

# America Dialect Society Annual Meeting 2023

SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Thursday, January 5, 2023				
1:00 pm - 3:00 pm		ADS Executive Council Meeting		Mineral B/C
3:00 pm - 3:30 pm		ADS Annual Business Meeting		Mineral B/C
<b>Session 1: All-American Speech: The Legacy of Allan Metcalf; Chair: Connie Eble, University of North Carolina</b>				
4:00 pm - 4:20 pm		Allan Metcalf as a Public Scholar of American English	Grant Barrett, A Way with Words	Mineral B/C
4:20 pm - 4:40 pm		Allan Metcalf's Role as Promotor of DARE	Joan Houston Hall, Dictionary of American Regional English	Mineral B/C
4:40 pm - 5:00 pm		Allan Metcalf: Old English to Future English	Michael Adams, Indiana University - Bloomington	Mineral B/C
5:00 pm - 6:00 pm		ADS Poster Session (online in Gather)		Mineral B/C
6:15 pm - 7:15 pm		ADS Word of the Year Nominations		Centennial A
<b>Friday, January 6, 2023</b>				
<b>Session 2: Dialect Surveys; Chair: Jennifer Cramer, University of Kentucky</b>				
8:00 am - 10:00 am	8:00 am - 8:30 am	<i>All of the above: Incorporating written survey data into Linguistic Atlas Project studies</i>	Lamont Antieau, University of Kentucky; Allison Burkette, University of Kentucky	Mineral B/C
	8:30 am - 9:00 am	<i>Geolinguistic diffusion near the Niagara border</i>	Claire Henderson, McGill University	Mineral B/C
	9:00 am - 9:30 am	<i>Metatouristic stancetaking: The Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour and the negotiation of personhood</i>	John "Spud" McCullough, University of South Carolina	Mineral B/C
	9:30 am - 10:00 am	<i>Is Idaho English really "the epitome of average English"?</i>	Joseph A. Stanley, Brigham Young University; KaTrina Jackson, Independent Researcher	Mineral B/C
<b>Session 3: Canadian English; Chair: Betsy Evans, University of Washington</b>				
10:30 am - 12:30 pm	10:30 am - 11:00 am	<i>Quo vadis, Canadian English lexicography? Historical and contemporary stock-taking &amp; sustainable course corrections for the digital, free-dictionary age</i>	Stefan Dollinger, University of British Columbia; John J. Chew, III, University of Toronto	Mineral B/C
	11:00 am - 11:30 am	<i>Obsolescence and innovation: English dialects of the Lake Superior north shore</i>	Sali A. Tagliamonte, University of Toronto; Patrick Kinchular, University of Toronto; Mechelle Wu, University of Toronto	Mineral B/C
	11:30 am - 12:00 pm	<i>Stop voicing on the Canadian Prairies</i>	Alexandra Pfiffner, University of California, Berkeley; Nicole Rosen, University of Manitoba	Mineral B/C
	12:00 pm - 12:30 pm	<i>STRUT and FOOT shift too: Revisiting the phonological implications of the Low Back Merger</i>	Matt Hunt Gardner, Oxford University; Rebecca Roeder, University of North Carolina-Charlotte	Mineral B/C
<b>Session 4: Language Regard; Chair: Rebecca Roeder, University of North Carolina - Charlotte</b>				
2:00 pm - 4:00 pm	2:00 pm - 2:30 pm	<i>Knowledge of variation in subject-verb agreement in speakers of Mainstream American English</i>	Zachary Maher, University of Maryland, College Park; Jan Edwards, University of Maryland, College Park; Jared Novick, University of Maryland, College Park	Mineral B/C

	2:30 pm - 3:00 pm	<i>Integrating our understandings of Appalachian Englishes</i>	Jennifer Cramer, University of Kentucky, Allison Burkette, University of Kentucky	Mineral B/C
	3:00 pm - 3:30 pm	<i>What is a Yooper? The language regard of locals and non-locals in Michigan's Upper Peninsula</i>	Wil Rankinen, Grand Valley State University	Mineral B/C
	3:30 pm - 4:00 pm	<i>Stereotypes and heterogeneity in language regard</i>	Betsy E. Evans, University of Washington; Benjamin Jones, Independent Researcher; Nicole Chartier, Independent Researcher	Mineral B/C
5:00 pm - 6:30 pm		ADS Word of the Year Vote		Centennial Ballroom
<b>Saturday, January 7, 2023</b>				
<b>Session 5: Sound Change; Chair: Joseph Stanley, Brigham Young University</b>				
8:00 am - 10:00 am	8:00 am - 8:30 am	<i>Rethinking "leaders" of language change: Evidence from Sacramento English</i>	Lewis Esposito, Stanford University	Mineral B/C
	8:30 am - 9:00 am	<i>Tracking sound changes through archival recordings: Show-me surprises</i>	Matthew J. Gordon, University of Missouri; Christopher Strelluf, University of Warwick	Mineral B/C
	9:00 am - 9:30 am	<i>Word-medial /t/ "dropping" and voicing over time and across the lifespan in Utah</i>	David Bowie, University of Alaska Anchorage	Mineral B/C
	9:30 am - 10:00 am	<i>An Updated Look at Variation in Voiceless Interdentals in Varieties of Georgia AAE</i>	Meg Fletcher, University of Georgia; Jon Forrest, University of Georgia	Mineral B/C
<b>Session 6: Demography and Language Change; Chair: Marisa Brook, University of Toronto</b>				
10:30 am - 12:00 pm	10:30 am - 11:00 am	<i>The linguistic dividend of demographic change</i>	Guy Bailey, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley; Patricia Cukor-Avila, University of North Texas	Mineral B/C
	11:00 am - 11:30 am	<i>Out of the woods and into the bush: Insights into history and culture in Ontario</i>	Bridget L. Jankowski, University of Toronto; Sali A. Tagliamonte, University of Toronto	Mineral B/C
	11:30 am - 12:00 pm	<i>A case study of rapid dialect changes in a geographically mobile adult speaker</i>	Marie Bissell, Ohio State University	Mineral B/C
12:15 pm - 1:45 pm	ADS Annual Luncheon	<i>Breaking NORMs: What cities still have to teach us in the 21st century</i>	Jessi Grieser, University of Michigan	Mineral A/B/C
<b>Session 7: Southern English; Chair: Alexandra Pfiffner, University of California, Berkeley</b>				
2:00 pm - 2:30 pm	2:00 pm - 2:30 pm	<i>Dialect contact and merger reversal: Production and perception of two pre-lateral mergers in Charlotte, NC</i>	Rebecca Roeder, University of North Carolina-Charlotte; Ally Gentry, University of North Carolina-Charlotte	Mineral B/C
	2:30 pm - 3:00 pm	<i>"Language in the South as a sign of politeness or respect": Navigating Southern American English politeness norms as transgender South Carolinians</i>	Archie Crowley, University of South Carolina	Mineral B/C
	3:00 pm - 3:30 pm	<i>Comparing local news markets and 'Southern accent' features in the Southern periphery</i>	Ryan Dekker, Arizona State University	Mineral B/C
	3:30 pm - 4:00 pm	<i>Prosodic and regional variation in Alabama English</i>	Paul E. Reed, University of Alabama	Mineral B/C
<b>Session 8: Linguistics and Education; Chair: Kathryn Remlinger, Grand Valley State University</b>				
4:30 pm - 6:00 pm	4:30 pm - 5:00 pm	<i>"Like prestigious like whatever": Attention paid to speech and orientation to elite education in Chicago-area high schools</i>	Jaime Benheim, Northwestern University	Mineral B/C

