

# THE CANADIAN SHIFT: ITS ACOUSTIC TRAJECTORY AND CONSEQUENCES FOR VOWEL CATEGORIZATION

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# Aims of current study

1. Account for age- and gender-based variation in the pronunciation of non-high short vowels ( $\text{æ}$ ,  $\text{ɛ}$ ,  $\text{ʌ}$ ,  $\text{ɒ}$ ) in (Jewish) Montreal English
2. Situate apparent-time evidence within models of the Canadian Shift
3. Investigate the relationship between ongoing change in vowel production with inter-gender and inter-generational perceptual variation

# Notation used in this presentation

/ɛ/ = /e/ = BET

/ɪ/ = /i/ = BIT

/æ/ = /ae/ = BAT

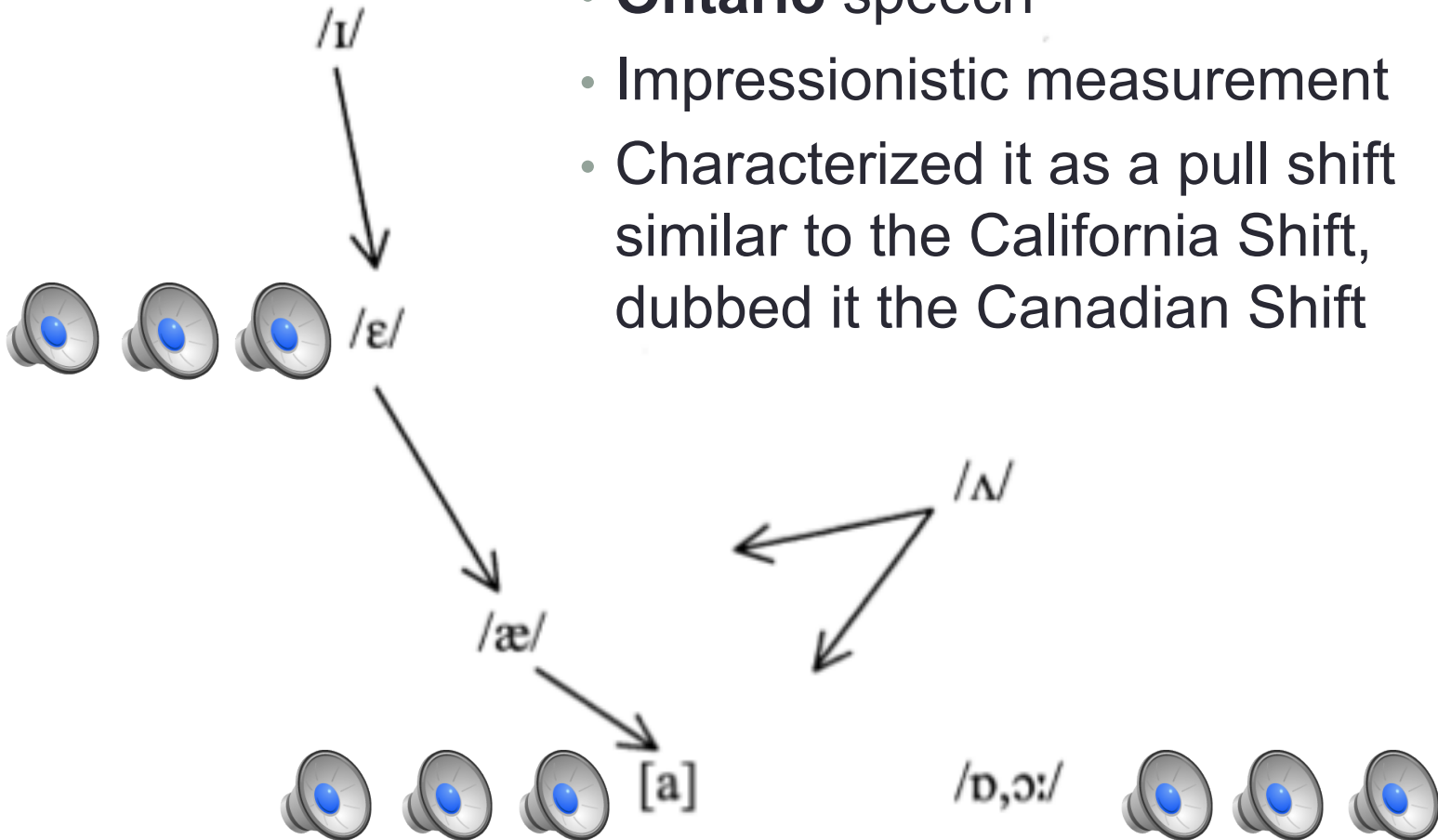
/ɔ/ = /o/ = BOT=BOUGHT (merged low back vowel)

/ʌ/ = /u/ = BUT

What is the Canadian Shift?

# Clarke, Elms and Youssef (1995)

- **Ontario** speech
- Impressionistic measurement
- Characterized it as a pull shift similar to the California Shift, dubbed it the Canadian Shift



Meanwhile, in the room next door, Polly had been listening. This was Laughing, Polly said, with a little nod to her chin, "Yes for one of you two! They used to be a pretty good one, but they're not any more."

# Research subjects

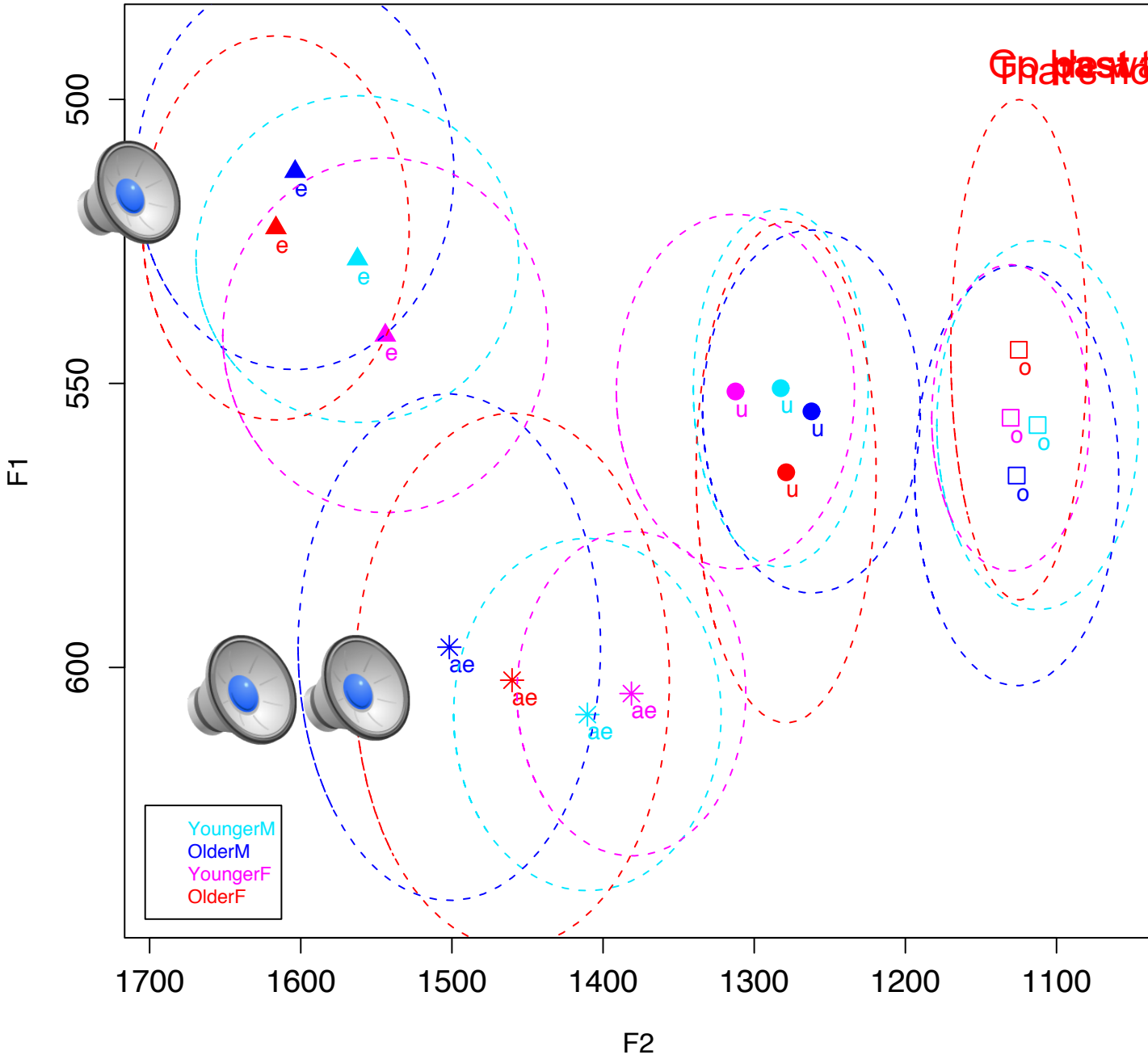
- Have at least one Jewish parent
- Grew up speaking English as a first or home language
- Grew up in Montreal

