



NARNiHS
North American Research Network
in Historical Sociolinguistics

Official Program for NARNiHS 2023

Fifth Annual Meeting

North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics

A Sister Society of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA)

6 – 7 January 2023

This year fully online via video-conference!

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North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics

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Video-conferencing Guidelines

Welcome to NARNiHS 2023, the 5th Annual Meeting of the North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics!

In the online environment of this year's event, please note the following important items for participating in our sessions.

- 1) We ask that you use a quiet location, if possible, from which to attend the panels in order to avoid unwanted "sound intrusions" during the presentations and discussion.
- 2) Once you are in the Zoom room, your microphone and video camera will be muted by default; this is to give you privacy as you get settled into the room. We recommend that you activate your video camera to be visually present during the sessions, but that you keep your microphone muted except if you are giving a presentation or are asking a question of other presenters.
- 3) During the question session, attendees will ask questions by using the "raise your hand" function on Zoom. Panel Chairs will call on participants who raise their hand to unmute their microphones and ask their question. As with in-person conferences, presenters will have the option after the panel to follow up individually with attendees who raised their hand but there was not enough time for their question.
- 4) We will not be recording the entire conference, but some of the presentations may be recorded at the presenter's request. If a given presentation is recorded, we will announce it at the beginning of the presentation so that you have the opportunity to turn your camera off if you so wish.
- 5) If you experience technical issues during the panels, you may contact the Panel Chair using the chat function. We will try to help, but since we don't have any external IT support, we may not be able to resolve your issue. In that case, we recommend that you try exiting the Zoom room and logging back in.

Program Overview

Friday	06 January 2023
<p>Session 1</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 08:00-08:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Berlin 19:00-19:30 Moscow</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 08:30-09:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Berlin 19:30-20:00 Moscow</p> <p>12:00-12:30 US Eastern Time 09:00-09:30 Vancouver 18:00-18:30 Berlin 20:00-20:30 Moscow</p> <p>12:30-13:00 US Eastern Time 09:30-10:00 Vancouver 18:30-19:00 Berlin 20:30-21:00 Moscow</p>	<p>Methodological approaches in historical sociolinguistics <i>Chair: Kelly Elizabeth Wright – Virginia Polytechnic University, USA</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Challenges to the Study of Variation in Colonial Poqom (Mayan) <i>James Tandy</i> <i>University of Texas at Austin, USA</i> Tracing the sociolinguistic history of Ecuadoran Media Lengua: facts & models, old & new <i>John Lipski</i> <i>Pennsylvania State University, USA</i> Cinderella comes late to the ball: folklore collection and minoritised languages in the long 19th century <i>Oliver Currie</i> <i>Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia</i> “Fertile ground” for the actuation of sound change in historical sociophonetic data <i>Christopher Strelluf ; Matthew J. Gordon</i> <i>University of Warwick, United Kingdom ; University of Missouri, USA</i>

Program Overview

Saturday	07 January 2023
<p>Session 2</p> <p>11:00-11:30 US Eastern Time 08:00-08:30 Vancouver 17:00-17:30 Berlin 19:00-19:30 Moscow</p> <p>11:30-12:00 US Eastern Time 08:30-09:00 Vancouver 17:30-18:00 Berlin 19:30-20:00 Moscow</p> <p>12:00-12:30 US Eastern Time 09:00-09:30 Vancouver 18:00-18:30 Berlin 20:00-20:30 Moscow</p>	<p>Working with features in historical sociolinguistics <i>Chair: Nandi Sims – Stanford University, USA</i></p> <p>1. Putting It All Together: Sociopolitical Interactions and the Distribution of Linguistic Variables in Mayan Writing <i>David F. Mora-Marín</i> <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA</i></p> <p>2. The Social and Historical Development of <i>Leísmo</i> in Spanish: A Variationist Analysis <i>Jamelyn Wheeler</i> <i>Indiana University, USA</i></p> <p>3. You have no right! The dynamics of power in Colonial Louisiana Spanish <i>Jeremy King</i> <i>Louisiana State University, USA</i></p>

Saturday	07 January 2022
<p>13:00-14:00 US Eastern Time 10:00-11:00 Vancouver 19:00-20:00 Berlin 21:00-22:00 Moscow</p>	<p>NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all) <i>Chair: Sandrine Tailleux – Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Canada</i></p> <p>Note that this meeting is planned for one hour: 13:00-14:00 (US Eastern Time) 10:00-11:00 (Vancouver) 19:00-20:00 (Berlin) 21:00-22:00 (Moscow)</p>