	5:00 pm - 5:30 pm	<i>Observin', like, youth-based linguistic discrimination in American higher education</i>	Kara Becker, Reed College; He Bai, Reed College; Montreal Benesch, Reed College; Leo Latimer, Reed College; Satchel Petty, Reed College; Parker Scarpa, Reed College	Mineral B/C
	5:30 pm - 6:00 pm	<i>A mixed-methods examination of Black language pedagogy and how linguistic practices shape Black faculty experiences</i>	Kendra Calhoun, University of California, Los Angeles; Joy P. G. Peltier, University of South Carolina; Quentin Sedlacek, Southern Methodist University; Kara Seidel, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; Anne Charity Hudley, Stanford University; Christine Mallinson, University of Maryland, Baltimore County	Mineral B/C
<b>Sunday January 8, 2023</b>				
<b>Session 9: Language Ideology and Identity; Chair: David Bowie, University of Alaska Anchorage</b>				
8:30 am - 10:30 pm	8:30 am - 9:00 am	<i>A constellation of meaning in ja/yah, da, dis, and dot</i>	Kathryn Remlinger, Grand Valley State University	Mineral B/C
	9:00 am - 9:30 am	<i>"Back in them days, you had chores to do": Demonstrative them and local affiliation in Southern Aroostook County English</i>	Katharina Pabst, University of Toronto	Mineral B/C
	9:30 am - 10:00 am	<i>"I'm the FOB like ABC": Back vowels and ethnic orientation of Korean Americans in Georgia</i>	Dot-Eum Kim, University of Georgia; University at Buffalo	Mineral B/C
	10:00 am - 10:30 am	<i>What's in a name?: A raciolinguistic look at Creole identity in New Orleans</i>	Katie Carmichael, Virginia Tech; Ursilia Beckles, Virginia Tech; Madeline Eberhardt, Virginia Tech; Nathalie Dajko, Tulane University	Mineral B/C
<b>Session 10: Morpho-Syntactic Variation; Chair: Jon Forrest, University of Georgia</b>				
11:00 am - 12:30 pm	11:00 am - 11:30 am	<i>Comparatives as relative-clause markers: when 'like' licenses a gap</i>	Marisa Brook, University of Toronto	Mineral B/C
	11:30 am - 12:00 pm	<i>Flipping the on/off switch: Change in progress in the prepositional complements of verbs like "base"</i>	Guy Tabachnick, New York University; Laurel MacKenzie, New York University	Mineral B/C
	12:00 pm - 12:30 pm	<i>The Morphosyntax of Serial Verbs in AAL within a Corpus of Black Drama</i>	John W. W. Powell, University of Arizona	Mineral B/C

## POSTERS

- Poster #1 Sara Loss and Colby Sutherland: An engaging "which"?
- Poster #2 Bonnie Eleanor Wren-Hardin and Nour Kayali: "Frying pans— who knew, right?": The transformation of a target across multiple linguistic atlases
- Poster #3 Ian Schneider: Reexamining the San Francisco 'chesterfield' through Informant Biographies
- Poster #4 Wil Rankinen, Kin Ma, Avery Koan, and Julia Wintermantel: US Mental Maps of Yoopers and Lower Michiganders: Revisiting northern attitudes and beliefs of the US South
- Poster #5 Alden McCollum, José Julián Álvarez Retamales, and Gregory Guy: Subject Pronoun Expression in Boston Spanish: Affected by English?
- Poster #6 Chiara Repetti-Ludlow and Laurel MacKenzie: Child and adult productions of /t/ in words like "button:" Accounting for the shift from glottal stops to flaps
- Poster #7 Sean Nonnenmacher and Matthew John Hadodo: Indexing gender and class through coordinated pronominal hypercorrections in "The Real Housewives"
- Poster #8 Andrew Bray: DOWN-TIME: Canadian raising and pre-nasal lowering in hockey speech
- Poster #9 Brian José: Nasal short-A systems vs the Northern Cities Shift: A view from the southwestern fringe of the Inland North
- Poster #10 Lamont Antieau: "I was up to Denver once": Directionals in the Linguistic Atlas of the Western States
- Poster #11 Tyree Martin: A phonetic description of VOT in African American Language: A true voicing language
- Poster #12 John Winstead and Catherine Mott: A dialectological approach to the etymology of Boogie Man
- Poster #13 Kara Becker, Montreal Benesch, Satchel Petty and Parker Scarpa: Uptalk, personae, and perceived sexuality: A matched guise study
- Poster #14 Josef Fruehwald: "Philadelphians say 'Wooder', and that's that"?
- Poster #15 Sabriya Fisher: Localizing perceptions of the "strong Boston accent" in a changing city

American Dialect Society Short Abstracts – Paper Presentations

**Michael Adams** (Indiana University — Bloomington)

*Allan Metcalf: Old English to future English*

*Thursday Jan. 5, 4:40-5:00*

Few recognized Allan Metcalf's versatility, first a scholar of Old English, then of Chicano English, and then author or co-author of books about other varieties of American English, how English sounded in the mouths of presidents, and elements of English vocabulary borrowed from languages worldwide, while his theory of how new words take root in a language predicts the future of English words. Certain tendencies — both intellectual and stylistic — run throughout this diverse body of scholarship, and I hope to develop them clearly in this presentation, especially his penchants for humor, narrative, and startling facts.

