

Revisiting the Development of the Northern Cities Shift in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Chicago: Another Look at Pederson's *PEMC* Data, *DARE*, and *LANCS*

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In the following paper, we present an instrumental reanalysis of older speaker vowel systems that reevaluates the inception and development of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) in Chicago. Although ours is not the first study to do this (McCarthy, 2009 is, using 6 *Dictionary of American Regional English [DARE]* speakers), our study is the most extensive instrumental study of any thus far to investigate the inception of the NCS in Chicago. Unlike McCarthy (2009), our study looks at a much larger set of Chicagoans born during the late 19th Century and early 20th Century, as well as incorporating speakers born as early as 1875, 16 years before McCarthy's oldest speakers. This larger set of speakers is made possible by our use of tape recorded data not only from *DARE*, but also from *Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States [LANCS]* and Pederson's *Pronunciation of English in Metropolitan Chicago [PEMC]* (1964, 1965). In total, our study includes 36 European-American native English-speakers (17 women, 19 men) belonging to 3 generational cohorts born 1875-1947.

In contrast to Pederson (1965), which was conducted in the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada [LAUSC]* tradition, our study uses modern methods of vowel system analysis--utilizing a larger amount of tokens, employing instrumental analysis, and focusing on overall pattern analysis as well as system-wide vowel shifting tendencies (e.g., Trager & Smith, 1957; Stockwell, 1964; Martinet, 1955; and Labov, et al., 1972). In doing so, we find evidence of NCS in Pederson's data that was not detected by Pederson himself using older analysis methods. In addition, we have been able to observe both the inception and early development of the NCS in the vowel systems of our speakers.

Like Thomas (2001), McCarthy (2009), and Herndobler (1977), all of whom have looked at older NCS speakers before us, we find evidence suggesting LOT fronting precedes *extensive* TRAP-raising. However, we also find evidence that TRAP does exhibit *some* raising as LOT fronts, but not in the way Labov et al's (1972) and Callary's (1975) original studies of NCS development expect. Instead, we find some variable evidence in our older speakers' vowel systems of raising before voiceless fricatives and nasal codas which precedes the more typical NCS general raising described in other studies of Chicago (and other NCS cities), among later generations of speakers. The implications of this finding for Labov, et al's (2006) typology of short-a systems, particularly the development and relationship of those systems, will be explored. This will include comparison of our results with relevant short-a system use surveys conducted utilizing speakers from across the US of similar age to our oldest speakers and older (e.g., Grandgent, 1892; Emerson, 1891; Babbit, 1896; Kurath, 1928; Trager, 1930; Thomas, 2001, 2006). We also explore the implications for Boberg's (2001) argument that the NCS may have originally developed in Western New England. Ultimately, we find Chicago pre- and early-NCS systems may be more similar to other dialects of late 19th Century and early 20th US English than previously thought.

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Bio. David Durian received his PH D in linguistics in December, 2012 from the Ohio State University. Since that time, he has taught linguistics courses as an adjunct at UIC and Northern Illinois University. He is also the lead researcher for the Durian Linguistics Laboratory. His work focuses on language variation and change in 19th, 20th, and 21st Century US English, and currently, he is studying dialect variation in Columbus, OH and Chicago, IL. In addition, his work emphasizes the investigation of the influence of socio-geographic changes processes, such as urbanization and gentrification, on patterns of language change and variation at the speech community level. As well, his work focuses on the influence that place ideologies have on the ways speakers utilize linguistic variables to construct and negotiate aspects of their individual social identity.