The Canadian Shift among Filipinos in Metro Vancouver

by

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Abstract

The present study provides preliminary insight into the linguistic patterns of Filipinos in Metro Vancouver, an important ethnic community in the region. Specifically, this thesis sought to explore whether Filipinos are (linguistically) integrated by determining if they participated in the Canadian Shift (CS), an on-going change in Canadian English involving the lowering and/or retracting of the vowels /æ, ɛ, ɪ/. Twelve second-generation Filipinos between the ages of 19 and 30 took part in sociolinguistic interviews, and formant frequency data based on 408 tokens of /æ, ɛ, ɪ/ were constructed from recordings of Boberg's (2008) word list. The results revealed that CS is robust, with evidence of women in the lead. These indicated that there are no substrate language transfer effects at least concerning this phonetic variable. This study ultimately demonstrates that despite remaining a marginalized demographic, second-generation Filipinos are linguistically integrated and are therefore rightful members of the region's speech community.

Keywords: Variationist sociolinguistics; Second-generation Filipinos; Canadian Shift; Canadian English; Linguistic integration; Ethnic variation

To my Lola,

for always being on my side.

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"Just keep swimming!"

-Dory, Finding Nemo (2003)

That quote has always been my favourite. It comes from "Finding Nemo," a movie about a clown fish named Marlin in search for his lost son, Nemo. Marlin is accompanied by Dory, a blue reef fish who suffers from short-term memory loss. In one scene, Marlin is overcome with hopelessness of ever finding Nemo; and as a way to keep Marlin's spirits up, Dory enthusiastically tells him, "just keep swimming!"

Working on this project, there were many days where I, too, felt hopeless. And during those days, that quote kept me going.

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My family may not know much about linguistics and what exactly I have been doing the past few years, but I thank my mom and dad especially for always supporting and encouraging me anyway. It always makes me happy when you brag about me to your friends. I hope this thesis makes you proud.

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List of Acronyms

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
ANAE	Atlas of North American English
BC	British Columbia
CR	Canadian Raising
CS	Canadian Shift
EO	Ethnic Orientation
FCP	Family Class Program
FSWP	Federal Skilled Worker Program
FDM	Foreign Domestic Movement
FOB	Fresh of the Boat
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HLVC	Heritage Language Variation and Change
ICP	Investor Class Program
L1	First Language
LCP	Live-in Caregiver Program
NYCE	New York City English
PCE	Phonetics of Canadian English
PNP	Provincial Nominee Program
SVEN	Survey of Vancouver English

Chapter 1.

Background

This chapter presents the relevant literature that sets the stage for and motivates the current study. I begin with a brief overview of the variationist framework in sociolinguistics and how it has increased our understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and language change. Then I move on to a brief sketch of the Filipino community in Metro Vancouver – an ethnic group that has received little attention in variationist research and thus will be the focus of the current study. Afterward, I turn my attention to providing a review of the Canadian Shift, which is the phonetic feature chosen as the variable for the study. Finally, I end this chapter by stating my research questions.

1.1. Ethnolects

1.1.1. Introduction

The current study adopts a variationist framework in understanding the linguistic behaviour of second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver.[1] Essentially, the variationist framework in sociolinguistics asserts that language variation is actually systematic and an inherent part of our linguistic competence. Seminal studies by Labov (1963, 1966) and others (e.g., Fasold 1972, Feagin 1979, Trudgill 1972, Wolfram 1969) pioneered this approach by using conversational language data to empirically study variation in language. Through quantifying and statistically analyzing language data, researchers are able to determine and correlate patterns of variation with both linguistic and social factors.

[1] The term 'second generation' refers to individuals who were born and raised in the host country with at least one parent who is foreign born.

The variationist framework has successfully demonstrated the regularity of language variation and the role social factors play in conditioning patterns of variation (Horvath & Sankoff 1987). For instance, variationist studies have provided new perspectives into the study of regional dialectology (Chambers 1994, 1995, Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974). More importantly, such studies have revealed that several social factors such as age (Labov 1963), gender (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 1992, Trudgill 1972), social class (Horvath 1985, Labov 1966, 1972a, Trudgill 1974), social network (Eckert 2000, Milroy & Milroy 1978), ethnicity (Labov 1972a, Rickford 1985), and even meaningful, community-specific factors (Eckert 1989, Fought 1999) play a role in regulating linguistic behaviour. Since its inception, a wealth of studies has adopted this framework and thus has deepened our understanding of linguistic variation across many languages.

One area of sociolinguistics where the adoption of this framework has enriched our understanding of variation and change is on the study of ethnic varieties of English. Exploring varieties of English associated with different ethnic groups has become crucial in light of the growing ethnic diversity in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, London, Sydney, Toronto, and Vancouver. Carlock and Wölck (1981) noted the dramatic change of ethnic makeup in these cities and how this subsequently altered the cities' linguistic landscape; therefore, sociolinguists must consider the role of ethnicity in language variation and change as well as the subsequent development of *ethnolects*.

In the context of the English language, ethnolects are varieties of English associated with particular ethnic groups (Carlock & Wölck 1981, Clyne 2000). Despite being native English varieties (Boberg 2004), it is commonly believed that ethnolects possess linguistic features that arise from first-language (L1) substrate transfer during a transitional period from bilingualism to monolingualism; this usually happens within two or three generations of settling in the host community (Becker 2014, Clyne 2000, Wölck 2002). Moreover, traditional variationist studies (particularly in the US) hold the view that ethnolects are varieties that exhibit non-mainstream patterns (Labov 1994). This evaluation, in other words, implies that ethnolects deviate from the standard or regional variety of English, which in itself is associated with the white (Anglo) community (Becker 2014, Eckert 2008). Over the years, research on ethnic varieties of English encompass (1) those seen as distinct, full-fledged ethnolects such as African American Vernacular

English (AAVE) and Latino English, as well as (2) those that display slight differences in the use of specific variables in the majority dialect (e.g., ethnic variation in the articulation of New York City English (NYCE) vowels; see Labov 1966) in part because "there is no obvious way to distinguish between a dialect with ethnic features and an ethnolect" (Eckert 2008:26).

1.1.2. The role of ethnicity and participation in on-going changes

The role of ethnicity in conditioning various linguistic variables has been noted early in the development of the variationist program (Carlock & Wölck 1981, Labov 1963, 1966, Laferrière 1979). Initially, sociolinguists focused on the African Americans – a community which has had a long history of settlement in the US, starting out as a slave community and then forming one of the biggest ethnic groups in the country today. Their vernacular was originally seen as a contact language in the sense that it was a variety argued to have substrate effects derived from Caribbean creoles (and other African vernaculars) and hence possess several features distinct from Anglo American (Baugh 1999, Fought 2004, Myhill 1995). For example, perhaps one of the more prominent features of this variety involves the absence of the copula *be* in certain morphosyntactic environments (Labov 1972a, Rickford 1999, Wolfram 1969). Ultimately, this variety has become known as African American Vernacular English.

Distinct patterns were also noted in other communities. In New York, Labov (1966) remarked on how different immigrant groups varied in their pronunciation of certain NYCE vowels. He found, for example, that among the different white ethnic groups he surveyed, Jewish speakers produced the most raised variant of /oh/, while Italians were the most advanced in the raising of tensed /æ/. Similar ethnic trends were noted in Boston, where Laferrière (1979) observed that Irish, Italian, and Jewish speakers displayed varying degrees to which they maintained phonemic distinction of the two back vowels before /r/; that is, whereas the Irish and Italians maintained phonemic opposition, the Jewish did not. Meanwhile in Buffalo, New York, Carlock and Wölck (1981) found that German, Polish, and Italian communities could still be distinguished through their speech as they retained distinct grammatical systems – arguably due to the effect of substrate transfer from their respective L1.

What hopefully becomes clear from these studies is that during the earlier decades, apart from African Americans, Irish, Italian, and Jewish speakers were also considered 'ethnic,' and their linguistic behaviour was explored in contrast to the variety spoken by the mainstream American community (Becker 2014, Becker & Coggshall 2009, Fought 2006), that was comprised of descendants of early US settlers (mostly of British or Irish origin). However, over the years, changes to immigration policies in these big cities finally enabled immigration from traditionally non-white nations. As a result, immigrant cities such as New York experienced a dramatic shift in their ethnic makeup: on the one hand, this new wave of immigration blurred boundaries between white ethnic groups and Anglo Americans, essentially forming a supra-ethnic white community. On the other hand, this new supra-ethnic group inevitably formed new boundaries with the (incoming) non-white communities (Becker & Coggshall 2009). This situation became a turning point for ethnolect research, as scholars began to realize the significant role of non-white speakers in changing the linguistic landscape of urban cities. One of the most prominent ethnic varieties of English that have come out of these studies is Latino English.

Generally speaking, research on AAVE and Latino English has "focused less on dialectal variation than on the identification of an ethnically-distinctive set of features that set those speakers apart from the white 'mainstream' variety" (Wong & Hall-Lew 2014:27). With respect to AAVE, this issue of linguistic divergence has been explored extensively (Fasold, Labov, Vaughn-Cooke, Bailey, Wolfram, Spears & Rickford 1987, Gordon 2000, Labov 1994, Labov & Harris 1986), and consequently has led scholars to argue that AAVE has completely different grammatical and phonological systems. However, there also exists a body of literature that point to linguistic convergence (Baranowski 2013, Edwards 1992, Wolfram, Thomas & Green 1997), linguistic diffusion (Ash & Myhill 1986), and even 'crossing' (Cutler 1999, Rampton 1995).[2] Wolfram *et al*. (1997), for example, revealed that the phonologies of African- and Anglo-American speakers in the Outer Banks region of North Carolina both demonstrated the ungliding of /ay/ and the loss of /aw/. The picture is evidently far from clear; hence, Rickford (1987) stated that since there is a possibility for

[2] According to Rampton (1995), 'crossing' refers to the conscious attempt (or temporary performance) of speakers from one group to use linguistic features normally associated with another group in order to identify more closely with that particular community (e.g., Cutler's (1999) study of a white speaker in New York demonstrating AAVE features in his speech).

certain linguistic components to diverge on the one hand (e.g., grammatical variables), and converge on the other (e.g., phonological variable), these elements must be explored separately.

The same patterns emerge in the case of Latino English. Research on this ethnic variety (e.g., Fought 1999, 2003, Mendoza-Denton 1997, 2008, Poplack 1978, Santa Ana 1996, Wolfram 1974, Wolfram, Carter & Moriello 2004) has shown that there are lasting substrate effects of Spanish in the speech of Hispanic Americans, thereby forming a distinct ethnolect with a unique grammar. But just as there exists literature describing Latino English's distinct features, so too are there studies that show Hispanic Americans using linguistic features that are associated with other groups (e.g., through borrowing, linguistic convergence). This was the case in Wolfram's (1974) study, where he observed that Puerto Ricans with close contact with African American speakers in New York would also use AAVE features such as /θ/-stopping, negative concord, and habitual *be*.

AAVE and Latino English have been persistently viewed as distinct varieties compared to the standard English dialect despite possessing features that are also deemed as mainstream (e.g., Fought 1999, Hoffman & Walker 2010). This is in light of the broader application of the term 'ethnolect' not only to describe the linguistic patterns of non-white ethnic groups, but also to reflect ethnic group affiliation (Becker 2014). And so for ethnic minority speakers to use features characteristic of the majority Anglo dialect is consequently regarded as a sign of assimilation into the mainstream or regional community – linguistically, and more broadly, culturally (Eckert 2008). This type of application has been widely adopted in the last couple of decades with respect to exploring phonological variables. In this regard, researchers investigate to what extent various non-white ethnic groups are acculturated into the mainstream speech community by determining whether they participate in the on-going sound changes in the majority dialect. In other words, for ethnic speakers to use majority features – as opposed to ethnolectal features (i.e., showing no significant effects of ethnicity) – provides "evidence of assimilation or accommodation to the white 'mainstream' patterns and hence a departure from their distinct ethnic identity" (Wong & Hall-Lew 2014:27). Research on this particular issue has so far been limited in some ways because of Labov's (2001:506) assertion that

non-white ethnic groups do not participate in local or regional sound changes "no matter how frequently they are exposed to the local vernacular."

However, this is not entirely the case, as there are numerous studies indicating that speakers from non-white groups do in fact participate in on-going (Anglo) sound changes (e.g., Fought 1999, Hall-Lew 2009, Hinton, Moonwomon, Bremner, Luthin, Clay, Lerner & Corcoran 1987, Horvath 1985, Kiesling 2001, Labov 1963, Poplack 1978). As early as 1963, Labov himself noted that Native- and Portuguese-Americans in Martha's Vineyard participated with their Anglo counterparts in the centralization of /aw/ and /ay/ in order to integrate and assume island identity in an effort to dissociate themselves from the tourists that travel to the area during the summertime. Additionally, Poplack (1978) reported that in Philadelphia, Puerto Rican speakers – apart from adopting some AAVE features – were also participating in Anglo vowel shifts, specifically that fronting of /ow/ and the raising of /ay/ before voiceless consonants. In another study, Fought (1999) concentrated on the Chicano community in Los Angeles and she, too, discovered that this minority community participated in the Anglo innovation of /uw/-fronting (Hinton *et al*. 1987), but noted that participation was also constrained by class and gang membership. In particular, she noted the "use of [/uw/-fronting] is associated more with middle class membership and non-gang speakers" (Fought 1999:19). Of course, despite offering valuable insight into the interplay between maintaining one's ethnic identity and integrating into the broader community, it should be noted that this kind of binary approach (i.e., participation by ethnic groups in Anglo linguistic changes or lack thereof) has been critiqued by several scholars (e.g., Benor 2010, Mendoza-Denton 2004) as it "risks oversimplifying the multivalent and multimodal nature of identities as well as the nuanced ways in which these identities are indexed and negotiated linguistically" (Wong & Hall-Lew 2014:27), and it also risks undermining the fact that varieties, ethnic or otherwise, are defined by a collection of features – not necessarily a single one.

The situation in Canada is not any different. Consider Boberg's (2010:24-5) claim about the role of ethnicity and contact in Canadian English:

> Canadian English finds itself in a unique contact situation in each major city … In Toronto and Vancouver, the contact situation is dominated by Asian languages … Canadian English, then, is and has been subject to a range of potential influences from contact with other languages … To date, the

> observable effects of such influence have been largely restricted to the ethnolects spoken by bilingual members of the allophone groups themselves and perhaps to the speech of their children.[3]

Yet there are only a handful of studies probing the relationship between ethnicity and on-going sound changes (e.g., Boberg 2004, 2005, Hoffman 2010, Hoffman & Walker 2010, Nagy, Chociej & Hoffman 2014). And even then, the speakers surveyed are members of only a few representative ethnic groups. Particularly noteworthy is Boberg's (2004) study of ethnic variation in Montreal. He noted several phonetic variables that are stratified by ethnicity; one such case is /uw/-fronting. He reported that while Jewish and Irish speakers demonstrated fronting – thereby patterning similarly to their Anglo counterparts – Italian speakers remained conservative in this respect by demonstrating more peripheral variants. This study presents a unique case of ethnic variation since the minority status of English, as well as the ethnic groups' spatial and cultural self-segregation from the rest of Montreal's English-speaking majority, limit its speakers access to a 'model' native speaker of Canadian English, therefore creating an environment where ethnolects can develop and persist (Boberg 2010). This raises an important point in that language users actually play a pivotal role in driving linguistic changes (Hilgendorf 2015); ultimately, "the causes of [language] change are not to be found in the structure of the language as such, but in the behavior of the speakers" (Milroy 2001:389).

Elsewhere in Canada, ethnic patterns are not as well established. For instance, in contrast to Boberg's (2004) findings in Montreal, Hoffman (2010:125) cited that, at least in Toronto, there is no "well-documented variety associated with an ethnic identity." This may be because, as Boberg (2010) suggested, English is the majority language in much of Canada, and ethnic boundaries are less extreme outside of Montreal; therefore, ethnic differences in Toronto and other urban cities like Vancouver may not be as strong. As a consequence, linguistic homogenization (*cf*. Kerswill & Williams 1992) among children of first-generation immigrants is more likely to occur.[4] They adapt to the mainstream speech

[3] Allophone speakers refer to those who speak languages other than the two official languages of Canada (i.e., English and French). These allophone speakers acquired an immigrant L1 as children but were also quickly exposed to English, thus "acquiring it as second native language" (Boberg 2004:543).

[4] The term 'first generation' is used in reference to foreign born immigrants who arrived in the host country as adults.

of their peers within one or two generations and eventually become native speakers of the dominant Anglo English (Boberg 2004, Hoffman & Walker 2010). This is not surprising as this view is predicted by the Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001), whereby innovations of the founding population (in the case of Canada, descendants of the British and Irish groups called 'Loyalists') become the norms of use, and these are by and large adopted by the minority communities. In sum, Hoffman and Walker (2010:42) states, "any effect of ethnolects on mainstream Canadian English may be minimal and are not likely to persist."

Although ethnicity may not necessarily be a factor in determining speech communities, it is still nonetheless important to highlight one crucial observation within ethnolect research: many ethnic groups remain underrepresented. Normally, studies select and focus on ethnic groups which rank highly in terms of population size (Boberg 2004, Hoffman & Walker 2010), and only mention others as considerations in future studies (Fought 2004, Hoffman & Walker 2010). This is primarily the case with the Asian community, where most of the time it is only speakers of Chinese background who are surveyed. From the small number of studies that do consider Asian speakers, Bucholtz (2004) claimed that, at least in the US, Asian speakers do not have unique linguistic practices that would constitute an ethnolect. Hall-Lew (2009:15), echoing Bucholtz's (2004) opinion, states: "Asian Americans do not have an ethnically marked English variety of the sort that African Americans or Latin Americans … are considered to have." This conclusion stems from her findings that Asian American speakers in the Sunset District of San Francisco (comprising mostly Chinese speakers) did not differ from White speakers in their vowel productions (i.e., both groups exhibited the low-back merger and the fronting of /uw/ and /ow/). Likewise, Wong (2007) also provided support for Bucholtz's proposition; she observed that her sample of Chinese Americans, this time in New York City, possessed similar vowel systems and trajectories as their white counterparts. Babel and Russel (2015:2824) made parallel claims with respect to Canada, stating that "there is no research to suggest that Asian Canadians … have a unique ethnolect such that the expectation is for a distinct L1 variety." One possible complication that has been raised regarding this issue is that unlike Latino English, a variety with substrate effects that can be traced to one language (i.e., Spanish), linguistic influences on Asian American or Asian Canadian communities are plentiful, thereby making it a challenge for researchers to begin dissecting possible substrate transfer effects (Bucholtz 2004, Wong & Hall-Lew 2014).

Unfortunately, asserting that the lack of research on the Asian community stems from the absence of distinctive linguistic behaviour only serves to further perpetuate the notion that an ethnic group is only worthy of attention if they produce unique linguistic features as a result of their (strong) ethnic orientation (see Bucholtz 2004:130 on the distinctiveness-centered models of language and ethnicity).

The variationist framework in sociolinguistics has contributed much to our understanding of the relationship between language and various social categories. Furthermore, the rise of immigration in mega *super-diverse* (Vertovec 2007) centers has prompted scholars to explore the relationship between ethnicity and the advancement of language change. Previous studies have revealed the linguistic effects of ethnicity and delved into the development of distinct ethnic varieties of English such as AAVE and Latino English. More importantly, ethnolect studies have demonstrated that linguistic innovations typically start within the Anglo community and that participating in these on-going changes could be interpreted as evidence of linguistic integration and assimilation into the community. While this pattern is already observed in many communities, ethnolect studies, particularly among Asian Canadians, still remain scarce.