Sessions

Friday, 6 January 2023

Session 1: Methodological approaches in historical sociolinguistics

Chair: Kelly Elizabeth Wright – Virginia Polytechnic University, USA

Time: 11:00-13:00 (New York) — 08:00-10:00 (*Vancouver*) / 17:00-19:00 (*Berlin*) / 19:00-21:00 (*Moscow*)**11:00 Challenges to the Study of Variation in Colonial Poqom (Mayan).**

08:00

17:00

19:00

James Tandy – University of Texas at Austin, USA

Colonial documents in Poqom Mayan reveal variation across space and time. These manuscripts represent the oldest available documentation of Poqom; however, they are almost exclusively doctrinal works by Spanish priests, and thus only indirectly reflect native speaker usage. This talk discusses potential solutions to these interpretive challenges, as well as new research questions that arise when using an L2 corpus. As part of the talk, I give a case study of dialectal variation in person and aspect morphology in Colonial Poqom. Finally, I outline a plan for constructing a full searchable corpus of Colonial Poqom.

11:30 Tracing the sociolinguistic history of Ecuadoran Media Lengua: facts & models, old & new.

08:30

17:30

19:30

John Lipski – Pennsylvania State University, USA

The Ecuadoran mixed language Media Lengua consists of Kichwa morphosyntax, including all system morphemes and syntactic structures, while all lexical roots are derived from Spanish. Dating the chronology and spread of ML is hampered by conflicting and confusing oral testimony as to the speech of previous generations. Incorporating field data from previously undocumented ML communities and combining an analysis of ML variants and sociolinguistic interviews, the spread of ML to widely separated geographical areas receives a plausible explanation, while lending support to the proposal by Thomason (2003) that the only stable mixed languages are those spoken outside of their original bilingual context.

12:00 Cinderella comes late to the ball: Folklore collection and minoritised languages in the long 19th century.

09:00

18:00

20:00

Oliver Currie – Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia

While minoritised languages in multilingual nation states had a subordinate sociolinguistic status, in folklore this status was reversed, as minoritised (peasant) cultures were considered to have better preserved folklore than the educated elite. However, folktales collected from minoritised cultures were often (though not exclusively) published only in translation in the hegemonic languages (e.g. Irish folktales in English; Breton, Corsican or Gascon folktales in French). Focusing on 19th century folklore collection in the UK and France, this paper explores what factors may have influenced the language of publication and what the language question in folklore collection reveals about the sociolinguistic context.

12:30 “Fertile ground” for the actuation of sound change in historical sociophonetic data.

09:30

18:30

20:30

Christopher Strelluf – University of Warwick, United Kingdom

Matthew J. Gordon – University of Missouri, USA

This project seeks the historical actuation of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) and Low-Back-Merger Shift (LBMS) in Missouri. We use archival recordings of Missourians born between 1884 and 1938 to acoustically analyze vowels involved in these chain shifts. While we do not find modern-day instantiations of either the NCS or LBMS, we find vowel qualities that anticipate these chain shifts in St. Louis and Kansas City. We propose that historical vowel qualities made these communities “fertile ground” for participating in these chain shifts and suggest the concept of “fertile ground” as a resource for understanding the actuation of sound changes.

Saturday, 7 January 2023

Session 2: Working with features in historical sociolinguistics

Chair: Nandi Sims – Stanford University, USA

Time: 11:00–12:30 (New York) — 08:00-09:30 (*Vancouver*) | 17:00-18:30 (*Berlin*) | 19:00-20:30 (*Moscow*)

11:00 **Putting It All Together: Sociopolitical Interactions and the Distribution of Linguistic Variables in Mayan Writing.**

08:00

17:00

19:00

David F. Mora-Marín – University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

The paper presents a quantitative analysis of several grapholinguistic (graphic, graphemic, orthographic, linguistic) variables in Epigraphic Mayan, based on a dataset compiled by means of the Maya Hieroglyphic Database (Looper and Macri 1991-2022). Due to the difficulty of identifying ancient scribes and their sociodemographic traits (age, gender, status, etc), the paper studies the distribution of variables in connection with evidence of inter-polity interactions across the Maya lowlands. The preliminary results point to statistically significant tendencies for certain variables to occur in texts with statements of diplomacy, and others to occur with statements of conflict and subordination.

