 2012). Results of the surveys were matched with their recordings and anonymized, after which mean F0 and /s/ COG were calculated for each token using Praat software. The results of statistical analysis using R software demonstrate that out of three ways of measuring gender, gender assigned at birth was the least robust predictor of linguistic behavior across cisgender, transgender, and nonbinary people. As expected, F0 covaried most robustly with the presence of testosterone, such that cisgender and transgender men did not differ significantly with regards to F0. All nonbinary speakers, regardless of gender assigned at birth, spoke within F0 ranges that were higher than cisgender men but lower than cisgender women. While the data showed less robust covariation between /s/ COG and gender identity or presentation, every transgender or nonbinary speaker used a higher /s/ COG compared to their F0 than every cisgender speaker ($p=.025$). This suggests that rather than being related directly to masculinity or femininity, higher /s/ COG may index a more general queerness. An expanded study is needed to verify the hypothesis that high /s/ COG relative to F0 indexes queer identity. More crucially, an expanded study would allow for comparison of the predictive power of categorical gender identity with even more fine-grained measures of gender presentation, which were explored in this pilot study but the results of which are less trustworthy due to the size of the participant pool. The hope of this study and its future expansion is to demonstrate that gender, like any social factor, can be operationalized in a more nuanced manner than simple binarism, and that doing so can dramatically alter the results of sociolinguistic studies, as well as reveal previously invisible or unexplained patterns of language variation and change.

A primer into the lexical and phonological origins and roots of Mississippi Gulf Coast French: A study based on Linguistic Atlases

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The purpose of this study is to investigate the lexical origins of Mississippi Gulf Coast French for a larger project studying its linguistic origins. Mississippi Gulf Coast French (MGCF) is a distinct dialect of French spoken on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. It was planted there in the 18th century during the French and Spanish colonization. With Moreton's (2001) study, I compiled non-standard French lexical items.

Using etymological and historical dictionaries, I traced these non-standard lexical variants to their original or regional meaning. I first investigated words from Native American origin. Then, I found words that share lexical meaning in MGCF and Old French, but not modern Standard French. Lastly, I used the Linguistic Atlas of France, and regional atlases of Gallo-Romance Europe to find usage of these lexical variants. For example, the MGCF word *calé* "lazy" is only found with the same meaning in Upper Normandy. After compiling the geographic data and mapping it using QGIS into heat maps, I found that the strongest influences come from the regional varieties of Picard and Normand as substrata. Furthermore, this study will aim to look at more phonological and morphosyntactic variation in MGCF and see if Picard and Normand remain important varieties to the formation of MGCF.

Passive bilingualism among second-generation South Asian-Americans

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

While a pattern of fully-bilingual first-generation immigrant parents with passive bilingual children has been documented in Spanish, Chinese and Korean-speaking immigrant communities (Beaudrie 2009, Shum 2001), little research covers South Asian diasporas. The research proposal and pilot study presented here fill this gap by investigating patterns of passive (receptive) bilingualism and the relationship between language and identity among second-generation South Asian-Americans. The South Asian-American community is of particular interest because of South Asia's linguistic diversity and multilingual traditions, which will likely yield unique patterns of diasporic language use and regard. A pilot study combining survey and ethnographic methods was conducted with 45 participants, all of whom were students or recent graduates of Rice University and identified as second-generation South Asian-Americans. First, the prevalence of passive bilingualism and speaker attitudes toward their heritage languages were measured via 10 Likert scale questions and 5 free response questions in an online survey (see figure 1). Then, four survey participant volunteers who identified as passive bilinguals were selected to participate in ethnographic interviews to provide a more nuanced perspective. Although participants reported a wide range of self-rated productive ability, passive bilingualism was the most common linguistic practice among survey respondents (68.9%) (see figure 2). Even though almost all participants (95.6%) wished they "spoke their heritage languages better," they still overwhelmingly indicated that language played some role in their identity (73.3%). Most felt that language connected them to family over friends (71.1%; 15.5%), but many also belonged to friend groups sharing a heritage language (40%). In both the closing questions and ethnographic interviews, different participants described their languages as both connecting them to and isolating them from other South Asian-Americans, alluding to the multidimensional nature of the South Asian-American identity, which may cleave along linguistic, national, north-south, or other lines. Many indicated that language itself was less important than the heritage it signified. The pilot study owed passive bilingualism's prevalence among second-generation South Asian-Americans to the lack of an interactional need for productivity in the heritage language, the fragmentation of immigrant speech communities due to the linguistic diversity of South Asia, and multilingual traditions involving both English and languages native to South Asia practiced by the diaspora. Speaking a heritage language appears generally advantageous to second-generation individuals in South Asian-American circles, but regardless of speaking abilities, language plays a significant role as an index of shared cultural heritage. The conclusions drawn from this preliminary study are useful, but do not paint a complete picture. Ideally, this study will be conducted again with a more diverse pool of second-generation South Asian-Americans to more comprehensively describe this group's linguistic habits, as a respondent pool drawn from Rice University students represents only children of primarily more affluent post-1965 immigration reform immigrants. Additionally, at NWAV 51, the author met several scholars also probing the linguistic habits of the South Asian diaspora and hopes that presenting this pilot study's results at NWAV 52 will bring feedback for future research directions from both other sociolinguists and South Asian linguists themselves.

Human Inside Project Part 1: I'm not a Robot

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Human Inside Project Part 1: I'm not a Robot

An interdisciplinary citizen science research project to understand how humans modify AI generated text in an effort to convey their humanity. Much attention has and is being paid to how LLM produce writing and speech, while much less focus is on the strategies employed by human users to preserve a) their authentic Self and b) their legitimacy as communicators in this new paradigm. The Human Inside Project is multilingual and open ended, in order to reflect the evolution and growth of the technologies themselves. For the moment the project is affiliated with [research center], where the project director, [name] their doctorate in digitally mediated grapholinguistics. Participants are given a text produced by AI with the prompt *You have been taken hostage by determined yet kindly androids, please produce a 180 word text to tell your friends and family that you are ok*, and asked to freely edit that text in any manner they wish, until they are happy that the text sounds ‘more human’. The original text and the human post-edited texts are then analysed by the language leads and where applicable, by their students, using formal linguistics to define the computational methods for extraction of quantitative results. The project has a number of cross linguistic research questions (for example editing impact on register, person, voice, and idiolect), however each language lead is encouraged to develop their own additional language-specific research questions and predictions. The Human Inside Project is preregistered with the Centre for Open Science, and has open and citizen science ambitions, notably a series of workshops and seminars dealing with the methodologies (i.e., pseudonization) and literature, and made available to the public; in particular study participants. To date the project study is available to participants in Vietnamese, English, French, and Mandarin, and and we hope to integrate more languages as we progress.