	Female	Male
<b>Younger</b>	1991	1995
	1989	1992
	1988	1992
	1988	1991
	1984	1989
		1988
	1987	
<b>Older</b>	1961	1961
	1957	1960
	1952	1957
	1950	1953
	1937	1949
		1949
		1949
		1949
		1949
		1943
	1940	

# Two parts:

- Production experiment
  - Classic sociophonetic experiment
  - Participants read 44 sentences at their own pace
  - Vowel formant information extracted from key words in sentences
- Perception experiment
  - Participants listen to synthetic vowel sounds through headphones
  - Classify as BET, BAT, BUT, or BOUGHT by clicking on screen
  - Program reports their answer and their response time
- Data all taken within one interview

# Group means, normalized (Lobanov method)



That's not a rat, it's a mouse  
 That's not a cat, it's a mouse  
 left

Vowel	Age	Gender
F1 $\Lambda$	0.0592	0.1516
F2 $\Lambda$	0.0252	0.0469
F1 $\epsilon$	0.0076	0.0633
F2 $\epsilon$	0.0075	0.9337
F1 $\text{ae}$	0.1680	0.8160
F2 $\text{ae}$	0.0000	0.0211
F1 $\text{ɔ}$	0.8400	0.0594
F2 $\text{ɔ}$	0.5930	0.5860

**ANOVAs with age and gender as between-subject factors (p-values)**



## Boberg (2005)

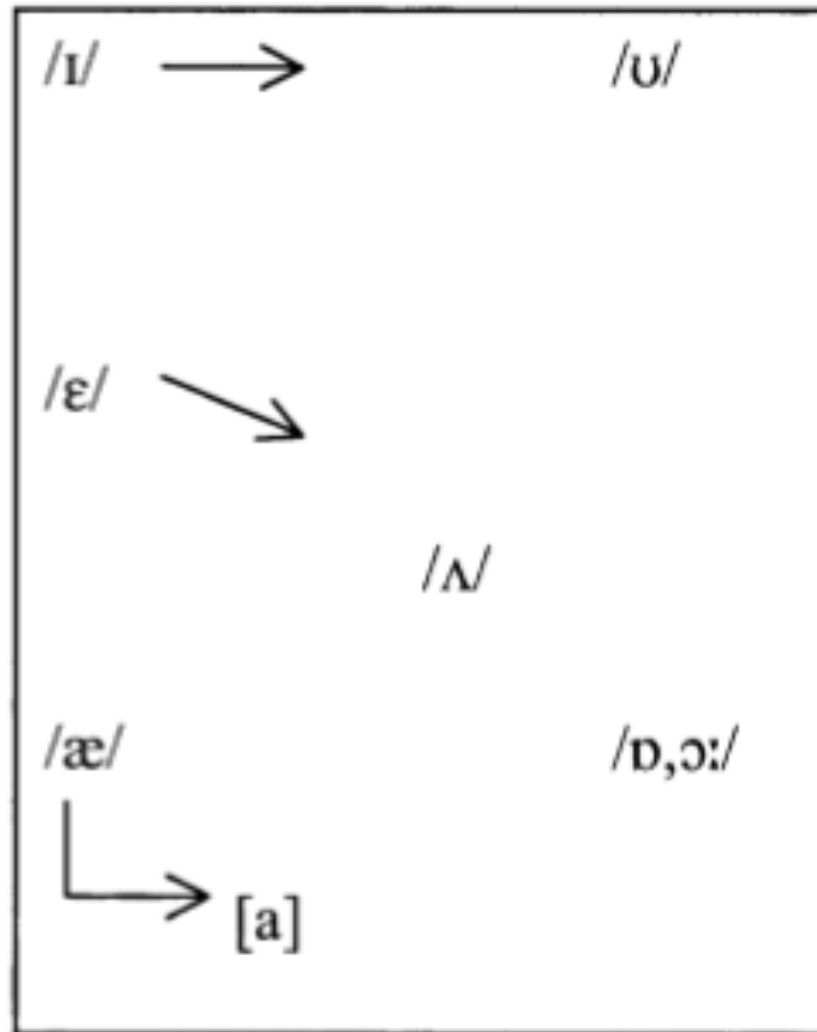
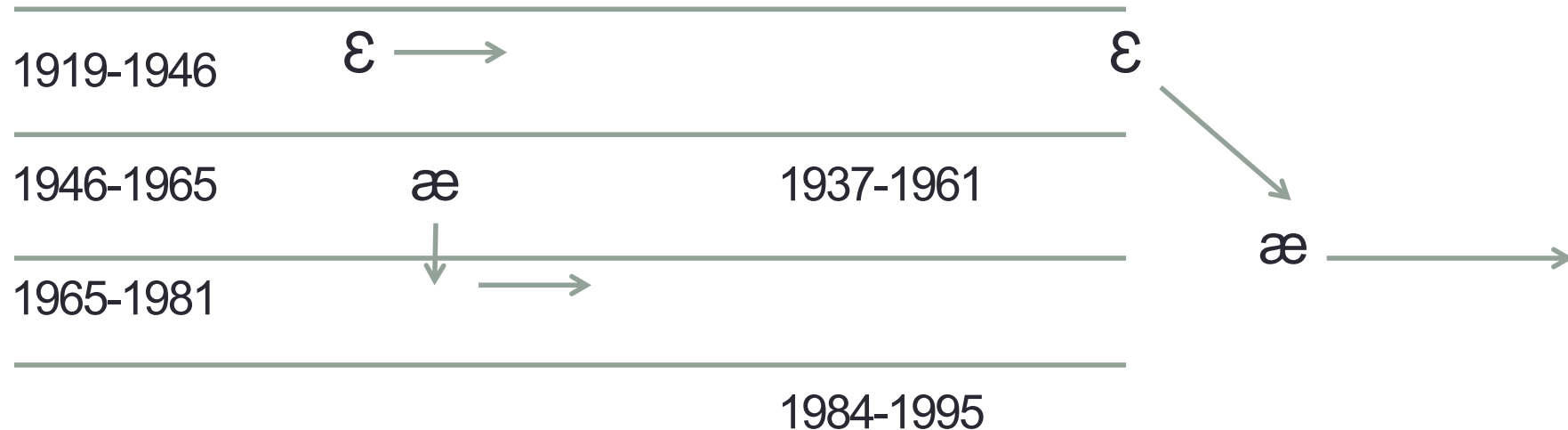


FIGURE 4. The Canadian Shift in Montreal.