The above proposition is especially true of the Filipino community in Canada. However, recent studies by Rosen and her colleagues (2015, 2016) have made progress in closing the gap in this field by delving into the Filipino community in Winnipeg. Rosen, Onosson, and Li (2015), for instance, found that Filipinos in Winnipeg participated in the shifting of the lax front vowels (Section 1.3). However, with respect to a different change in progress, namely the raising of /æ/ before /g/, Rosen and Li (2016) found that Filipinos were still resistant and behind in adopting this new innovation. While these studies present considerable headway, the lack of representation of the Filipino community in Metro Vancouver sill persists. One of the very first corpora and by far the most comprehensive description of Vancouver English is the Survey of Vancouver English (SVEN; Gregg, Murdoch, Hasebe-Ludt & de Wolf 1981, Gregg 1992). Collected between 1979 and 1984, SVEN includes data from 300 informants; however, all of them are members of the Anglo community. This lack of representation is not limited to Vancouver. In Toronto, two more recent corpora exist with the aim of exploring ethnic variation in Canadian English: The Contact in the City project (Hoffman 2010, Hoffman & Walker 2010) and the Heritage

Language Variation and Change (HLVC) project (Nagy 2009).[5] Even though there is a wide range of data from speakers across many ethnicities (e.g., Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Punjabi, Korean, Polish, etc.), linguistic data from Filipinos once again remain elusive in spite of forming a sizeable community in the Ontario region.

To that end, the next section of this thesis speaks to this gap by first offering a discussion of the Filipino community in Metro Vancouver, focusing on the immigration history of Filipinos and their social organization, with the goal of gaining a better understanding of their social and linguistic landscape – both of which could ultimately influence their linguistic behaviour.

[5] Although the purpose of the HLVC corpus is to explore linguistic patterns of heritage languages, the project also looks at their possible contact effects on Canadian English.

1.2. Filipinos in Metro Vancouver

1.2.1. Introduction

Metro Vancouver is one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse cities in the world. In fact, according to Hiebert (2009:17), "Vancouver has a larger share of immigrants in its population than New York, Los Angeles, and Sydney – and for that matter London and Paris as well." A report by Statistics Canada (2011a) on the immigration and ethnocultural diversity of the country stated that the population of Metro Vancouver was 2.3 million and of this number, approximately 1 million are foreign-born immigrants, accounting for 40% of the overall population. One group in particular that forms a significant fraction of this gateway city is the Filipino community. The Philippines has become the third-highest source country of immigration to Vancouver, following China and India in first and second place, respectively. But nationwide, the Philippines has in fact been the top source country between 2006 and 2011 (Statistics Canada 2011a). The most current statistics places the population of Filipinos in Metro Vancouver at 112,090, making them the third largest visible minority group in Metro Vancouver and therefore an important demographic in the region (Kelly 2014).

1.2.2. Immigration history and patterns

The immigration history of Filipinos in Metro Vancouver (and Canada in general) is young compared to that of other ethnic groups, gaining traction only in the late 1960s (Chen 1990:83). Prior to that, most of the immigrants to Canada were predominantly from countries such as Britain, Ireland, and the US (Hiebert 1999, 2009); as a matter of fact, during this period Filipinos arrived in Canada at a rate of only 5%. A significant change in the Canadian immigration policy, however, occurred in 1967: Canada began adopting a 'points system,' focusing more on "demographic characteristics and accumulated human capital" (Hiebert 2000:26) rather than racial preferences. This movement, named the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP), thus marked a shift towards a more "labour market oriented immigration policy" (Mais 2012:27) – a change which finally enabled highly skilled professionals from non-white source countries in Asia (and to a certain

extent, Latin America and Africa) like the Philippines to immigrate and fill different positions in the labour market (Pratt 2003).

Since then, there have been a number of other immigration programs that proved significant to the entry of Filipinos to Canada. The introduction of the Family Class Program (FCP; also known as the Family Reunification program) in 1978 allowed sponsorship of elderly family members or individuals outside working age (i.e., children) by other family members who have already acquired permanent residency status. Through this program, Filipino permanent residents were able to petition for and reunite with their parents and children they had left behind in the Philippines. The next change occurred during the 1980s when the Canadian government began opening its doors to foreign domestic worker through the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM). After some adjustments to its provisions, it was later reintroduced in 1993 as the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP). People under the LCP were offered temporary work permits and given permanent residency status upon completion of a two-year contract within a three-year stay in the country. This proved to be a popular channel for Filipinos, especially among those who could not meet the more rigorous requirements of the FSWP. According to Kelly (2014), the LCP accounted for 26.3% of all arrivals from the Philippines between 1993 and 2009. However, in becoming the largest program used by Filipinos, the LCP had lasting social and economic ramifications (Kelly 2014). For instance, Filipino caregivers were not able to gain financial stability since they would send most of their income back to their family members in the Philippines. These people also experienced long term family separation, which in turn put a strain on parent-child relationships. Finally, the LCP created an "association of Filipino identity with certain type of work," such as being a nanny (Kelly 2014:10; see also Pratt 2012), which persists until this day.

Apart from the FSWP, FCP, and LCP, there are two other programs through which Filipinos could enter Canada. The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) allows provinces and territories to nominate highly educated, experienced, and skilled individuals to live in and contribute to the economy of the province for a particular period of time. On the other hand, the Investor Class Program (ICP) requires newcomers to own and manage a

business in Canada so as to provide jobs and likewise contribute to the Canadian economy.[6]

Between 1980 and 2009, the three most widely used immigration programs by Filipinos across Canada were the FSWP, FCP, and LCP (Kelly 2014). It is important to highlight, however, that different cities have different trends. In Ottawa, for instance, approximately 40% of Filipinos arrived through the LCP, closely followed by the FCP. In Winnipeg, on the other hand, most Filipino immigrants arrived primarily through the PNP while the LCP was rarely used. Lastly, in Metro Vancouver, the FSWP was the most widely used, and it is the only region with a considerable proportion of newcomers through the ICP.

The relatively young history of Filipino immigration to Canada and the different programs through which they obtained residency have created some notable trends. First, there is a higher rate of female than male immigrants. Mais (2012:30) attributed this to the "recent shifts in the economy, where a demand for feminized labour to fill service sector positions has risen." This is true in the case of the textile industries in Winnipeg (Pratt 2003), where many Filipino women obtain positions in factories as garment workers. Similarly, with respect to the healthcare sector, it is common to see more female Filipino nurses and live-in caregivers. Second, Filipinos are concentrated in certain job industries, particularly in the manufacturing, service, and healthcare sectors (Kelly 2014, 2015). Third, plenty of the second-generation Filipinos are foreign-born: they were born outside of Canada (mostly in the Philippines) and immigrated at a young age. This is likely the case for those who immigrated with their parents though the FSWP or by themselves through the FCP. Finally, given that much of the influx of Filipinos happened only within the last twenty years (Kelly 2014), Filipino immigrants tend to be young and still be of working age (Statistics Canada 2001).

[6] As of June 2014, the Investor Class Program has been terminated (see http://www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/immigrate/business/entrepreneurs/index.asp)

1.2.3. In search of better lives

Previous studies in the area of Philippine diaspora, particularly those that seek to understand the Filipinos' desire to immigrate, echo the same underlying motivations behind starting a new life in another country: Filipino migrants want economic prosperity, not just for themselves, but also their families they leave behind in the Philippines. Given the poor economy and consequently the lack of good-paying career opportunities in the Philippines, many are forced to work abroad (Mais 2012). In Vancouver, for instance, many Filipino women work as nurses and caregivers, with salaries more competitive than those offered in various healthcare institutions in the Philippines (Mais 2012, Pratt 2003). As a result, they can afford to send a portion of their earnings back home. Foreign remittances to the Philippines were reported to form 9% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) – certainly a major economic boost (Ronquillo, Boschma, Wong & Quiney 2011). In fact, Lorente (2007:72) has reported: "remittances from overseas Filipinos are the country's premier foreign exchange earner, easily dwarfing foreign direct investments and exports."

In addition to economic, there are also ideological and cultural reasons to consider. The Philippines used to be an American colony between 1899 and 1946. During this period, Filipinos were exposed to western culture and ideology, and they were led to believe that these were something to strive for (Gonzales 2004). The resulting 'colonial mentality' – seen in the preference toward a western way of life – has motivated Filipinos to migrate in order to be closer to, and ultimately be part of, the North American community (Choy 2003). Subsequently, the internalization of this 'culture of migration' has, to a certain extent, created the belief that living and working overseas is normal (Ronquillo *et al*. 2011), and beneficial to one's perceived social standing. As we shall see, this colonial mentality may have an enduring outcome on their linguistic choices.

In spite of the reasons aforementioned, Filipinos at the end of the day just want better opportunities and upward mobility for themselves and their children (Farrales & Pratt 2012). Many families often arrive in Vancouver with the hope that the parents could find better jobs and their children could receive better education. In my interviews, this notion of upward mobility was raised countless times. Consider Kristine, one of my participants

who moved to Vancouver at age 3, and how one of her uncles convinced her mother to migrate to Canada:[7]

> We moved after my uncle, one of my uncles on my mom's side, moved here and I guess he told them that … it was a better place to raise children, because they'll have better opportunities that way. They'll have, you know, a better future, more secured future. My grandma really pushed for it.

Another one of my informants, Dominic, related the challenges of maintaining financial security in the Philippines, which became a huge motivating factor to move to Canada:

> There was no intention of moving here … until my grandfather had a stroke and then my mom and my dad started talking about how they didn't want that as a future … for them and for us. Because, like, the thing is, like, my grandfather – he never finished elementary school but like, he was still a very successful businessman, so he worked his whole life, but then like, the way my mom saw it is that all it took was one stroke and his whole life's hard work was gone right away … so they decided to move here.

What these excerpts reveal is that ultimately, parents see immigration as a means to have financial stability, and to provide their children access to better opportunities and, ultimately, better lives.

1.2.4. Linguistic landscape

The linguistic landscape of Canada is equally as diverse as its ethnic makeup. Statistics Canada (2011c) reported that over 200 languages are spoken either as a home language or mother tongue. Of Metro Vancouver's 2.3 million residents, around 712,200 people reported speaking a heritage language more often than English and/or French in the home. The top three heritage languages are Punjabi, Cantonese, and Mandarin.[8] Table 1 below lists the heritage languages with the most speakers in Metro Vancouver.

[7] Pseudonyms are used to ensure the participants' anonymity.

[8] The Mandarin category also included those that did not report a specific Chinese dialect.

Since Filipinos are one of the largest visible minority groups in Vancouver, it is not surprising that their heritage language, Tagalog, is highly ranked.[9]

Table 1. The most populous immigrant languages in Metro Vancouver (adapted from Statistics Canada (2011c)).

Most frequently used language	Number	Percentage
Punjabi	126,100	17.7
Cantonese	113,610	16.0
Chinese (unspecified)	86,580	12.2
Mandarin	83,825	11.8
Tagalog	47,640	6.7
Korean	38,879	5.5
Persian (Farsi)	28,970	4.1
Spanish	22,505	3.2
Hindi	18,355	2.6
Vietnamese	18,225	2.6
Russian	11,765	1.7
Japanese	9,920	1.4
Other immigrant languages	105,140	14.8
Total	711,515	100

Furthermore, the same census report also indicated that between 2006 and 2011, Tagalog saw the highest growth rate nationwide as the language most often used in the home. This increase most likely coincided with the strong influx of Filipino immigrants during this period. What is important to keep in mind, however, is that this does not necessarily mean that all members of the Filipino family speak Tagalog in the home. This particular census data did not take into account which member – parent or child – speaks Tagalog more predominantly.

Of course, the diversity of languages in Metro Vancouver raises the issue of language contact and its influence on the English language. Contact situations, as Boberg (2010) highlights, are usually prime contexts in which ethnolect varieties of English could

[9] Tagalog (official name: Filipino) is the national language and, along with English, an official language of the Philippines (Schacter & Otanes 1982). Further, I use Tagalog as an umbrella term for other Philippine dialects, as many first-generation Filipinos are also proficient in dialects other than Tagalog (e.g., Ilokano, Cebuano, etc.).

form. In the case of Filipinos, as will be shown, we encounter a situation where speakers do not form a potential ethnolect from a substrate language like Tagalog, but from Philippine English, making this a case of second-order language contact.

Philippine English is an Outer Circle variety of English under the Three-circle model of World Englishes (Kachru 1985, 1992).[10] In simple terms, the model categorizes English varieties according to the "ethnographic status and functions of English in the relevant territories" (Mufwene 2015:9). The 'Inner Circle' refers to the traditional bases of English where the language has been traditionally and historically spoken as the mother tongue; the Inner Circle includes countries like the US, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. In addition, these nations are said to be 'norm-providing' in that they establish linguistic norms that are then modeled by other speakers in other circles. Meanwhile, the 'Outer Circle' refers to countries that were previously colonies of Anglo powers (e.g., the UK and the US) such as India, Singapore, Hong Kong and the Philippines (Bolton 2008). English is considered an additional language, but serves important functions across many domains such as government, education, and media. Furthermore, these varieties are described as being 'norm-developing;' that is, speakers are actively shaping the language to fit the community's sociocultural needs. Finally, members of the 'Expanding Circle' do not have a history of colonization and often view English as a foreign language; member countries include China, Japan, and many European countries and their English varieties are described as 'norm-dependent' in that they look to their Inner Circle counterparts for their target norms.[11]

[10] Since the inception of Kachru's model of World Englishes, many scholars have noted several critiques about the paradigm. Hilgendorf (2015:56), for instance, discusses that "those working within the [World Englishes] paradigm recognizes the social reality of linguistic plurality… Others however consider the recognition of plurality as segregating and marginalizing". Further, over the years, many scholars have also adopted different models with respect to the spread and development of various Englishes. These include English as an International Language (see Modiano 1999, Smith 1981), English as a Lingua Franca (see Firth 1996, Seidlhofer 2004), and New Englishes (see Mufwene 1994).

[11] There is a growing body of research which challenge the view that English is seen as a foreign language in the Expanding Circle (see for example, research by Jenkins, Modiano, and Seidlhofer (2001) on Euro-English).

Philippine English is a legitimate variety of English (Friginal 2007, Martin 2014) and one of the most highly intelligible varieties among the world's Englishes (Dayag 2007). English was introduced to the Philippines during the American occupation in the late 19th century. and has since become the language of power, status and mobility (Breshnahan 1979, Gonzales 2004, Martin 2014). Moreover, English is one of the official languages of the Philippines and the medium of instruction in schools. Outside the education spectrum, English also occupies many domains in the Philippines including mainstream media, businesses, and the federal government; therefore, most Filipinos have been exposed to English at some point in their lives and, consequently, Filipinos in general are proficient English speakers.[12]

Filipinos in Metro Vancouver have a good command of English. In fact, according to Statistics Canada (2001), 93% of Filipinos could converse in English. This is because many Filipinos commonly arrive in Vancouver holding university degrees, indicating an exposure to the language for at least 15 years.[13] Of course, there are many factors that may confound this. For instance, one would expect Filipinos who entered through the FSWP to have greater English proficiency (since the program has more stringent language requirements) as compared to those who entered through the FCP or LCP. As a result, even in Canada, Filipinos would have varying levels of English proficiency much like any other ethnic groups.

In the home, many Filipino parents choose to interact with their children in English rather than their vernacular, or at least they promote the use of English. According to Statistics Canada (2001:12):

> [t]he majority of Canadians of Filipino origin speak English most often at home. In 2001, 56% of people who reported Filipino origin said that they spoke English at home, while 14% said that they spoke English in combination with a non-official language most often at home.

[12] It is important to note, however, that not all Filipinos have equal proficiencies and there is considerable interspeaker variability (e.g., phonological variation; see Tayao 2004).

[13] Kelly (2014) reported that the percentage of Filipino university-degree holders is higher than other ethnic groups.

Filipino parents have a common belief that speaking to their children in (Philippine) English will help them learn the language more quickly and eventually enable them to assimilate to their host communities more easily. They also encourage their children, especially those that arrived in Canada at a later age, to take every possible opportunity to use English – going as far as picking the friends their children interact with. Ella, who came to Metro Vancouver at age 7, echoed this sentiment in our interview when she talked about living with a sponsor family during their first few weeks in the city:

> I remember this specific moment where the two girls – they were cousins of the family who lived there, and then my parents told me, you know, 'start practicing your English with them.'

Trisha, another participant who arrived at age 3, experienced a similar situation as soon as her family moved out of her grandparents' house (where Tagalog remained a dominant language):

> When my parents had moved out, and I moved to Dunbar, and at that time, I was around four or five, and they started to speak to me in English … There's a shift that happened … I remember there was the encouragement to learn English … so they encouraged me to start learning.

Clearly, parents feel that the use of English even in the home is not only beneficial, but also necessary. However, beyond the obvious reason that English is the dominant language in Metro Vancouver, this preference in the home may also be in part attributed to the symbolic capital associated with the language – wherein English is viewed culturally as prestigious (Kelly 2014, Pratt 2015). There is also a lingering colonial mentality prevailing among Filipinos today. In other words, Filipinos interpret whiteness and it associations (i.e., English) as superior (Pratt 2015), and so to speak English just like their Anglo peers brings them closer to solidifying their status as members of the mainstream community.

Given the lack of heritage language maintenance in the home, it is probably not surprising then that most second-generation Filipinos would grow up as monolingual English speakers, or English-dominant bilinguals with only passive knowledge of Tagalog. This is confirmed in the present study, as most of my participants conveyed very little working knowledge of Tagalog. They also noted their strong preference to communicate

to their family members in English. For them, being spoken to in Tagalog but responding in English is a common occurrence. Interestingly, when asked, they did not find their parents' English to be drastically different from the English spoken across Metro Vancouver. Aside from the few unique lexical items (i.e., *Filipinisms*; Bautista 2001) and slight variation in pronunciation, they deemed their parents' English as largely the same and equally as comprehensible as Canadian English.

1.2.5. Residential patterns and enclave status

As with many other ethnic groups in Canada, Filipino immigrants tend to settle in urban cities like Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. In Metro Vancouver, studies have shown that urban centers like Richmond, Burnaby, Surrey, and the city of Vancouver have the highest proportion of visible ethnic minority residents (Statistics Canada 2011a). Since migration of Filipinos to Canada is predominantly seen as chain migration (Hiebert 1999), Balakrishnan, Ravanera and Abada (2005:68) stated that the residential patterns are determined "on the basis of employment opportunities, the presence of relatives and friends, and the availability of various services and facilities in the new communities." Given this, the prediction would be that Filipinos would be concentrated in particular neighbourhoods to form ethnic *enclaves*.

Portes (1981:290-1) defines ethnic enclaves as "immigrant groups which concentrate in a distinct spatial location and organize a variety of enterprises serving their own ethnic market and/or general population." Indeed, local media in Metro Vancouver claim that such enclaves exist especially among South Asian, Chinese, and Filipino groups. In a series of articles, the Vancouver Sun published a report that mapped out ethnic diversity across Metro Vancouver.[14] The article mentioned that Filipinos in particular are concentrated in the areas of South Vancouver, Joyce, Metrotown, Edmonds, and Guildford. More importantly, what this report illustrated is that while 'Filipino towns' exist, they are not concentrated nor restricted to one particular area. Further, while Filipinos make up a considerable proportion, these areas remain ethnically diverse (Hiebert 2009).