Author Translation

Un proyecto de investigación interdisciplinaria de ciencia ciudadana para entender cómo los humanos modifican el texto generado por IA en un esfuerzo por transmitir su humanidad. Se ha prestado mucha atención a cómo los Modelos de Lenguaje Grande (LLM) producen escritura y habla, mientras que se ha enfocado mucho menos en las estrategias empleadas por los usuarios humanos para preservar a) su Ser auténtico y b) su legitimidad como comunicadores en este nuevo paradigma. El Proyecto Human Inside es multilingüe y abierto, con el fin de reflejar la evolución y crecimiento de las propias tecnologías. Por el momento, el proyecto está afiliado a [centro de investigación], donde el director del proyecto, [nombre], obtuvo su doctorado en grafolingüística mediada digitalmente. A los participantes se les proporciona un texto producido por IA con la consigna: *Has sido tomado como rehén por androides decididos pero amables, por favor produce un texto de 180 palabras para decirle a tus amigos y familiares que estás bien, y se les pide que editen libremente ese texto de cualquier manera que deseen, hasta que estén satisfechos de que el texto suene ‘más humano’*. El texto original y los textos editados por humanos son luego analizados por los líderes de idiomas y, cuando sea aplicable, por sus estudiantes, utilizando la lingüística formal para definir los métodos computacionales para la extracción de resultados cuantitativos. El proyecto tiene una serie de preguntas de investigación interlingüísticas (por ejemplo, el impacto de la edición en el registro, la persona, la voz y el idiolecto), sin embargo, se anima a cada líder de idioma a desarrollar sus propias preguntas de investigación adicionales específicas del idioma y predicciones. El Proyecto Human Inside está pre-registrado con el Centro de Ciencia Abierta, y tiene ambiciones de ciencia abierta y ciudadana, notablemente una serie de talleres y seminarios que tratan sobre las metodologías (i.e., seudonimización) y la literatura, y se ponen a disposición del público; en particular, los participantes del estudio. Hasta la fecha, el proyecto está disponible para participantes en inglés, francés, mandarín y vietnamita, y esperamos integrar más idiomas a medida que avancemos.

A Variação Linguística presente nas Formas de Tratamento em uma Escola Cívico-Militar de Viana-ES, Brasil

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

A presente pesquisa fundamenta suas discussões nos estudos de Variação e Mudança Linguística (Weinreich; Labov; Herzog, 1968) investigando a variação na escolha de diferentes formas de tratamento por membros de uma comunidade de prática, composta por estudantes do Ensino Fundamental II de uma escola municipal cívico-militar, em Viana-ES, Brasil (figuras 1 e 2). Durante o período escolar, os alunos usam tratamentos variados como *senhor(a)*, *tio(a)*, *você* ou o nome da pessoa para se referir os funcionários. Para Eckert (2005), os fenômenos de variação linguística estão diretamente relacionados à construção de estilos. Por isso, tornou-se fundamental identificar e discutir o significado social de cada variação sob uma perspectiva estilística. Investigamos o que as práticas sociais de 362 estudantes representam e como suas escolhas podem influenciar seus comportamentos linguísticos. Para isso, utilizamos diferentes instrumentos metodológicos, tais como: elaboração de um diário de pesquisa, aplicação de 362 questionários sociodemográficos e uma entrevista concedida pelo diretor da escola. A partir dos materiais coletados, foi possível constatar, por meio de análise qualitativa, que os estudantes da referida instituição cívico-militar se organizam em três grupos, de acordo com seus comportamentos e estilos: os “adeptos”, “intermediários” e “não adeptos”. Os “adeptos” são alunos que demonstram grande interesse pelo modelo de ensino cívico-militar e buscam atender às regras do regimento interno da instituição. Foi possível observar uma maior preocupação com o uso da forma *senhor(a)* para se referirem aos coordenadores, professores, militares e ao próprio diretor. Já os “intermediários” são estudantes que estão na instituição porque acreditam que o modelo cívico-militar oferecerá uma escola mais organizada. Entretanto, esse grupo não tem muito apego às normas estabelecidas e costumam falhar em algumas regras do regimento interno. Quanto às formas de tratamento utilizadas, alguns demonstram preocupação em empregar as formas *senhor(a)*, enquanto outros se referem aos funcionários da instituição pelos seus nomes atrelados à forma de tratamento *você*. Por fim, os “não adeptos” são alunos que estão em uma escola cívico-militar, mas não se identificam com esse modelo. Muitos têm vontade de sair da instituição por não gostarem das regras, mas permanecem por vontade de seus familiares. São alunos que constantemente não atendem ao que está prescrito no regimento interno da instituição. Quanto às formas de tratamento, utilizam com frequência expressões como *tio(a)*, *você* e o nome da pessoa para se referir aos funcionários da instituição. A identificação da maneira como os alunos se organizam ocorreu após analisarmos as observações registradas em diário de pesquisa e relacionarmos com o que foi apresentado nos demais instrumentos metodológicos. Os resultados deste estudo representam uma contribuição significativa para os estudos da Sociolinguística, pois esta pesquisa evidencia que as dinâmicas sociais são refletidas no processo de variação linguística. Compreender o significado social presente na variação é essencial, uma vez que a linguagem deve ser reconhecida como um meio onde as diferentes identidades sociais são construídas e negociadas.

Author Translation

The current research bases its discussions on the study of Linguistic Variation and Change (Weinreich; Labov; Herzog, 1968) investigating the variation in choices of different forms of treatment by members of a practice community, composed by high school students of a municipal civic-military school, in Viana-ES, Brazil (figures 1 and 2). During class, students use various treatments such as *Mr(s)*, *Tio(a)*, you or the *persons name* to address faculty. To Eckert (2005), the phenomenons of linguistic variations are directly related to the construction of styles. Because of this, identifying and discussing the social meaning of every variation, under a stylistic perspective, has become fundamental. We investigated what social practices of 362 students represent and how their choices can influence their linguistic behavior. To do so, we used different methodology instruments, such as: elaborating a research diary, applying 362 sociodemographic surveys and an interview granted by the school principal. From the collected material, we were able to conclude through qualitative analysis, that the students from the institution fit in to three groups, based on their behavior and styles: the “supporters”, “intermediaries”, and “non-supporters”. The “supporters” are students that demonstrate great interest in the civic-military teaching style e seek to follow the rules of the internal regimen that the school presents. We were able to observe a greater concern with the use os *Mr(s)* to refer to coordinators, teachers, military personnel and to the principal himself. The “intermediates” are students that are a part of the institution because they believe the civic-military strategy will provide a more organized school. However, this group does not attach to the rules established and usually fail to follow some rules in the regimen. In regard to the ways of treatment used, some showed concern in using the term *Mr(s)*, while others referred to the staff by their given *names* and

you. Lastly, the “non-supporters” are the students that are a part of the civic-military institution, but do not identify with this model. Many wish to leave the institution since they do not like the rules, however, stay because of family. These students constantly break rules that are addressed in the internal regimen of the institution. Regarding the forms of treatment, they frequently use the terms *tio(a)*, *you* and *the name* of the staff members they are referring to. The identification of the way students organize themselves occurred after analyzing the observations that were recorded in a research diary and relating it to what was presented by the other methodology instruments. The results of this study represent a significant contribution to the study of Sociolinguistics, because this research evidently shows the social dynamics are reflected in the process of linguistic variation. Understanding the social meaning present in variation is essential, since language should be known as a path where different social identities are built and negotiated.