# Real-time change – Montreal

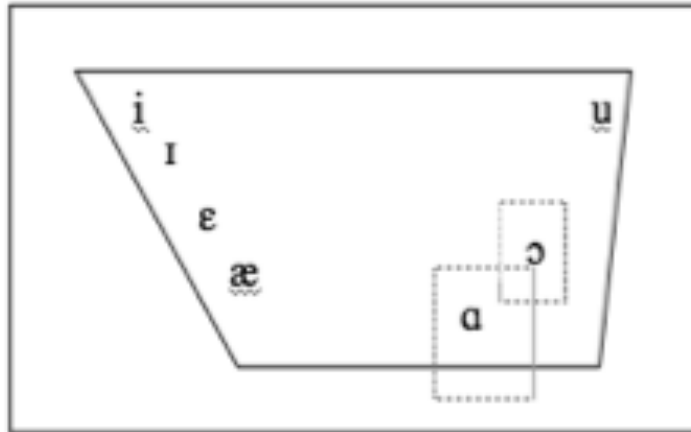
Boberg (2005):

Current study:

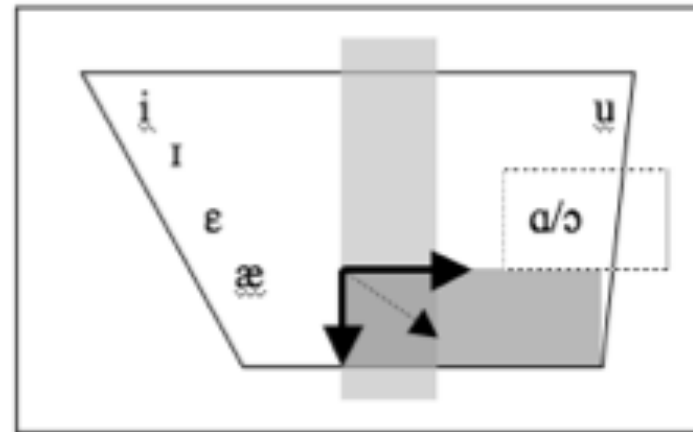


# Roeder and Jarmasz's (2010) proposal

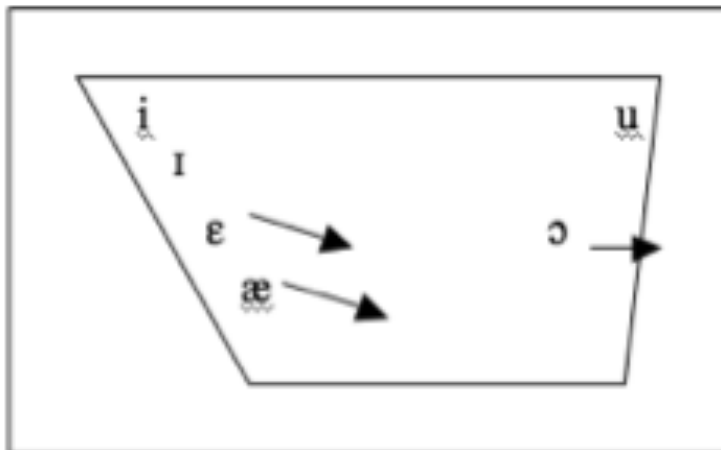
a.



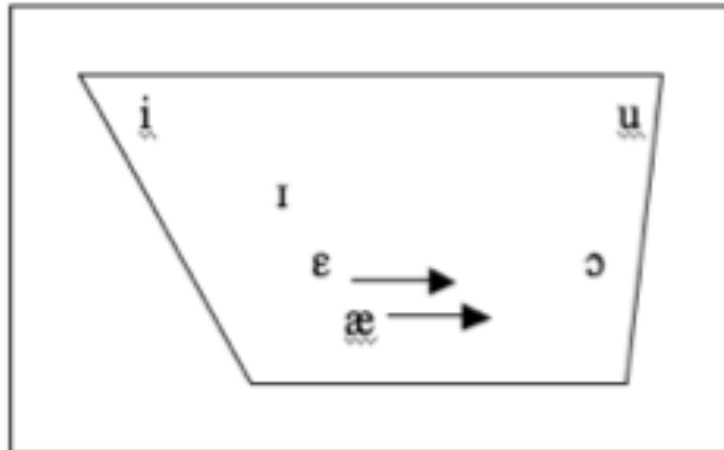
b.



c.



d.



# My own proposal

## Low-back merger:

Pre-WWII

**/æ/ lowering:** Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga (2010) (Halifax); Boberg (2005); Clarke, Elms & Youssef (1995)

**/æ/ retraction:** Esling & Warkentyne (1993); Hoffman (2010); Roeder & Jarmasz (2009); Boberg (2005); current study

**/ɛ/ retraction:** Hoffman (2010); Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga (2010) (both Halifax and Vancouver); Roeder & Jarmasz (2009); Boberg (2005); current study

“...front vowels are retracted in a set of parallel shifts, rather than rotating in a chain shift” (Boberg 2005)

ɛ

ɔ

ɒ

æ

ɑ

**/ɛ/ lowering:** Clarke, Elms & Youssef (1995); Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga (2010) (both Halifax and Vancouver); Hoffman (2010); current study

# Two parts:

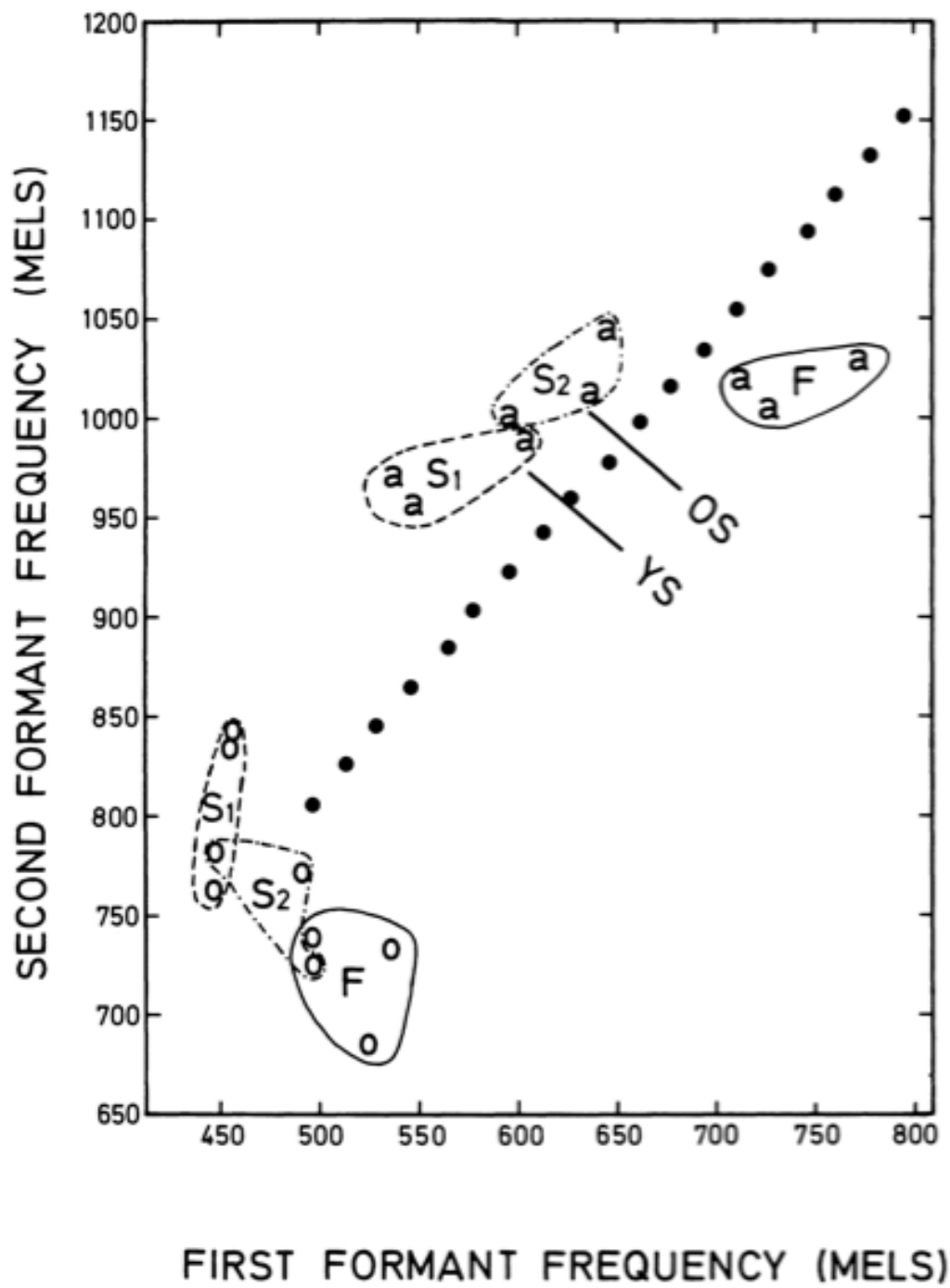
- Production experiment
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  - Participants read 44 sentences at their own pace
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- Perception experiment
  - Participants listen to synthetic vowel sounds through headphones
  - Classify as BET, BAT, BUT, or BOUGHT by clicking on screen
  - Program reports their answer and their response time
- Data all taken within one interview

“The goals of sociophonetics include accounting for how socially-structured variation in the sound system is learned, stored cognitively, subjectively evaluated, and processed in speaking *and listening*” (704, emphasis added)