11:30 **The Social and Historical Development of *Leísmo* in Spanish: A Variationist Analysis.**

08:30

17:30

19:30

Jamelyn Wheeler – Indiana University, USA

The current study provides a diachronic, variationist analysis of *leísmo*, or the use of the [dative] clitic pronoun *le(s)* in place of [accusative] *lo(s)* or *la(s)* to refer to direct complements, in Peninsular Spanish. It accounts for variation in clitic selection (*le(s)* vs. *lo(s)/la(s)*) in works of fiction from three centuries in the Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE). The results of mixed-effects models indicate that linguistic and social factors are significant in predicting *le(s)*, and the phenomenon is preferred in dialogue spoken by male characters, in works from northern-central Spain and in more recent time periods.

12:00 **You have no right! The dynamics of power in Colonial Louisiana Spanish.**

09:00

18:00

20:00

Jeremy King – Louisiana State University, USA

The current study examines the dynamics of power between government officials in Colonial Spanish Louisiana. The corpus consists of 200 business letters stemming from three different settlements of the territory. The linguistic focus is the commissive and directive speech acts noted in the corpus; several categories of linguistic forms are noted for their conformity to, or deviation from, accepted norms of the time. Results reveal that the type and quantity of mitigation devices employed typically correlated with the level of institutional power held by the writer; writers' breaking with politic behavior often signals a challenge to power norms.

Break 12:30–13:00 — 09:30-10:00 (*Vancouver*) | 18:30-19:30 (*Berlin*) | 20:30-21:00 (*Moscow*)

13:00 NARNiHS General Meeting (open to all)

10:00

19:00

21:00

Chair: Sandrine Tailleux – Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, Canada

Note that this meeting is planned for one hour: 13:00-14:00 (US Eastern Time)

– 10:00-11:00 (*Vancouver*) | 19:00-20:00 (*Berlin*) | 21:00-22:00 (*Moscow*).

Presenters and abstracts (in alphabetical order)**OLIVER CURRIE***Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia***Cinderella comes late to the ball: Folklore collection and minoritised languages in the long 19th century** [Session 01]

The construction of national cultural identities based on a single hegemonic national language was a key element of nation building in many 19th century European nation states (Hobsbawm 1990; Thiesse 1999; Wright 2012), however it belied a more complex multilingual reality. This tension between the monolingual nationalism of the nation states and their actual linguistic diversity is particularly striking in folklore collection, which also had its golden age in the 19th century. While minoritised languages and dialects generally had a subordinate sociolinguistic status vis-a-vis the hegemonic languages of the nation states in which they were subsumed, in the domain of folklore the roles were, paradoxically, reversed. The European peasantry, which at the time largely spoke minoritised languages and dialects, was considered to be the main repository of folklore, as it was thought to have better preserved folk traditions (Lang 1884; Sébillot 1886). Many of the folktales collected in France, for example, came from traditionally non-French speaking regions (Lower Brittany, Corsica, Gascony, the Basque Country) and in the United Kingdom from Gaelic-speaking Scotland and Ireland. However, in many cases the folktales of minoritised cultures were published first in translation in the hegemonic language of the nation state – e.g. Irish folktales in English (Croker 1825; Deeney 1900; Curtin 1890); Basque (Vinson 1883), Breton (Luzel 1887), Occitan/Gascon (Bladé 1886) and Corsican (Ortoli 1883) folktales in French – and only many years later, if at all, in the original. Using an interdisciplinary approach – straddling both historical sociolinguistics and folklore – the paper explores the broader significance of the choice of language of publication of 19th century folklore collections and what it reveals about the wider sociolinguistic and cultural context, focusing on the United Kingdom and France. The study is based on an analysis of folklore publications themselves – both their language(s) and metatexts – as well as on an analysis of reviews of folklore collections and contemporary discourse on folklore and the language question.

Publishing folklore for larger readerships in major languages may have seemed self-evident from a commercial perspective, but the fact there were also publications in minoritised languages, often bilingual, suggests that there was a real choice of language. Indeed, we find variation in the language of publication between comparable minoritised languages (e.g. folktales from Gaelic-speaking Ireland were published almost exclusively in English until the 1890s, but those from Gaelic-speaking Scotland bilingually in Gaelic in English), variation within the same collector (e.g. Jean-François Bladé published most of his Gascon folktales only in French, but also some bilingually in Gascon and French and some only in Gascon), as well as variation between prose and poetic folklore (folktales from the French regions were typically published only in French but folksongs in the original regional languages alongside French translations). The variation in the language of the publication seems to have reflected wider conflicting tensions, for example between the cultural nationalisms of nation states, on the one hand, and those of their national minorities, on the other; and between the perception of folklore as a relic of an ancient *universal* human culture, on the one hand, or as the literary heritage of *specific*

cultures, on the other. The paper explores the different factors which may have influenced the choice of language (e.g. practical, commercial, ideological) as well as the extent to which it was contested (e.g. on the grounds of authenticity or cultural appropriation). The paper also aims to make a broader contribution to historical sociolinguistics by shedding light on a resource – folklore – which has largely been neglected by linguists and by investigating the question of the language of folklore collections which has not been systematically addressed by folklorists.