[14] The link to the article, published in 2011:
http://www.vancouversun.com/life/Mapping+ethnicity+Part+Family+church+important+Filipinos/5559392/story.html

That Filipinos are scattered across the region and reside in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are also noted in scholarly literature. Kelly (2014) claimed that Filipino residential patterns in Vancouver, much like Toronto, are widely dispersed, confirming Balakrishnan *et al*.'s (2005:71) earlier report that Filipinos are only moderately concentrated in Vancouver, and that "Filipinos are spread all over the city, with no clear evidence of contiguous census tracts defining a larger Filipino neighbourhood." Furthermore, when commenting on the degree of segregation of Filipinos, Balakrishnan *et al.* (2005:72) stated that Filipinos are not very segregated at all from the majority community in Vancouver; and in addition, they pattern closely with other immigrant groups like the Chinese:

> In spite of this heavy influx, there does not seem to be an increase in the segregation of Filipinos. The commonly held notion is that new immigrants will go to established ethnic enclaves that make their initial settlement easier because they may lack economic and other resources which offer a wider choice of first residence. Many Filipinos might join their relatives and friends already residents in Canada. This should increase or at least maintain the level of segregation. At the same time, some Filipinos who have been resident in Canada for some time might move away from their ethnic enclaves as they become more socially mobile and become accustomed to Canadian culture.

In sum, Filipino enclaves, if they exist, are not so strong that they segregate new migrants. As with other ethnic groups in Metro Vancouver, even though Filipinos may settle in 'Filipino towns' upon their arrival, they tend to relocate to more integrated communities as soon as they become more established (Hiebert 1999, Kelly 2015b). This pattern of integration may be an important consideration with respect to the Filipinos' linguistic behaviour.

1.2.6. Community organization

Whereas other groups may have more ethnically diverse social networks, Filipino networks tend to remain restricted to other fellow Filipinos. At the core is family: when Filipinos talk of family, it is not uncommon to speak about not only immediate but also extended family members. Along a similar vein, when Filipinos talk of their living arrangements, it is not unusual to hear about immediate and extended family members

living together, especially as they start to establish roots in the host community. As one of my participants, Isabelle, stated:

> In my house there's a lot of us so it's not just my mom and dad; it's the known Filipino structure where, like, your grandma lives with you, and your aunt. So overtime that's grown and we combined.

Even Statistics Canada (2001) has pointed out this particular trend among Filipinos. For example, the report indicated that elderly Filipinos were highly likely to stay with members of the extended family such as their son or daughter's families. Once again, this is probably not surprising, since many of the elderly Filipinos are admitted to Canada through the FCP, and as part of its conditions, their sponsors should be able to support their incoming family members financially.

Meanwhile, friendship is formed mostly through family ties and religious affiliation. Since Filipinos follow a pattern of chain migration, many newly arrived immigrants often rely on other family members (who are already more established) to introduce them to their circle of friends, and from this initial connection their network grows. In addition, many forge friendships through religious organizations, especially Christian or Catholic Filipinos who are active members of the Church community. Meanwhile, for the second-generation children, initial networks typically are composed of children of their parents' friends. Their network grows as soon as they enter schools and join extra-curricular activities. For example, according to one of my participants, Paolo, it is very common to find local dance groups that consist of mostly Filipinos, and this shared venture strengthens their ties with other Filipinos.

Having mostly Filipino contacts and the impression that everyone knows everybody may demonstrate that the Filipino community in Metro Vancouver is close-knit. But behind this façade there actually exists a social 'divide'. In other words, even within the community, Filipinos remain disconnected with each other. While at first glance this may seem unusual, this is in fact common when taking into account the concept of *super-diversity* (Vertovec 2007). This notion acknowledges the inevitably varied experiences that immigrants have – even those who share the same ethnic background – given their differential migration patterns and immigration statuses. Mais (2012), in her study of generation 1.5 (i.e., foreign born immigrants but arrived in the host country as young

children) and second-generation Filipinos in Vancouver, raised numerous factors that contribute to this divide, many of which indirectly allude to Vertovec's (2007) propositions. Mais (2012) argued that time of immigration is a crucial factor to this division: those arriving more recently may encounter more complications, making it more difficult to establish and integrate into the community than those who arrived in earlier decades. As an illustration, consider the status of real estate: housing prices in earlier decades were lower (Ley & Tutchner 2001), and so earlier immigrants were able to purchase properties more easily. This is not the case today with housing prices soaring more than ever, which then makes purchasing a house more difficult for more recent immigrants (Leloup, Apparicio & Esfahami 2011). This situation may lead to a sense of competition and jealousy between these two groups of Filipinos.

Mais (2012) also mentioned that the type of immigration channel through which Filipinos obtained residency could affect not only the resources available to them, but also the perceptions toward them by the community. This speaks to a broader trend that Filipinos' social standing in the Philippines also affects their experiences as immigrants in the host community. For instance, those admitted to through the FSWP and ICP tend to be more financially capable compared to those arriving through the FCP or the LCP. This means that economic and investor migrants have more allowances in terms of the time they can take to find work or the types of activities in which their children can participate. In contrast, those entering as live-in caregivers and family class migrants may experience the opposite, as they are often already limited by time and finances soon after arriving (Kelly 2014). To further exacerbate the situation, Kelly (2014:24) added that Filipinos who arrived through the LCP experience difficulty establishing contacts with Filipinos who are admitted through other channels simply because of the stigma attached to caregivers:

> Several respondents noted that there is a sense that caregivers are 'looked down upon' by those who arrive through other immigration channels ... In some cases, caregivers are resented because their presence propagates the stereotype of the Filipina nanny. While this attitude is far from universal, a social distance does appear to exist between caregivers and other segments of the Filipino community.

In my interviews, several participants commented on the separation between Filipinos who were raised in Metro Vancouver and the newcomers. From their perspective as young

second-generation Filipinos, they remarked on the two groups' many differences, including their cultural affinities. Many of my participants recounted that this situation was most salient during their time as high school students. They mentioned that it was common to see Filipinos split into two groups: those who were raised in Metro Vancouver, commonly referred as *white-washed* Filipinos, and those who recently migrated, known more colloquially as the *fresh-of-the-boat* (FOB) Filipinos. The networks are different, with the former having a wider and more diverse set of contacts than the latter. They also have different cultural affinities: whereas those raised in the city associate more strongly with more western ideals, the newcomers still aligned themselves closely with traditional Filipino values. With regard to their linguistic behaviour, my participants also mentioned that these two groups differed in the language they preferred in which to communicate, with the former preferring English while the latter Tagalog (or *Taglish*, a mix of Tagalog and Philippine English).

This discourse was similarly noted in Farrales's (2011) study of Filipino youths in Metro Vancouver. From her interviews, she highlighted the strained encounters between Canadian-born and recently arrived Filipinos – talking of the awkward moments when recently arrived Filipino youths thought they would get along with their Canadian-born counterparts because they "look the same" and "come from the same race," but then experiencing the opposite. Just like in my interviews, Farrales's (2011) participants conveyed differences in expectations, outlook, and cultural ideologies as likely culprits for this division. For example, one Canadian-born Filipino in her study mentioned how newcomers are "miscalculating what is means to be appropriate" (Farrales 2011:94); they do not quite know how to integrate or to belong. Furthermore, some of her respondents raised issues of class, wherein recently arrived youths perceived their Canadian-born counterparts as being at a "higher" level than them. Consequently, being Canadian is seen as being "liberated" and "higher than," whereas being Filipino is seen as the opposite: "conservative" and "lesser than". Ultimately, Farrales (2011:93) argued that "while recently arrived and Canadian-born Filipino students share a common space, they do not occupy or move through the space in the same way."

This type of community pattern has considerable limitations. One of the key findings of Farrales and Pratt (2012) as well as Kelly (2014) is that despite the popular

opinion that Filipinos are hardworking, productive, model citizens (Pratt 2003), many first-generation Filipino parents still experience deprofessionalization. In other words, while their skills are commendable, they are not fully recognized in the labour markets (Kelly 2015a). Consequently, we frequently hear stories of doctors becoming taxi drivers, or nurses becoming caregivers – in large part due to their skills, educational background, and work experience not being recognized by the appropriate organizations.[15] This unfortunately creates a cycle where access to information (e.g., other career opportunities) is severely limited and compartmentalized, since a Filipino immigrant's network of friends may have also experienced deprofessionalization themselves. Hence, they are unable to obtain jobs worthy of their credentials.

This has dire consequences for their second-generation children. Since many parents experience hardship as a result of deprofessionalization, and the devaluing of the parents' educational achievement outside Canada weakens "the potential transfer of educational aspirations to the generation growing up in a Canadian context" (Farrales 2011:22), Filipino youth have lower education outcomes compared to other ethnic groups (Abada, Hou & Ram 2009, Farrales & Pratt 2012, Kelly 2014, Mais 2012). Kelly (2014, 2015a) stated that often Filipino children no longer pursue a university degree – choosing instead to find a job immediately in order to help alleviate some of the family's (financial) burdens. One of the consequences of this, as Kelly (2014) highlighted, is that there are not many Filipinos who hold influential positions in Metro Vancouver despite being one of the most highly educated immigrant groups; the community therefore lacks such individuals that could serve as mentors or role models for subsequent generations. Likewise, given their widely dispersed residential patterns and social divisions, the community has less visibility (e.g., government representation) and there is an alarming absence of community services catered to the community (Kelly 2015a).

The Filipino community has become one of the most visible minority groups in Metro Vancouver despite the group's relatively short immigration history. And even though there have been many different admission channels and different regional trends, all Filipino immigrants ultimately have the same goals, and those are to have better lives and

[15] It is important to emphasize that this is not exclusive to Filipinos, as many other ethnic groups experience some form of deskilling.

afford more opportunities for their children. With the latter pulling more weight, Filipino parents have gone the extra mile by encouraging the use of English in the home to ensure that their children will not experience language barriers and that they will grow up integrated into the mainstream community. This notion of integration could extend to where they choose to reside: there is no apparent Filipino ethnic enclave in Metro Vancouver; although there are pockets of Filipino neighbourhoods across the regions, residential patterns of Filipinos in the region suggest that integration is a priority with many still opting to live in ethnically diverse communities.

It seems paradoxical then to see that the Filipino network is not as diverse as one would come to expect, and even within this already limited network there is social disconnect among its members. This creates a rather unfortunate situation where, as Kelly (2014:27) noted, "while Filipino youth might take pride in their ethnic identity, they are still given the sense that Filipinos occupy a limited and lowly place in the Canadian mainstream." Second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver therefore have the daunting task of trying to reconcile their Filipino and Canadian identities. While some are able to adopt hyphenated identities, others find this difficult. As such, some may choose to dissociate from this marginalized identity – one that has become stigmatized and undesirable – and instead assume a more mainstream identity, aligning themselves more with, and essentially integrating themselves into, the majority community.

As mentioned previously, one way to measure a person's level of integration is by looking at their linguistic behaviour. More specifically, participating in the on-going sound changes innovated by the majority community (and therefore characteristic of the mainstream speech community) is a sign that a speaker is assimilated. One such change in-progress in Canadian English is the Canadian Shift, and this particular variable was chosen as the measure of (linguistic) integration in this very important yet underrepresented ethnic group.

1.3. The Canadian Shift

1.3.1. Introduction

The *Atlas of North American English* (ANAE; Labov *et al*. 2006) provided an overview of the phonetic patterns in the different North American English dialects. It was also the first study to provide a national view of Canadian English phonetics. The study offered a set of phonetic variables that distinguished Canadian English from other North American varieties. ANAE analyzed the speech of 33 speakers living in urban centers across Canada and reported that speakers from 'Inland Canada' (which includes the majority of the English-speaking population of Canada from Vancouver to Montreal) display the low-back merger; the Canadian Shift (hereafter CS); Canadian Raising (CR); more tense and peripheral /ey/ and /ow/; and more retracted /aw/. For each of these phonetic variables, ANAE also offered quantitative definitions with respect to the first and second formants of the vowel nuclei: The low-back merger is defined as the F2 of /o/ being less than 1275 Hz. A difference greater than 60 Hz in the F1 dimension between the raised and unraised nuclei of /aw/ and /ay/ indicates the presence of CR. A more fronted /ey/ is defined as having an F2 greater than 2200 Hz and a more retracted /ow/ as having an F2 less than 1100 Hz. Finally, a more retracted /aw/ is defined as having an F2 less than 1550 Hz.

CR was first discussed by Joos in 1942, but it has been argued to exist as early as 1880 (Thomas 1991). CR involves the raising of the nuclei for the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ before voiceless consonants (Chambers 1973, Joos 1942, Sadlier-Brown 2012, among others). CR had been regarded as the most indicative characteristic of Canadian English (Chambers 1989, 2006) because of its perceptual saliency. In popular culture, this translates to the formation of a stereotype of Canadian identity where Canadians are thought to pronounce the phrase "out and about" as "*oot* and *aboot"*. However, its status as a prominent feature has been challenged over the years: studies have indicated that CR is not uniformly present across Canada (e.g., Kirwin 1993), noting its decline in urban communities (Chambers 1981), particularly among younger speakers (Chambers & Hardwick 1986, Hung, Davidson & Chambers 1993). Focusing on Vancouver, for example, results are inconsistent: whereas Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) as well as

Boberg (2008) have reported that CR is weakening in British Columbia (BC), Pappas and Jeffrey (2013), Sadlier-Brown (2012), and Rosenfelder (2007) concluded that CR is still a robust phenomenon in the region. Furthermore, although CR is a phonologically defined phenomenon only in Canada, it is nonetheless present in other North American cities such as Virginia (Kurath & McDavid 1961), Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963), Philadelphia (Labov 1994), and Michigan (Dailey-O'Cain 1997).

1.3.2. Definition

The discovery of CS, though more recent, came at a time when the status of CR as a characteristic feature of Canadian English was waning. Contrary to CR, most studies concur that CS is an on-going change, with its presence consistently demonstrated across Canada (Boberg 2008) both in urban (e.g., Labov *et al*. 2006) and rural (e.g., De Decker 2002) communities. Moreover, De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) argue that CS is still below the level of awareness, which means that speakers are generally unaware that this change is taking place and therefore stereotypes – such as the one associated with CR – remain absent. For these reasons, CS appears to be more characteristic of Canadian English and would be better suited as the variable for the current study.

CS, first reported by Clarke, Elms, and Youssef (1995), involves the systematic movement of the front lax vowel subsystem of Canadian English, /æ/ /ɛ/ and /ɪ/, triggered by the merger of /o/ and /oh/ (the low-back merger).[16] More specifically, this movement involves the shifting of /æ/ towards a low-central position and the subsequent lowering and retraction of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ (see Figure 1). Labov *et al.*'s (2006) quantitative definition of CS is based on the first and second formant frequencies of the vowel nuclei:

- F2 of /o/ being less than 1275 Hz (i.e., low-back merger)
- F2 of /æ/ being less than 1825 Hz (i.e., retraction)
- F1 of /ɛ/ being greater than 650 Hz (i.e., lowering)

[16] The vowels /o/ and /oh/ follow Boberg's (2008) conventions. They refer to the vowels LOT and THOUGHT (Wells 1982), respectively.

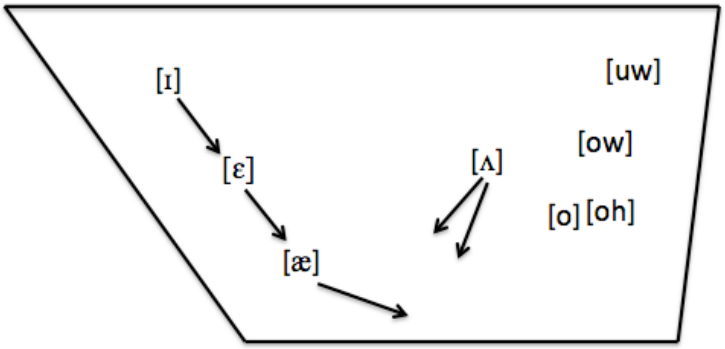

Figure 1. The Canadian Shift (adapted from Clarke *et al*. 1995).

1.3.3. Previous studies

Clarke's (1991) study of St. John's speech was one of the first to provide empirical evidence that Canadian English vowels were undergoing movement, thereby opposing Labov's (1991) initial assertions that Canadian English had a stable vowel system. In surveying the linguistic patterns of speakers in St. John's, Clarke (1991:111) concluded that their speech was undergoing "considerable phonological change in the direction of Canadian English (CE) heteronomy." She found that younger individuals, particularly upper class females, demonstrated more lowered and retracted /æ/, a variant she claimed to be more mainstream and more characteristic of Canadian English.

That the lowering and retracting of /æ/ was considered a Canadian English mainstream variant is crucial, as this implied that the movement of /æ/ could also be observed in other regions. Accordingly, Esling and Warkentyne (1993) sought further evidence of this movement: in their investigation of Vancouver English, they analyzed data from SVEN (Gregg *et al.* 1981), and their findings revealed that /æ/ was "acquiring a more retracted quality in Vancouver English beginning with individuals with the highest social status and about one generation earlier for women than for men" (Esling & Warkentyne 1993:242). This finding proved critical in corroborating Clarke's (1991) results in St. John's. In addition, the fact that these two studies reported identical findings despite being conducted miles apart offered substantial support for the presence of an on-going sound change in Canadian English – one that is being led by young females in the higher social classes. However, what did not become apparent at that time was that the movement of

/æ/ was actually part of CS, a larger series of vowel shifting that affected the entire front lax vowel subsystem.

Clarke *et al.* (1995) were the first to determine that /æ/ was not the only vowel in Canadian English undergoing movement; they observed that the front lax vowel subsystem was part of a chain shift. They noted the presence of CS among young urban speakers in Ontario. Since then, many studies (De Decker and Mackenzie 2000, Hoffman 1998, 1999, 2010, Hoffman & Walker 2010, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010) have confirmed Clarke *et al.*'s (1995) findings, showing that speakers in Metro Toronto are actively participating in the shift. In addition, De Decker (2002), by moving beyond the city limits and into a rural community in Ontario, found that rural speakers too were actively participating in this change. The very pervasive nature of CS in Ontario in both urban and rural contexts initially prompted researchers to speculate that perhaps these patterns indicated an Ontario-specific phenomenon; Boberg (2005:135) in fact raised the issue of "whether the Canadian Shift is really just an Ontario Shift." This proposition was nonetheless rejected quickly as ensuing studies revealed that CS is active in other Canadian regions like Montreal (Boberg 2005), and even as far as Halifax (Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008), and St. John's (D'Arcy 2005). The same is true westward: in Lethbridge, Meechan (1999) found that speakers demonstrated aspects of the shift, primarily the lowering of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/. In Winnipeg, Hagiwara (2006) found retraction (and slight lowering) of /æ/ and, more recently, Rosen, Onosson and Li (2015) found movement of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/.

CS is also a robust phenomenon in Vancouver (Hirayama 2000, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). Although the number of studies relating to CS in Vancouver remain small, research in the region has consistently demonstrated that Vancouver speakers participate in this on-going change. Hirayama (2000) investigated the vowel system of western Canada with most of her speakers originating from BC. In her survey of CS, impressionistic data showed that CS operated in the region with /æ/ exhibiting the highest rate of shifting, followed by /ɛ/ and to a lesser extent, /ɪ/. On the other hand, Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) conducted a comparative analysis of CS in Vancouver and Halifax. Based on their acoustic analyses of word list data from 12 Vancouver speakers, they found that /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/ have shifted, indicating the presence

of CS in the region. Their apparent-time data also showed that CS is currently active. Results revealed correlations between age and formant frequency values which suggest that younger speakers are more advanced compared to older speakers in the case of lowering and retraction of /ɛ/, retraction of /æ/, and moderately so in the lowering and retraction of /ɪ/. Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) corroborated these findings in their study of BC English.[17] They conducted sociolinguistic interviews with 23 speakers from Vancouver and Victoria, and made use of Boberg's (2008) word list to examine the shifting of /ɛ/ and /æ/. Following the methods outlined in Labov *et al*. (2006), Boberg (2008), as well as Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga (2008), their results indicated that BC speakers have, in general, shifted vowels consistent with CS. With respect to /ɛ/-shifting, 10 out of the 12 Vancouver speakers exhibited /ɛ/-lowering, while all 12 demonstrated retraction.[18] On the other hand, concerning /æ/-shifting, they found all 12 speakers producing retracted variants of /æ/. Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) also subjected their data to a correlational analysis between year of birth and the F1 and F2 measurements of the vowels. It was revealed that there was an intermediate correlation between year of birth and lowering and retraction in the case of /ɛ/, but a high correlation in the case of /æ/ retraction. Similar to Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008), this indicated that younger speakers are relatively more advanced in terms of the shift. Additionally, the correlation between year of birth and the lowering and retraction of /ɛ/ was higher among males than females, but both gender groups showed high correlation between year of birth and /æ/ retraction. In conclusion, these three studies revealed similar CS patterns at play in Vancouver. Their findings indicated that /æ/ was furthest along in the shift, and that speakers in BC are generally more advanced, but not as advanced as Torontonians (Hirayama 2000).