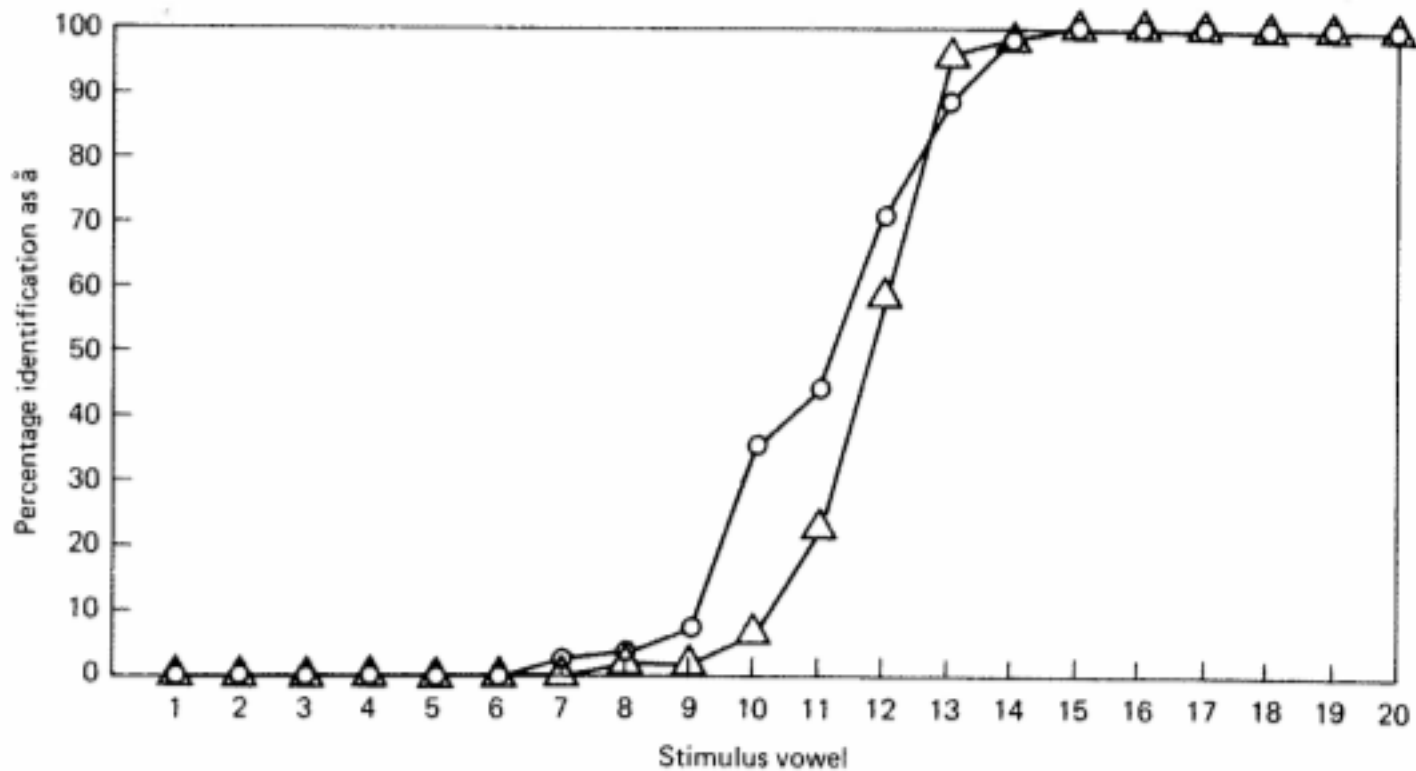
-Foulkes, Scobbie and Watt (2010)

# Previous studies of vowel perception in ongoing shifts

- Janson (1983, 1986)
  - Stockholm Swedish – ongoing change is shifting phonemic boundary between /a:/ and /o:/
    - Tested perceptual boundary among two age groups
      - 13-18 year olds
      - 33-70 year olds





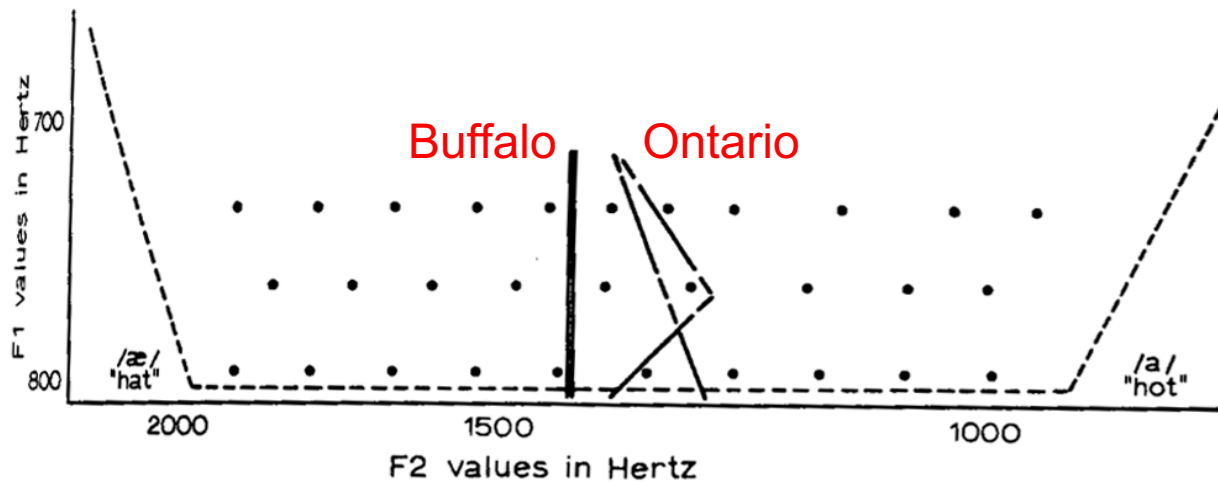
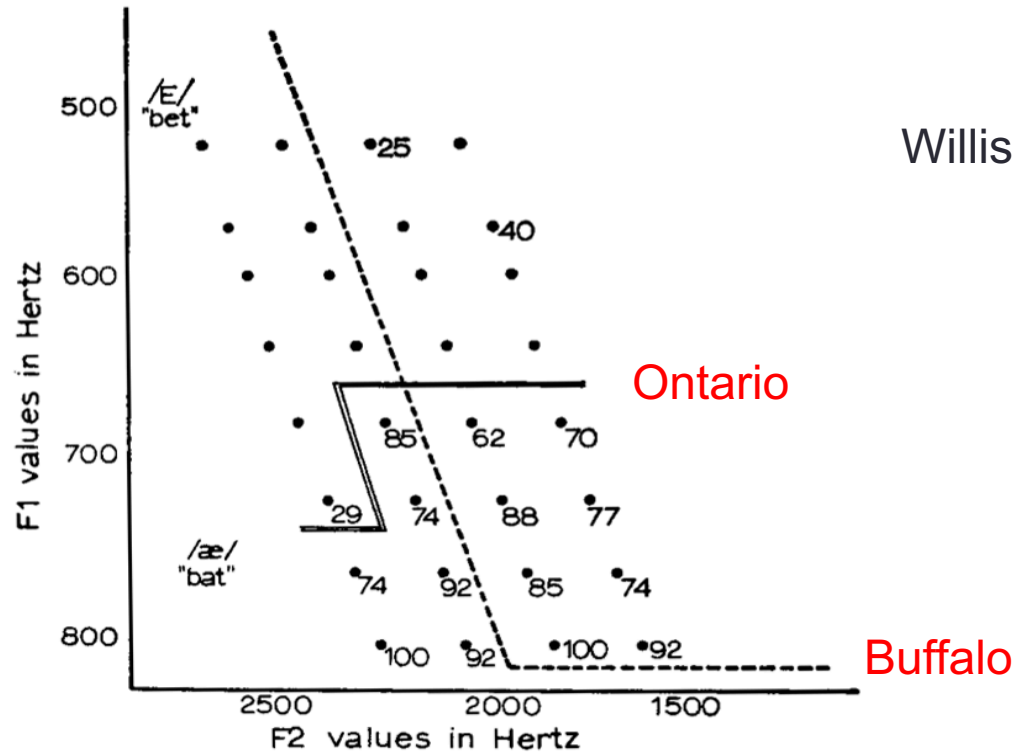


**Figure 14.1** Identification of stimuli 1 through 20 as *ä* by young Stockholmers ( $\Delta$ ) and older Stockholmers ( $\circ$ ).