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MATTHEW J. GORDON
University of Missouri, USA

“Fertile ground” for the actuation of sound change in historical sociophonetics data [Session 01]

[See abstract under ‘Christopher **Strelluf**’]

JEREMY KING

*Louisiana State University, USA***You have no right! The dynamics of power in Colonial Louisiana Spanish [Session 02]**

In spite of its importance in the history of the American continent, colonial Louisiana has received scarce attention in scholarly work, particularly in the linguistics literature. Although Spanish was the *de facto* legal language of government interactions in Louisiana for nearly half of the 18th century, there is a dearth of work dedicated to the language of this period. During the 40 years of Spanish rule in Louisiana, many business letters were circulated both within the different settlements in the colony as well as from the different settlements to the government seat in New Orleans. These letters reflect a number of different aims: descriptions of local situations, petitions to government officials, offers of goods and services, and adjudications of legal matters.

Within the field of (socio)pragmatics, scholars have engaged in an increasing amount of study of speech acts to explore diverse questions related to linguistic behavior in the Spanish language. While some speech act types have been extensively studied, the category of commissives has been all but ignored in scholarship (Márquez Reiter & Placencia 2005: 74). Only a small number of studies (among them Rall 1993; Hardin 2001; Chodorowska-Pilch 2002) focus exclusively, or partially, on this class of speech acts in Spanish, and even fewer studies deal with the expression of commissive intent in written registers of the language. Directive speech acts in Spanish, on the other hand, have received much attention in the literature, but have sparsely been examined in terms of their supportive moves (Márquez Reiter 2003).

The current study starts with the premise that the dynamics of power frequently become apparent in interactions via the frequency and type of speech acts used, as well as the ways in which they are realized (Vine 2004: 165). Due to the nature of communication that took place between government officials during the Spanish period in Louisiana, directives and commissives provide a unique window into the role that power played in determining communication norms in that time.

The corpus for the current study consists of 200 business letters stemming from three different settlements of the colonial Louisiana territory. The linguistic focus of this study is the commissive and directive speech acts noted in the corpus; the modifications and supportive moves accompanying commissives and directives are analyzed in terms of their role in aggravating or mitigating the force of these speech acts (as per Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). As part of this analysis, forms of address and reference are noted for their conformity to, or deviation from, accepted norms of the time. Formulaic address terms such as *Muy Ylustre X* 'Most Distinguished + noun' and mitigation devices such as *con el devido respeto* 'with all due respect', when absent, call attention to the intention of a letter writer to defy pragmatic norms. Results reveal that the type and quantity of mitigation devices employed typically correlated with the level of institutional power held by the letter writer, as per Brown and Levinson's (1987) expectations. In several cases in the corpus, however, this generalization did not hold; in these cases, writers' breaking with *politic behavior* (Watts 2003) signals the expression of anger, or even to challenge the addressee's power.

The ultimate aim of this study is to discover what these speech acts and accompanying moves reveal about the nature of power in 18th century Spanish Louisiana. Our intent is to answer the

question posed by Fairclough (1989) regarding the types of speech acts different interactants 'had the right' to utter in this period.

JOHN LIPSKI

Pennsylvania State University, USA

Tracing the sociolinguistic history of Ecuadoran Media Lengua: facts & models, old & new [Session 01]

The Ecuadoran mixed language known to scholars as Media Lengua (and to its speakers by many other names) has intrigued linguists ever since the pioneering studies of Muysken (1979, 1981). Media Lengua consists of Kichwa morphosyntax, including all system morphemes and syntactic structures, while all lexical roots are derived from Spanish. An orally-transmitted language not always explicitly acknowledged by its speakers, Media Lengua presents many challenges to researchers, all subsumed by the journalists' queries: who? where? when? how? why? The present study focuses on the "how?" and indirectly on the "when?" by including recently-obtained data that contribute to reconstructing the sociolinguistic history of Media Lengua and the mechanisms by which it spread across time and space.