Boberg's (2008) *Phonetics of Canadian English* (PCE) is particularly noteworthy because it offered a more detailed account of the regional variation in Canadian English compared to the national overview provided by Labov *et al*. (2006) in ANAE. With respect to its methodology, whereas ANAE examined data from 33 Canadians with diverse backgrounds, PCE analyzed the speech of 86 Canadians from a narrower social range,

[17] Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) also explored the status of CR in both cities.

[18] Pappas and Jeffrey (2013:42) mentioned that the two non-shifters have F1 values that are very close to the threshold and can thus be considered as being "part of the same system of change."

comprised of young, middle-class, and university-educated informants. Moreover, PCE made use of word-list data as opposed to ANAE's use of spontaneous speech data. This is because word-list data, according to Boberg (2008:133), eliminate "phonetic, prosodic, lexical, and other linguistic variables" that would otherwise be difficult to control for in spontaneous speech. With regards to CS, he found no significant differences across regions and therefore concluded that CS is a pan-Canadian occurrence among urban middle-class youths. In sum, though superficial, Boberg's (2008) and Labov *et al*.'s (2006) findings provided confirmation that CS is an on-going change across Canada, and more broadly, CS studies have provided strong support for the great degree of linguistic homogeneity in Canada (Chambers 1991, 2012).

Apart from confirming the presence of CS across Canada, many studies have also investigated the role of various social factors in the conditioning of CS. In general, studies have consistently shown that CS is active among urban middle-class speakers (Boberg 2008, Clarke *et al*. 1995, Esling & Warkentyne 1993; Hoffman 1999, 2010).[19] Furthermore, among the middle class, CS is most active among the younger generation (Clarke 1991, Clarke *et al*. 1995, D'Arcy 2005, De Decker & Mackenzie 2000, Esling & Warkentyne 1993, Hirayama 2000, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). In their apparent-time studies, for example, De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) found that their younger speakers show lowering of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ at a much higher rate than the older age group. Moreover, Roeder and Jarmasz (2010) found that the movement of /æ/ and /ɛ/ was inversely correlated with age; that is, younger speakers produced more lowered and retracted variants of the vowels. As previously discussed, Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) as well as Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) found similar observations in their apparent-time data, showing inverse correlations between year of birth and shifting of /æ/ and /ɛ/.

[19] It is important to note however that this observation is mainly due to the fact that most of these studies have recruited speakers exclusively from the middle class therefore it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. Boberg's (2005) study in Montreal included education background (i.e., whether or not participants hold a university degree) as a social factor – perhaps suggesting that education can serve as a measure of socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, his statistical analyses show that education background does not have a significant effect on shifting.

Moreover, studies have shown that women tend to lead men in some aspects of the shift (Boberg 2005, 2008, Clarke 1991, Clarke *et al*. 1995, Esling & Warkentyne 1993, Meechan 1999, Hirayama 2000, Hoffman 1998,1999, 2010, Hoffman & Walker 2010, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013). Esling and Warkentyne (1993) reported that women show more retracted /æ/ than men, arguing that they are more advanced than men by at least a generation. This was supported by Hirayama (2000), wherein she found gender to be a significant factor only for /æ/, with females leading the change. Clarke *et al*. (1995) also reported the degree or retraction and lowering among females were significantly higher than men for /æ/ and /ɛ/ but not /ɪ/. On the other hand, Hoffman (2010) reported that gender proved to be significant in the lowering of /ɪ/, with women exhibiting more lowered /ɪ/ than men. Boberg (2005) meanwhile found significant effects of gender on the retraction of /æ/; specifically, he found females to be in the lead.[20] This was also noted by Roeder and Jarmasz (2010), but they reported that whereas females showed only retraction of /æ/, males showed both retraction and lowering. Both Boberg (2005) and Roeder and Jarmasz (2010) did not find significant effects for /ɛ/. In another study, Hoffman and Walker (2010) found slight effects of gender on both /ɛ/ and /æ/. They concluded that the vowels produced by women were shifted to a greater degree than men. Generally speaking, then, these studies suggest that men lag behind women by at least one generation, but recent findings indicate the men are catching up, at least with respect to /ɛ/ (Pappas & Jeffrey 2013).

The role of ethnicity is much less clear. In Toronto, Hoffman and Walker (2010) surveyed British, Italian, and Chinese speakers and employed the Ethnic Orientation (EO) questionnaire, which combines emic and etic approaches to categorizing speakers according to ethnic identity. They found that even though all second-generation speakers participated in CS, it was still stratified: whereas the Anglo speakers were participating in CS and were followed closely by the Italians, the Chinese were actually lagging behind quite considerably as evidenced by the group's very low rates of shifting. On the other hand, in a later study using data from the same corpus as Hoffman and Walker (2010), Hoffman (2010) included Chinese, Italian, and British speakers and reported no significant

[20] Boberg (2005) also found significant effects of gender for /ɪ/ but found that in this case, it was actually the male group who was in the lead.

effects of ethnicity; she concluded that Torontonians were actively participating in the shift irrespective of ethnic background. Likewise, Boberg (2005) reported that ethnicity did not play a role in the conditioning of CS, leading him to conclude that CS in Montreal is uniform across the ethnic dimension. Finally, and more crucial to the current study is the recent findings of Rosen *et al*. (2015), where they observed Filipinos to be shifting /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ at higher rates than their Anglo counterparts in Winnipeg.

While not pertinent to the present study, it is nevertheless worthwhile to review the linguistic conditioning of CS. Point of articulation afffects some aspects of the shift. Meechan (1999) reported that preceding labial and palatal segments had the highest effect on the lowering of /ɪ/. Conversely, Clarke *et al*. (1995), Hirayama (2000) and De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) found that while point of articulation did not have any significant effects, manner of articulation proved to be significant to the lowering of the front vowels. All studies found that a following fricative promotes lowering, particularly of /ɛ/. However, Hirayama (2000) also found following fricative to be favourable for /æ/. Additionally, De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) found a significant effect of following laterals on the lowering of /æ/ /ɛ/ and /ɪ/, but Clarke *et al*. (1995) found the same significance only for /æ/. Finally, Meechan (1999) determined that preceding stop-liquid clusters promoted the lowering of /ɪ/. The effect of voicing also proved to be significant: Clarke *et al*. (1995) found that following voiceless consonants promoted the lowering of /ɛ/, while Meechan (1999) reported that preceding voiceless segments promoted the lowering of /ɪ/. Hirayama (2000) on the other hand discovered that a following voiceless consonant favoured shifting of /æ/ /ɛ/ and /ɪ/. Another factor that promoted lowering of the vowels is closed syllables (De Decker & Mackenzie 2000).

1.3.4. Present issues

CS is indeed an on-going pan-Canadian phenomenon affecting the linguistic behaviour of younger, middle class Canadians in both urban and rural areas. Yet despite this resounding trend, there are still numerous issues to consider. The existing studies on CS, especially the ones reviewed here, illustrate the elusiveness of /ɪ/ in the shift. Often, this particular variable was left out because studies have failed to gather enough tokens that show signs of lowering (Hoffman & Walker 2010), arguably because of its relative

stability compared to the other vowels involved in the shift. The studies that did examine this particular vowel revealed mixed findings. For example, Boberg (2005) found retraction of /ɪ/ in Montreal while De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) also found lowering of /ɪ/ in Toronto. However, Roeder and Jarmasz's (2010) results from speakers in the same region did not support De Decker and Mackenzie's (2000) findings. Instead of arguing for stability, De Decker (2002:18) asserted that "the disparity between the different data sets may be the result of catching a sound change in its initial stages." This sentiment was echoed in Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) study, in which they discovered that /ɪ/ in Vancouver (and Halifax) "has begun to follow its counterparts in their general movement of retraction and lowering."

The directionality or trajectory of the shift has also been called into question. On the one hand, there are studies that show evidence of diagonal shift (i.e., both lowering and retracting) of /æ/, /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ (e.g., Clarke *et al*. 1995; Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) found that /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ exhibited lowering more so than retraction, but Hagiwara (2006) reported that in Winnipeg, /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ experienced movement mostly on the F2 dimension but also observed that /æ/ underwent both retraction and lowering, On the other hand, Boberg (2005) reported that at least in the case of Montreal English, CS is characterized instead by a series of parallel retractions and very weak (if any) lowering. In Vancouver specifically the trajectory is also unclear: Esling and Warkentyne (1993) showed that younger speakers are retracting /æ/. On the other hand, Hirayama (2000), found great interspeaker variability, with some speakers retracting /æ/ but not lowering, and some showing the opposite trend. Moreover, Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) found /æ/ to be retracting and /ɛ/ to be both retracting and lowering. This conforms to the model proposed by Labov *et al*. (2006) who found that Vancouver displayed retraction of /æ/, the diagonal movement of /ɛ/ and no apparent movement of /ɪ/. Finally, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga (2008) concluded that in the case of Vancouver, CS in Vancouver demonstrates retraction of /æ/ and diagonal movement of /ɛ/ as well as /ɪ/, contrary to Labov *et al*.'s (2006) model.

Finally, there are various methodological limitations that must be addressed. Several studies used only impressionistic data (i.e., relying on careful transcription and auditory analysis). Boberg (2005:136) highlighted that while previous impressionistic

studies (e.g., Clarke *at al*. 1995, Hirayama 2000) definitely made careful and thorough analyses, “a reliance on impressionistic transcriptions can sometimes introduce various sources of error, ranging from imprecision of the analytical categories used in impressionistic transcription to problems of intertoken and intercoder reliability and objectivity.” Furthermore, this type of approach can lead to issues when dealing with replicability and generalizability. However, possibly the most relevant to the current study is the fact that little has been achieved in exploring the ethnic patterns of CS. This type of exclusion perpetuates the notion of the Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001) and methods of traditional dialectology; it does not reflect the social realities of urban and ethnically-diverse cities like Metro Vancouver wherein various ethnic groups are indeed part of the system of language change.

1.3.5. Research questions

This literature review demonstrated that ethnolects are distinct native varieties of English spoken by a community and which convey membership to a particular ethnic group. Furthermore, to adopt the speech of the mainstream Anglo community is evidence of linguistic integration, and more broadly, cultural assimilation. With regard to Canadian English, previous studies have argued that Canadians of Asian origin do not possess a unique ethnolect. Speakers of this pan-ethnic group are therefore viewed as acculturated members of the society – ones that convey a more mainstream identity in their speech.

Furthermore, what hopefully becomes apparent is that Filipinos are important members of the Metro Vancouver community but yet remain an understudied group. They have a young immigration history, but through the different admission channels to which they have access, they have become a super-diverse group, with varying experiences and social trajectories. Moreover, Filipinos in Metro Vancouver do not have a strong enclave status nor do they have strong network ties with each other. In addition, many parents encourage their children to adopt western culture as a means to ease their adjustment and allow them to navigate the mainstream society more easily. As a result, even though research has shown that they form a sizeable demographic in the community, they do not display strong ethnic presence. The community patterns suggest that second-generation Filipinos in the region would conform more to mainstream society. To that end, we want

to explore if this is the case linguistically by determining whether they participate in the on-going sound changes in Canadian English. Specifically, the research questions are as follows:

1. Do second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver participate in CS? If so,

    a. What vowels are participating?

    b. What are their trajectories?

    c. How does gender play a role in the patterning of shift?

The following section discusses the methods employed in order to address the research questions.

Chapter 2.

Methodology

In this chapter, I review in detail the methods employed in the current study. First, I focus on the participant profile wherein I elaborate on the inclusion criteria. I also consider some of the limitations that the criteria present. After, I offer a brief discussion on the sociolinguistic interview and how that was adopted in the current study. Finally, I discuss the methods of analysis, using word list data as the basis for my quantitative analysis.

2.1. Participants

The present study asked to what extent Filipinos in Metro Vancouver are integrated into the mainstream speech community. For this exploratory study, the experimental design required middle class, second-generation Filipinos between the ages of 19 and 30 residing in Metro Vancouver, stratified only according to gender.

Statistics Canada (2011b) defines 'second generation' as individuals who were born in Canada and have at least one parent born abroad (i.e., first-generation immigrant). Meanwhile, in other studies that explore the lives of Filipino youths (e.g., Kelly 2014, Mais 2012), those who were born outside of Canada were actually classified as generation 1.5 immigrants: they arrived in Metro Vancouver as young children and then spent their formative years in the region. As previously mentioned, the immigration history of Filipinos in Vancouver is still relatively young: the first significant influx started only in the 1980's with the arrival of live-in caregivers. Then, the 1990's saw more independent skilled workers and sponsored family migrants. It was not until the 2000's, particularly between 2006 and 2011, where a significant proportion of Filipino families entered Canada (Kelly 2014). One of the consequences of this pattern (both in terms of the time and immigration channel) is that there are not many second-generation Filipinos who are actually born and raised in Metro Vancouver; most of them came to Metro Vancouver as very young children. Therefore, for the current study, I adopted a working definition of second generation by not only including Filipinos who were born and raised in Metro Vancouver,

but also those who came to the city before the age of 12. By combining the definitions for 'second generation' (Statistics Canada 2011b) and 'generation 1.5' (Kelly 2014, Mais 2012), I was able to access to a greater pool of participants that may otherwise have been impossible. Of course, combining pools as such can pose numerous drawbacks, including the fact that Filipino immigrants at age 12 have already acquired a different variety of English (in addition to Tagalog) as their native language.

Furthermore, Metro Vancouver, also referred to as Greater Vancouver, includes 21 municipalities, 1 electoral area, and 1 Treaty First Nation (Figure 2). As mentioned, the population of Metro Vancouver is approximately 2.3 million, of which around 112,000 are Filipinos. The decision to recruit participants from all over Metro Vancouver was two-fold: first, research has noted that Filipinos do not have a very strong enclave status (Balakrishnan *et al.* 2005, Hiebert 2009, Kelly 2014), therefore there are no apparent 'Filipino towns'. Second, I did not consider the role of enclave status in the conditioning of the participants' linguistic behaviour (*cf*. Hoffman & Walker 2010), so it was not imperative to the recruitment criteria. Figure 2 also includes superimposed information regarding where the participants live and how many speakers came from each respective city: five speakers reside in Vancouver; four in Surrey; and one each from Burnaby, New Westminster, and Coquitlam.

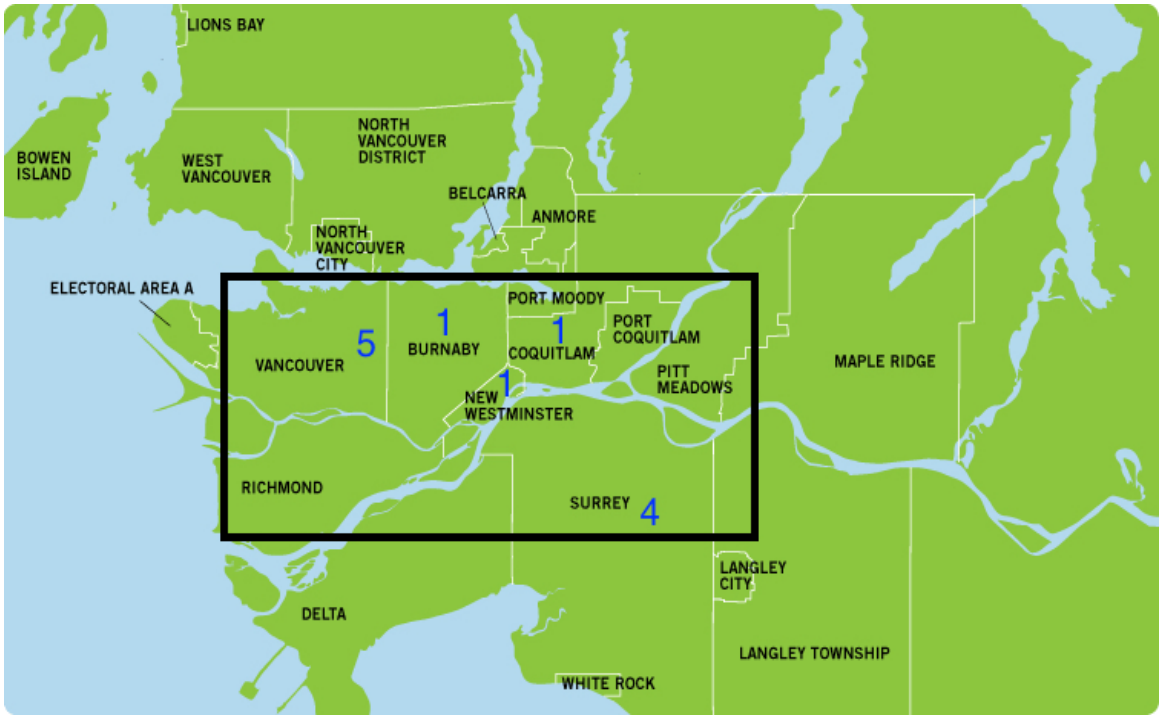

Figure 2. A map of Metro Vancouver.
Note. The superimposed information shows the number of participants and their city of residence (map taken from http://trek.ubc.ca/files/2010/08/Metro_Van.gif).

2.1.1. Gender

The treatment of gender in sociolinguistics has seen considerable changes over the years (Bucholtz 2002, Schilling-Estes 2002). Earlier studies tend to be large scale (e.g., Labov 1966, Wolfram 1969) and gender is seen as a static category often equated with biological sex. This male/female classification was seen as a predetermined category and argued to not influence language use (Schilling-Estes 2002). From these earlier studies, Labov (1990:210-5) summarized the effects of gender in three principles:

Principle I — In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of nonstandard forms than women.

Principle Ia — In change from above, women favour the incoming prestige forms more than men.

Principle II — In change from below, women are most often the innovators.

That women use more standard forms than men (Principle I) has become a central tenet of sociolinguistics (Fasold 1990). However, that women also use local innovations more than men (Principle II) seems to contradict the former. This has been referred to as the gender paradox: "women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not" (Labov 2001:293). In studies dealing with local sound changes such as CS, Principle II is often observed.

Subsequent studies have acknowledged that having a dichotomous view of sex in explaining variation in linguistic behaviour was limiting. In reality, linguistic differences between men and women actually proved to be as complex as those due to other social categories like social class (Chambers 1992, Cheshire 2004, Eckert 1989, Horvath 1985, Milroy 1992). For example, several studies have noted conflicting linguistic patterns between men and women because of the varying types of roles and norms they practice in their respective communities (Edwards 1992, Holmes 1996, Moonwomon 1989). This led to the realization that rather than framing their analyses solely in terms of sex, researchers must also consider the social and cultural aspects of the community where the speakers are situated. Consequently, rather than talking about 'sex', the discourse shifted to talking instead about 'gender' and the 'practice of gender' (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 1992). This approach promotes speakers as "dynamic and highly agentive, and language is not only shaped by but plays a crucial role in shaping social groups and societal forces" (Schilling-Estes 2002:122).