# Previous studies of vowel perception in ongoing shifts

- Willis (1972)
  - Not intergenerational, but between two regional dialects
  - High school students in Fort Erie, ON and Buffalo, NY – separated by just a river, but quite distinct vowel systems
  - Looking at two-way phoneme distinctions (*bet* vs. *bat*, *hot* vs. *hat*), but in a two-dimensional grid rather than just along one continuum

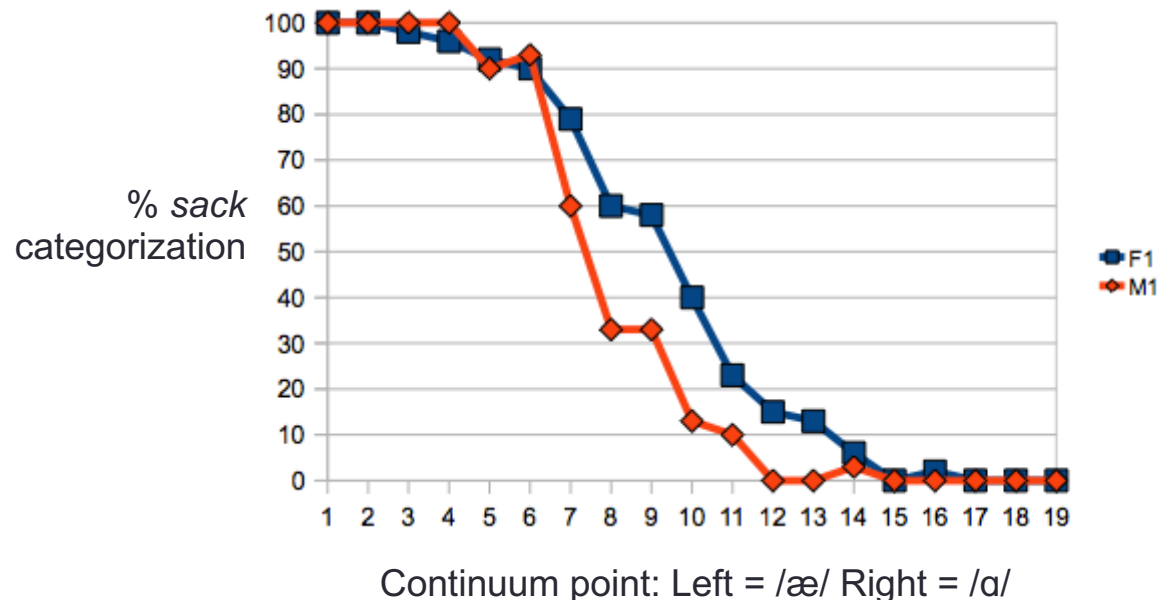
Willis (1972)



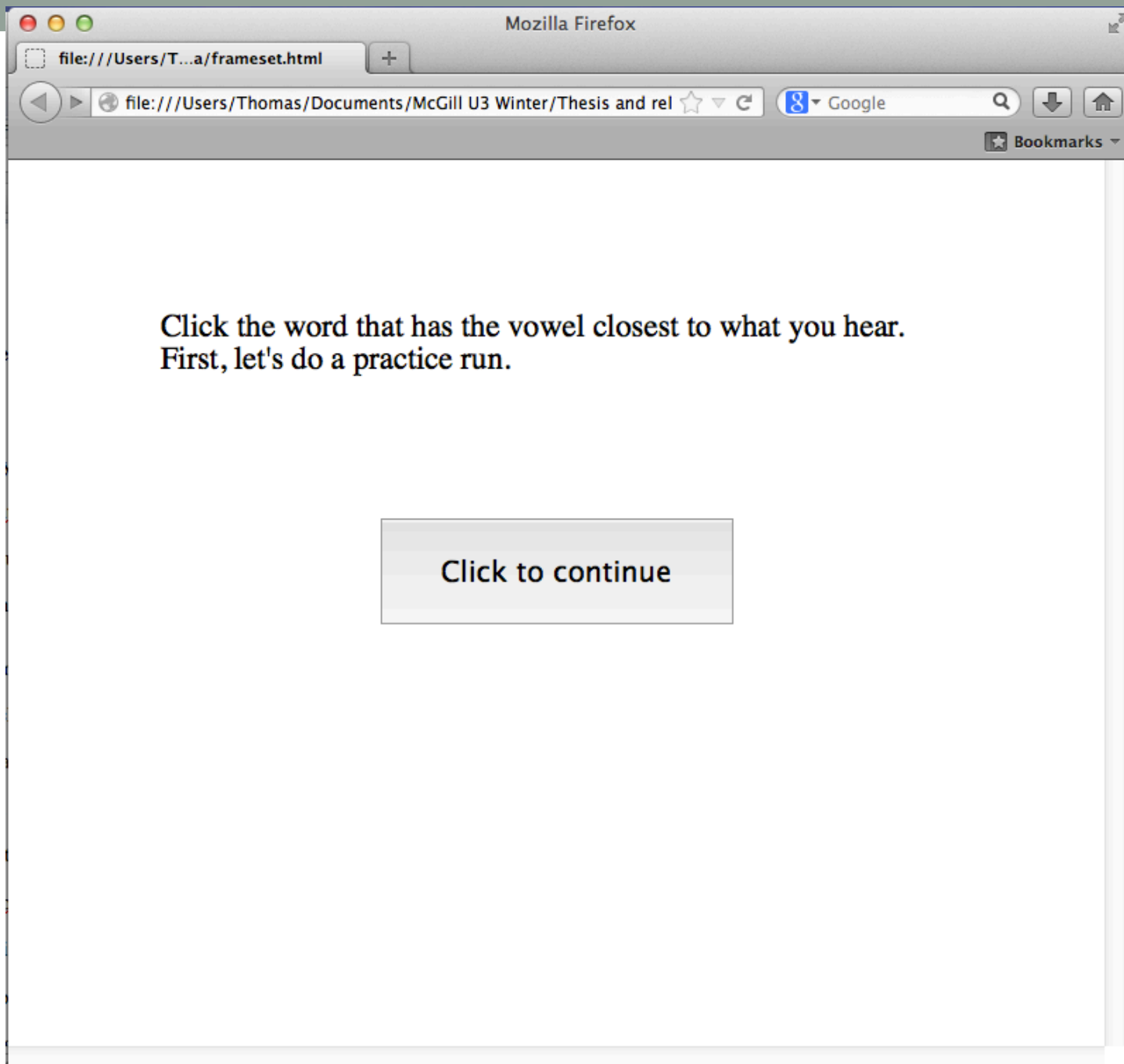
# Previous studies of vowel perception in ongoing shifts

- De Decker (2010)
  - Vowel assignments of *sack* vs. *sock* in Ontarians
  - Found significant gender differences, not very much age difference

/æ/-categorization by Gender in the youngest age group.



# Current study



Click the word that has the vowel closest to what you hear.  
First, let's do a practice run.