**Lamont Antieau** (University of Kentucky)

**Allison Burkette** (University of Kentucky)

*All of the above: Incorporating written survey data into Linguistic Atlas Project studies*

*Friday Jan. 6, 8:00-8:30*

Various regional surveys of the Linguistic Atlas Project (LAP) employed both face-to-face interviewing and written questionnaires, although discussions of the latter are minimal. This paper evaluates the contribution of LAP written questionnaires to the study of American Englishes by comparing the social and geographic distributions of interview and survey-collected data from mid-century LAP surveys. Although LAP questionnaire data offer broader demographic representation of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, one finds less variation in data collected via written questionnaire. We contend that the shortcomings of each type of LAP data are somewhat mitigated by taking an “all of the above” approach.

**Guy Bailey** (University of Texas Rio Grande Valley)

**Patricia Cukor-Avila** (University of North Texas)

*The linguistic dividend of demographic change*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 10:30-11:00*

This paper explores how demographic changes produce linguistic dividends ranging from the borrowing and diffusion of linguistic forms to the creation of sociodemographic contexts that promote the spread of internally motivated changes. The data comes from two longitudinal sources in Texas: two random sample telephone surveys done twenty-five years apart and the Springville Project, a thirty-

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year field survey of a rural community that includes a panel study. Features analyzed include *fixin' to*, *yall*, quotative *be like*, and African American English (AAE) features like durative/habitual *be*, zero copula, and *ain't* used where other varieties have *didn't*.

**Grant Barrett** (*A Way with Words*)

*Allan Metcalf's Contributions in Context*

*Thursday Jan. 5, 4:00-4:20*

A brief recap of Allan Metcalf's contributions to the popularization of language-related topics through eight books and many articles, including those in the Chronicle of Higher Education. We will try to place that work in the flow of other popular language-related writing happening at the time, and reflect on the durability of his topics and results.

**Kara Becker** (Reed College)

**He Bai** (Reed College)

**Montreal Benesch** (Reed College)

**Leo Latimer** (Reed College)

**Satchel Petty** (Reed College)

**Parker Scarpa** (Reed College)

*Observin', like, youth-based linguistic discrimination in American higher education*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 5:00-5:30*

This project explores evaluations of variation in higher education; specifically, how discrimination targets innovations used by young speakers of American English. Data come from a matched guise survey issued to community members of a small college in the Pacific Northwest. Linear mixed-effects regression modeling for rating scales found significant main effects of guise for (ING), *like*, and uptalk, suggesting that these variables are active resources in constructing a “college” style. Age-based differences in ratings of the stimuli echo an argument for indexical obsolescence (Eckert 2019), and suggest that youth speech is a crucial aspect of linguistic discrimination.

**Jaime Benheim** (Northwestern University)

*“Like prestigious like whatever”:* Attention paid to speech and orientation to elite education in Chicago-area high schools

*Saturday Jan. 7, 4:30-5:00*

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Under the attention-paid-to-speech model, speakers are assumed to orient towards a shared prestigious norm (Labov 1972), but self-conscious styles can also be sites for the performance of identity-linked stigmatized features (e.g., Gafter 2016). This study explores style-shifting between interview and wordlist contexts by white Chicago-area adolescents. For TRAP, a salient feature undergoing sound change, the directionality of style-shifting differs across participants. These differences pattern according to differences in students' stances towards academic prestige. I argue that students who affiliate in opposition to their schools' elite status also distance themselves from the linguistic markers of elite schools when attending to speech.

**Marie Bissell** (Ohio State University)

*A case study of rapid dialect changes in a geographically mobile adult speaker*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 11:30-12:00*

I investigated longitudinal speech data from a person who lived in the Western U.S. for 45 years before moving to the American Southeast. I focused on two sets of vowels that may be targeted for changes: /ɪ ɛ æ/, /u ʊ o/. The speaker showed rapid reversal of the California Vowel Shift for /ɪ ɛ æ/ and rapid accommodation of local /u/ fronting within six months of moving, but no change for /ʊ o/. These results suggest that simultaneous, rapid accommodation of supra-regional and local vocalic norms can result from geographic mobility, even when a person is well into adulthood.

**David Bowie** (University of Alaska Anchorage)

*Word-medial /t/ “dropping” and voicing over time and across the lifespan in Utah*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 9:00-9:30*

/t/ before syllabic nasals (e.g., *mountain*) and in flapping contexts was analyzed in Utah English speakers born between 1871 and 1928. There was a decrease over apparent time in /t/ as [t] in flapping contexts and an increase in [ʔ] before syllabic nasals. Pre-nasal glottalized /t/ was never followed by an oral release, supporting Eddington & Savage's suggestion that it is a recent innovation. Intraindividual variation across decades was lower than that exhibited by these speakers for other variables. However, medial /t/ is socially salient, supporting Sankoff & Blondeau's suggestion that social awareness of variables is reflected in lifespan variation.

**Marisa Brook** (University of Toronto)

*Comparatives as relative-clause markers: when 'like' licenses a gap*

*Sunday Jan. 8, 11:00-11:30*

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‘Like’ sometimes serves as a stand-alone relative-clause marker, preserving its comparative denotations (e.g., “Where’s that thing like; we have [t]<sub>i</sub> in the break room?”). This study uses the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA; Davies 2010–) to test whether this structure is a holdover from the same possibility with *such as*. Results show that while *such as* was indeed the dominant variant and has obsolesced, the replacement *like* structure is losing ground to more overt options such as *like the one(s)*; what is being lost is not just *such as* but the structure’s ability to take implicit head nouns.