One of the primary goals of the current study was to determine whether gender plays a role in the patterning of CS within this subgroup of Filipinos. Previous research on CS has shown that women are in the lead (Clarke *et al*. 1995, Meechan 1999, Hoffman & Walker 2010, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010) with men being about a generation behind – at least in some aspects of the shift (Esling & Warkentyne 1993, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013). In the current study, I recruited 6 males and 6 females and relied simply on a male/female dichotomy on the basis of the participants' self-identification. As research on this particular community is still in its infancy, I followed Milroy and Milroy (1997) in that I treated speaker sex as an exploratory variable; the term is unrefined and used in a broad sense, thus making it easy to account for during the data-collection phase as well as to ensure replicability and comparability. I am hopeful that future variationist studies exploring the

Filipino community will consider the subtleties involved in the construction of gender within this community; this involves, as Cheshire (2004:432) puts succinctly, "detailed ethnographic studies within specific communities, which can look beyond the conventional social categories of class, sex, age, and ethnic group, and take into account other social categories that may be more meaningful to speakers themselves."

2.1.2. Age

The study of age with respect to language variation and change is concerned with the "change in speech of the community as it moves through time *(historical change)*, and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (*age grading*)" (Eckert 1996:151; emphasis not my own). Much sociolinguistic work looking at age and language changes in progress have often relied on the apparent-time construct (e.g., Labov 1963), which states that "differences among generations of similar adults mirror actual diachronic developments in a language: the speech of each generation is assumed to reflect the language more or less as it existed at the time when that generation learned the language" (Bailey, Wilke, Tillery & Sand 1991:241). Typically, sociolinguistic studies employ age groups or cohorts: older, young adults, and more recently, adolescents (e.g., D'Arcy 2005, Eckert 1989, 2000). And in general, studies have shown that older adults exhibit more conservative linguistic behaviour than their younger counterparts, who in contrast display active participation in language innovations (e.g., Labov 1966, Horvath 1985, Trudgill 1974). Similarly, a growing number of studies that examine the linguistic behaviour of adolescents (e.g., Cheshire 1982, Eckert 1989) have found that these group of speakers are sensitive to language change.

Previous studies have reported consistently that CS is a change in progress, active among the younger age group (e.g., Clarke *et al*. 1995, D'Arcy 2005, De Decker & Mackenzie 2000, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). For example, De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) found that their adolescent speakers lowered /ɪ/ and /ɛ/

the most – at an overall rate of 39% – followed by young adult speakers at 23%.[21] Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) apparent-time analysis in Vancouver also showed moderate inverse correlations between age and shifting of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ in the F1 and F2 dimensions as well as /æ/ in the F2 dimension. In other words, younger speakers demonstrate more shifted values (i.e., lowered and retracted) than their older counterparts.

For the current study I only focused on one age group, namely those between the ages of 19 and 30. Once again, given the discussion on the immigration history of Filipinos, it is challenging to recruit second-generation speakers that would constitute an older age group. This limited age range made it impossible to conduct an apparent-time analysis but future research would benefit from having different age cohorts to see the direction and the degree of shifting over time.

2.1.3. Social class

The relationship between social class and varying linguistic patterns has been explored extensively in variationist studies (Feagin 1979, Horvath 1985, Labov 1966, 1972a, 2001, Lennig 1978, Trudgill 1974, Wolfram 1969), and yet despite the wealth of research on this social factor there is still a lack of understanding of the various measures that influence the construction of class within a given speech community (Ash 2004). Often, social class is defined "in an ad hoc way … and linguists do not frequently take advantage of the findings of disciplines that make it their business to examine social class … to inform their work" (Ash 2004:402). Sociolinguistic studies often classify speakers as lower/working class, middle class and upper class on the basis of occupation, since this incorporates both economic (e.g., ownership of property) and subjective measures (power, reputation, status), and these two measures are argued to be crucial in determining membership to a particular class. However, it is worth mentioning that many other factors may contribute to the definition of class such as age, gender, ethnicity,

[21] De Decker and Mackenzie (2000) defined their adolescent group as "those speakers in or close to their teenage years and with close ties to a primarily teenage speech network" whereas their young adult group as "those speakers beyond the teenage speech network and engaged in adult activities like employment."

income, and education background. For example, in Labov's (1996) seminal work in New York City, membership in a particular social class was determined through a number of factors including occupation, education, and household income. In Norwich, Trudgill (1974) classified his speakers to five social class groups according to locality and housing in addition to occupation and education. These approaches to determining social class have been met with criticisms (e.g., Mallinson 2007, Mallinson & Dodsworth 2009) and have given way to other methods such as adapting Bourdieu's (1977) notion of linguistic market in assigning people to particular classes (see Sankoff & Laberge 1978).

In spite of its complexities, social class remains an invaluable independent factor that impacts linguistic variation and change. With stable variants for instance we see a trend where more standard forms are favoured by the upper classes while non-standard forms are favoured more by members of the lower classes (Labov 1966, Wolfram 1969). On the other hand, the effect of social class on changes in-progress, especially those below the level of awareness, tends to follow a more curvilinear pattern (Labov 2001). In other words, it is the members of the interior social classes like the middle class who drive and propagate changes (Ash 2004).

Social class is more challenging to conceptualize in Canada since, according to Chambers (1991:90,93), Canadians remain largely a homogenous middle class despite being in a highly urbanized nation. As a result, most CS studies recruit participants that are part of the middle class, but do not offer a clear definition of, nor the indices used to identify, class (e.g., Boberg 2005, 2008). Nonetheless, CS is a change in progress and has been noted to be one that is below the level of awareness (De Decker & Mackenzie 2000); as it relates to social class, the expectation therefore is that CS patterns would show a curvilinear pattern. Earlier studies such as Clarke (1991) in St. John's and Esling and Warkentyne (1993) in Vancouver have noted that /ae/ retraction was most salient among members of the uppermost social class. However, subsequent works have consistently shown that CS is a middle class phenomenon (e.g., Boberg 2005, 2008, Clarke *et al*. 1995, Hoffman & Walker 2010).

Social class was not treated as an independent variable in this study and as such the participants were not stratified accordingly. However, in order to ensure that all

participants are comparable, participants had to have either a university degree or be working towards one (i.e., university students). It is crucial to keep in mind though that this study does not claim that university education be used as a measure of social class.

To summarize, I recruited a total of 12 participants, 6 males and 6 females, with a mean age of 24. Only two of the participants were born and raised in Metro Vancouver, but most of them arrived to Metro Vancouver at a very young age – between 3 and 7 years. Two participants arrived to Canada at a later age (i.e., 10 and 12) but still fall within the present study's working definition of second generation. All of them were born to Filipino parents and none of the informants spent a significant length of time outside Metro Vancouver. In terms of linguistic background, most of the participants reported having been exposed to their parents' dialects (e.g., Tagalog) and can understand them passively, but for the most part they are all English monolinguals or English-dominant bilinguals (as noted previously, all participants preferred to use English even inside the home). Finally, all of them are either university students or already have a university degree and working in full-time positions. It is important to emphasize that while I made an effort to gather information about their family backgrounds in the Philippines (e.g., residence in the Philippines, parents' jobs, etc.), many participants were unsure given their young age upon immigration to Canada. The information that I did obtain indicated that the participants' parents all came from urban cities in the Philippines. They also had some form of post-secondary education, which was expected given that most Filipinos arrive in Canada with at least a Bachelor's degree (Kelly 2014, 2015a, Mais 2012). This may more likely be the case in Metro Vancouver since there are more Filipinos entering the city through the FSWP, which speaks to their high level of educational attainment. Table 2 provides background information of the participants including their age, year of birth, age of arrival and city of residence.

Table 2. Participant profile.

Participant Name	Gender	Year of birth	Age of Arrival	Residence
Trisha	F	1984	3	Surrey
Melissa	F	1984	7	Vancouver
Kristine	F	1991	3	New Westminster
Charmaine	F	1990	10	Surrey
Ella	F	1994	7	Surrey
Isabelle	F	1995	0	Surrey
Steve	M	1991	4	Burnaby
Paolo	M	1988	3	Vancouver
Andrew	M	1988	0	Vancouver
Jason	M	1987	7	Burnaby
Dominic	M	1992	12	Surrey
Benjamin	M	1990	7	Coquitlam

Note. '0' indicates that the participant was born and raised in Metro Vancouver.

The participants were recruited through a number of means. Since I shared the same ethnic background as the participants, the most successful strategy was through word of mouth, relying on friends and acquaintances to initiate correspondence. This eventually led to a snowball sampling approach in which previous informants let other prospective participants know about the study and instructed them to contact me should they be interested in participating. The study was also announced in the Simon Fraser University (SFU) community through faculty-wide e-mail advertisements and a blog post in the SFU Office of Graduate Studies and Post-Doctoral Fellows.[22]

2.2. Sociolinguistic interviews

Labov's work in New York City (1966) pioneered the use of the sociolinguistic interview, which aims to elicit linguistic data in different speech contexts (Labov 1984). The interview normally begins with an informal part, enabling researchers access to the participants' vernacular. This is achieved by engaging the participants in a free-flowing

[22] The blog post can be found here:
https://www.sfu.ca/deangradstudies/blog/year/2015/02/Linguistics-Filipinos.html

conversation about topics that interest them (e.g. daily routines, hobbies, friends, etc.); subsequent parts of the interview are more formal in nature, employing tasks such as reading passage, word lists, and minimal pairs, and these often require participants to pay more attention to language use. In the current study, the interview consisted of a conversation part (in the form of a semi-structured interview), a reading task, and a word list task.

According to Labov (1984:29), the vernacular "provides the most systematic data for linguistic analysis" since much sociolinguistic variation occurs in the most informal speech context. However, it is often impossible to access a participant's pure vernacular because of the inherently formal nature of the interview. To lessen the effects of this "observer's paradox" (Labov 1972b), I asked my participants about their lives as immigrants – hopeful that this intimate topic would make them focus on the content rather than on form. Also, I relied on the fact that I shared the same ethnic background as them and hoped that this provided a sense of in-group membership which in turn would facilitate the use of the vernacular as much as possible.

The interview took place either at Simon Fraser University or at the participants' homes. I informed the participants on how the interview was designed and provided them with a consent form to read and sign; it was also during this time that I gave the participants a $10 gift card and made it known that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. I started the recording shortly after signing the consent form. I used a Roland Edirol R-09HR recorder for the entire duration of the interview and the recordings were uploaded onto a flash drive as a .WAV file after each session.[23]

I started the interview by asking the informants for some demographic information such as their year of birth, city of residence, parents' residence in the Philippines, etc. Afterwards, the conversation revolved around their everyday experiences as second-generation immigrants, and their views about the languages to which they are exposed inside and outside of the home. While the questionnaire I had prepared (see Appendix A) prompted much of the discussion, I did not rely on it constantly. I allowed the informants

[23] There was one interview where I had to use a smartphone recorder due to technical difficulties. The data was not compromised in any way because of this.

to talk freely and lead the conversation. I did not make a conscious effort to stir the conversation back to the topic at hand if they participants deviated somehow. This portion of the session took anywhere between 15 and 40 minutes.

The next portion of the interview required the participants to read aloud a passage. This involved reading an excerpt of a sports news report from the Vancouver Sun (Appendix B) presented on a sheet of paper. I instructed them to read over the passage once and then once they were ready, they could read it at a normal pace using their normal speaking voice. If they made a mistake (e.g., mispronunciation), I told them they could repeat the word they mispronounced and continue on.

The word list task came last in the session. The participants were required to read aloud a word list (Boberg 2008) containing 180 common English words (Appendix C). This time, the word list was shown as a PowerPoint presentation from an Apple Macbook Pro running OS 10.11. The words were presented individually in the center of the slide using a 35-point Arial font. As with the previous task, I instructed them to read aloud the words at a normal pace, using their normal speaking voice. I also informed them to wait a couple of seconds in between each word before clicking the space bar to move on; this made sure that the clicking sound did not overlap with their recording (which would otherwise create an artifact in the waveform). After I briefed the participants and made sure they had no questions, I left the room to provide them with some privacy. Upon completion, they let me back in and stopped the recording shortly thereafter. All interview sessions were generally an hour in length.

2.3. Methods of analysis

Although it would have been ideal to use linguistic data from the conversation part of the interview (thereby gaining access to the most vernacular language use), there was much variation across interviews not only in the topics covered, but also in the level of engagement on the part of the participants. For studies looking at phonetic variation, data from the conversation may demonstrate a “wide dispersion of vowel tokens, ranging along the path of the change from more advanced to less advanced tokens” (Labov 1994:158). Boberg (2008) also noted that data from conversations frequently introduce influences

from other linguistic variables such as prosody. Therefore, in order to make the linguistic data also comparable across speakers and have the least amount of vowel dispersion, the present study relied exclusively on data from the word list.

Boberg (2004:548) stated that "formal conditions of elicitation like word lists tend to cause some degree of convergence toward standard norms of pronunciation. If ethnic differences were found in the pronunciation of word list items, it could be assumed that they would also be present in natural speech, whereas the converse could not be assumed." Since the goal of this research was to explore whether or not Filipinos would display mainstream features with respect to CS, this approach proved to be reasonable. In addition, using data from the word list allowed the present study to make strict comparisons with not only Boberg's (2008) study but also those that used his word list in their work (e.g., Pappas & Jeffrey 2013).

The word list contained all English vowels in major allophonic environments. Moreover, all target vowels were found in fully stressed positions. I also followed Boberg (2008:133) and used only 145 of the 180 words for the analysis (Appendix D) because the other 35 words contained variables that are not relevant to Canadian English (e.g., phonemic incidences and *foreign (a)* articulation – see Boberg 2010). Overall, 1740 tokens were analyzed to construct the vowel space of the participants. Meanwhile, with respect to CS, I included tokens containing the vowels /o, oh, æ, ɛ, ɪ/. Table 3 shows the tokens for each vowel across gender groups; there were a total of 408 tokens included in the CS analysis.

Table 3. Tokens selected for the CS analysis (adapted from Boberg 2008).

Vowel	Word	Male	Female	Total
/o/	bother, collar, cot, Don, sock, sod, strong, top	48	48	96
/oh/	caller, caught, dawn, saw, sawed, talk	36	36	72
/æ/	bad, sack, sad, sat, tally, tap	36	36	72
/ɛ/	dead, deck, sell, set, step, ten	36	36	72
/ɪ/	did, sick, singer, sit, spirit, still, tin, tip	48	48	96
				408

Following the methods laid out in Labov *et al*. (2006) and Boberg (2008), the tokens were subjected to acoustic analyses using linear predictive coding (LPC): measurements were done using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2015) by placing the cursor at a single point in the trajectory of the formants – either at the maximal point of F1 if the vowel's main tendency is the lowering or raising of the tongue; or at the inflection point in F2 if the vowel involves horizontal movement of the tongue (i.e., towards and away from the peripheries of the vowel space). In cases where there are no clear maximal or inflection points, the cursor was placed in the middle of the vowel's steady state.

Afterwards, the formant frequency values were normalized. Even though the formants in a spectrogram provide a reliable measure of a vowel's quality, these values are still reliant on the physical size of the speaker's vocal tract. Normalization therefore ensures that formant measurements across speakers are directly comparable by controlling for the size of the vocal tract. Normalization was carried out following Boberg's (2008:134) normalization method:

> As in [Labov *et al*. 2006], the data from each participant were then normalized, using the additive point system of Nearey (1978), in which the raw formant values of each speaker in a group are adjusted (up for men and down for women) by a scale factor derived from the difference between the natural log means of the speaker's and the groups' formant values.

The group mean of F1 and F2 values altogether was 1048 Hz (natural log = 6.95) and the scaling factors ranged from 0.82 for the female speaker with the highest voice to 1.35 for the male speaker with the lowest voice.[24]

Due to the small sample size, I did not run any statistical analyses to see if gender was a significant factor in the patterning of CS. The analysis of gender was therefore limited to descriptive statistics.

The following chapter discusses the results of the analyses.

[24] Thank you very much to Dr. Charles Boberg for sharing with me notes of his normalization methods.

Chapter 3.

Results

This chapter presents data from 12 participants; due to the small sample size, results are based on descriptive statistics. As such, at this point the findings are meant to be suggestive rather than conclusive. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the following discussion addresses some of the gaps in CS research, and more importantly, points to many areas of interest for future research not only on CS but also on the formation of ethnic identities and the development of ethnolects.

I begin with an overview of the phonetics of Canadian English as spoken by the Filipinos in the current study. I then focus the attention to the results of the CS analysis, in which I talk about the status of each vowel along the shift. Finally, I examine the condition of CS according to gender.

3.1. The vowel space of second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver

The descriptive results from the acoustic analyses of the word list data are provided in Table 4 and the mean values are plotted in Figure 3. They represent the vowel system of second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver. Particularly noteworthy about this vowel space is that not only does it possess Canadian English phonetic features outlined in Labov *et al*. (2006), it also patterns closely with Boberg's (2008) pan-Canadian vowel space as spoken by young, university-educated, middle class Canadians: the Filipinos' vowel space also displays a three-way merger of /o/, /oh/, and /ah/ in the low back position; this means that the vowels in words like *cot, caught, father* are produced identically by these speakers (see Section 3.2.1). The front lax vowel subsystem (/ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/) appears to be shifted, indicative of CS (see Section 3.2.1-3.2.4). Moreover, the phoneme /æ/ is also separated from its allophones before /g/ (i.e., [æg]) and nasals (i.e., [æN]): the major phoneme /æ/ remains low with an F1 of 913 Hz whereas its two allophones are raised (with an F1 of 807 Hz before velars and 792 Hz before nasals). CR

(Chambers & Hardwick 1986, Hung, Davidson & Chambers 1993) is also apparent in the vowel space as [awT] and [ayT] are raised compared to /aw/ and /ay/, respectively.[25] Results also indicate that Filipinos produce a retracted /aw/, as evidenced by the F2 (= 1539 Hz) being lower than the threshold value of 1550 Hz. Also shown in the vowel space is the fronting of the back upgliding vowels /uw/ and /ow/ as compared to their allophones before the liquids ([l] and [r]), which remain in the periphery.[26] However, the degree of /uw/-fronting demonstrated by the Filipinos in the current study (F2 = 1498 Hz) is not as extensive as in Boberg (2008), whose Vancouver speakers demonstrated F2 values greater than 1800 Hz. In addition, the Filipinos in the present study were not within the threshold values of the tense, almost monophthongal articulation of /ey/ and /ow/. Finally, the Filipino vowel space shows minimal fronting of /ahr/ (F2 = 1257 Hz), which coincides closely with the BC average in Boberg's (2008) data (F2 = 1303 Hz). He stated that BC speakers in particular demonstrated the least fronting relative to other Canadian regions such as the Maritimes.

Taken together, the Filipino-Canadians in the current study demonstrate vowels that are consistent with Boberg's (2008) pan-Canadian vowels space, specifically the phonetics of 'Inland Canada'. Thus far, these findings could be taken as evidence that Filipinos demonstrate the same mainstream linguistic behaviour found among their Anglo counterparts. The remaining portion of this discussion will focus on the status of CS within this group.

[23] The participants in the current study had an overall F1 difference of 69 Hz between raised and unraised /aw/ and 95 Hz between raised and unraised /ay/. Both values are higher than the threshold value of having an F1 difference being greater than 60 Hz (Labov *et al*. 2006). Boberg (2008) noted that in the case of /aw/, there is apparent weakening, showing lesser degree of difference between the raised and unraised variants.

[26] Following Boberg (2008), the vowel /uw/ was not split into post-coronal vs. not post-coronal.

Table 4. Mean F1 and F2 (in Hz) and standard deviation of Standard Canadian English phonemes and major allophones as spoken by Filipinos.