Sentence-Final Constructions and Presupposition in Japanese Dialects

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This research focuses on sentence-final particles and intonations in two Japanese dialects: Tokyo Japanese (TJ: the so-called standard dialect of Japanese), and Kansai Japanese (KJ: another dialect mainly spoken in *Kansai* areas). An experiment will be conducted to confirm an intuition that KJ has a unique pattern where (i) the target particle *yan*, (ii) another particle *n*, and (iii) rising-falling intonation co-occur, which TJ speakers do not comprehend due to the lack of this correspondence. This study will shed light on the compositionality of clause-final constructions (c.f., [2,3]) and syntax-prosody interface in Japanese dialects. Usages of the sentence-final particle *jan* in TJ, which corresponds with *yan* in KJ, are thoroughly described by Rieser [5]. The two target usages of *jan* in this current project are the reminding use and *the background-establishing use*. (1) exemplifies the prosodical difference (L% vs. HL%) between these usages [1]. With the reminding use of *jan*, the speaker tries to remind the addressee of a shared context such as Singapore’s climate in (1a). In (1b), on the other hand, the speaker provides background information about Singapore’s climate with an assumption that the addressee already knew this information, implying that the speaker will go on the same topic after this sentence. KJ has the same distribution of the uses and intonations when *jan* is replaced by *yan*. Therefore, in both dialects, these usages of *jan/yan* require the speaker’s assumption that the information is already shared with the addressee. However, Kamano [1] reports that when another particle *n* is inserted between a predicate and *yan* with HL%, KJ allows new information to precede this construction as shown in (2). This particle *n* is a contracted form of *no-da*, a combination of nominalizer *no* and a copula *da* [4]. Inserting *n* is assumed to cancel the presupposition that the speaker believes that the addressee knows the preceding information. However, TJ does not exhibit this exact type of combination, which ends up misunderstanding KJ sentences such as (2). It is necessary to consider the sentence-final intonation too, because a combination of *n* and *jan* is possible in TJ when L% is used, as shown in (3). This usage is also available in KJ with a replacement of *jan/yan*, conveying an emphasized blaming nuance in both dialects. In the perception study of this current project, participants will be asked to choose an interpretation of each sentence: whether they think the speaker assumes that the addressee (participant) already knows the preceding information or not. Stimuli consist of two dialects, two intonations (L% and HL%), and the presence/absence of *n* insertion. Since participants will be consulted about both dialects, we can closely look at how dialectal misunderstanding occurs. My hypothesis is that TJ participants believe that *n-yan* + HL% in KJ maintains the presupposition, which differs from KJ speakers’ intention. If the results are in line with this hypothesis, we should propose distinct compositional clause-final structures in these dialects or a single syntactic structure where semantic processes vary.

Social Perception of Neutral Tone and Rhotacization in Mandarin Chinese: How do Beijing and Taiwan Speakers differ and Does Place Orientation matter?

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction: This study investigates the social perception of Mandarin Chinese, focusing on differences between Beijing and Taiwan speakers and the influence of place orientation. While neutral tone and rhotacization are prevalent in Beijing Mandarin, they are less common in southern mainland China and Taiwan [1,2,3,4]. Existing research predominantly examines these variables in production [2,3,5,6,7], with limited explicit exploration into the social meanings of these variables, especially across regions. In addition, earlier studies have confirmed that place orientation influences the realization of different social variables [8,9], but its impact on the perception of social variables remains underexplored.

Research questions: 1) What social meanings are attributed to neutral tone and rhotacization? 2) Do Beijing and Taiwan listeners perceive the two variables differently, and if so, how? 3) How does place orientation towards their hometown influence the perception of these variables?

Proposed method: A web-based matched guise survey with the two variables, [$\pm$ neutral tone] and [$\pm$ rhotacization], will be conducted. We constructed two short paragraphs: one containing 8 words that can be pronounced with either neutral or non-neutral tone, and another with 8 words that can be pronounced with or without rhotacization. Four native Mandarin speakers (2 females and 2 males) recorded these two paragraphs three times: first in their natural speech style, then with different realizations of the target variables. The neutral & non-neutral, rhotacized & non-rhotacized target words were then extracted and integrated into the natural speech excerpts for each speaker using Praat [10], resulting in 16 recordings. Pilot focus interviews have been conducted with 8 interviewees (4 Beijingers and 4 Taiwanese) to inform the survey question design. In the survey, participants will listen to the recordings and rate the speakers on social characteristics such as femininity, likability, education, age, personality, socioeconomics, etc. Each listener will hear one recording per speaker per variable in two blocks: Block 1 with [$\pm$ neutral tone] recordings, followed by a background and place orientation questionnaire, and Block 2 with [$\pm$ rhotacization] recordings. We aim to recruit 40 participants from Beijing and 40 from Taiwan.

Prediction: We anticipate both similarities and differences in how individuals from Beijing and Taiwan perceive these variables. Listeners from both regions may categorize speakers using neutral tone or rhotacization as Northern Chinese, and non-neutral tone or non-rhotacization as Southern Chinese or Taiwanese. However, regional variations in the social meanings of these variables may exist. For instance, based on previous production studies [2, 3, 7], Beijing speakers are expected to associate full tone with femininity and cuteness, but such associations may differ among Taiwanese Mandarin speakers. In addition, we expect an effect of place orientation: Beijing listeners strongly oriented towards Beijing may evaluate neutral tone and rhotacization more positively, while Taiwan Mandarin speakers with a stronger orientation towards Taiwan may favor non-neutral tone and non-rhotacization.

Conclusion: This proposed study contributes to understanding how Mandarin Chinese is perceived in different speech communities, shedding light on the intersections of language, regional identity, and social stereotypes. Feedback on the experimental design and future research directions is appreciated.

Acts of complementary identity: an analysis of intraspeaker variation in pop song singing styles

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Our research question is to explore the degree to which genre of pop song affects pronunciation of a series of phonetic variables which differ in the UK and USA when produced by UK singers. We present data from UK singers who took part in a sociophonetic study of pronunciation choices in the context of popular music. Trudgill (1997) established that British popular music singers often shift towards so-called ‘Americanised’ forms of English. A slew of similar studies followed exploring either interspeaker variation synchronically (Cleveland et al., 1997; Gerfer, 2018; Gibson, 2011; Gibson & Bell, 2012; Stone et al., 1999), or intraspeaker variation diachronically (Flanagan, 2019; Gerfer & Jansen, 2022). But - beyond examining differences between singing and speaking (Gibson, 2010; Konert-Panek, 2018) - synchronic intraspeaker variation is less well attested. The present study thus examines intraspeaker variation across various musical genres, namely *hard rock*, *indie rock*, *synth-pop*, *soul*, and *acoustic*. It is argued that through a process of indexical bleaching (Squires, 2014), clusters of pronunciation features shed their geographical currency and instead index pop singing styles reflecting specific music genres. Following Labovian (1978) variationist methodology, this experiment builds upon the work of Gibson (2010), Cleveland et al. (1997) and Stone et al. (1999), where recited (read) versions of songs are acoustically analysed in conjunction with sung counterparts, allowing for pairwise comparisons to be made. While the above-mentioned studies analysed songs in the singers’ repertoires, here we depart by using previously unheard songs in five different genres of music (acoustic, hard rock, indie rock, synth-pop, and soul), facilitating stylistic comparisons between each genre, where each participants’ spoken style acts as a comparative baseline. Novel songs with instrumentation matching the five different genres were combined with the same set of lyrics which contained key consonant and vowel phenomena relevant to our hypotheses. These were used as stimuli to eliminate all priming effects other than the combinations of timbres and rhythms that constitute each respective genre. The four variables we explore are a subset of Simpson’s (1999) ‘USA-5’ model, which builds upon Trudgill’s earlier work identifying key differences between American and British pronunciation. These are:

1. Flapping of intervocalic /t/
2. Fronted, short [a] in BATH vowels
3. Presence of post-vocalic /r/.
4. Monophthongisation of PRICE

Eight participants, balanced for sex and region of the UK (northern vs southern England), took part and recorded their vocals for the five different genres as well as being guided to speak the lyrics in their own native accent. These recordings were then subjected to auditory and acoustic analysis and quantified as degrees of accent shift. Our results show that certain singers produce some of these sounds differently across the genres, which suggests that genre is a salient sociolinguistic variable worthy of examination. We analyse our results in terms of qualitative data from the individual singers, which points to the importance of individual notions of authenticity - seemingly following Coupland (2003) - in performed language such as singing.

What She Say?: Perceptions of African American English Variation Amongst Native Speakers

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

African American English (AAE) is a rule-governed linguistic system spoken by some, but not all, Black people across the United States. AAE varies regionally, however the variety is characterized by set phonological, syntactic, semantic, and lexical patterns (Green, 2002). Speakers of AAE are often subject to discrimination in various settings, such as the workplace and academia, based on preceding societal

assumptions of AAE, which can be traced back to the arrival of Black people in America. Perceptions of African Americans and AAE have historically been defined through a white, non-AAE speaking lens. With the continuous prevalence of linguistic prejudice against AAE speakers, it is important that studies regarding the variety, and more specifically, the perception of the variety, begin to shift away from non-AAE speaker audiences and toward internal populations. By doing so, we are providing native speakers of AAE the autonomy of defining their own language, and therefore, culture. This study aims to investigate the salience of phonetic variation versus syntactic variation between speakers of the AAE variety, to address which features users of AAE align with the most when perceiving their own language. This research will look at variants that are *exclusively specific* to AAE to answer the question of whether speakers of AAE hailing from a specific region, find the phonetic variable “ask” and its variant [æks], or the syntactic variable copula absence more salient when identifying other AAE speakers. I hypothesize that participants will identify the speaker as a speaker of AAE, regardless of the variable that is being deployed, but I believe that participants will be more likely to perceive the speaker as a speaker of AAE when both the phonetic and syntactic variants are present within the speech. Between these two variables, I believe that participants will be more likely to perceive a speaker as a user of AAE when the phonetic variable is present versus when the syntactic variable is present. In order to address the anticipated overlap between Southern White English and AAE, participants of this study will be Black people from a majorly Black metropolitan city. Social perception will be elicited through following the paradigm found in Campbell-Kibler 2009, in which a matched-guise task was utilized. The matched-guise task has historically been used to convey language attitudes from multilingual or multidialectal individuals (e.g. Lambert, 1960). 50 adult participants will hear 6 different narrative excerpts, all containing a random combination of the variables. Stimuli will be generated from members of the community. Prior to, a norming test will be done in an effort to elicit the most natural sounding speaker of AAE, according to the community. A post-study test using a Likert scale model will be used to collect social perceptions. The findings of this study will help to deepen our understanding of what speakers of AAE think AAE sounds like to a native speaker, as well as providing insight into which variables speakers of AAE are aware of and the salience of these variables within a specific AAE community.

Vowel length and stress patterns among New Fluent Speakers of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian)

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N. Ha‘alilio Solomon

Abstract (Language of presentation)

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian) is the Indigenous language of the Hawaiian Islands. It is a critically endangered language in the Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family, having been displaced during the 19th and 20th centuries by English. Today, speakers of “L1 Hawaiian” (who learned the language primarily at home from original speakers) number in the low thousands, and speakers of “L2 Hawaiian” (who learned in a school setting primarily after the beginning of the modern Hawaiian Language Revitalization movement, not necessarily as a second language but often in tandem with English) number between 20,000-25,000.

Despite the successful and ongoing revitalization of the language, very little research to date has explored its phonetic variation. Research using archival recordings of L1 Hawaiian speakers created in the 1970s indicates that primary stressed syllables have higher f₀ and greater intensity than unstressed syllables of two-syllable words. In addition, final unstressed syllables are slightly longer than initial stressed syllables in two-syllable words, but duration does not differentiate between stressed and unstressed syllables in four-syllable words. However, there exists virtually no contemporary analysis of L2 speakers, whom we call “New Fluent Speakers”, who use the language today in everyday situations. The project we are proposing for this Project Launch will investigate acoustic correlates of stress and vowel length among

New Fluent Speakers using novel elicited data from modern speakers. At the time of submission, we have begun collecting pilot data ($n = 7$, out of an intended 50) for a production experiment, focusing on two-syllable vowel-length minimal pairs, such as hoku ['ho.ku] (full moon) and hōkū ['ho:ku:] (star). Target words are elicited in a carrier phrase via a picture-naming task. We will examine the formant frequencies, pitch, amplitude, and duration of target vowels. We hypothesize that, similar to the archival recordings, primary stressed syllables and long vowels will have higher pitch and greater intensity than unstressed syllables. However, we also expect that in the case of unstressed long vowels (as in the second syllable of hōkū), the duration will be shorter than the stressed syllable, which is a feature that may occur in L2 Hawaiian due to language contact in a multilingual, English-dominant environment. Finally, we will collect demographic information from our participants and examine using linear mixed effects models which sociolinguistic factors may affect the stress and length patterns in an individual's Hawaiian speech, including frequency of use, self-rated proficiency, where the language was learned, and age. This project will be among the first investigations of 'ōlelo Hawai'i that uses new recordings. The first author is a Native Hawaiian and a new fluent L2 Hawaiian speaker. Data collection is ongoing throughout summer 2024, and a preliminary analysis is expected to be presented as part of the Project Launch by November 2024.

Linguistic Landscape and Socioeconomic Breakdown of Language Representation in Miami

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

The unique linguistic landscape of Miami-Dade County has received considerable attention from sociolinguists. Some of these works have uncovered the localized social meaning of Spanish and Spanish varieties (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Callesano & Carter, 2019; Lynch 2023) while others have documented the development of Miami English by those of Hispanic heritage (Carter et al., 2018). However, no sociolinguistic studies of Miami have examined what influences the use and representation of Spanish in different neighborhoods, including public signage and social interaction. To fill this gap, this ethnographic study examines the relationship between race, socioeconomic status, and bilingualism in four Miami neighborhoods that differ in affluence but share high populations of Spanish speakers: Westchester, Hialeah, Coral Gables, and Coconut Grove. I use ethnographic methods including photographs of public use and representation of English and Spanish. This yielded 58 images of texts in public areas, including private businesses and public transportation. Images were categorized as Spanish only, English only, or bilingual signage. Bilingual signage was further divided into categories of Spanglish code-switching (Guzzardo Tamargo et al., 2016) or equivalent translations. Additionally, all signage was categorized based on its linguistic approach such as top-down (e.g., religious, government, educational, and medical sites) and bottom-up (e.g., privately-owned shops and announcements) (Ben-Rafael, 2006). I also collected fieldnotes to document the usage of Spanish during public social interactions like service encounters and side-walk conversations.