In recent endeavors, Shappeck (2011) and Müller (2011) found few remnants of Media Lengua in the central region studied by Muysken (Cotopaxi province). Gómez Rendón (2005, 2008), Lipski (2017, 2020), and Stewart (2011, 2015, 2020) have documented Media Lengua in three small indigenous communities in northern Ecuador (Imbabura province), with linguistic traits suggestive of having arrived from Cotopaxi sometime during the 20th century. Dating the chronology and spread of Media Lengua is hampered by conflicting and confusing oral testimony as to the speech of previous generations. Gómez Rendón (2008) and Stewart (2011, 2015) have suggested a chronology based on a combination of anecdotes and historical facts, and Lipski (2020) analyzed the results of experimental tasks as a possible proxy for a virtual timeline. A potential breakthrough that does not require extrapolation came recently, when Stewart and Gonza (2022) "discovered" another community in Cotopaxi where Media Lengua apparently had been transplanted no more than two generations ago. Encouraged by this report, the present author subsequently documented the viability of Media Lengua in a cluster of six Cotopaxi communities considerably removed from the zone where Muysken had first documented Media Lengua, as well as a hitherto unreported enclave of Media Lengua speakers where Muysken had collected data. The simultaneous presence of pre-, full, and post-Media Lengua speakers in the same communities makes it possible to accurately trace in virtual time a complete Media Lengua life-cycle (on a relatively speeded-up timeline due to the increasing nationwide towards Spanish in indigenous communities). By combining an analysis of specific Media Lengua traits and sociolinguistic interviews with a cross-section of community members, the immigration-led spread of Media Lengua receives a plausible explanation, and lends support to the proposal by Thomason (2003) that the only stable mixed languages are those spoken outside of their original bilingual context.

References

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DAVID F. MORA-MARÍN

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA

Putting It All Together: Sociopolitical Interactions and the Distribution of Linguistic Variables in Mayan Writing [Session 02]

Over the past several years the author has been exploring the nature of variability of **Mayan hieroglyphic writing** (300 bce-ce 1697), representing varieties of two major branches of the Mayan language family, Ch'olan-Tzeltalan and Yucatecan. Initially, such efforts included attempts to understand variation and change in terms of independent variables such as time and geography, with the goal of reconciling what is known of linguistic variation in ancient Mayan texts with what is known of the ethnohistoric and contemporary descendant languages (Mora-Marín 2011, 2017, 2019). While this approach mostly addressed historical linguistic concerns, it pointed to patterns of variation and change (e.g. stable variation suggestive of sociolinguistic markers vs. unstable variation suggestive of change-in-progress) recognizable to sociolinguists and historical sociolinguists. Unfortunately, the **datasets** involved in such early attempts were **small** (no more than 130 examples of each variable over the course of four centuries); nor did these attempts address **social factors** explicitly, **only implicitly**. The reason for this is simple: the vast majority of ancient Mayan scribes are anonymous. Out of the corpus of close to 5,000 texts, only about 140 scribal signatures are known, and most of these are ambiguous as to gender and age. They bore titles of elite lineages and vocations, so a future study focusing on titles as a predictor of linguistic variation could bear fruit.

To address the **first problem**, that of quantity of data, it was necessary to investigate the nature of variation in Mayan writing. This led to the definition of four types of variables (Mora-Marín 2020, 2021a, 2021b): graphic, graphemic, orthographic, and linguistic. This opened the door to larger datasets that would be amenable to more robust statistical approaches, as graphic and graphemic variables are dozens of times more frequent than orthographic and linguistic variables. To address the **second problem**, that of identifying social factors, the author has decided to follow Munson and Macri (2009) and Scholnick et al. (2013), among others, in employing inter-polity interactions and networking as a proxy. Using datasets for different types of variables compiled using the *Maya Hieroglyphic Database* (Looper and Macri 1991-present), this paper applies inferential statistical methods (tests of independence, logistic regression) to determine whether some types of inter-polity interactions, including diplomatic, hierarchical, and conflictive statements, can be described as “predictors” of the behavior of certain variables of interest, specifically, those of relevance to accession statements (Mora-Marín 2022).

The **preliminary results** suggest that, within a text, the graphemic (allograms), orthographic (different spellings of same morpheme or lexeme), and linguistic (allomorphs) variables of relevance to accession statements may in fact be influenced by the presence or absence of statements of interaction between polities. Statements of hierarchy and conflict are **negatively** correlated or underrepresented with some variants of certain variables (*k'al* accession predicate; *-laj* positional suffix; Design 12 of ZB1 *7ajaw*; *-Vl-il* abstractivizer), **positively** correlated or overrepresented with others (*chum* accession predicate; *-wän* positional suffix; Designs 4/9/10/21 of ZB1 *7ajaw*; *tä* preposition); while statements of diplomacy are **negatively** correlated or underrepresented with some variants of certain variables (accession predicate; *-wän* positional suffix; Designs 7/21 of ZB1 *7ajaw*), **positively** correlated or overrepresented with others (*-laj* positional suffix; *ti* preposition; Designs 6/13 of ZB1 *7ajaw*). These

statistically significant tendencies suggest that interpolity interactions played an important role in graphemic, orthographic, and linguistic choices among ancient Mayan scribes.