**Kendra Calhoun** (University of California, Los Angeles)

**Joy P. G. Peltier** (University of South Carolina)

**Quentin Sedlacek** (Southern Methodist University)

**Kara Seidel** (University of Maryland, Baltimore County)

**Anne Charity Hudley** (Stanford University)

**Christine Mallinson** (University of Maryland, Baltimore County)

*A mixed-methods examination of Black language pedagogy and how linguistic practices shape Black faculty experiences*  
*Saturday Jan. 7, 5:30-6:00*

Despite the importance of African American Language (AAL), there is limited information about the teaching of AAL in higher education, particularly the experiences of Black faculty. In this talk, we describe three collaborative mixed-methods studies addressing this topic. First, we share a case study of an introductory linguistics course that centers AAL and Black perspectives. Next, we contextualize this course using data from a recent survey of 149 college instructors who teach AAL content. Finally, we explore the linguistic practices and experiences of language scholars from across the Black diaspora using data from twelve interviews and fifteen linguistic autobiographies.

**Katie Carmichael** (Virginia Tech)

**Ursilia Beckles** (Virginia Tech)

**Madeline Eberhardt** (Virginia Tech)

**Nathalie Dajko** (Tulane University)

*What’s in a name?: A raciolinguistic look at Creole identity in New Orleans*  
*Sunday Jan. 8, 10:00-10:30*

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Creoles are an ethno-cultural group found in South Louisiana, though the label *Creole* itself is contested. We examine interviews with 30 multigenerational Creole New Orleanians, identifying discursive strategies participants take when describing Creole identity, as well as the ways they affiliate or distance themselves from their characterizations of Creoles. We mobilize stance-taking frameworks to analyze themes like colorism, self-hate, anti-Blackness, proximity to whiteness and thus alignment with white supremacy, and passing privilege. We end by offering suggestions to other researchers studying contested ethnic identities, and proposing some ways these nuanced stances and multivalent identities can be captured in variationist analyses.

**Jennifer Cramer** (University of Kentucky)

**Allison Burkette** (University of Kentucky)

*Integrating our understandings of Appalachian Englishes*

*Friday Jan. 6, 2:30-3:00*

Our investigation of perception/production alignment within Appalachian Englishes entails presentation of Linguistic Atlas Project data mapped against perceptual dialect maps. The juxtaposition of these different data types allows us to demonstrate how the linguistic information that people use in their perception tasks relates to findings from empirical research on linguistic production. Our findings suggest that the experiences of non-linguists and the production of Appalachian Englishes are intertwined in ways indicative of the history, cultural practices, and broader understandings of the region. This project showcases the interaction of perception and production to paint the full vibrancy of language in Appalachia.

**Archie Crowley** (University of South Carolina)

*“Language in the South as a sign of politeness or respect”*: Navigating Southern American English politeness norms as transgender South Carolinians

*Saturday Jan. 7, 2:30-3:00*

In the U.S. South, the use of address terms such as *sir* and *ma'am* are a part of regional politeness norms. However, many transgender and nonbinary Southerners struggle with the expectation of the use of these terms, as they maintain a gender binary. Drawing on ethnographic group interviews and an online survey, I explore how trans South Carolinians navigate discourses of respect, formality, and politeness in discussions of Southern language practices. I argue that trans South Carolinians prioritize respect and politeness, but they do so in a way that envisions expansive Southern futures that are welcoming to trans people.



**Ryan Dekker** (Arizona State University)

*Comparing local news markets and 'Southern accent' features in the Southern periphery*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 3:00-3:30*

This study analyzed Southern United States English (SUSE) phonological features in four local news markets located near a Southern dialect boundary: ten broadcasters each in Kentucky, West Virginia, Florida's panhandle, and central Texas. A stronger PIN-PEN merger, closer /ɛ/-/e/ distance, and monophthongal /aɪ/ are prominent SUSE features (Labov et al., 2006) and broadcasters over age 40 showed statistically significant results for stronger adherence to these SUSE features. Male broadcasters also showed significant results for stronger adherence to SUSE features. As SUSE appears marked for age and gender, these findings suggest SUSE is becoming more stigmatized amongst broadcasters in this setting.

**Stefan Dollinger** (University of British Columbia)

**John J. Chew, III** (University of Toronto)

*Quo vadis, Canadian English lexicography? Historical and contemporary stock-taking & sustainable course corrections for the digital, free-dictionary age*

*Friday Jan. 6, 10:30-11:00*

John Considine described what we lacked in “Dictionaries of Canadian English” (2003): regional dictionaries and “the finishing of [...] the *Dictionary of Canadian English on Historical Principles [DCHP]*”, motivating Dollinger & Fee's DCHP-2 (2017), and Davey & MacKinnon's dictionary of Cape Breton English (2015). Considine did not anticipate the industrial collapse following the entry of Oxford in 1988 and exit in 2004, leaving only the smaller *Gage Canadian Paperback Dictionary*. We report on two projects that will revitalize Canadian English lexicography: mobile-friendly DCHP-3 includes neologisms and postcolonial reconciliation; while Editors Canada's new contemporary dictionary will meet demand for a sustainable, authoritative reference.

**Lewis Esposito** (Stanford University)

*Rethinking “leaders” of language change: Evidence from Sacramento English*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 8:00-8:30*

While variationists have long sought to describe the characteristics of speakers who “lead” linguistic change (e.g., Labov 2001), findings from recent studies call into question the empirical

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reality of broad leadership. This paper brings data to bear on this question through an analysis of seven ongoing linguistic changes in Sacramento English. Results show that not a single speaker leads in every change. Given that the different changes carry different social associations, I argue that rather than simply ask who the leaders are, we should be asking: who leads which changes, and why?

**Betsy E. Evans** (University of Washington)

**Benjamin Jones** (Independent Researcher)

**Nicole Chartier** (Independent Researcher)

*Stereotypes and heterogeneity in language regard*

*Friday Jan. 6, 3:30-4:00*

This paper examines qualitative responses to a perceptual dialect survey soliciting respondents' stereotypes and linguistic perceptions about regions they identified on a map of New England, US. Structured heterogeneity in the quantitative evaluations of linguistic variation is explored via the qualitative stereotypes produced by respondents according to their status as "locally-born-and-raised" or "non-local". We suggest that the patterns of reported stereotypes and evaluations of regions reflect how respondents exposed to the same circulating cultural narratives may present different attitudinal responses as individual experiences serve to mitigate these narratives.