Click to continue

Mozilla Firefox

file:///Users/T...a/frameset.html

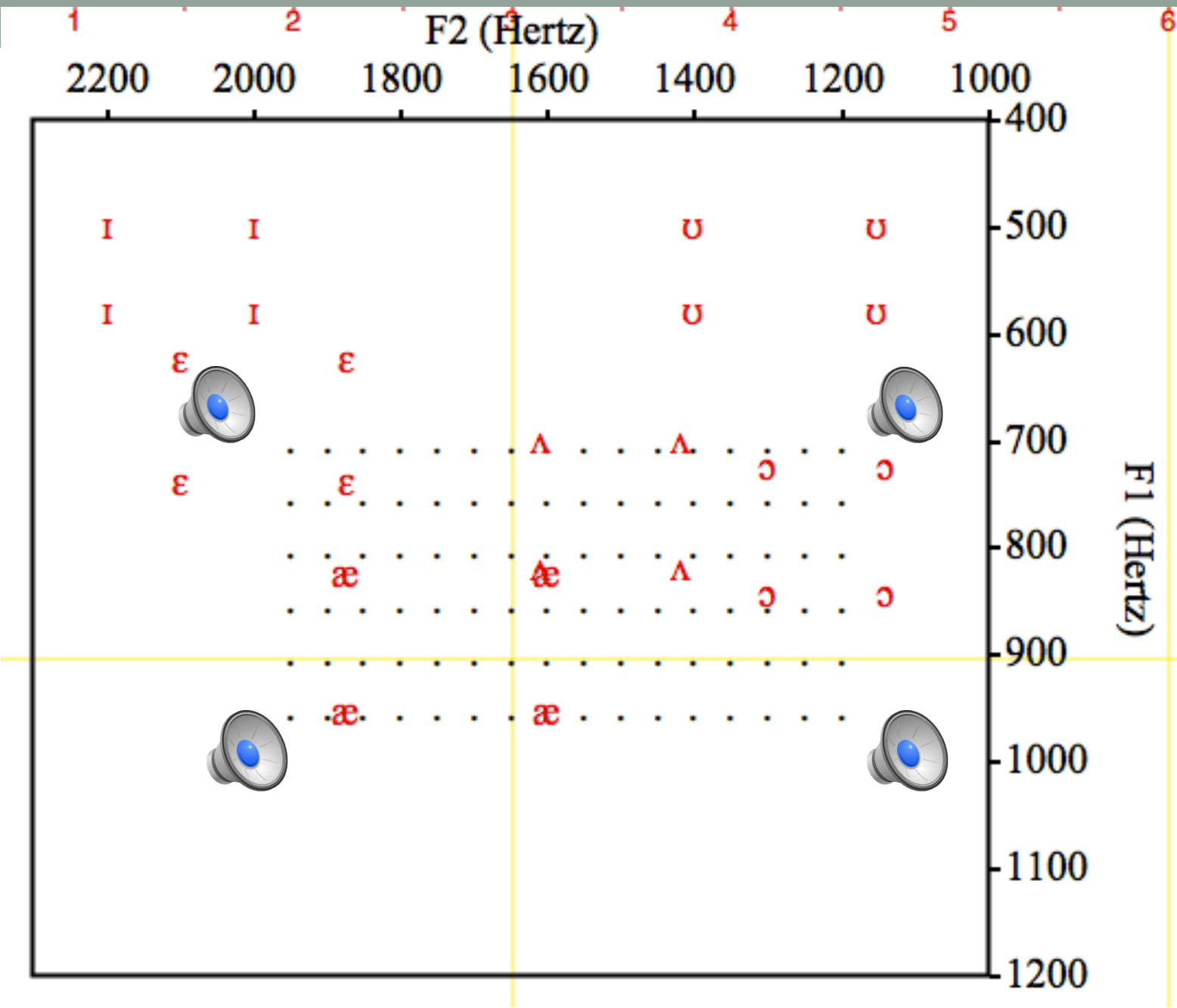
file:///Users/Thomas/Documents/McGill U3 Winter/Thesis and relat

Google

Bookmarks



BET	BAT
BUT	BOUGHT



Red letters show approximate distribution of Montreal short vowels based on Boberg (2005)



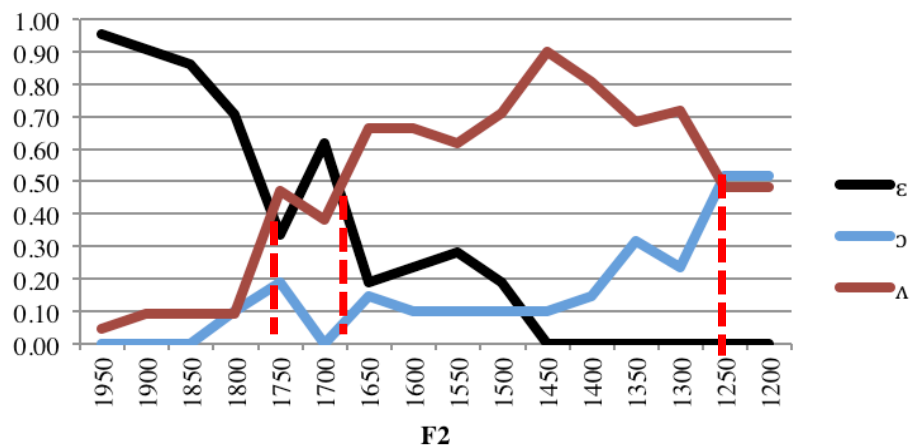
Older Listeners		F2																
		1950			1800		1700	1600		1500		1400		1300		1200		
F1	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ		
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ɔ	ɔ	
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ	æ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	850	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ		ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ

Younger Listeners		F2															
		1950			1800		1700	1600		1500		1400		1300		1200	
F1	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ		ɛ	ɛ			ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ		ʌ		ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ	ɛ	ʌ	ʌ				ɔ	æ	ɔ	
	850		æ	æ		æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ			ɔ	

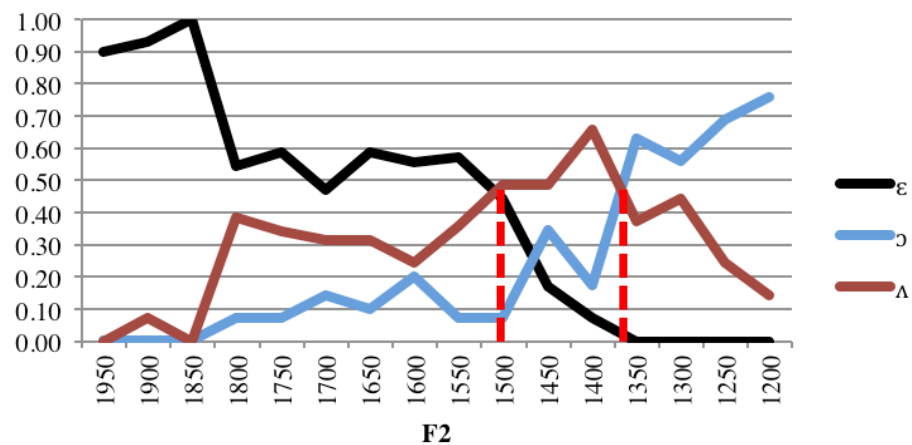
		F2															
Male	Listeners																
		1950			1800			1700		1600		1500		1400		1300	
	<b>700</b>	ε	ε	ε	ε			Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ
	<b>750</b>	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
F1	<b>800</b>	ε	ε	ε		ε	æ		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ		Λ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	<b>850</b>	ε	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ			ɔ		ɔ	ɔ
	<b>900</b>	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	<b>950</b>	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ

		F2															
Female	Listeners																
		1950			1800			1700		1600		1500		1400		1300	
	<b>700</b>	ε	ε	ε	ε		ε		ε		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	ɔ		ɔ
	<b>750</b>	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ			ɔ
F1	<b>800</b>	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	æ		Λ			Λ			ɔ		ɔ
	<b>850</b>	æ		æ	ε	æ	ε	æ	æ	æ	æ						ɔ
	<b>900</b>	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ	ɔ
	<b>950</b>	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	ɔ	

Percent /ε/, /ɔ/, and /ʌ/ categorization,  
F1 = 700: Older Listeners



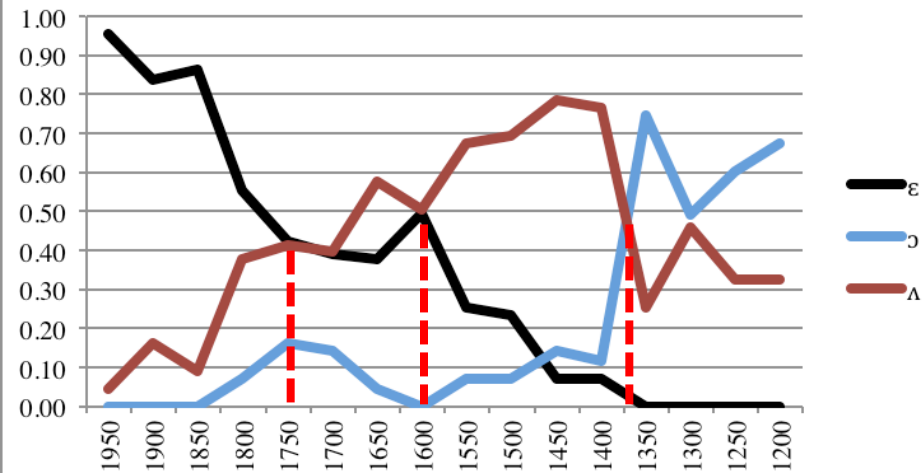
Percent /ε/, /ɔ/, and /ʌ/ categorization,  
F1 = 700: Younger Listeners