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Mora-Marín, David F. 2022. Graphic, Graphemic, Orthographic, and Linguistic Variables: A Close look at *Accession Statements* in Classic Mayan Texts. Paper presented at *The North American Research Network in Historical Sociolinguistics 2022 Research Incubator at KFLC: The Languages, Literatures, and Cultures Conference*, April 21, 2022.

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“Fertile ground” for the actuation of sound change in historical sociophonetics data [Session 01]

Since the foundational work of Labov, Yaeger, and Steiner (1972), examinations of systematic, structurally motivated reorganizations of vowel space have comprised a major thread of sociolinguistic research. In studies of North American Englishes, dramatic changes to the phonetic qualities of vowels across vast geographical spaces have been explained through Labov’s principles of vocalic chain shifts, in which a change in the phonetic quality of one vowel spurs changes in other vowels.

While structural motivations reveal processes that drive a sound change once it has been initiated, they do not reveal the motivation for the initial change that itself initiates the chain shift. As such, they leave gaps in solving Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog’s (1968) Actuation Problem, which asks why a particular change starts in a particular place and time.

In this project, we seek to get closer to the historical actuation of two chain shifts—the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) and Low-Back-Merger Shift (LBMS)—in the US state of Missouri. The NCS has been documented as a feature of St. Louis speech (e.g., Duncan 2018) despite the city’s geographic separation from the Inland North where the NCS generally occurs. The LBMS has been documented as a recent change in progress in Kansas City (e.g., Strelluf 2018), despite that city’s geographic separation from Canada and the US West, which are often thought of as the home turf of the LBMS.

We examine formant estimates of vowels involved in these chain shifts, particularly focusing on the position of TRAP in vowel space. In the NCS, TRAP raises and fronts, while in the LBMS the vowel generally lowers and backs. We use archival recordings to acoustically analyze the vowel systems of 45 Missourians born between 1884 to 1938, generating sociophonetic analyses of historical forms of Missouri English that mirror studies of chain shifts in modern data.

While we do not find modern-day instantiations of either the NCS or the LBMS among Missourians in this historical dataset, we do find vowel qualities that anticipate these chain shifts in St. Louis and Kansas City. As Figure 1 shows, for instance, the four St. Louisans in our sample do not produce TRAP with the extreme raising and fronting characteristic of the NCS, but nevertheless produce TRAP generally higher and fronter than other Missourians. Similarly, in Figure 2, Kansas Citians (n=5) do not lower and back TRAP to the extent seen in the LBMS but do generally produce TRAP lower and backer than other Missourians. In both cases, these vowel qualities are present in speech communities earlier than would be expected from contact- and diffusion-based accounts that arose from modern-day sociophonetic studies (cf. Labov 2007; Becker 2019).

We propose that the qualities of TRAP in St. Louis and Kansas City made these speech communities “fertile ground” for subsequent changes in the vowel that were introduced by contact and diffusion, which then in turn provided motivation for more systematic chain shifting. In other words, for instance, while population movement along the I-55 corridor may have brought the seeds of the NCS from Chicago to St. Louis in the mid-20th century, the fronted and raised quality of TRAP that was already in place in St. Louis made it more likely that NCS-style realization of the vowel would take root there.

We suggest the concept of “fertile ground” as a resource for understanding fundamental questions about the actuation of sound changes—and one which can only be leveraged through examination of historical sociophonetic datasets. This offers a new dimension to the ways that historical sociophonetic studies can contribute uniquely to theory and knowledge of sound change.