**Meg Fletcher** (University of Georgia)

**Jon Forrest** (University of Georgia)

*An Updated Look at Variation in Voiceless Interdentals in Varieties of Georgia AAE*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 9:30-10:00*

This study examines variation in [θ] of AAE in Georgia. Our questions are: 1) Does a coastal/inland split still exist for [θ] in AAE communities in Georgia 2) Are there any significant internal or social factors in the production of [θ]? Data comes from 23 interviews of AAE speakers from Valdosta (near coast) and Roswell (near Atlanta). All instances of [θ] were impressionistically coded as: theta, stopped, fronted, or deleted. Social factors in analysis were gender, age, and socioeconomic status. Gender was a significant factor in the youngest age group and no differences were found between Valdosta and Roswell.

**Matt Hunt Gardner** (Oxford University)

**Rebecca Roeder** (University of North Carolina-Charlotte)

*STRUT and FOOT shift too: Revisiting the phonological implications of the Low Back Merger*  
Friday Jan. 6, 12:00-12:30

Based on apparent time data from two rural Canadian communities that are over 6,000 km apart and have been shown to display the Low Back Merger Shift (LBMS), this paper examines whether FOOT and STRUT are also implicated in the LBMS. In both communities, results do indicate FOOT centralization (clearly decoupled from back vowel fronting and lowering in one community), while STRUT has occupied a central position for some time. Included is discussion of other work from Canada and the United States that, while not focusing on FOOT and STRUT, also reports concomitant centralization of these vowels alongside the LBMS.

**Matthew J. Gordon** (University of Missouri)

**Christopher Strelluf** (University of Warwick)

*Tracking sound changes through archival recordings: Show-me surprises*  
Saturday Jan. 7, 8:30-9:00

In this sociophonetic study of a corpus of oral-history recordings, we examine how Missourians spoke over a century ago. Our analysis focuses on vocalic patterns (such as the Southern Shift and the Low Back Vowel Merger) that seem to represent changes of different time depths in the state. The evidence allows us to trace the early history of the sound changes, and the picture that emerges raises some challenges for prior accounts. We position our findings within a critical discussion of the development of these sound changes and the nature of sociophonetic evidence more broadly.

**Jessi Grieser** (University of Michigan)

*Breaking NORMs: What cities still have to teach us in the 21st century*  
Saturday Jan. 7, ADS Luncheon Speaker

In this talk, I will thread the contributions that urban sociolinguistics have made to our understanding of American languages, also considering the ways contrasting urban and rural settings (Podesva, D'onofrio, Van Hofwegen, and Kim 2015), and their margins (Britain 2017) help us understand the sociolinguistic situation. Using my work in Washington, D.C. as a guide (Grieser 2022), I will discuss how changes in urban settings provide new insight into the connections between language practice and identity. Finally, I will make a case for the importance of the role that cities continue to play in our understanding of American speech.

**Claire Henderson** (McGill University)

*Geolinguistic diffusion near the Niagara border*

*Friday Jan. 6, 8:30-9:00*

This study examines the potential diffusion of American and Canadian variants between the Niagara border regions of Ontario and New York. The diffusion and non-diffusion of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammatical, and spelling features was investigated using a dialect survey. Data from 803 speakers from Niagara ON, Niagara NY, and the Greater Toronto Area were analyzed to determine aggregate patterns and key individual variables. The results show several clear patterns. While the border often acts as a barrier separating Canadian and American English, there is also evidence for both hierarchical and wave diffusion, particularly for the pronunciation variables.

**Joan Houston Hall** (Dictionary of American Regional English)

*Allan Metcalf's role as promoter of DARE*

*Thursday Jan. 5, 4:20-4:40*

The ADS was titular sponsor of the Dictionary of American Regional English, and as ADS Secretary, Allan took that role seriously. He seized every opportunity to spotlight DARE, with “DARE Queries” in NADS, quizzes on forthcoming volumes, and articles in *Lingua Franca*. Behind the scenes, he was a member of the “Committee for DARE,” established by Fred Cassidy in case he didn’t live to see the end. Allan also served on the DARE Board of Visitors. His enthusiasm was heartfelt and enduring, and it was ultimately a significant contributor to DARE’s survival.

**Bridget L. Jankowski** (University of Toronto)

**Sali A. Tagliamonte** (University of Toronto)

*Out of the woods and into the bush: Insights into history and culture in Ontario*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 11:00-11:30*

This paper examines ongoing lexical variability in Ontario dialects among words that describe areas with trees, e.g., *woods*, *bush*, *forest*, *grove*, among others. We assess regional, social and linguistic patterns of variation in 1850 tokens, from speakers born from the late 1800’s to early 2001’s across 21 communities. The most common form is *bush*; *woods* is the dominant lesser-frequency form, but only for distinct community types. Ancestry and migration play key roles. This study shows the value of lexical variation using a

comparative sociolinguistic perspective, considering multiple levels of variation in the context of social typology, history, and geographic location.

**Dot-Eum Kim** (University of Georgia / University at Buffalo)

*“I’m the FOB like ABC”*: Back vowels and ethnic orientation of Korean Americans in Georgia  
Sunday Jan. 8, 9:30-10:00

The study examines the relationship between the frontness of back vowels and ethnic orientation to Koreanness in the speech of 19 Korean Americans from Georgia. The results of acoustic analysis and linear models show that the Korean American speakers who have higher Ethnic Orientation scores, indicating stronger Koreanness, significantly display *less* back vowel fronting. On the other hand, the Korean American speakers with weaker Koreanness, indicated by lower Ethnic Orientation scores, exhibit *more* back vowel fronting. The study highlights how Korean Americans construct their identity on an individual level using specific phonetic features.

**Zachary Maher** (University of Maryland, College Park)

**Jan Edwards** (University of Maryland, College Park)

**Jared Novick** (University of Maryland, College Park)

*Knowledge of variation in subject-verb agreement in speakers of Mainstream American English*  
Friday Jan. 6, 2:00-2:30

Regularized subject-verb agreement (SVA) is common in many dialects, including African American Language (AAL). We tested how speakers of Mainstream American English (MAE) represent such variation. In Experiment 1, participants read sentences and rated how likely a speaker of MAE or AAL would be to say them. Participants indicated that regularized SVA is more likely in AAL than MAE. In Experiment 2, participants transcribed sentences where SVA was acoustically ambiguous. They were more likely to transcribe regularized SVA for AAL than MAE. This suggests that many speakers of MAE know grammatical patterns that they seldom produce.

