The Effect of Language Ideologies on the Canadian Shift: Evidence from /æ/ in Vancouver, BC and Seattle, WA

Language ideologies have been acknowledged as an important factor in linguistic behavior, and all the more in border regions (Bourdieu 1991, Irvine & Gal 2000, S. Friedman 2007, V. Friedman 2012, Auer 2005). Auer (2005) argues that the social cognitive interpretation of a border leads to linguistic divergence by which the process of imagining the other group as "different" fosters the linguistic embodiment of those differences. Gal & Irvine (2000) employ *fractal recursivity* to describe the projection of a difference at one level of a system to another level of the system and *erasure* to describe an ideology of sameness that overlooks existing differences. Critical to both of these theories is the *perceived* similarity or difference of the other group. While the national border might invoke a perceived difference, the Pacific Northwest has also been noted for its unity and strong sociopolitical solidarity (Alper 1996, Cold-Ravnkilde, Singh, & Lee 2011, Smith 2004, Sparke 2000). How do language ideologies of sameness and difference play out in a region with strong solidarity that is also traversed by a national border?

This work considers the variable ideologies of English speakers in Seattle, WA and Vancouver, BC as a predictor of speakers' phonetic realizations for a defining dialect feature of the region: /æ/. The work asks the following questions: 1) What are the language ideologies of Seattle and Vancouver speakers? 2) Are language ideologies a predictor of /æ/ retraction among Seattle and Vancouver speakers? With 29,372 tokens collected via word list reading task from 20 Seattle and 19 Vancouver speakers and a sociocultural survey, the current study analyzes a differentiating feature of U.S. and Canadian dialects of Pacific Northwest English (/æ/ retraction) with respect to speakers' impressions of the sameness or differentness of their cross-border counterparts. Formant data were extracted at five duration-proportional points and trajectory comparisons were included in separate linear mixed-effects regression models for F1 and F2 values in /æ/ retraction. Speakers' responses to ideological and sociocultural identity questions were qualitatively analyzed and quantified for inclusion in the mixed-effects models.

The data show asymmetrical ideologies among Canadian and American participants: Vancouver speakers are more likely to perceive Seattle inhabitants as culturally and linguistically similar to them than vice versa. Furthermore, the data illustrate that language ideologies emphasizing sameness and unity of trans-border speakers within the Pacific Northwest are significantly associated with phonetic outcomes. Among both Seattle and Vancouver speakers, the realization of /æ/ is higher

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for speakers who emphasized more similarity with their cross-border counterparts. Subjects who described inhabitants of the other city as being similar to their own city had lower F1 values for /æ/, indicating a higher vowel. The realization of a higher or more fronted vowel entails less participation in the Canadian Shift. Taken together, these findings suggest that Vancouverites engage in more ideological processes of *erasure* than Seattleites and that in both cities, with respect to this particular diagnostic feature, this ideology is associated with less participation in the local Canadian phonetic changes.

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