Figure 1. Averaged F1/F2 estimates for TRAP and other vowels among St. Louisans (small symbols) vs. other Missourians (large symbols)

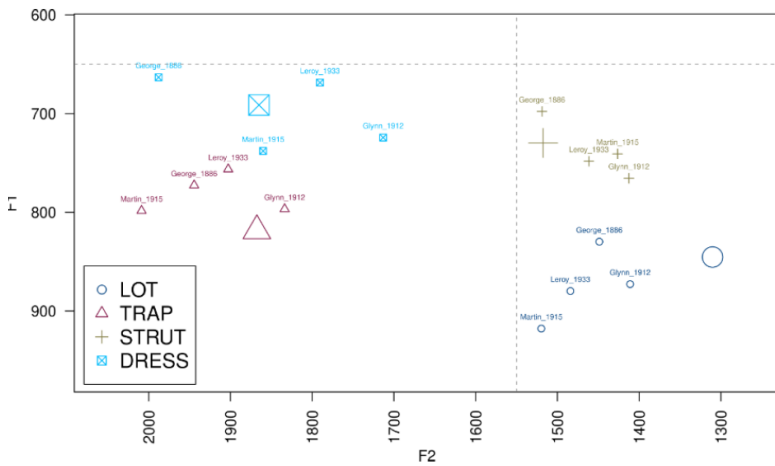
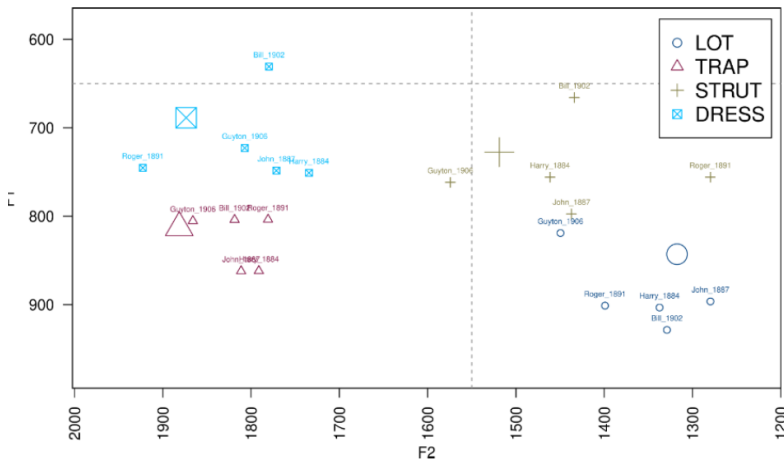


Figure 2. Averaged F1/F2 estimates for TRAP and other vowels among Kansas Citians (small symbols) vs. other Missourians (large symbols)



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Challenges to the Study of Variation in Colonial Poqom (Mayan) [Session 01]

Poqomchi' and Poqomam are two Mayan languages of east central Guatemala, collectively known as Poqom. Modern Poqomchi' and Poqomam are very close but show dialectal variation in all areas of grammar (Malchic Nicolás et al. 2000). Following the Spanish conquest of Guatemala in the 1500s, Dominican priests created grammars, dictionaries, and doctrinal works in Poqomam and Poqomchi' as tools for teaching Christianity. These sources provide a wealth of data about dialectal variation in the colonial period. In this paper, I discuss the state of research on Colonial Poqom, challenges with using these sources, and possible routes forward. I also offer a proof-of-concept study of dialectal variation, which shows that several of the key features that distinguish Poqom varieties from one another were already present in the colonial manuscripts.

The colonial Poqom textual corpus comprises over 3,000 manuscript pages, dating from the 16th-18th centuries. The bulk is found in three volumes of Poqomchi' sermons from the 17th century, totaling over 1,500 pages. There are also dictionaries, grammars, and shorter doctrinal works. Finally, the *Título del Barrio de Santa Ana* from 1565 (Sapper 1906), the record of a displaced Poqomchi' community, is the only colonial Poqom source written by native speakers. Most of the manuscripts are not transcribed or translated, precluding quantitative analysis; prior work on phonology, aspect, and contact (Campbell 1977: 125; Vinogradov 2019b, 2020, 2021b) has relied on isolated examples. This case study is similarly qualitative but illustrates areas where a full searchable corpus would provide greater clarity and new avenues of research.

Several isoglosses of modern Poqom varieties are found in the colonial manuscripts. Western Poqomchi' and Poqomam underwent a sporadic change **b' > *p > p'*; Campbell (1978) suggests based on geography that this change predated the Conquest. One colonial sermon uses the word <npuzric> *np'usrik* 'it is folded' with the innovative *p'*. Plural particle *taq* in modern Poqomchi' is reduced to *ta* in Poqomam (Malchic Nicolás et al. 2000); colonial documents in both languages already show this difference. In Poqomchi', the 2nd person absolute prefix is *at-* in completive aspect and *ti-* elsewhere; Poqomam levels it to *ti-* everywhere (Ibid.). Colonial Poqomam used primarily *ti-* in completive forms, indicating that the leveling was well underway.