**John “Spud” McCullough** (University of South Carolina)

*Metatouristic stancetaking: The Gullah Geechee cultural heritage tour and the negotiation of personhood*

Friday Jan. 6, 9:00-9:30

This project examines the ways in which Gullah Geechee tour guides and the tourism industry inform and are informed by the notion of authenticity and authority in the symbolic marketplace, and how linguistic capital is affected by the expectations and evaluations shared between communities. In *metatouristic stancetaking*, these tour guides navigate the prestige group’s narrow notions of “appropriate spaces” through metapragmatic awareness and heteroglossic competence. Gullah Geechee tour guides therefore make conscious choices about language use during tours that are both shaped by outsider expectations and intercommunity stances, reflecting decisions made by minority language speakers in navigating institutional hegemonic pressures.

**Katharina Pabst** (University of Toronto)

*“Back in them days, you had chores to do” : Demonstrative them and local affiliation in Southern Aroostook County English*

Sunday Jan. 8, 9:00-9:30

Drawing on a stratified community corpus collected in Northern Maine, this project investigates the relationship between demonstrative *them* (as in, “But she like talked to *these/them/those* guys”) and local affiliation. Results indicate that *them* is only used by speakers with high local affiliation. Separating users from non-users, I find that speakers have two distinct linguistic systems, with non-users preferring *these* in proximal and *those* in distal contexts. For *them* users, there is substantial competition between *them* and *those* in distal contexts (see Hazen et al. 2011), demonstrating that local affiliation can have a significant effect on speakers’ grammar.

**Alexandra Pfiffner** (University of California, Berkeley)

**Nicole Rosen** (University of Manitoba)

*Stop voicing on the Canadian Prairies*

Friday Jan. 6, 11:30-12:00

This study investigates factors of stop voicing in two rural Canadian communities representing differing ethno-religions: Manitobans of Ukrainian descent from the INTERLAKE region and of Mennonite descent from the SOUTHERN region. The goal of this project is to establish a baseline phonetic description of stops, and to investigate potential community differences. Preliminary results show stop

voicing differences between the two communities and a degree of prevoicing not normally found in North America English. Our results further suggest that German substrate effects reported for the US do not appear to continue across the border into Canada.

**John W. W. Powell** (University of Arizona)

*The Morphosyntax of Serial Verbs in AAL within a Corpus of Black Drama*

*Sunday Jan. 8, 12:00-12:30*

A debate surrounds verbal inflection in Serial Verbs in AAL. While Asante (1990) states that the first verb may be inflected with tense, the second verb may not. Martin and Wolfram (2021) counter that there is no restriction on tensed forms. These conflicting descriptions need clarifying from more corpora. I built a corpus of African American drama. I wrote code that identifies sequences of two verbs where there was inflection on (a) both, (b) neither, (c) only the first, and (d) only the second verb. My results feature (b, c), but not (a, d), and thus support Asante's (1990) findings.

**Wil Rankinen** (Grand Valley State University)

*What is a Yooper? The language regard of locals and non-locals in Michigan's Upper Peninsula*

*Friday Jan. 6, 3:00-3:30*

This study examines the attitudes and beliefs for the term “Yooper” based on an 1151-participant corpus stratified by **UP BORN** (yes, no) and **UP CHILDHOOD YEARS** (0yrs, 1-8yrs, 8-17yrs, and 18+yrs). The study examines various factors impacting Yooper identity from both local and nonlocal perspectives: 1) essential attributes, 2) essential activities, 3) required number of years, 4) specific language practices, 5) perceived attitudes toward the term. Findings provide insight into how locals' and nonlocals' language regard of the term Yooper contribute to the shaping a local identity and the cultural and linguistic norms of a community seeking to maintain it.

**Paul E. Reed** (University of Alabama)

*Prosodic and regional variation in Alabama English*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 3:30-4:00*

Previous research has identified two broad dialectal regions in AL — Northern (Appalachia) and Southern (Coastal South) (Foscue 1971). The present paper evaluates whether there is prosodic variation within Alabama. Reading passages were collected from speakers from across Alabama. Differences in adjacent syllables were calculated using the normalized Pairwise Variability Indices (nPVI) (Grabe and Low, 2002). Results show Northern AL speakers exhibiting more stress-timing. Thus, regional prosodic differences support previous work which found that Appalachian varieties remain distinct from lowland Southern US varieties.

**Kathryn Remlinger** (Grand Valley State University)

*A constellation of meaning in ja/yah, da, dis, and dat*

*Sunday Jan. 8, 8:30-9:00*

This paper examines ideological processes and associated meanings of *ja/yah* ('yes'), *da* ('the'), *dis* ('this'), and *dat* ('that') in Michigan's Upper Peninsula to demonstrate how these features are enregistered (Agha 2003), function ideologically, and reflect varied indexes (Eckert 2008). Relying on linguistic landscape, sociocultural linguistics, and sociolinguistics methodologies, the study investigates these features as place-making and identity performance strategies. Results demonstrate that language users depend on recognizable and valued indexes tied to these features to discursively practice overlapping identities of "Yooper" and "Finnish", to reimagine the place as "Finnish", as well as to reinforce language ideologies and perceptions about speakers.

**Rebecca Roeder** (University of North Carolina-Charlotte)

**Ally Gentry** (University of North Carolina-Charlotte)

*Dialect contact and merger reversal: Production and perception of two pre-lateral mergers in Charlotte, NC*

*Saturday Jan. 7, 2:00-2:30*

Based on apparent time perception and production data from 37 life-long residents of Charlotte, NC—evenly distributed across the demographic categories of age, gender, and education level—this paper provides evidence that the characteristically Southern PEEL-PILL merger is in reversal (a relatively rare phenomenon) while the widespread POOL-PULL merger is simultaneously in progress. These findings are consistent with a hypothesis of supra-local influence from dialect contact due to massive in-migration by non-Southerners. Results suggest that age and education correlate with both mergers in the expected direction, such that younger and more well-educated speakers display the more innovative variant.



**Joseph A. Stanley** (Brigham Young University)

**KaTrina Jackson** (Independent Researcher)

*Is Idaho English really “the epitome of average English”?*

*Friday Jan. 6, 9:30-10:00*

Preston (1989) described Idaho English as “the epitome of average English... [a] variety which displays no known non-standard elements.” We test this by comparing Idaho English to Utah English, which does feature non-standard elements. Wordlists from 58 Idahoans and 67 Utahns suggest that all Utah-based variables (MOUNTAIN, prelateral mergers, thr-flapping, VN+, etc.) are found in Idaho, but marginally. Meanwhile, pan-regional features (LBMS, GOOSE-fronting) are all present to a moderate degree. So, while Idaho lacks Utah’s stigmatized features, it also lacks pan-regional innovations. It is curious that English from this oft-overlooked region is so close to Standard American English.