Vowel	Sample token	F1	SD	F2	SD
æ	sack	913	80	1708	86
ɛ	deck	730	79	1815	135
ɪ	Sick	514	81	2012	103
o	cot	736	55	1117	64
oh	caught	741	52	1121	60
ah	father	734	56	1104	68
æg	bag	807	72	1833	68
æN	band	792	103	1855	142
ahr	car	737	67	1257	143
aw	cow	868	78	1539	131
awn	down	848	81	1612	122
awT	doubt	799	68	1547	118
ay	side	866	75	1501	90
ayT	sight	771	79	1627	119
er	berry	598	67	1884	119
ey	sale	502	65	2133	132
eyr	care	599	51	1938	106
ɜ˞	bird	556	70	1547	116
iy	seat	339	51	2372	133
or	horrible	542	38	1012	38
ow	boat	582	59	1238	132
owl	bold	554	47	960	96
owr	pour	513	53	885	53
oy	coin	579	99	1071	176
uw	boots	356	48	1498	192
uwl	cool	376	40	886	54
uwr	poor	437	53	857	69
ʊ	cook	624	80	1378	273
ʌ	cup	774	81	1446	150
ʌr	worry	506	47	1341	47
ohr	core	544	55	1055	105

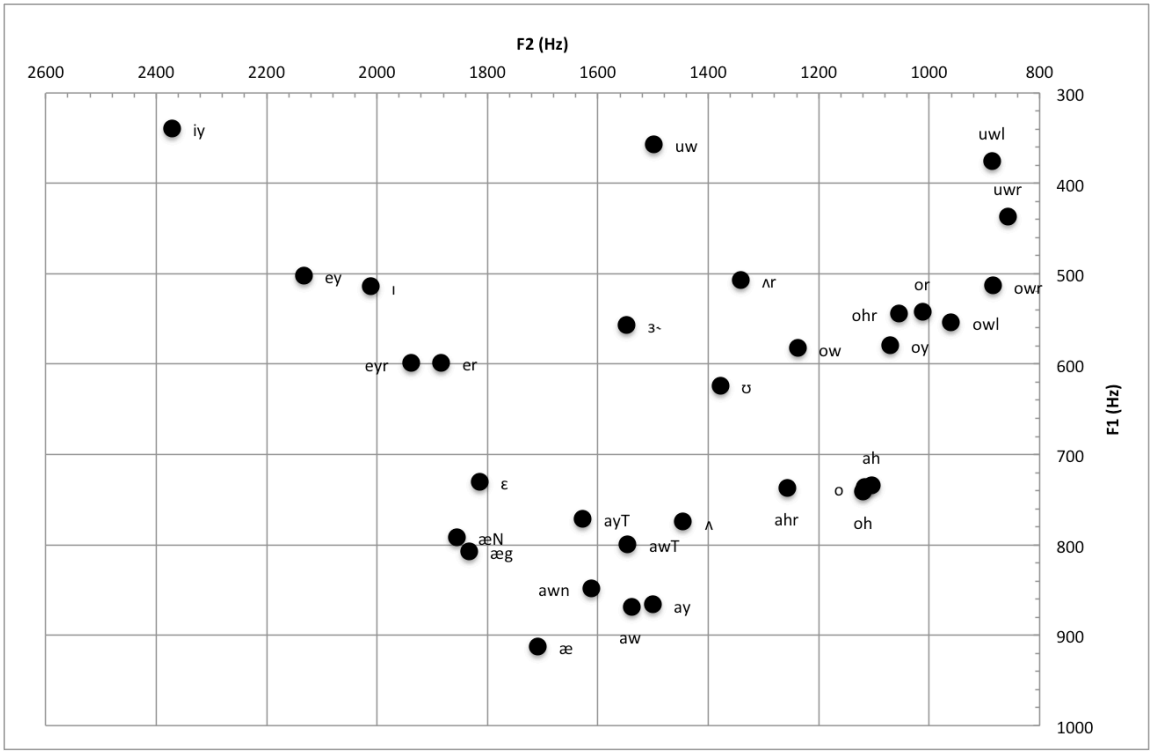

Figure 3. Mean F1 and F2 measurements of Standard Canadian English vowel phonemes and major allophones as spoken by second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver.

3.2. The Canadian Shift

3.2.1. Low-back merger

According to Avis (1973) and Labov (1991), the low-back merger (commonly known as the *cot-caught* merger) shows a consistent pattern across Canada. Labov *et al*. (2006) in fact reported that this merger is complete and stable in most of Canada, including Vancouver. Given this information, I hypothesized that the vowel system of the Filipinos in this study would also exhibit this merger. Labov *et al*. (2006) defined the low-back merger as the F2 of /o/ being less than 1275 Hz. In the current study the vowel /o/ was represented in the word list data by the tokens *cot, Don, bother, collar, sock, sod, strong* and *top*. And the tokens *caller, caught, dawn, saw, sawed,* and *talk* were used for the vowel /oh/. Table 5 shows the overall mean F1 and F2 values for the vowels /o/ and /oh/

and Table 6 provides the mean values per speaker. Overall, the Filipino speakers had an F2 of /o/ that is lower than the threshold value (1117 Hz). Each gender group also showed F2 values of /o/ less than 1275 Hz. Finally, all the speakers in the sample showed F2 values below the threshold. The results here reveal that the merger is present within this group.

Table 5. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /o/ and /oh/.

	Vowel							
	/o/				/oh/			
	F1	SD	F2	SD	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males	725	60	1128	61	722	47	1140	59
Females	748	47	1105	65	760	51	1101	55
All	736	55	1117	64	741	52	1121	60

Note. Token *n* = 96 for /o/ and 72 for /oh/.

Table 6. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /o/ and /oh/ for each speaker.

	Vowel							
	/o/				/oh/			
Participant	F1	SD	F2	SD	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males								
Andrew	703	62	1150	62	693	40	1169	59
Benjamin	743	44	1110	50	741	28	1120	48
Dominic	748	38	1105	58	733	44	1129	54
Jason	674	79	1179	58	684	42	1178	65
Paolo	751	59	1102	76	732	57	1129	76
Steve	729	43	1124	33	749	37	1113	34
Females								
Charmaine	721	43	1132	36	737	41	1125	74
Ella	731	75	1122	88	780	50	1082	36
Isabelle	777	30	1076	80	786	27	1076	37
Kristine	760	17	1093	25	746	41	1115	45
Melissa	737	40	1116	86	730	78	1131	68
Trisha	760	46	1093	52	783	44	1079	54

The low-back merger is stable and largely complete in Canada. Boberg's (2008) study confirmed this to be the case among his Anglo participants. Results of the current study established that the same is true among second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver. Clarke *et al*. (1995) argued that the low-back merger is the impetus behind CS therefore I predicted that CS would be present within this group. Following Clarke *et al.*'s (1995) prevailing argument that CS is a chain shift phenomenon triggered by the empty space created by the low-back merger, I expected that the front lax vowel subsystem would show movement, with /æ/ demonstrating the greatest degree of shifting, followed by /ɛ/, and to a certain extent, by /ɪ/.

3.2.2. Shifting of /æ/

Labov *et al*. (2006) defined retraction of /æ/ as having an F2 lower than 1825 Hz. Esling and Warkentyne (1993) first reported this shift in Vancouver with women and speakers from the upper class in the lead. Boberg (2008), Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008), as well as Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) have also confirmed its presence among their Anglo speakers in Vancouver. In the current study, the tokens *bad, sack, sad, sat, tally,* and *tap* were used to analyze /æ/. Table 7 provides the mean /æ/ F1 and F2 values of the group while Table 8 lists the values per speaker. As expected, /æ/ retraction is a robust phenomenon in Vancouver and present among the Filipinos in the sample, with an overall F2 of 1708 Hz – well below the threshold value. Furthermore, as seen in Table 8, all 12 speakers had below-threshold values. Figures 4 and 5 show the mean values of /æ/ for each speaker according to gender group; the threshold value is imposed as a red horizontal line in order to provide a visual comparison of the degree of retraction. Apart from strengthening the positive identification of retraction, it also becomes apparent that Kristine (followed closely by Isabelle) produced the most retracted variant among the females and Steve (followed closely by Benjamin) among the males, whereas Charmaine and Jason demonstrated the least retraction.

Meanwhile, the lowering of /æ/ is has yet to be explored in greater depth, but has nonetheless been noted in Montreal (Boberg 2005), Toronto (Clarke *et al*. 1995, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010), and Winnipeg (Hagiwara 2006). Results by Sadlier-Brown and Tamming (2008) and by Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) in Vancouver, however, did not reveal any indication of lowering thus supporting Labov *et al*.'s (2006) findings that /æ/ retraction occurs without conccurent lowering. It is actually for this reason that Labov *et al.* (2006) did not provide a quantitative definition for the lowering of /æ/. In the current study, Table 7 shows that in the F1 dimension, the speakers in the current study had an overall mean value of 913 Hz. This value is higher than Boberg's (2008) Canadian mean of 884 Hz; Roeder and Jarmasz' (2010) means of 782 Hz for the male group and 775 Hz for the female group; and finally Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's Vancouver mean of 871 Hz.[27]

[24] The reported F1 values for /æ/ from Roeder and Jarmasz's (2010) study are only from the 22-32 age group as this is the most comparable data for the current study given that that age range is similar.

Based solely on this comparsion it is evident that the Filipinos in the sample produced more lowered variants of /æ/. Particularly noteworthy is the high F1 mean of the females in the current sample: 955 Hz. Based on this value alone, the difference between this and Roeder and Jarmasz's (2010) mean F1 for females is considerable. But given the limited sample size and age range, apparent-time analyses akin to Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) and Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) were not feasible in order to determine if there is strong correlation between this particular age group and lowering. The results here nonetheless could be taken as tentative evidence that lowering is present among this group. This can then provide an incentive to examine lowering more closely in future studies.

Table 7. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /æ/.

	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males	870	73	1750	78
Females	955	64	1666	73
All	913	80	1708	86

Note. Token *n* = 72.

Table 8. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /æ/ for each speaker.

Participant	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males				
Andrew	844	74	1777	47
Benjamin	914	91	1707	89
Dominic	847	72	1774	81
Jason	841	93	1780	51
Paolo	856	27	1756	62
Steve	921	21	1700	107
Females				
Charmaine	858	30	1763	65
Ella	947	36	1673	56
Isabelle	999	42	1622	87
Kristine	1003	63	1618	16
Melissa	961	52	1660	56
Trisha	958	43	1663	49

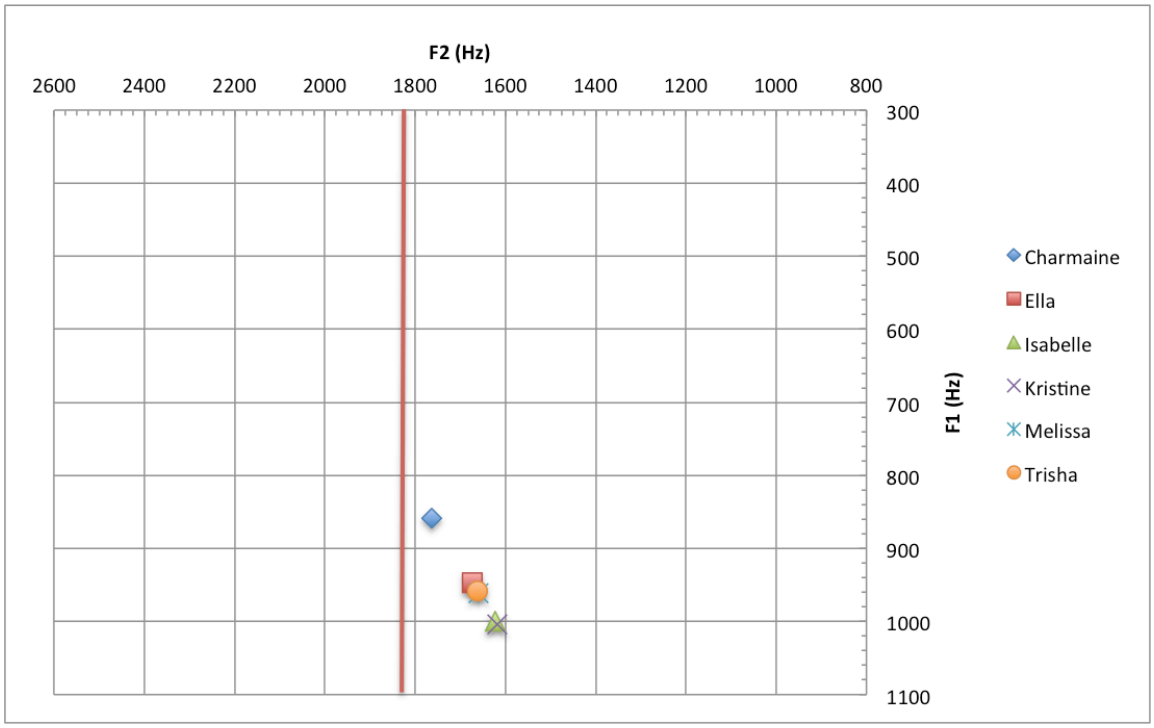

Figure 4. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /æ/ for the 6 female speakers.
Note. The red line indicates the threshold value for /æ/ retraction (= 1825 Hz).

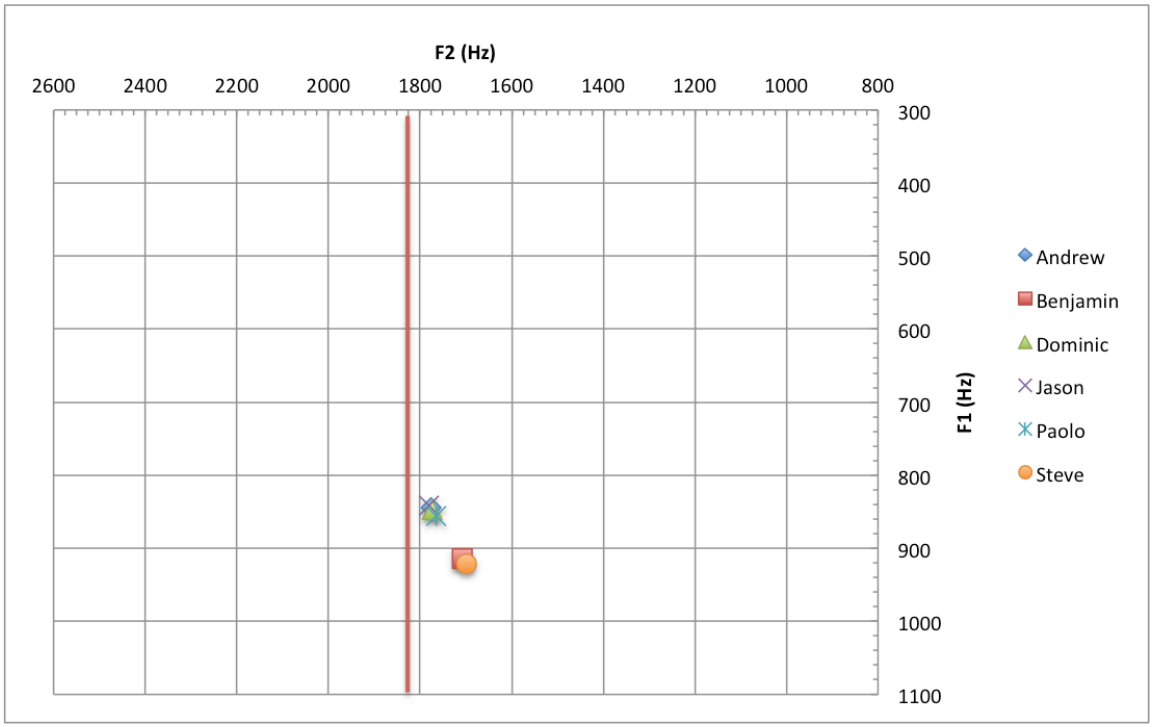

Figure 5. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /æ/ for the 6 male speakers.
Note. The red line indicates the threshold value for /æ/ retraction (= 1825 Hz).

3.2.3. Shifting of /ɛ/

The vowel /ɛ/ in the current study was represented by the tokens *dead, deck, sell, set, step,* and *ten.* Labov *et al*. (2006) found retraction of /ɛ/ in their sample of Canadian speakers, and they reported that their Canadian mean is one of the lowest compared to the other dialects they examined. In spite of this, they did not provide a quantitative definition for /ɛ/ retraction. In the same vein, Boberg (2005) found /ɛ/ retraction to be a more prominent feature of the shift compared to lowering in Montreal. Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) also found strong presence of retraction in Vancouver. Finally, Boberg (2008) reported that retraction of /ɛ/ is active across speakers, leading him to propose a three-way categorization for this particular phenomenon: those with F2 values higher than 2000 Hz are labelled 'conservative,' that is, they do not show apparent shifting; those with F2 less than 1800 Hz are 'innovative,' and demonstrate considerably advanced retracted variants; and finally, those with F2 lower than 2000 Hz but greater than 1800 Hz are called 'in-between' – they participate in retraction but not to the same extent as those classified as innovative. This classification system was employed by Pappas and Jeffrey (2013) in a later study of British Columbia. They found their Vancouver speakers all had retracted /ɛ/ (Mean F2 = 1845 Hz) – with 4 innovative and 8 in-between speakers – and concluded that /ɛ/ retraction is advanced in the region. Closely following these studies, I therefore set the threshold value at 2000 Hz. In other words, speakers that have F2 values lower than 2000 Hz were considered to be participating in the retraction (i.e., they are shifters).

Table 9 provides the overall mean F1 and F2 values for /ɛ/ while Table 10 shows each speaker's means. Collectively, the 12 speakers in the study had an F2 value of 1815 Hz but females overall had more retracted variants compared to the males. Each speaker too had values below the threshold. Figures 6 and 7 show the mean values of /ɛ/ for each gender group. The threshold for the retraction (i.e., 2000 Hz) is superimposed as a red vertical line to visualize the degree of retraction among the speakers. As mentioned, all the speakers produced retracted variants, but of the twelve, 1 male (Benjamin) and 5 females (Ella, Isabelle, Kristine, Melissa, and Trisha) are classified as innovative with F2 values below 1800 Hz, while the rest have in-between values. The results here are consistent with Pappas and Jeffrey's (2013) as well as Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) findings that /ɛ/ retraction is robust in Vancouver.

Table 9. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɛ/.

	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males	700	86	1844	146
Females	760	60	1785	118
All	730	79	1815	135

Note. Token *n* = 72.

Table 10. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɛ/ for each speaker.