Vowel	Gender	Age	Gender/Age
F2 ʌ	0.0206	0.0814	0.2989
F2 ε	0.1980	0.1530	0.3770
F2 ɔ	0.0097	0.0398	0.0328

Binomial logistic regression for responses along the F1=700Hz axis (p-values)

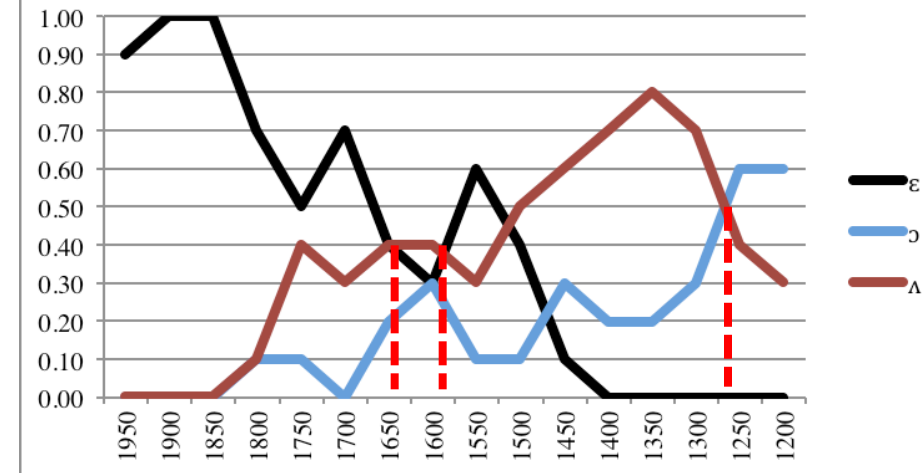
Percent /ε/, /ɔ/, and /ʌ/ categorization,  
F1 = 700: Male Listeners



Vowel	Gender	Age	Gender/Age
F2 ʌ	0.0206	0.0814	0.2989
F2 ε	0.1980	0.1530	0.3770
F2 ɔ	0.0097	0.0398	0.0328

Binomial logistic regression for responses along the F1=700Hz axis (p-values)

Percent /ε/, /ɔ/, and /ʌ/ categorization,  
F1 = 700: Female Listeners



Older Listeners		F2															
		1950	1800			1700	1600			1500	1400		1300	1200			
F1	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ɔ	ɔ
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ	æ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	850	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ		ɔ

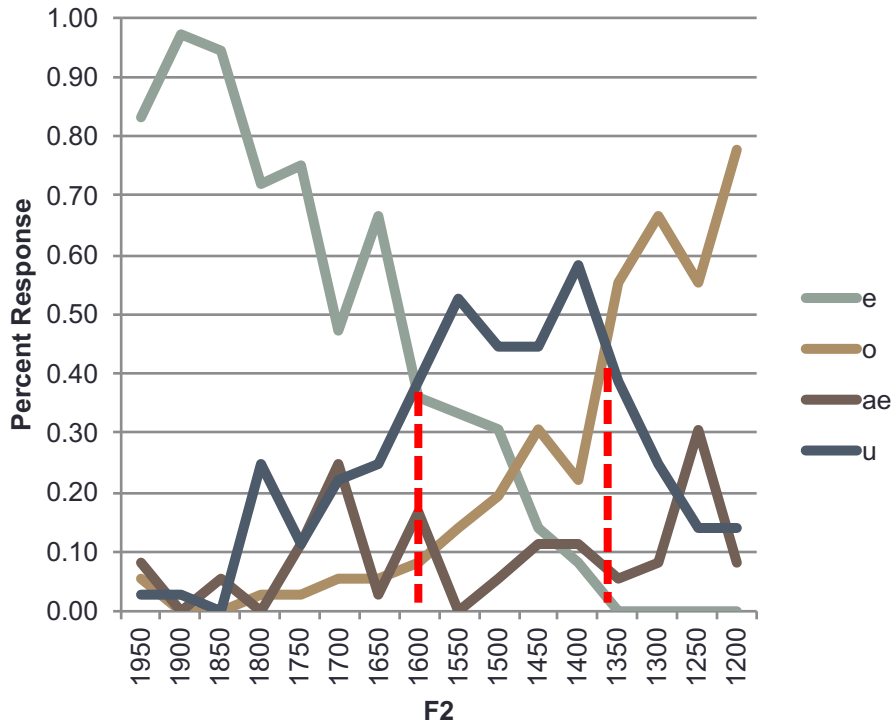
Younger Listeners		F2																
		1950	1800			1700	1600			1500	1400		1300	1200				
F1	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ		ɛ	ɛ			ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ		ʌ		ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ	ɛ	ʌ	ʌ				ɔ	æ		ɔ	
	850		æ	æ		æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ			ɔ		ɔ

		F2															
		Male															
F1	Listeners	1950	1800	1700	1600	1500	1400	1300	1200								
	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ		
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	850	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ			ɔ	ɔ	ɔ		
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	

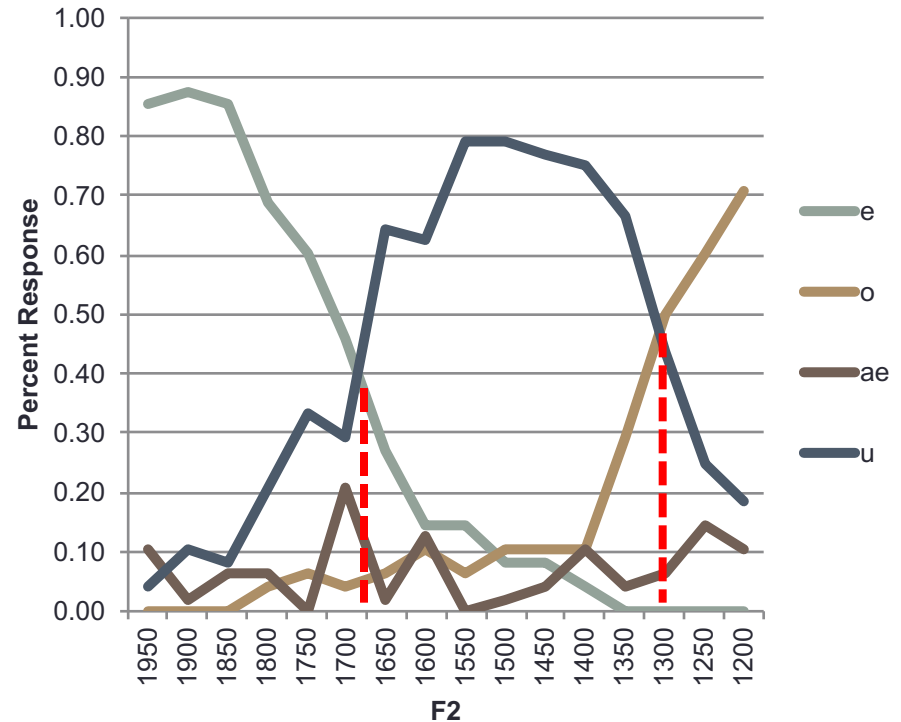
		F2															
		Female															
F1	Listeners	1950	1800	1700	1600	1500	1400	1300	1200								
	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ		ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ			ɔ	
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ		ʌ			ʌ		ɔ		ɔ	
	850	æ		æ	ɛ	æ	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ					ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	ɔ	

