## The relationship between the high and mid back vowels in Oregonian English

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Fronting of /u/ and /o/ is described as a feature of the Northern California Vowel Shift (Eckert n.d.; Fought 1999; Luthin 1987; Thomas 2001, 2011) and, also, more generally, West Coast varieties of English in the U.S. (Labov et al. 2006; Luthin 1987). The Atlas of North American English (ANAE; Labov et al. 2006) describes the Western U.S. as one large dialect region, which exhibits "low homogeneity" throughout the region. The high and mid back vowels contribute to this lack of homogeneity, with /u/ generally fronted but /o/ fronted to varying degrees. In fact, in the ANAE the only speakers who front /o/ to a centralized position (characteristic of advanced speakers) are located in Southern California. The further north and east one goes from Southern California, the less advanced /o/ becomes along the F2 dimension. Recent work on Oregonian English has suggested that both /u/ and /o/ are indeed fronted, but details differ across studies. Conn (2003) and Ward (2003) find both /u/ and /o/ fronted in Portland, OR, with women leading, as well as the most conservative speakers being also the oldest suggesting a change in progress. More recently, Becker et al. (2013) find that all speakers in the Portland metropolitan area front both /u/ and /o/, with males leading, suggesting that the fronting of these vowels may no longer be a change in progress. To date, this work has not otherwise focused on the greater timecourse of the changes.

Utilizing contemporary speakers from the Willamette Valley region of Oregon and comparing them to archival recordings from DARE (Cassidy and Hall 1985-2012) of Oregonians born in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century this paper examines the high and mid back vowels in an attempt to better understand their relationship to one another in Oregonian English and the timecourse of these changes. We ask three main questions: 1: Is the fronting of the high-back vowels in Oregonian English a change in progress as suggested in Conn (2003) and Ward (2003), or is it complete (or at least near completion) as indicated by Becker et al. (2013)? 2: Can archival recordings help us better understand the time-course of the change, especially with respect to /o/ fronting? 3: Lastly, we examine the extent to which the fronting of /u/ and /o/ is related; that is, is there an implicational relationship between /u/ and /o/ where speakers who lead in /u/ fronting also lead in /o/ fronting? Data from archival speakers indicate that these fronting processes were, at most, just beginning for speakers born in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Younger contemporary speakers exhibit the highest degree of both /u/ and /o/ fronting, whereas archival speakers demonstrate some degree of /u/ fronting, but not /o/ fronting. We also find a relationship between /u/ and /o/, where speakers who are the most advanced in fronting /u/ also appear to be leading in the fronting of /o/. Overall, this work helps us better understand the phonology of English in the Western U.S. and dialect formation processes more generally.

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