Beyond the transcription bottleneck, there are challenges in interpreting the corpus for diachronic research. First, some manuscripts have unclear provenance, making it difficult to pinpoint their linguistic features in space and time. These manuscripts still have useful data, but their place in the historical picture must be interpreted in light of sources with a known date of composition. Second, because colonial Poqom post-dates Spanish contact, it already shows influence from Spanish; this is most evident in loanwords and religious coinages but may extend to grammar. This constrains our ability to reconstruct pre-contact Poqom forms, but raises other research questions: when did authors coin new Poqom terms instead of using loanwords (e.g., Vinogradov 2021a)? Does the degree of Spanish influence vary over time or by author?

Finally, because Spanish priests authored most of the manuscripts, the corpus does not show the full range of variation among native speakers of Poqom. This has a linguistic and a social element. Where there is linguistic variation, it could be difficult to distinguish variation in the speech community from learner error on the part of the priests. The 17th-century copyist of one sermon collection noted a

stark difference between the two authors' command of Poqomchi', which he claimed would be obvious to the reader (Viana, Ximeno, and Zúñiga [c. 1600]). On the sociolinguistic side, nearly all the texts are missionary works; even the colonial linguistic descriptions were written to serve this end (Vinogradov 2019a). The 1565 *Título*, the only text by native speakers and in a different genre, may be a fruitful point of comparison. This author is beginning a long-term project to construct a full searchable corpus and explore these topics in more depth.

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The Social and Historical Development of *Leísmo* in Spanish: A Variationist Analysis [Session 02]

Variation in pronoun and clitic selection are frequent topics of linguistic research in Spanish. *Leísmo*, which has traditionally been defined as “the use of the [dative] form *le(s)* in place of *lo(s)* (or in certain exceptions, *la(s)*) as a pronoun to refer to the direct complement [trans.]” (Fernández Ordóñez, 1999, p. 1319), is one of the most widely documented morphosyntactic phenomena in the Peninsula. An example of *leísmo* and one of the prescriptive use of *lo* to refer to direct complements can be seen in (1) and (2), respectively.

- (1) En el toser y hacer ruydo antes de entrar **le** conozco.
In the cough and make noise before of enter him.DAT know.1SG.PRES
'In the cough and noise making, I know **him** before he enters.'
(CORDE, from *Entremés de Diego Moreno*, 1620)
- (2) A mi vecino Benito de Chinchilla bien **lo** conoce Don Diego
A my neighbor Benito de Chinchilla well him.ACC know.3SG.PRES Mr. Diego
'Mr. Diego knows **him** well [A my neighbor Benito de Chinchilla].'
(CORDE, from *Psiques y Cupido. Christo y el alma*, 1622)

Traditional accounts of *leísmo* have identified that it primarily occurs with masculine, animate and singular referents. While quantitative, diachronic analyses of literary texts (e.g., Cuervo, 1895; Echenique Elizondo, 1981; Flores Cervantes, 1997; Parodi, Luna & Helmer, 2012) have primarily focused on these properties of the referent, other studies (e.g., Flores Cervantes, 2001, 2002) have analyzed global properties, such as those of the subject and verb, and found them to be significant. These studies, crucially, however, have not included social variables. Sociolinguistic research on the phenomenon (e.g., Klein-Andreu, 1979; Montesinos, 2017; Paredes-García, 2006, 2015; Repede, 2017), on the other hand, has primarily considered oral data from the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The current study aims to analyze rates of *leísmo* in diachronic data while taking into account social factors. The current analysis applies a variationist sociolinguistic approach to theatre works in the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE)* by accounting for linguistic and social factors (for the authors and the characters in the works) in three time periods—the 16th, 18th and 20th centuries—in Peninsular Spanish.

The current dataset consists of cases of clitic pronouns (*lo(s)/la(s)/le(s)*) that are selected by verbs that allow for variation, or select at least one case of *lo(s)/la(s)* and one case of *le(s)*. This is done to ensure that “every case in which a variable element occurs [is accounted for] out of the total number of environments where the variable element could have occurred, but did not” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 13). An initial analysis of the data indicates that, as traditional definitions have described, *leísmo* is most frequent with masculine, animate, singular referents in all time periods, and its frequency increases over time. Lexical frequency of the verb also appears to play a role. As for social variables, male characters favor *leísmo* more than female characters. It was also found that authors from northern and central Spain favored *leísmo* over those from other dialects. Ultimately, this study is the first of its kind regarding

leísmo, combining a diachronic analysis with variationist sociolinguistic methodology; it shows that social variables, though not as easily distinguishable as in sociolinguistic interviews, can be evaluated in historical documents and guide variation.

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