The result of my analysis uncovers a disconnect between the spoken use of Spanish in a community and its public representation. For instance, despite being equally prevalent during spoken interactions in each neighborhood, the presence of Spanish in both top-down and bottom-up signage differs drastically based on each neighborhood's affluence and racial make-up. Specifically, the linguistic landscapes of the more affluent Coral Gables and Coconut Grove are virtually absent of Spanish or bilingual language, especially in top-down signage. Ultimately, these results reveal the significance of centering socioeconomic status and race on the visual representations of Spanish and Spanish/English bilingualism in Miami. Future studies may expand upon these findings by examining similar trends in additional neighborhoods, especially those that are undergoing population shifts as a result of gentrification. They may also collect

perceptual data from community members through interviews and surveys that gather their opinions on language representation in Miami.

Author Translation

El panorama lingüístico único del condado de Miami-Dade ha recibido considerable atención por parte de los sociolingüistas. Algunos de estos trabajos han descubierto el significado social localizado del español y sus variedades (Carter & Lynch, 2015; Callesano & Carter, 2019; Lynch 2023), mientras que otros han documentado el desarrollo del inglés de Miami por parte de personas de herencia hispana (Carter et al. , 2018). Sin embargo, ningún estudio sociolingüístico de Miami ha examinado qué influye en el uso y la representación del español en diferentes vecindarios, incluida la señalización pública y la interacción social. Para llenar este vacío, este estudio etnográfico examina la relación entre raza, estatus socioeconómico y bilingüismo en cuatro vecindarios de Miami que difieren en riqueza pero comparten altas poblaciones de hispanohablantes: Westchester, Hialeah, Coral Gables y Coconut Grove. Utilizo métodos etnográficos incluyendo fotografías de uso público y representación del inglés y el español. Esto arrojó 58 imágenes de textos en áreas públicas, incluidos negocios privados y transporte público. Las imágenes se clasificaron como solo en español, solo en inglés o señalización bilingüe. La señalización bilingüe se dividió a su vez en categorías de cambio de código en spanglish (Guzzardo Tamargo et al., 2016) o traducciones equivalentes. Además, toda la señalización se clasificó según su enfoque lingüístico, como top/down (por ejemplo, sitios religiosos, gubernamentales, educativos y médicos) y de bottom/up (por ejemplo, anuncios y tiendas de propiedad privada) (Ben-Rafael, 2006). . También recopilé notas de campo para documentar el uso del español durante interacciones sociales públicas, como encuentros de servicio y conversaciones callejeras. El resultado de mi análisis descubre una desconexión entre el uso hablado del español en una comunidad y su representación pública. Por ejemplo, a pesar de ser igualmente prevalente durante las interacciones habladas en cada vecindario, la presencia del español en la señalización tanto de arriba hacia abajo como de abajo hacia arriba difiere drásticamente según la riqueza y la composición racial de cada vecindario. Específicamente, los paisajes lingüísticos de las zonas más prósperas de Coral Gables y Coconut Grove prácticamente carecen de español o idioma bilingüe, especialmente en la señalización de arriba hacia abajo. En última instancia, estos resultados revelan la importancia de centrar el estatus socioeconómico y la raza en las representaciones visuales del español y del bilingüismo español/inglés en Miami. Estudios futuros pueden ampliar estos hallazgos examinando tendencias similares en otros vecindarios, especialmente aquellos que están experimentando cambios de población como resultado de la gentrificación. También pueden recopilar datos de percepción de los miembros de la comunidad a través de entrevistas y encuestas que recopilan sus opiniones sobre la representación lingüística en Miami.

“Country Talk” in California’s Napa Valley

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Introduction: Research on California English has predominantly focused on coastal hubs like Los Angeles and San Francisco [1], belying the considerable geographic and cultural diversity within the state [2]. Although this gap has been partially filled with work on Bakersfield [3] and Trinity County [4], many California locales remain understudied. One particularly ripe area for sociolinguistic investigation is the city of Napa. Nestled between urban San Francisco and the agricultural Central Valley, Napa is known globally for its wine production and tourism [5]. Despite the lucrative nature of the wine industry, rapid growth has also precipitated gentrification and rising costs of living [6]. This opposition between commercial and local interests raises questions about the ideologies and sociolinguistic practices of the lifelong residents of Napa. The goal of the current proposal is to explore whether, in affiliation with small, nearby farming communities, Napers identify with a “Country” persona and concomitantly employ features of “Country Talk”. Country Talk has been defined as a “national register...composed of indexical

relations between American imaginings of rural practices and personae and nonstandard varieties of United States English” [7]. We predict that, similar to what has been observed in Oklahoma and Texas [7], Napa residents who express greater alignment with local agrarian interests will incorporate more features of Country Talk in their speech.

Methods and Predictions: We plan on conducting 30-minute interviews with a gender-balanced sample of 20 lifelong, White-identifying Napa residents aged 50 and older. The questions will be adapted from recent work in non-urban, northern California [4]. Particular emphasis will be placed on the participants’ perspectives regarding the economic changes in Napa and their identification with “Country” ideologies. The researchers will then, in an impressionistic fashion, categorize the Napa residents as orienting towards either commercial (non-Country) or local (Country) interests based on their responses. Country Talk is associated with numerous linguistic variables [7]. To delimit the scope of this project, two features will be examined: (1) the degree of AY-monophthongization; (2) the use of the alveolar (-in) variant of ING, rather than the velar (-ing) variant. To prepare the data for analysis, each interview will be forced-aligned [8], with the vowels extracted [9] and normalized using the log-mean method [10]. AY-monophthongization will be quantified by F1 at 80% into the vowel [11], while the presence of ING will be manually coded by a naive listener. Linear and logistic mixed-effects models will analyze the effect of Ideology (binomially coded as non-Country or Country) on AY-monophthongization and ING, respectively. Following prior work on Country Talk [7], we expect Napa residents with greater sympathy towards local interests to exhibit a more monophthongized AY and a greater rate of alveolar -in usage.

Conclusion: Although extensive work has investigated the sociolinguistic features of urban, coastal California, there is a dearth of research on the inland regions. This project will ultimately help expand our knowledge of what it means to be Californian, exploring sociolinguistic identities and practices in Napa, a city marked by intense geopolitical interest and drastic economic change.

Black and nerdy: Investigating how race and personae jointly shape pragmatic reasoning

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Background. Recent work has found that *persona-based* information can affect language processing ([1-2]), including pragmatic reasoning ([3]). For example, [3] show that numerals uttered by *Nerdy* speakers are interpreted more precisely than those uttered by *Chill* speakers. The current study expands on our understanding of the relationship between social information and meaning comprehension by investigating how persona effects on precision interpretation are modulated by the speaker race.