# Collapsing top three F1 rows together

Younger group, F1=700,750,800



Older group, F1=700,750,800

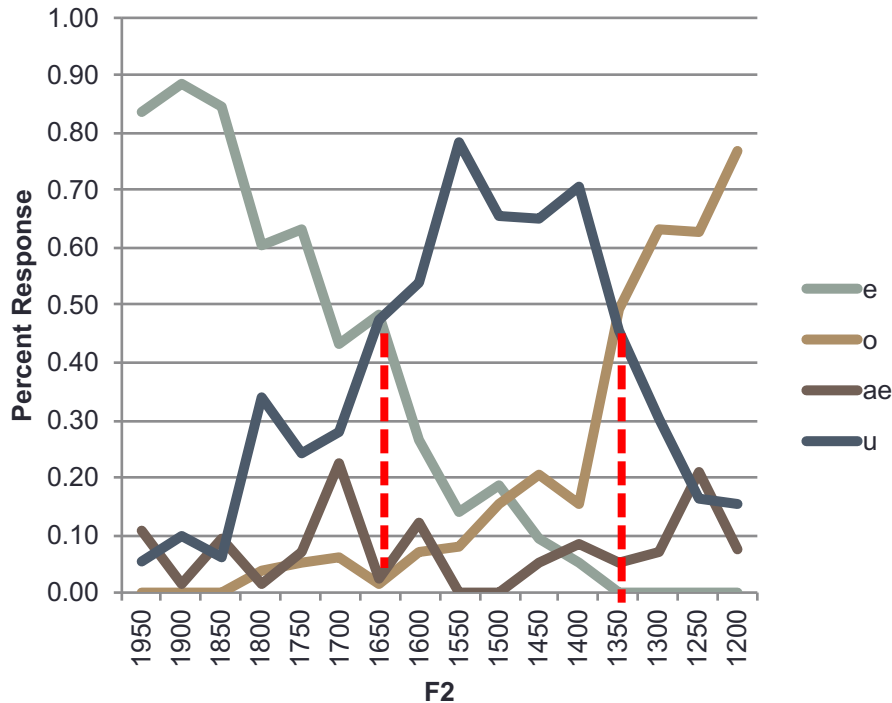


Mixed-effects logistic regression for responses in the F1 = 700, 750, and 800 Hz axes: predictor of **age** on **F2**, all possible by-subject random effects (intercept and slopes) included

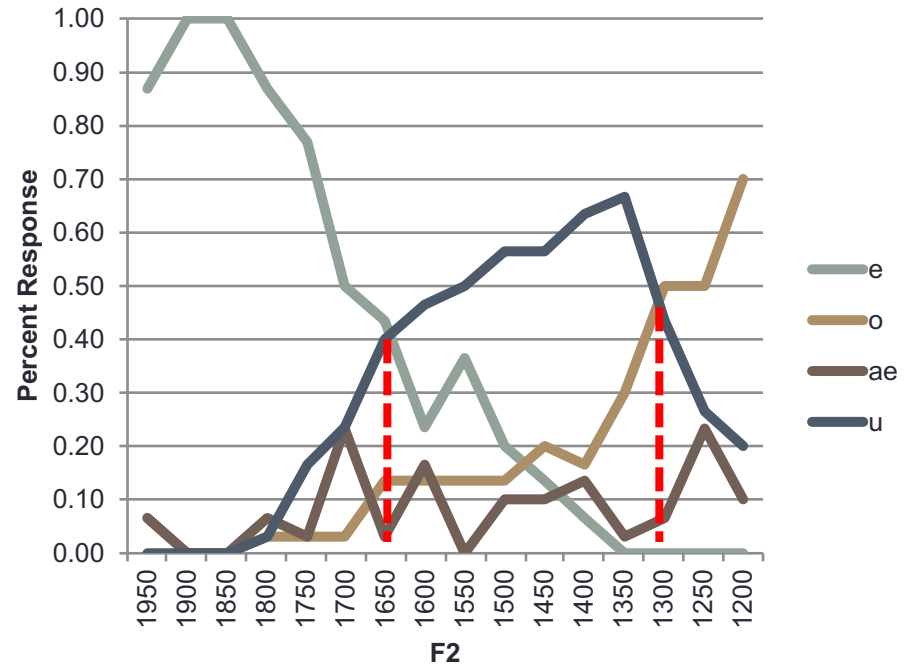
Vowel	z-value	p-value
ε	2.204	0.028
Λ	-3.013	0.003
æ	1.177	0.239
ɔ	0.931	0.352

# Collapsing top three F1 rows together

Males, F1=700,750,800



Women, F1=700,750,800



Mixed-effects logistic regression for responses in the F1 = 700, 750, and 800 Hz axes: predictor of **gender** on F2, all possible by-subject random effects (intercept and slopes) included

Vowel	z-value	p-value
ε	-0.644	0.519
Λ	1.307	0.191
æ	-0.268	0.789
ɔ	0.127	0.899





		F2																
Male																		
F1	Listeners	1950	1800	1700	1600	1500	1400	1300	1200									
	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ			
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ		
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ	æ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ		ʌ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	850	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ		ɔ	ɔ		
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ	

		F2																
Female																		
F1	Listeners	1950	1800	1700	1600	1500	1400	1300	1200									
	700	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ɛ		ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ɔ		ɔ	
	750	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ		ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ				ɔ	
	800	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	æ		ʌ			ʌ			ɔ		ɔ	
	850	æ		æ	ɛ	æ	ɛ	æ	æ	æ	æ						ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ		ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	ɔ		

# Few significant perceptual differences in /æ/-/ɛ/ categorization in front of vowel space

Mixed-effects logistic regressions for responses in the F2 = 1850, 1900, and 1950Hz axes: predictor of **gender** and **age** on F1, all possible by-subject random effects (intercept and slopes) included:

/æ/	z-value	p-value
<b>Gender</b>	0.854	0.393
<b>Age</b>	-1.506	0.132

/ɛ/	z-value	p-value
<b>Gender</b>	-2.024	0.043
<b>Age</b>	0.916	0.359

Older Listeners		F2																
		1950	1800			1700	1600			1500	1400		1300	1200				
F1	700	ε	ε	ε	ε		ε	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	ɔ	ɔ		
	750	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε		Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ		ɔ	ɔ	
	800	ε	ε	ε		ε	æ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	850	ε	æ	æ	æ	æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ		ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ		ɔ	ɔ

Younger Listeners		F2															
		1950	1800			1700	1600			1500	1400		1300	1200			
F1	700	ε	ε	ε		ε		ε	ε			Λ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	750	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε		Λ		Λ		ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
	800	ε	ε	ε	ε	ε	æ	ε	Λ	Λ				ɔ	æ	ɔ	
	850		æ	æ		æ		æ	æ	æ	æ				ɔ	ɔ	
	900	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
	950	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ	æ		ɔ		

# Few significant perceptual differences in /æ/-/ɛ/ categorization in front of vowel space

Mixed-effects logistic regressions for responses in the F1 = 850, 900, and 950Hz axes: predictor of **gender** and **age** on F2, all possible by-subject random effects (intercept and slopes) included:

/æ/	z-value	p-value
<b>Gender</b>	0.854	0.393
<b>Age</b>	-1.506	0.132

/ɔ/	z-value	p-value
<b>Gender</b>	-1.302	0.193
<b>Age</b>	-0.773	0.440

# Issues

- Methodology
  - Consonantal context around vowel tokens
    - Though Strange et al. 1976, Strange, Edman, and Jenkins 1979, Rakerd 1984, and Fox 1989 indicated that a CVC stimulus improves accuracy in vowel categorization tests, Macchi (1980) “failed to provide evidence that vowels spoken in consonantal context are better identified than naturally produced isolated vowels”
    - Diehl, McCusker, and Chapman (1980) and Strange, Jenkins, and Johnson (1983) found that error rates in phoneme mapping with isolated short vowel stimuli were relatively low
  - Presentation of perception buttons
    - Clopper, Hay, and Plichta (2011) say this opens the door to participant response bias, as subjects tend “to respond with the leftmost (or topmost) item”
    - Diehl, McCusker, and Chapman (1980) note that “anything that enhances the stability of the stimulus representation in short-term memory should also enhance identification performance”

# Issues

- Aimed to record “default” categorization, but is this really possible?
  - **Gender** (Johnson, Strand, and D’Imperio 1999, Strand 1999), **age** (Drager 2010), **knowledge of origin** (Niedzielski 1999), and **stuffed animal presence** (Hay and Drager 2010) can affect categorization
  - Listeners specifically denied any information on the identity of the “speaker” of the stimuli they were categorizing
  - Stimuli themselves were all produced by a single synthesizer script, controlled for any non-F1/F2 phonetic features such as the values of F0, F3, and breathiness
- **Statistics**
  - Sample size of 28
  - Uneven distribution: 5 older females, 5 younger females, 7 younger males, 11 older males

# Conclusions

- /æ/ is retracting, while /ɛ/ is lowering and retracting in apparent time in Montreal
- Among same participants who supplied data for production experiment, significant age effects were shown along the /ɛ/-/ʌ/ continuum, but not along the /ɛ/-/æ/ continuum or the /æ/-/ɔ/ continuum
- /ɛ/-/ʌ/ shift is a more recent development of the Canadian Shift than /æ/-/ɔ/ shift, but retraction of /ɛ/ towards /æ/ is most recent