**Guy Tabachnick** (New York University)

**Laurel MacKenzie** (New York University)

*Flipping the on/off switch: Change in progress in the prepositional complements of verbs like “base”*

*Sunday Jan. 8, 11:00-11:30*

Traditionally, verbs like *base*, *survive*, and *capitalize* have combined with the preposition *on* to express a meaning of derivation (*based on*). Since 2000, the use of *off* (*of*) in this construction has rapidly risen in prevalence and acceptability (Curzan, 2013; Behrens, 2014; Janda, 2020). We confirm the relative increase of *off* in this construction in a corpus of posts from the discussion website Reddit and in two other corpora in both real and apparent time, and find verb-specific effects on rate of *off* usage.

**Sali A. Tagliamonte** (University of Toronto)

**Patrick Kinchsular** (University of Toronto)

**Mechelle Wu** (University of Toronto)

*Obsolescence and innovation: English dialects of the Lake Superior north shore*

*Friday Jan. 6, 11:00-11:30*

We introduce data from northwestern Ontario (4 communities; 86 people; 200 hours) and illustrate unique words, expressions, place nicknames as well as conservative features, e.g., preterit *come*, *seen*, *for to* complementizers, indefinite article absence, pronouns in -

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*body* and others. Presence and degree of usage differs by community and generation, in trends of obsolescence. Also present are innovations, *be like* quotatives, trending adjectives and intensifiers, e.g., *weird*, *super* and discourse-pragmatic markers, *right*, *wait*. Our report offers preliminary analysis of select features and discusses the importance of documentation and the insights that can be gained by studying linguistic variation in newly-documented dialects.

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**Lamont Antieau** (University of Kentucky)

*“I was up to Denver once”: Directionals in the Linguistic Atlas of the Western States*

Poster #10

This study investigates how directionals are used by speakers in the Linguistic Atlas of the Western States. Namely, it looks at how *up* and *down* are used when discussing travel from their community to others, and it also examines uses of east, west, north, and south in reference to other parts of the U.S., with particular focus on the term “back east.” The analyses are intended to show what LAWS can tell us about how western speakers view their place and that of their communities in the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the American landscape.

**Kara Becker** (Reed College)

**Montreal Benesch** (Reed College)

**Satchel Petty** (Reed College)

**Parker Scarpa** (Reed College)

*Uptalk, personae, and perceived sexuality: A matched guise study*

Poster #13

This project explores how perceived sexuality is impacted when one variable is situated in several contexts. We examine how uptalk’s meanings change in six persona contexts: Valley Girl, girlboss, goth, stoner, butch, and twink. Listeners each heard a single stimulus, uptalk or non-uptalk, then rated and categorized the talker. Logistic regression modeling identified a significant interaction of guise and persona for perceived sexuality. Results across persona contexts suggest that uptalk’s indexical field is not fixed with respect to perceived sexuality. Our findings underscore variability within uptalk’s indexical field and highlight the importance of exploring personae as mediators of social meaning.

**Andrew R. Bray** (University of Georgia)

*DOWN-TIME: Canadian raising and pre-nasal lowering in hockey speech*

Poster #8

The speech of 20 American-born professional hockey players was analyzed for Canadian raising (CR) establishing new pre-nasal variants. 70% of players produced greater TIME F1 values and 90% greater DOWN F1 values when compared to TIE and COW, respectively. TIME lowering players surpassed 70 Hz F1 differentials with TIE and produced variants which differed to a statistically significant degree.

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Players who lowered DOWN produced variants which differed significantly at 65% and 80% durations. The results suggest that American hockey players are exhibiting a novel hierarchy of CR variants which has gained indexical value linked to an emerging hockey-based linguistic persona.

**Sabriya Fisher** (Wellesley College)

*Localizing perceptions of the “strong Boston accent” in a changing city*  
Poster #15

This paper presents a perceptual dialectology study of Bostonians’ localization of “Boston” accented speech around the city. N=111 participants identified neighborhoods where residents had strong “Boston” accents on a map of Greater Boston. Results show that (1) r-lessness and START-fronting drive perceptions of accented speech, (2) accents are strongly associated with historically white ethnic, working-class neighborhoods, and (3) although residents are aware of changing demographics and speech in many neighborhoods, the association in (2) still drives evaluations of language within them. These findings highlight the interweaving of ideas about race, class, place, and language in Bostonian dialect perceptions.

**Josef Fruehwald** (University of Kentucky)

*“Philadelphians say ‘Wooder’, and that’s that”?*  
Poster #14

The pronunciation of *water* in Philadelphia has become a notable shibboleth, typically represented as “wooder.” Despite growing local and national enregisterment of “wooder” as part of the white Philadelphia Dialect, little work has been done examining its origins or process of enregisterment. In this poster, I find that the raising of [ɔ] > [ʊ] is a 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon, as it is absent in records of Philadelphians born before 1900. Its enregisterment came much later, in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, as evidenced by local newspaper search results.

**Brian José** (the Center for Language Education and Research at Indiana State University)

*Nasal short-a systems vs the Northern Cities Shift: a view from the southwestern fringe of the Inland North*  
Poster #9

Of various allophonic configurations of the TRAP vowel in American English, Labov et al (2006) found that the ‘raised’ system predominates in the Northern-Cities-Shifting Inland North. Dinkin (2011) subsequently found that another configuration, dubbed the ‘raised nasal’ system, is common in fringe NCS areas of upstate NY. In this poster, I examine the short-A system in another fringe NCS area, northwestern Indiana (José 2016), using reading passage data from 14 female and 13 male adults, 21 to 72 years old. Partial, early results are mixed and inconclusive (which isn’t inconsistent with Dinkin’s findings); analyses and their interpretation are ongoing.