Nerds and race. We draw on the idea that some personae, and *Nerds* in particular, are implicitly racialized ([4-5]), and hypothesize that, as a result, their impact on pragmatic reasoning interacts with racial stereotypes. Although [4-5] suggest that *Nerds* typically displayed in popular media are predominantly white males, Black nerds *do* exist in both pieces of popular media and social settings. Scholars and members of the Black community alike ([6-7]) propose that Black nerds are perceived as deviating from Black culture and therefore seen as less Black than Black non-nerds. It may also be that this perceived deviance from expectations of Blackness renders Black *male* nerds, specifically, exempt from stereotypes of Black men as threatening and inarticulate ([8-9]). We propose that this assumption of inarticulateness may translate to perceptions of imprecision in speech. These links between race and nerdiness may play a major part not only in the perception of this persona, but also in its impact on pragmatic reasoning.

Hypotheses. We hypothesize that, if negative stereotypes of Blackness persist with Black (male) nerds, then speakers embodying this persona will be perceived as less pragmatically precise than white nerds. However, if one’s nerdiness is dominant over stereotypes of Blackness, then ratings of pragmatic precision for both groups will not be significantly different.

Methods. We test these hypotheses using the COVERED SCREEN paradigm from [3], portraying dialogues where one speaker asks for information and another checks their phone and responds with a construction containing a round numeral (Fig. 1-2). Participants are then shown two pictures of a phone and instructed to choose the VISIBLE one if they believe it might be the one the speaker was looking at, or the COVERED one otherwise. Expanding on [3], an additional manipulation will be implemented: the **race** of the speaker, showing either *white* or *Black* speakers. Given the current literature's suggestions that Black men are subject to stereotypes that target both their gender and their race, as well as current analyses of nerdiness as a default male persona, characters will be male and vary only in persona and race. This will yield four possible combinations: Black Nerds, Black Chill, White Nerds, White Chill. Following [3], participants will be asked to fill out a questionnaire indicating their demographic information and self-assessed Nerdiness/Chilliness.

Implications. By investigating the joint effect of persona and race on numeral interpretation, we hope to be able to observe the impact of a social dimension that has been previously understudied in work at the socio-pragmatics interface, and to bring greater detail to our understanding of race as a factor of personae in linguistic cognition.

Seeing Speech: Eye-Tracking Social Influences on Stop Voicing Perception in L2 Listeners

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Research on social speech perception has shown that native listeners' perceptions are influenced by social factors such as talkers' ethnic background [1, 2], perceived dialect [3, 4], and perceived L1 background of the speaker [5]. Listeners utilize both linguistic and social knowledge to guide how they interpret perceived speech [5]. Despite these insights, we know little about what social factors guide L2 listeners' speech perception. This proposed study investigates how social cues related to a speaker's language background affect L2 listeners' processing of isolated speech samples. We use a novel eye-tracking method to capture L2 listeners' implicit perceptual adjustments of voicing boundaries across different speaker conditions. The focus will be on understanding how L2 listeners' perception of voicing contrast at the lexical level varies as a function of beliefs about the talker's L1 and changes in VOT, using an Anticipatory Eye Movement (AEM) task. We will recruit Chinese and Russian L2 listeners of English, whose VOT ranges in their L1 for voiceless stops differ with respect to English, which will enable us to observe perceptual shifts in L2 from both directions.

Methods. The AEM task uses a 9-step synthesized continuum with minimal pairs BARK-PARK, DART-TART, and GUARD-CARD. We have obtained recordings from four speakers to cover four conditions: a baseline and three social guises: L1 Chinese speaker, L1 Russian speaker, and L1 American English speaker. Videos of speakers with different social guises will be presented first, followed by black and white images corresponding to the stimulus words. The experiment is divided into three main blocks corresponding to the three places of articulation for the minimal pairs. Each block contains five sessions: a training phase, a baseline perceptual assessment where all 36 sound files are played four times each, and three sessions testing each social guise in a randomized order (see [Figure 1](#)). During the training phase, listeners are conditioned to associate specific gaze directions following a Y-shape to either the left for voiceless or the right for voiced tokens (see [Figure 2](#)). In the testing phase, participants will use gaze direction to indicate their perception of the stimuli. Eye gaze information will be measured using a high-quality camera at 260 Hz, with gaze direction, angles, and eye landmarks at different time points analyzed via OpenFace 2.0 [6].

Predictions. If L2 listeners acquire English phonology, we would expect their gaze response to different VOT to match the range of native speakers. If the speaker's social identity influences voicing distinctions,

L2 listeners' categorical boundary will align more with their native VOT when hearing a speaker matching their L1, and align more with English VOT when hearing an American speaker.

Implications. Methodologically, the proposed study explores the feasibility and effectiveness of an affordable eye-tracking method in social speech perception research. If successful, it will demonstrate the method's capability to uncover socially-mediated perceptual differences. Theoretically, the proposed study explores how L2 listeners' perceptual boundaries for phonemes can be influenced by social guises, enhancing our understanding of implicit speech perception processes.

Value Variation and Black Speech as an Index of Masculinity

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Sociolinguistics has progressed as a field from viewing people as tokens who belong to social categories to viewing variation as an integral feature of language which reflects the characteristics of both individuals and groups (Eckert, 2012). As a result, contemporary studies have adjusted their methodology to investigate from the perspective that interlocutors are also active agents in language use (Bucholtz, 1999; Chun, 2001). Similar linguistic practices can be interpreted as conveying differing values depending on our social perception of the persons employing them, and our perception of their intended results. For example, previous research has shown how young White Americans have used the vernacular form of African American English (AAE) to signal social standing and assimilate to a Black group (Bucholtz, 1999). The interviewed participants chose to activate AAE, using racialized variation to assert masculinity in the context of non-Black identity. While both Black and non-Black users of AAE operate in a racialized discursive frame, these groups do not have the same choices in distinguishing the social value of being able to form a masculine identity versus a Black identity. This exhibits the use of Black speech as a social currency, where the successful employment of variation is contextualized by positionality. People can selectively employ sociolinguistic variables as capital affecting social maintenance or mobility; linguistic variables function as currency, and identity is the acquired product (McCarty, 2018). However, while two individuals may superficially use the same variables, their actions are arguably not constructed to hold identical currency values due to their contrastive identities. For instance, a Korean American man could use AAE to provide value to his masculinity without providing a value of Blackness to his identity (Chun, 2001). Indexical orders map how sign-users, as previously described, in a specific frame of context can access signs from a general frame to form relational identities and can account for power shifts in a structured hierarchy (Silverstein, 2003). Yet this concept does not account for dissimilar valuation of signs based on the agent accessing them. Still we lack a model of how this use of language variation effectively indexes differing values based on social contextual factors such as the individual identities and community it is employed in. Through virtual surveys on attitudes towards men who use variants from AAE, I intend to examine how AAE gains value among American men to index desired levels of masculinity according to context. As sociolinguistics re-examines language users as agents of their social standing, then we must account for the purpose of agents' choices in targeting certain variants to create this social standing. I anticipate that taking a perspective which accounts for variation in agency will reveal participants view Black Americans who use AAE primarily as Black, but non-Black American usage of racialized speech features will be recognized as signaling access to an augmented straight masculine identity. Developing theory of productive sociolinguistic variation which confronts the imbalance of power and agency associated with racialization is required to more effectively investigate differences at the individual level.