Participant	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males				
Andrew	715	52	1830	64
Benjamin	751	45	1793	138
Dominic	711	25	1834	97
Jason	633	84	1911	103
Paolo	729	48	1816	85
Steve	663	159	1881	296
Females				
Charmaine	727	76	1818	127
Ella	755	64	1782	131
Isabelle	793	52	1752	117
Kristine	757	45	1788	70
Melissa	758	41	1787	110
Trisha	769	67	1776	182

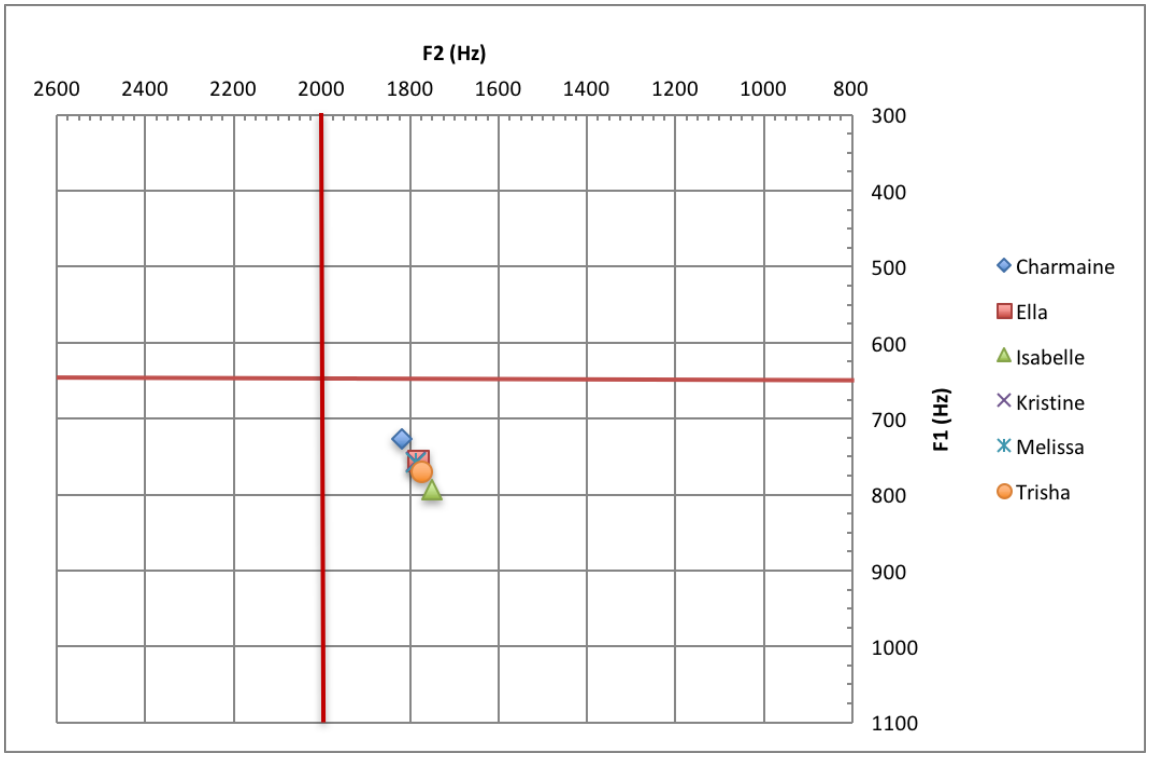

Figure 6. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɛ/ for the 6 female speakers.

Note. The red vertical line indicates the threshold value for /ɛ/ retraction (= 2000 Hz) and the red horizontal line indicates the threshold value for lowering (= 650 Hz).

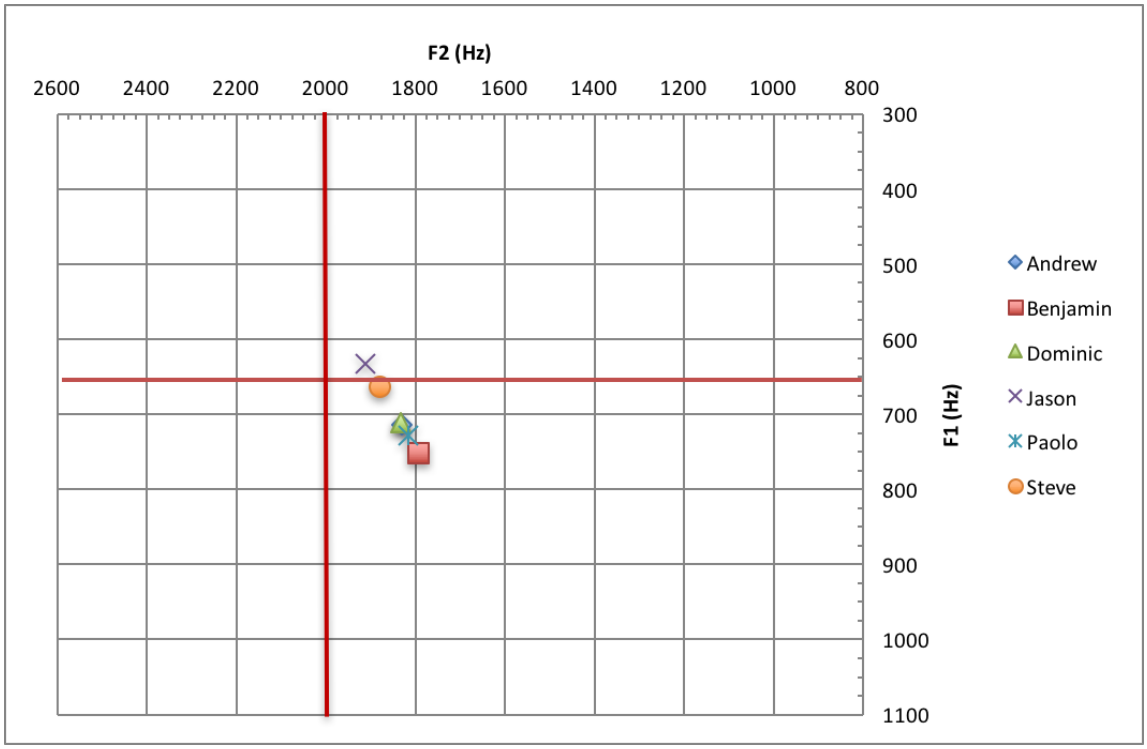

Figure 7. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɛ/ for the 6 male speakers.
Note. The red vertical line indicates the threshold value for /ɛ/ retraction (= 2000 Hz) and the red horizontal line indicates the threshold value for lowering (= 650 Hz).

Meanwhile, Labov *et al*. (2006) defined /ɛ/ lowering as the F1 of /ɛ/ being greater than 650 Hz. Many studies (e.g., Boberg 2005, 2008, Clarke *et al*. 1995, De Decker 2002, De Decker & Mackenzie 2000, Hoffman 2010, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010) have demonstrated its presence in Canada, including in Vancouver (Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013). Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) found their Vancouver speakers to have an F1 of 747 Hz whereas Pappas and Jeffrey's (2013) Vancouver mean was 690 Hz. As noted in Table 9, the 12 speakers in the current study had an overall F1 of 730 Hz; the F1 of the female group is higher (760 Hz) than the male group (700 Hz). All three values are greater than the threshold and taken together, suggest that lowering is a robust phenomenon among the Filipino speakers. Meanwhile, from Table 10 it becomes apparent that only 1 speaker (Jason) did not demonstare lowering, although it should be highlighted that his mean F1 (633 Hz) is very much near the threshold. Figures 6 and 7 provide a visual representation of these means; the horizontal red line represents the threshold value. Among the female speakers, Isabelle showed the most lowering (as well as the greatest degree of retraction), while Charmaine

demonstrated the least lowering (also retraction). Among the males, on the other hand, Benjamin is the most advanced shifter (both in terms of lowering and retraction), and Jason showed the least degree of shifting (in both directions).

3.2.4. Shifting of /ɪ/

The shifting of /ɪ/ remains a point of contention since previous studies have not found strong evidence of any sort of apparent movement. For instance, Clarke *et al*. (1995) reported lowering but no retraction, but Boberg (2005) found very weak evidence of retraction but not of lowering. De Decker and Mackenzie (2000), meanwhile, found evidence of /ɪ/-lowering, supporting Clarke *et al*. (1995). Later, De Decker (2002) also reported shifting, but at lower rates. Haigwara (2006) and Roeder and Jarmasz (2010), on the other hand, found neither retraction nor lowering – arguing then for its stability. Finally, in Vancouver, Hirayama (2000) found lower rates of /ɪ/-shifting (4%), but Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) concluded from their apparent-time analysis that /ɪ/ has indeed shifted diagonally. Meanwhile, Pappas and Jeffrey (2013), the other study looking at CS in Vancouver, did not explore this particular shift. Nonetheless, in general, De Decker (2002) claimed that rate of /ɪ/-shifting in the West Coast is lower than in the East.

In the current study, /ɪ/ is represented by the tokens *did, sick, singer, sit, spirit, still, tin* and *tip*. Labov *et al*. (2006) argued that /ɪ/ is stable and thus did not provide a definition for /ɪ/-shifting. Table 13 presents a collection of mean F1 and F2 values as reported in previous CS studies. For example, in Toronto, Roeder and Jarmasz (2010) reported that for their younger age group, the F1 and F2 values of /ɪ/ are 508 Hz and 1793 Hz, respectively for male speakers; and 514 Hz as well as 1746 Hz, respectively for female speakers. Hoffman (2010), who also surveyed younger speakers from Toronto, found that her sample produced more lowered (F1=520 Hz) but less retracted (F2=1908 Hz) variants of /ɪ/. In Vancouver, on the other hand, Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) found that their speakers, while exhibiting more lowered /ɪ/ at an F1 of 557 Hz, showed an even lesser degree of retraction with an F2 of 2063 Hz.[28] Overall, the reported values from these

[28] The F1 and F2 for /ɪ/ reported in Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) study included both younger and older speakers.

three studies do not deviate too far from Boberg's (2008) pan-Canadian means for /ɪ/ (F1=563 Hz; F2=2043).

Table 11 shows the mean F1 and F2 of all speakers as well as each gender group, and Table 12 provides the mean values for each speaker. Overall, the Filipinos in the current study demonstrated an /ɪ/ with an F1 of 514 Hz and an F2 of 2012 Hz. The females, however, had slighly more lowered and retracted variants. Based on Table 12, it becomes clear that each speaker's mean does not differ dramatically; but nonetheless, Paolo had the most lowered and retracted /ɪ/ and Jason produced the least lowered and retracted variant. Among the females, meanwhile, Kristine demonsrated the most lowering and retraction, whereas Charmaine showed the least movement in both dimensions. Figures 8 and 9 give visual representations of these mean values. In general, compared to other studies mentioned above, particularly Boberg's (2008) pan-Canadian means, the Filipinos speakers in the current study exhibited, though slightly in both respects, a less lowered but more retracted /ɪ/.

Table 11. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɪ/.

	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males	508	68	2018	106
Females	520	92	2005	102
All	514	81	2012	103

Note. Token *n* = 96.

Table 12. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɪ/ for each speaker.

Participant	F1	SD	F2	SD
Males				
Andrew	518	40	2008	85
Benjamin	518	40	2008	105
Dominic	525	36	2001	73
Jason	453	70	2073	173
Paolo	533	112	1993	97
Steve	501	87	2025	87
Females				
Charmaine	483	83	2043	175
Ella	491	47	2035	76
Isabelle	533	46	1993	88
Kristine	577	148	1949	92
Melissa	498	62	2028	62
Trisha	540	113	1986	71

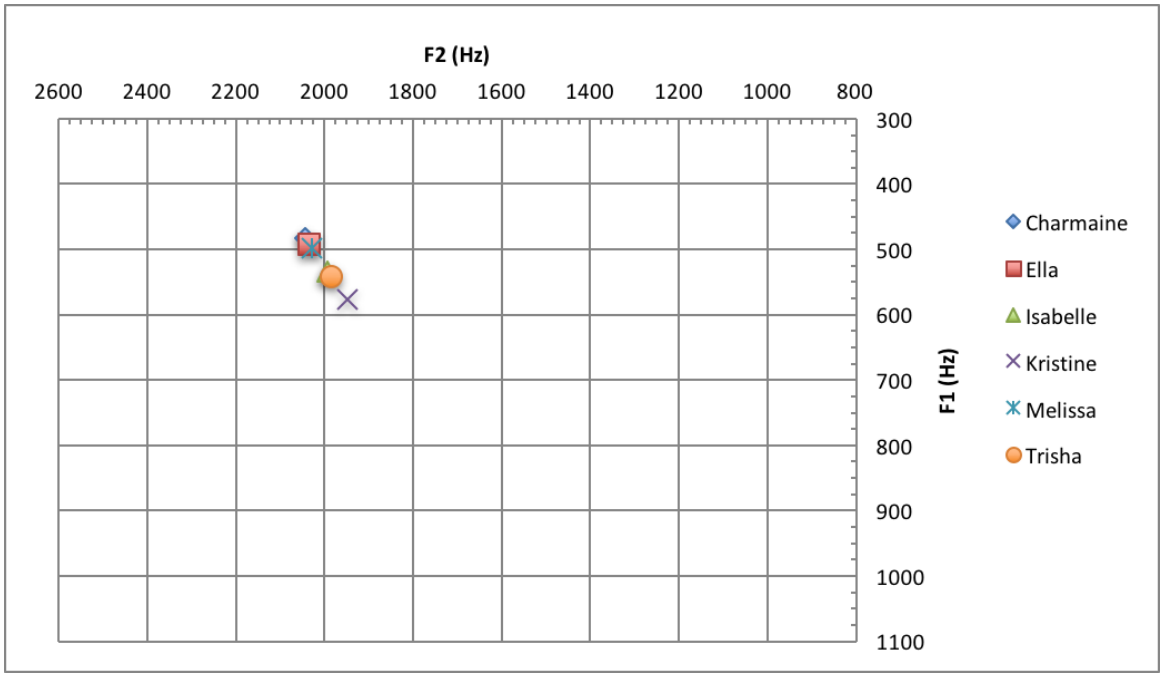

Figure 8. **Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɪ/ for the 6 female speakers.**

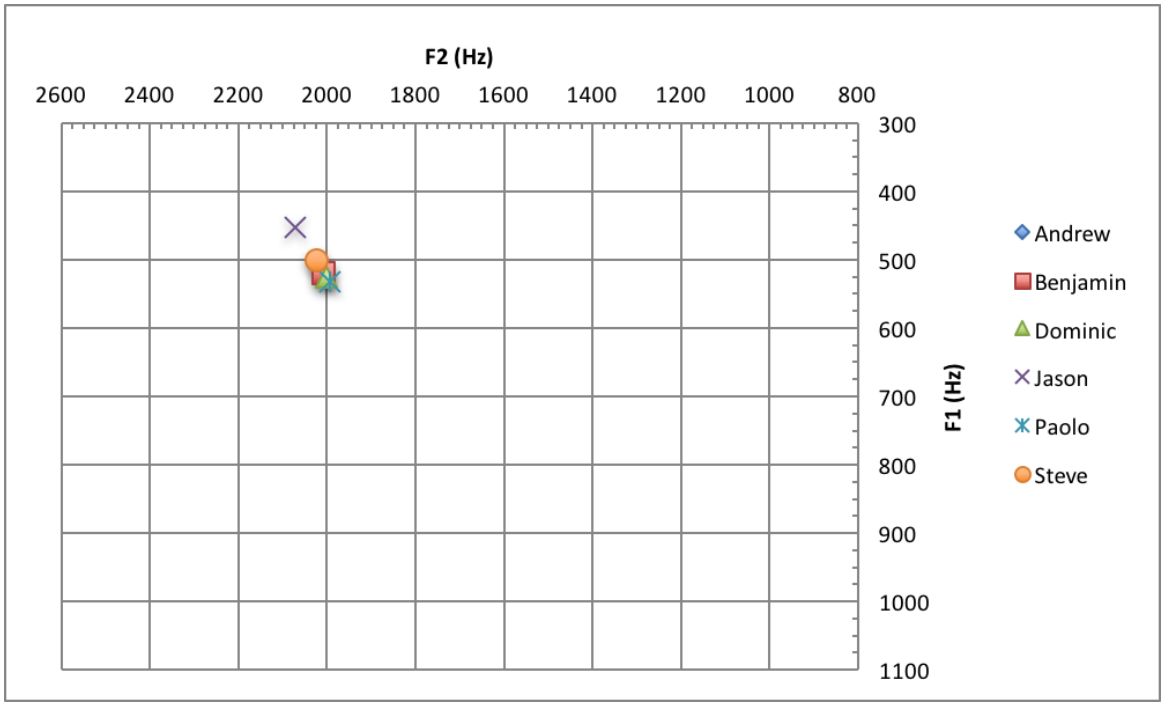

Figure 9. **Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) of /ɪ/ for the 6 male speakers.**

Table 13. Mean F1 and F2 values (in Hz) as reported in previous CS studies.

			Studies									
			Current study	Pappas & Jeffrey 2013	Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008	Boberg 2005	Roeder & Jarmasz 2010		Hoffman 2010	Boberg 2008		
Factor		Age group	Young	All	All	Young	Young		Young	Young		
		Region	Vancouver	Vancouver	Vancouver	Montreal	Toronto		Toronto	Vancouver		Canada
Vowel							Male	Female				
/æ/	F1		913	-	871	887	782	775	835	-		884
	F2		1708	1677	1774	1663	1508	1489	1568	-		1724
/ɛ/	F1		730	690	747	719	671	655	697	-		732
	F2		1815	1845	1958	1855	1562	1584	1719	1890		1883
/ɪ/	F1		514	-	557	537	508	514	520	-		563
	F2		2012	-	2063	2027	1793	1746	1908	-		2043

3.3. Linguistic conditioning of gender

This study also looks at the social conditioning of CS, specifically the gender parameter, as many studies have shown quite consistently that women tend to be more advanced and further along in this change by at least a generation (Boberg 2005, Clarke 1991, Clarke *et al*. 1995, Esling & Warkentyne 1993, Meechan 1999, Hoffman 1998, 1999, Hoffman & Walker 2010, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013). However, it remains unclear which vowels are affected by gender.

The overall means of each CS vowel according to gender group are displayed in Figure 10. Once again apparent from the plot is the presence of the low-back merger win both groups. Furthermore, based on the distance between the two groups' mean F1 and F2 values, in general, the female speakers in the current study tended to be more advanced than their male counterparts, with the greatest degree of difference apparent in /æ/, followed by /ɛ/, and lastly by /ɪ/.

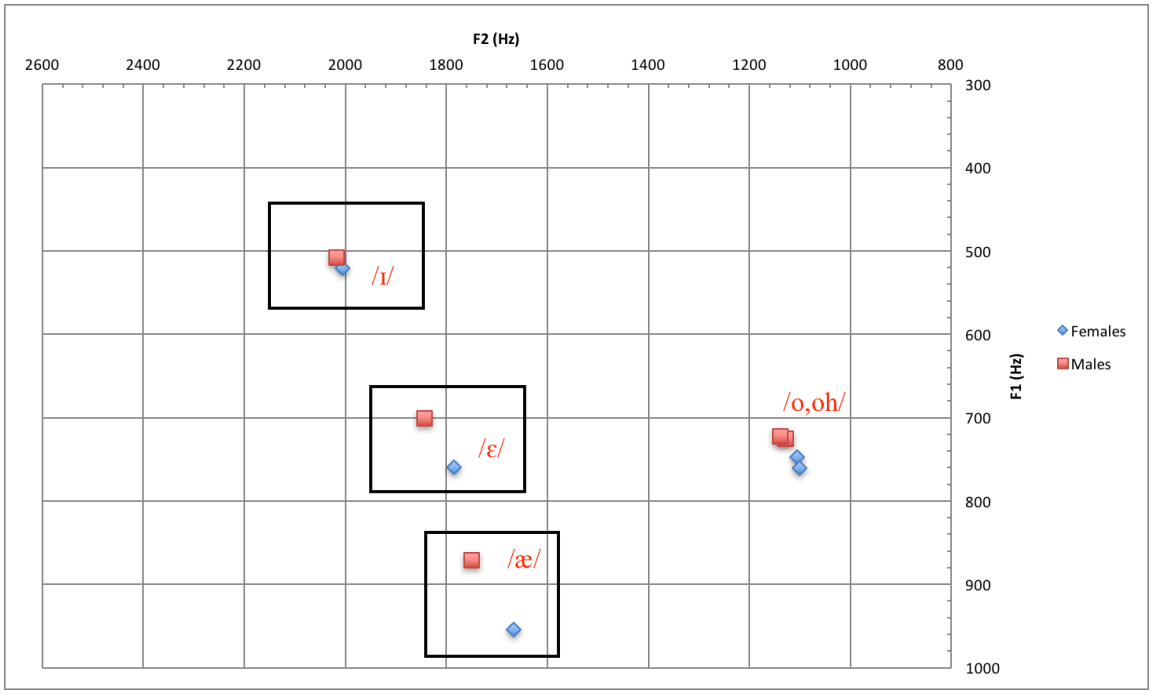

Figure 10. Mean F1 and F2 values of CS vowels according to gender group.