**Sara S. Loss** (Oklahoma State University)

**Colby Sutherland** (Oklahoma State University)

*An engaging which?*

*Poster #1*

This study uses a modified matched guise task to investigate American English speakers’ language attitudes toward *which* clauses that have a pronoun where a gap would otherwise be. Thirty-six native speakers of American English participated. Eight naturally occurring target constructions from talk media were modified in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2021) by removing the resumptive pronoun, creating a standard relative clause utterance. There was a small trend that guises with connective *which* ((M=4.2(1.5)) were rated as slightly more engaging communicators than those with relative pronoun *which* (M=4.1(1.4)),  $t(287)=-1.57, p=0.12$ . Six respondents reported that we had a lot of “repeat” stimuli.

**Chiara Repetti Ludlow** (NYU)

**Laurel MacKenzie** (NYU)

*Child and adult productions of /t/ in words like “button:” Accounting for the shift from [ʔ] to [r]*

*Poster #6*

In American English, the realization of underlying /t/ varies depending on context. Flaps surface when /t/ precedes an unstressed [+syllabic] segment, but glottal stops surface when /t/ precedes a non-syllabic consonant, and surprisingly, before unstressed [ɹ], in words like [ˈbʌʔɹ] ‘button.’ Recent research suggests that the irregular realization of these “button” words might be changing, as pronunciations like [ˈbʌrɹɹ] have been increasingly documented. In this project, we consider data from parents and children in the CHILDES corpus, ultimately finding evidence that children may be actuating and incrementing this change by producing these words with [ɹɹ] rather than [ɹ], thereby creating the environment for flapping.

**T.J. Martin** (University of Arizona)

*A phonetic description of VOT in African American Language: A true voicing language*

*Poster #11*

We investigate the Voice Onset Time (VOT) and prosody of a 1968 Washington, D.C variety of African American Language (AAL) from the Corpus of Regional African American Language (CORAAAL). We further investigate the contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. We show substantial amounts of negative VOT in the data. The data and analysis beg the question, “Is AAL an aspirating language or a true voicing language?”, with possible implications regarding the history and development of AAL.

**Alden McCollum** (NYU)

**José Julián Álvarez Retamales** (NYU)

**Gregory Guy** (NYU)

*Subject pronoun expression in Boston Spanish*

*Poster #5*

Does English contact affect Spanish in the US, and if so, how? Do dialect differences in Spanish persist in the US? We consider these questions in relation to subject pronoun expression (SPE) in eight sociolinguistic interviews from the Spanish in Boston Corpus. Our results for the effects of linguistic factors on SPE are consistent with those found in previous work on Spanish, indicating grammatical stability persists in the contact setting. But results also suggest language contact affects SPE rates. We consider our quantitative analyses in conjunction with an analysis of participants’ self-reported language attitudes and ideologies.

**Sean Nonnenmacher** (University of Pittsburgh)

**Matthew John Hadodo** (University of Bern)

*Indexing gender and class through coordinated pronominal hypercorrections in “The Real Housewives”*

*Poster #7*

Our analysis focuses on the gendered and classed indexical meanings of pronominal hypercorrections in the reality television show *The Real Housewives of Beverly Hills*. Wives generally adhere to prescriptive norms for coordinated subjects involving 1SG pronouns with occasional variation for stylistic effect, in contrast with the observed patterns for coordinated objects, particularly prepositional objects,

which exhibit greater variation in pronoun form and placement (e.g., “between you and me” vs. “between you and I”). Pronominal variation, including hypercorrection in coordinated constructions, is argued to be driven by stylistic or interactional demands, such as when performing elitism, coolness, or vulnerability.

**Wil Rankinen** (Grand Valley State University)

**Kin Ma** (Grand Valley State University)

**Avery Koan** (Grand Valley State University)

**Julia Wintermantel** (Grand Valley State University)

*U.S. mental maps of Yoopers and lower Michiganders: Revisiting northern attitudes and beliefs of the U.S. South*  
Poster #4

This study analyzes language regard of the United States (U.S.) South from Yoopers and Lower Michiganders’ perspectives. U.S. mental maps are obtained from an 87-participant corpus from Michigan’s Upper Peninsula (UP), and a 56-participant corpus from Michigan’s Lower Peninsula (LP). The study focuses on the core of U.S. South and other related attributes and geospatial boundaries. All aggregated responses are digitized and analyzed using geographic software ArcGIS 10.7. Findings reveal observable differences in the aggregated geospatial boundaries of U.S. South as an interaction of the participants’ area of origin (west/east) and rurality (more/less rural), but not by region (UP/LP).

**Ian Schneider** (University of Kentucky)

*Reexamining the historical prevalence of ‘chesterfield’ in San Francisco*  
Poster #3

The term *chesterfield*, an upholstered sofa, was long-prevalent in Eastern Canada throughout the first half of the 20th century. According to data from the Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast (LAPC), San Francisco also stood out as a *chesterfield*-prevalent region on the west coast of the United States around the same time. Through analysis of LAPC informant biographies, this study links the prevalence of *chesterfield* in San Francisco to patterns of Irish immigration to San Francisco in the mid-19th century. In sum, this study aims to re-open a past dialectological mystery through qualitative analysis of oft-quantitatively driven linguistic atlas data.

**John Winstead** (University of Kentucky)

**Catherine Izetta Mott** (University of Kentucky)

*A dialectological approach to the etymology of Boogie Man*

*Poster #12*

Our poster explores the etymology of the American English word *Boogeyman* through a dialectological analysis of its Scots etymon variants. We isolated five features found in nearly all of the American English variants:

1. [i] suffix
2. Collocated or compounded with “man”
3. ⟨oo⟩ orthographic vowel
4. [g] coda
5. Associated with a supernatural entity that terrorizes children

We tied these features to either geographic locales or regional dialects in the British Isles, which served as the basis for determining the origin of the American variants’ features and explaining their distinctiveness and uniformity compared to their Scots cousins.

**Eleanor Wren-Hardin** (University of Kentucky)

**Nour Kayali** (University of Kentucky)

*“Frying pans– who knew, right?”: The transformation of a target across multiple linguistic atlases*

*Poster #2*

In an exploration of the linguistic reflection of material culture, we examine variants of the target 'frying pan' across multiple Linguistic Atlases. This target was selected due to its household prevalence across all regions as well as its high degree of linguistic variation. Mapping these variants from the Linguistic Atlases reveals their geographic correlations and regional concentrations. A data-driven approach was taken within each atlas to further understand how shifting cultural relationships with the material item are historically reflected in individuals’ lexical choices. The different analyses highlight the regional connections between changing lexical terms and their referents.