On the indexical fields of released-t: Social meaning at the intersections of sexuality, race, and ethnicity

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

This study explores the link between sexuality, race, and ethnicity within the context of speech perception, namely on how the meaning potential of phonetic variation may be informed by perceived demographics of a talker. While previous work highlights that perceived sexuality of a talker impacts social evaluations of language variation (Benesch, Petty, Scarpa, & Becker, 2023; Campbell-Kibler, 2007), it remains unclear how perceived sexuality may operate alongside axes of perceived race and ethnicity to *jointly* inform the meaning potential of a variable. As such, we hope to expand on understandings of the impacts of intersectionality in language perception (Campbell-Kibler & miles-hercules, 2021) by considering the social evaluation of variation from voices of queer South Asian and East Asian women. While the burgeoning field of Asian American Variationism has largely focused on locating an Asian American ethnolinguistic variety (c.f. Chang & Fraser, 2023; Chang & Dionne, 2023), little is known about how language variation within this group is socially evaluated, especially at the intersections of sexuality and ethnicity. Released-t is a fitting feature to explore this perspective because of its gendered and racialized associations. Bucholtz (2001) emphasizes its associations with white female nerds, while Benor (2001) underscores released-t as a resource for constructing a certain masculine learned style. Because South Asian women are ideologically linked with being less feminine, while East Asian women are characterized as hyper-feminine (Pyke & Johnson, 2003), we expect South Asian women who use released-t to be perceived as more masculine and less feminine than any other group. We also expect Asian women who use release-t to be rated as more intelligent sounding than their white counterparts. This study uses a matched-guise paradigm, in which each listener (n = 400) will hear an utterance either with or without released-t. They will be primed about the speaker's background as South Asian, East Asian, white, or no-prime, and as either queer, straight, or no-prime. No matter their prime, all listeners will be told that the talker is a woman, and be given an utterance from one of two speakers: either a South Asian American queer woman or a East Asian American queer woman. Listeners will rate their talker on the following seven point Likert scales: feminine, masculine, intelligent, has white friends, authoritative, youthful, energetic, articulate, and educated. Our analysis will use mixed effects regression modeling to explore the link between our variable, perceived talker demographics, and our scales. This study seeks to underscore the extent to which the indexical potential of a variable is conditioned by perceived social demographics of a talker. More specifically, we hope to understand that the intersections of race, ethnicity, and sexuality are central in the meaning making process of language perception.

Vowel Deletion in Heritage Cross River Mbembe

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Heritage speakers' phonological processes may pattern similarly to homeland speakers (cf. Ronquest and Rao 2018) or may be overapplied (Lyskawa et al. 2016). This variation may come from heritage speakers' motivations to differentiate the heritage and majority language (Polinsky 2018). However, less research focuses on variable phonological processes that lack an equivalent in the majority language. We aim to fill this gap by investigating vowel deletion processes in heritage speakers of Cross River Mbembe (hereafter CRM). Cross River Mbembe is an understudied Benue-Congo language spoken by 80,000 in Cross River State, Nigeria (Oyama and Barnwell 1995). While basic aspects of grammar are documented, phonological processes lack description, such as vowel deletion in prepositional phrases. In (1), the vowel in the preposition may be deleted, and the remaining consonant is re-syllabified to the onset of the following nominal.

1. *se* 'on' + *ɔgbira* 'chair' = *se ɔgbira* or *sɔgbira* 'on the chair'

This process occurs in natural speech, but is dispreferred in careful speech. It is unclear whether other factors, such as vowel quality, affect the rate of vowel deletion.

This project will address the following questions:

1. What are the prepositions in CRM?
2. Do heritage speakers have similar rates and conditioning factors of vowel deletion as CRM-dominant speakers?
3. How do shared phonological processes in the dominant language affect heritage speakers' rates of vowel deletion?

Three sets of speakers will be recruited. The first will be CRM-dominant speakers from the Obubra Local Government Area in Cross River State to provide a baseline for vowel deletion rates. Two sets of heritage speakers will be recruited: one group from another local government area where Èfik is the majority language, and a second group raised in Kaduna State, where Hausa is primarily spoken. While Hausa lacks morphologically-conditioned vowel deletion (Haruna 2023), Èfik has vowel deletion processes conditioned by vowel height (Ukpe 2019). Based on Lyskawa et al. (2016), heritage speakers from Èfik-speaking regions are predicted to have higher deletion rates to distinguish two languages with similar processes. Participants will complete two image description tasks. First, they will describe storyboards showing a controlled set of spatial relations from Bowerman & Pederson (1992). This task will establish the set of prepositions and will elicit more careful speech. Second, participants will describe the locations of animals in a more complex scene (Figure 1). The heightened visual load of this image will help speakers focus more on the task with less self-monitoring, increasing the likelihood of naturalistic speech. This research will contribute to the field's understanding of language and identity by focusing on the variable of (dis)similarity to the majority language and its potential effects on phonological processes. While much research focuses on the integration of the dominant and heritage language, we investigate how integration may vary depending on the majority language. We additionally contribute to CRM documentation to provide more visibility for the language and its speakers and address the critical need to include understudied languages in heritage language theory.

Negotiations of Sapphic Identities Through Conversation

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Abstract (Language of presentation)

Recent innovations in LGBTQ+ terminologies include the term “sapphic” as an umbrella for women and/or those who are woman-aligned (e.g. non-binary trans femmes), and are attracted to women and/or those who are woman-aligned [1,2]. Individuals/communities who now find themselves under the sapphic umbrella are thus engaging in a pan-community discourse of what it means to be sapphic while contending with systemic oppression in new forms. As “identity categories... [are] emergent from repeated practice” [3], recognition of other sapphics relies on agreements about what constitutes that repeated practice in the absence of observable partnership with another sapphic. The simultaneous visibility and erasure in a cisheteronormative society leads sapphics to engage in practices of identity disclosure and management (e.g. flagging [4], coming out [5]), and strategize the identification of in-group members (e.g. clocking [6], gaydar [7]) based on those practices. Covert signaling of group membership named “flagging” consists of discourses, symbols (aesthetic and/or linguistic), and embodiments (e.g. wearing carabiners, vintage pins stating “I’m one”) [8]. As a result of the current sociopolitical climate, sapphics vary in their ability, desire, and methods to disclose their identities [5], but are also dealing with the renegotiation of pan-sapphic identity, its markers, and implications for their particular genders/sexualities. This study aims to explore how today’s sapphics navigate ongoing discourse on pan-sapphic identity through their dialogue and embodiment during first-contact conversations with other sapphics. We will recruit based on the previously stated inclusionary definition:

participants will identify their gender as fem/me, woman-aligned, and/or woman, and their sexuality as gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, queer, woman-loving-woman, and/or sapphic. Since we are interested in observing potential identity disclosure and flagging, we plan to recruit participants who consent to this possibility. To encourage “organic” disclosures, we will not prime participants to the purpose of the study, and participants will not receive information on their conversational partner’s identities prior to the encounter. We will recruit 10 English-speaking participants from community populations at/around a Chicago-area university for 30-minute dyadic conversations in a private laboratory space. Participants are encouraged to engage in spontaneous conversations or use provided conversation starter prompts. After each conversation, both participants will complete a debriefing questionnaire, providing qualitative descriptions of how they perceived their partner (e.g. did they “clock” them?), and how they may have attempted to signal various dimensions of their identities during the conversation (e.g. did they flag?). Using audio recordings and transcripts of these conversations, we will perform qualitative discourse analysis to analyze how participants constructed, negotiated, and managed their identities in the interaction. We hope to capture sapphic identity disclosure and management strategies including but not limited to flagging. We will also analyze quantitative linguistic measurements previously shown to indicate social connection or cooperation, including speech rate convergence [9] and response time speed [10]. Through facilitating these conversations, this study will contribute to our understanding of pan-sapphic identity construction and negotiation via interaction, as well as current trends in identity markers and practices of this community.

Author Translation

Innovaciones en el vocabulario de la comunidad LGBTQ+ en los EEUU incluyen el desarrollo del término “sáfic@” como denominación general para referirse a las mujeres y/o aquellas personas que se alinean con mujeres (e.g. trans femmes no binari@s) y que son atraid@s por las mujeres y/o personas que se alinean con mujeres [1,2]. Ahora, las personas que se incluyen en éste término se encuentran involucrad@s en un discurso sobre el significado de ser sáfic@. Ya que “las categorías de identidad emergen de práctica repetida” [3], el reconocimiento de otr@s sáfic@s depende de los acuerdos sobre lo que constituye esa práctica repetida en la ausencia de una pareja sáfic@.

La simultánea visibilidad y borradura de l@s sáfic@s en una sociedad cisheteronormativa causa que l@s sáfic@s desarrollen costumbres de divulgación y manejo de su identidad (e.g. “flagging” [4], salir del clóset [5]), y estrategias de cómo identificar a otros miembros del grupo (e.g. “clocking” [6], “gaydar” [7]) a base de estas costumbres. El señalamiento de membrecía encubierto consiste en discursos, símbolos (estéticos y/o lingüísticos), y “embodiments” (e.g. las carabinas [8]). Como resultado del clima sociopolítico, l@s sáfic@s varían de acuerdo a la capacidad, deseo, y métodos de divulgación de sus identidades. Esta investigación propone la exploración de cómo l@s sáfic@s navegan el discurso moderno de la identidad pan-sáfic@ a través del diálogo y “embodiment” durante conversaciones con sáfic@s desconocid@s. Intentaremos reclutar a participantes que indiquen su género como “fem/me,” alinead@ con mujeres, y/o mujer, y su sexualidad como gay, lesbian@, bisexual, pansexual, cuir, “woman-loving-woman,” y/o sáfic@. Como nos interesa capturar momentos en los que l@s participantes divulgan sus identidades, planeamos reclutar participantes que consienten a esta posibilidad durante la investigación. A fin de posibilitar la captura de momentos “orgánicos” de divulgación no planeamos advertir a l@s participantes sobre el propósito de la investigación, y no recibirán información sobre sus parejas de conversación antes del encuentro. 10 participantes angloparlantes participarán en una conversación con una pareja por 30 minutos en un espacio privado. Dirigiremos a l@s participantes a que conversen de modo espontáneo. Después de la conversación, amb@s participantes completarán un cuestionario sobre su conversación con preguntas sobre cuáles fueron sus percepciones sobre su pareja de conversación, si intentaron señalar sus identidades durante la conversación, y cómo lo lograron. Esperamos usar las grabaciones y transcripciones de estas conversaciones para realizar un análisis del discurso sobre cómo l@s participantes construyeron, negociaron, y manejaron sus identidades durante la interacción. Deseamos capturar las estrategias de divulgación de las identidades sáfic@s, en particular pero no limitado a la práctica de “flagging.” También esperamos analizar medidas lingüísticas cuantitativas que previamente han sido relacionadas con la conexión y cooperación social, como la convergencia de la velocidad del habla [9] y la velocidad de tiempo de respuesta [10]. Esta investigación

contribuirá a la base de conocimiento acerca de la construcción y la negociación de identidad pan-sáfic@ a través de la interacción, además de los indicadores actuales de identidad y costumbres de esta comunidad.

Migratory Variables: R-lessness Among Cantonese Immigrants in Boston, MA

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Abstract

Research into the development of ethnically distinctive speech varieties, such as ethnolects and ethnolinguistic repertoires, has generated significant attention within the fields of language contact and sociolinguistic variation. These speech varieties, closely tied to specific ethnic or immigrant groups, are believed to emerge from a combination of social differentiation and geographical clustering, including the formation of ethnic enclaves. This study seeks to explore these factors through an examination of English spoken by Cantonese immigrants in the dynamic social landscape of the Greater Boston area, which has witnessed notable shifts in settlement patterns over the past two decades. Boston, Massachusetts, home to one of the oldest Chinatowns on the East Coast, provides an ideal setting for investigating ethnolinguistic contact. Since the 1870s, Chinese immigrants in Boston have negotiated intricate interethnic interactions. Traditionally segregated within Greater Boston, recent socioeconomic factors have spurred Chinese immigrants to initially establish themselves in the surrounding suburban neighborhoods rather than in Boston's Chinatown, the traditional ethnic enclave (Zhou, 2009). To understand how these shifting dynamics influence dialectal variation, this study will focus on specific linguistic variables prevalent in Cantonese-influenced English, such as the initial [n]/[l] merger and unreleased final stops (Hung, 2009; Johnson & Babel, 2024). Additionally, it will examine regional dialect features previously documented in the East New England area, including r-lessness and PALM/START fronting (Nagy & Irwin, 2010; Stanford et al., 2014). This set of linguistic features has been chosen for their relevance in capturing both contact-induced changes and regional linguistic patterns. Methodologically, our investigation consists of sociolinguistic interviews alongside language use and social network surveys. Quantitative measures of proficiency and language dominance will be integrated to unpack the factors shaping the English of Cantonese-speaking immigrants. We hypothesize that speakers with more ethnically diverse social networks, particularly those residing in suburban settings, will exhibit greater use of regional linguistic features compared to their counterparts in historically homogeneous ethnic enclaves. Similarly, certain Cantonese-influenced features are expected to persist across speakers regardless of their linguistic proficiency, reflecting enduring social distinctiveness of the local Chinese community. Initial data collection is scheduled for the summer of 2023. The study will utilize a combination of quantitative acoustic methods and qualitative discourse analysis to not only elucidate how Cantonese immigrants are influenced by regional sociolinguistic patterns but also to explore how evolving settlement dynamics reciprocally shape the sociolinguistic landscape. The results of this investigation hope to not only prompt further inquiry into ethnolinguistic variation but also integrate immigrant groups into the discussion of regional sociolinguistic patterns.



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