With respect to /æ/, results (Table 7) showed that in the F2 dimension, females have a greater degree of retraction than the males (i.e., a difference of 84 Hz), as

evidenced by the females' lower F2 (1666 Hz) compared to the males' (1750 Hz). Furthermore, the same pattern was observed in the F1 dimension: the two groups displayed a difference of 85 Hz, with the females showing a higher mean F1 value (955 Hz) than the males (870 Hz), indicating more lowered variants. Meanwhile, Tables 13 and 14 rank the participants according to the greatest degree of retraction and lowering. In both dimensions, five of the female speakers (Kristine, Isabelle, Melissa, Trisha, and Ella) demonstrated the most shifting.

Table 14. F2 values for /æ/ according to greatest degree of retraction.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F2 (Hz)
1	Kristine	F	1618
2	Isabelle	F	1622
3	Melissa	F	1660
4	Trisha	F	1663
5	Ella	F	1673
6	Steve	M	1770
7	Benjamin	M	1707
8	Paolo	M	1756
9	Charmaine	F	1763
10	Dominic	M	1774
11	Andrew	M	1777
12	Jason	M	1780

Note. A lower F2 corresponds to greater retraction.

Table 15. F1 values for /æ/ according to greatest degree of lowering.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F1 (Hz)
1	Kristine	F	1003
2	Isabelle	F	999
3	Melissa	F	961
4	Trisha	F	958
5	Ella	F	947
6	Steve	M	921
7	Benjamin	M	914
8	Charmaine	F	858
9	Paolo	M	856
10	Dominic	M	847
11	Andrew	M	844
12	Jason	M	841

Note. A higher F1 corresponds to greater lowering.

Similar trends were noted in the case of /ɛ/, but the differences were not as big as in /æ/. As seen in Table 9, females and males had a difference of 59 Hz in the F2 dimension. The females displayed a higher degree of retraction as compared to the males, with a lower mean F2 (1785 Hz) than the males (1844 Hz). In the F1 dimension, results showed that females have more lowered variants; the two gender groups had a difference of 60 Hz, with the females having a higher F1 mean (760 Hz) than the males (700 Hz). Tables 15 and 16 provide the ranking of the the speakers according to the greatest degree of shifting. Once again, as in /æ/, the top five speakers showing the most shifting are females (Isabelle, Trisha, Ella, Melissa, and Kristine) in both F1 and F2 dimensions.

Table 16. F2 values for /ɛ/ according to greatest degree of retraction.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F2 (Hz)
1	Isabelle	F	1752
2	Trisha	F	1776
3	Ella	F	1782
4	Melissa	F	1787
5	Kristine	F	1788
6	Benjamin	M	1793
7	Paolo	M	1816
8	Charmaine	F	1818
9	Andrew	M	1830
10	Dominic	M	1834
11	Steve	M	1881
12	Jason	M	1911

Note. A lower F2 corresponds to greater retraction

Table 17. F1 values for /ɛ/ according to greatest degree of lowering.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F2 (Hz)
1	Isabelle	F	793
2	Trisha	F	769
3	Melissa	F	758
4	Kristine	F	757
5	Ella	F	755
6	Benjamin	M	751
7	Paolo	M	729
8	Charmaine	F	727
9	Andrew	M	715
10	Dominic	M	711
11	Steve	M	663
12	Jason	M	633

Note. A higher F1 corresponds to greater lowering.

Finally, regarding /ɪ/, descriptive results (Table 11) show that females demonstrate more shifted variants: in terms of retraction, females and males had a difference of 13 Hz; females (F2 = 2005 Hz) displayed more retracted /ɪ/ than males (2018 Hz). Mean values in the F1 dimension also demonstrated that females have more lowered variants than

males; the two groups had a difference of 12 Hz, with females showing a slightly higher F1 (520 Hz) than males (508 Hz). Tables 17 and 18 display the ranking of the speakers according to degree of shifting. This time, however, the pattern is slightly different. In both dimensions, three female speakers (Kristine, Trisha, and Isabelle) demonstrated the most shifting, followed by five male speakers (Paolo, Dominic, Andrew, Benjamin and Steve). It is important to emphasize, however, that there appears to be no significant disparity between the two groups as the mean differences across the F1 and F2 dimensions are only 13 Hz and 12 Hz, respectively. At this stage, the two gender groups remain the same in terms of their production of /ɪ/.

Table 18. F2 values for /ɪ/ according to greatest degree of retraction.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F2 (H)
1	Kristine	F	1949
2	Trisha	F	1986
3	Isabelle	F	1993
	Paolo	M	1993
5	Dominic	M	2001
6	Andrew	M	2008
	Benjamin	M	2008
8	Steve	M	2025
9	Melissa	F	2028
10	Ella	F	2035
11	Charmaine	F	2043
12	Jason	M	2073

Note. A lower F2 corresponds to greater retraction

Table 19. F1 values for /ɪ/ according to greatest degree of lowering.

Rank	Participant	Gender	F2 (Hz)
1	Kristine	F	577
2	Trisha	F	540
3	Isabelle	F	533
	Paolo	M	533
5	Dominic	M	525
6	Andrew	M	518
	Benjamin	M	518
8	Steve	M	501
9	Melissa	F	498
10	Ella	F	491
11	Charmaine	F	483
12	Jason	M	453

Note. A lower F2 corresponds to greater retraction.

The results here clearly show that in general, female Filipinos display more lowered and retracted vowels, giving support to previous studies looking at the role of gender in conditioning the shift. At this point, only the vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/ appeared to be most affected by gender, with females consistently outranking the males in terms of degree of shifting. Furthmore, there is no compelling evidence of gender differences with respect to /ɪ/. Kristine displayed the most shifting for /æ/ while Isabelle showed the greatest shifting for /ɛ/. On the other hand, Charmaine displayed the least amount of movement among the females across the three vowels in both dimensions. Finally, among the male speakers, Jason always displayed the least amount of vowel shiftting for all three vowels. While the results lend some support, it is important to highlight that, impressionistically, the differences between the speakers' mean values are not considerable. In order to determine if there are indeed significant effects of gender on both

the F1 and F2 dimensions, a thourough statistical analysis on a larger pool of participants is needed in future studies.[29]

[29] Through an exploratory statistical analysis, I found that with respect to /æ/, gender was a critical factor in both the F1 and F2 dimensions, with females having significantly more retracted and lowered variants ([$t(70) = 5.207$; $p < 0.001$] and [$t(70) = -4.727$; $p < 0.001$], respectively. Meanwhile, in terms of /ɛ/, only in the F1 dimension did gender prove significant: once again, females were in the lead with more lowered variants ([$t(70) = 3.412$; $p < 0.001$]). Though it should be noted that results in the F2 dimension was nearing significance ([$t(70) = -1.902$; $p = 0.061$]). Finally, in the case of /ɪ/, neither the F2 (retraction) nor the F1 (lowering) dimesion showed significant effects of gender ([$t(94) = -0.587$; $p=0.559$] and [$t(94) = 0.752$; $p=0.454$], respectively). Due to the small sample size, however, the results here remain only suggestive.

Chapter 4.

Discussion and conclusion

Variationist sociolinguistics has deepened our understanding of the role of ethnic identity in on-going sound changes in English. Research has shown that the use of ethnolects is one of the many ways speakers convey membership to a particular ethnic community (Becker 2014). Conversely, adopting mainstream speech patterns by means of participating in on-going sound changes has been viewed to be a sign of linguistic – and cultural – integration into the wider, often regional, community (Eckert 2008, Wong & Hall-Lew 2014).

Studies of ethnolinguistic patterns within the context of Canadian English remain limited despite the unique (ethnic) contact situation Canadians have in major super-diverse cities (Boberg 2010). This is especially true of the Filipino demographic in Metro Vancouver, particularly second-generation individuals. Even though the immigration history of Filipinos is young compared to that of other ethnic groups, they nonetheless form the third largest ethnic group in the region. Filipinos in Metro Vancouver have a unique social and linguistic landscape: they may not be as socially interconnected as other communities (e.g., Farrales 2011, Kelly 2014, Mais 2012, Pratt 2012, among others), but it appears that Filipinos in general believe that being able to speak English well helps them assert their place in the regional – even national – community. This thesis therefore aimed to address this lacuna by asking whether or not second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver are integrated into the wider (speech) community by means of displaying mainstream linguistic patterns. More specifically, the present study aimed to determine if Filipinos participate in on-going sound changes in Canadian English.

CS was the considered variable for the current study because contrary to CR, research thus far has consistently shown that it is an on-going change across Canada – active in both urban and rural contexts (e.g., Boberg 2008, Clarke *et* al. 1995, De Decker 2002, Labov *et al*. 2006) and still remaining below the level of awareness (De Decker & Mackenzie 2000). CS is active in Metro Vancouver (Hirayama 2000, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008), with /æ/ being furthest along the shift, followed

by /ɛ/. On the other hand, /ɪ/ is the least active, as evidenced by the low rates of shifting. As it pertains to the current study, previous studies have also shown that females in general are more progressive speakers than their male counterparts (Boberg 2005, 2008, Clarke *et al*. 1995, Meechan 1999, Hirayama 2000, Roeder & Jarmasz 2010, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013), and finally, the limited number of studies (Boberg 2005, Hoffman 2010, Rosen *et al*. 2015) surveying the role of ethnicity in CS have demonstrated that members of non-Anglo ethnic groups participate in this change in progress – though it must be mentioned that Hoffman & Walker (2010) found that their sample of Chinese speakers showed very low rates of participation.

I conducted sociolinguistic interviews with 12 second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver. Through acoustic analyses of the word list data (Boberg 2008), and following the methods of Labov *et al*. (2006) and Boberg (2008), the results of the current study revealed that overall, young second-generation Filipinos in Metro Vancouver possess a vowel system comparable to Boberg's (2008) pan-Canadian vowel space. In other words, we found that the Filipinos in the study displayed F1 and F2 values falling within range of Boberg's (2008) means. In addition, Filipinos showed evidence of CR, as well as raising of /æ/ before nasals and velars; also noted were a strong degree of /uw/, and, to a lesser extent, /ow/ fronting, which is consistent with Boberg's (2008) regional profile for Vancouver.

More importantly, the findings here also provide strong evidence that Filipinos participate in CS. As mentioned, the low-back merger is a stable feature of CE (Avis 1973); therefore, according to the quantitative definition in Labov *et al*. (2006), it was not surprising that the low-back merger is present among the Filipino speakers. In fact, we actually observed a three-way merger of /o, oh, ah/ – something that is also seen in Boberg (2008). With respect to /æ/, I found evidence of retraction and the results here are robust and in-line with those of Esling and Warkentyne (1993), Clarke *et al*. (1995), Boberg (2008), Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga (2008) and Pappas & Jeffrey (2013). In addition, the F1 means observed in the current study point to the possible sign of lowering. The females' overall F1 was considerably higher than in other studies (see Table 13), but, interestingly, Hagiwara's (2006) female sample displayed an F1 of 996 Hz, indicating that younger females in Winnipeg have more lowered /æ/. While I cannot offer any

interpretation for this finding, at least this provides an incentive to examine this dimension more closely in future studies. Furthermore, concerning /ɛ/, I found that the Filipinos in the current study also displayed active retraction – once again aligning with previous studies (Boberg 2005, 2008, Pappas & Jeffrey 2013, Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). Contrary to Boberg (2005), however, the results also showed that lowering is equally as robust, with Filipinos displaying much higher F1 values, thus matching previous studies that found evidence of lowering (e.g., Clarke *et al*. 1995, Labov *et al*. 2006). Finally, mean formant values for /ɪ/ were found to be within the ranges reported in previous studies; however, due to the lack of apparent-time data, as well as a quantitative definition for the shift, no direct evidence was obtained to suggest the presence of shifting within this group.

As far as the effect of gender is concerned, I found that in general, females are more advanced along the shift than males, but at this point, any significant effects of gender cannot be established. For the F1 and F2 dimensions of /æ/ and /ɛ/, the speakers with the greatest degree of movement were consistently females. However, there is a greater difference between the two gender groups with respect to the F2 of /æ/ than /ɛ/. This particular finding was also noted in Pappas and Jeffrey (2013:45), wherein their correlational analysis showed that while /æ/ remains active, the movement of /ɛ/ is close to completion. This means that concerning /æ/, females are still leading by at least a generation, whereas in the case of /ɛ/, men are finally "catching up." Lastly, with regard to /ɪ/, the gender differeces are only slight – almost negligible – in both dimensions; hence, there is no compelling indication that women are leading. Similar to De Decker and Mackenzie's (2000) findings, the lack of considerable differences in /ɪ/ shifting could be due to the fact that we are observing the earlier phase of its movement, therefore both groups demonstrated similar rates of shifting.

The results of the present study may also offer some perspective on the issues raised in Section 1.3.4. The first is concerned with the status of /ɪ/, particularly if it has begun to move. As mentioned, studies have not been consistent; consequently, there has yet to be a concrete quantitative definition for this element in the shift, making it challenging to determine whether movement has in fact taken place without an apparent-time analysis. This was the case in the current study as only one age group was considered. Nonetheless, based on Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) findings that younger

(Anglo) speakers demonstrate /ɪ/ shifting in Vancouver, and given the fact that preliminary results of the current study are aligned with previous research (see Table 13), it is possible to suggest that the Filipinos in this study may well be participating in this shift albeit to a very small degree. At this stage, the study offers support to De Decker and Mackenzie's (2000) claim that /ɪ/ is indeed part of the change – just in its initial phase. It is also perhaps for this reason that I did not find any indication of gender differences. In the years to come, however, the movement of /ɪ/ will probably become more apparent. Accordingly, this element should be a focus of future CS research, with the goal of determining a quantitative definition as well as looking at potential gender and regional variations.

The directionality of the shift has also been debated. Labov *et al*.'s (2006) findings indicated the retraction of /æ/, which triggered the diagonal (i.e., lowering and retracting) movement of /ɛ/ without any clear evidence of /ɪ/ shifting. Similarly, Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) results for Vancouver demonstrated only the retraction of /æ/ and diagonal movement of /ɛ/; but contrary to Labov *et al*. (2006), they also found that /ɪ/ too displayed diagonal movement. Boberg (2005) and Hagiwara (2006), on the other hand, found retraction to be the most salient movement across three vowels. Meanwhile, the findings of the present study suggest that all three vowels may be undergoing diagonal movement, opposing Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) results for Vancouver and resembling instead their results for Halifax. At this point, it appears that the directionality of CS among Filipinos in Metro Vancouver is more in-line with the descriptions put forth by Clarke *et al.* (1995). Nonetheless, the results here could contribute to exploring further the height dimension of CS, and echoing Sadlier-Brown and Tamminga's (2008) proposition on possible regional variation in CS, results here could hopefully stimulate further research into the nature of CS as a chain shift across different regions in Canada.

Many of the previous studies have dealt with impressionistic data (e.g., Clarke *et al*. 1995, De Decker & Mackenzie 2000, De Decker 2002, Hirayama 2000, Hoffman & Walker 2010). The current study on the other hand, though limited in the size of the sample and the number of tokens, is quantitative in nature. With careful and thorough analyses, quantitative data studies could provide a more accurate and reliable account of the progress of CS over time. This study hopefully adds valuable insight to the growing number of quantitiave studies of CS in Canada. Furthermore, by focusing on a non-white

ethnic group, this study is a step towards filling the gap in variationist studies of ethnic patterns, especially since linguistic differences among ethnic communities, at least with respect to Canadian English, are "more a question of degree than of kind" (Hoffman & Walker 2010:59).

The Filipinos' unique social landscape could have influenced their adoption of regional linguistic norms. In Metro Vancouver, recall that Filipinos are still marginalized members of the community (Kelly 2014), and the caregiver identity is still pervasive in mainstream culture. Moreover, Filipinos in the region are not concentrated in ethnic enclaves and do not possess a network as close-knit as other groups. In the family, there is explicit encouragement to assimilate in order to dissociate from the Filipino identity brought by the existing stigma and possibly the lingering effects of colonial mentality. As a result, second-generation Filipinos may eventually prefer to embody a more mainstream (arguably Anglo) identity; linguistically, this may translate to accepting incoming sound innovations such as CS more freely. The gendered pattern of Filipinos in the labour force (Mais 2012, Pratt 2003) may also have an influence on the gender differences in CS. Filipino women tend to occupy more positions in the service and healthcare sectors than men, who in turn fill more positions in the manufacturing industries. One of the possible consequences of this gendered pattern is the increased need for interaction among Filipino women because of their contact-based profession, and therefore the increased pressure to adopt maintream speech, which could ultimately reinforce gender differences in CS.

The results of the current study are in-line with Rosen *et al*.'s (2015) study on the CS patterns of Filipinos in Winnipeg. For their sample, they recruited 26 Filipino Winnipegers (15 English L1 speakers and 11 English L2 speakers), along with 21 Anglo speakers.[30] Both groups were subjected to a wordlist task. Their results showed that second-genaration Filipinos actively participated in the shift, specifically the movement of /ɛ/ and /ɪ/. Their results however showed no indication of /æ/ movement. While their results and mine differ with respect to /æ/, they speak to a broader implication that, at least for

[30] English L2 speakers refer to those who use English as a second (or additional) language.

this phonetic variable, Filipinos show a consistent pattern across regions, once again reaffirming CS's status as a pan-Canadian phenomenon (Boberg 2008).

Nonetheless, it is crucial to highlight that the social and linguistic circumstances of Filipinos in Vancouver and Winnipeg are different in many respects, and this may introduce potential regional variation with respect to other phonetic variables. In order to illustrate this, consider a more recent study by Rosen and Li (2016): they examined the status of /æg/ raising (i.e., the raising of /æ/ before the velar [g]) among different groups in the Prairies, including Filipinos in Winnipeg. They found that their group of Filipinos actually showed very low rates of raising compared to the non-Filipinos in the sample. They explained their findings in terms of the social profile of Filipino Winnipegers: the Filipino community in Winnipeg accounts for 30% of the immigrant population in the city and, contrary to Metro Vancouver, Filipinos in Winnipeg actually form an ethnic enclave (Rosen *et al*. 2015), with strong familial and community connections. Consequently, there is arguably a greater sense of Filipino identity in this region. Because of this type of social landscape, Rosen and Li (2016) argued that internal (community) linguistic norms are more strengthened, therefore Filipinos in Winnipeg show more resistance to adopting external (local) sound innovations. Results of the present study exhibited evidence of /æg/ raising, but no explicit analysis on my part was conducted to examine to what extent Filipinos in Metro Vancouver raise this allophone. Since studies on /æg/ raising in Canada are still limited (Boberg 2008), future studies can definitely shed more light not only on its ethnic, but also probable regional variation.

That CS is present for the Filipinos sampled in the current study indicates that they are integrated lingusitically (and culturally) into the mainstream Vancouver (speech) community. It seems that there is no language transfer effect of Philippine English that would result in non-participation in CS. Consequently, this supports the Founder Principle (Mufwene 2000) in that second-generation immigrants typically adopt the local norms of the host community, thereby possessing linguistic systems that are very similar to those of their Anglo counterparts. Ultimately, the results here suggest that second-generation Filipinos are rightful members of the Metro Vancouver speech community.

Nevertheless, the results presented raise the point that Filipinos perhaps convey ethnic indentity through other linguistic means, or perhaps even through varying rates of use (*cf.* Hoffman & Walker 2010). A good and logical follow-up to this project would be to have a larger sample size that can be stratified by class as well as gender, and then analyze conversational data in order to gain access to vernacular speech. One could then explore not just whether or not Filipinos participate in CS, but also question to what degree they participate in the change. Moreover, future studies could also survey other phonetic variables, such as the allophonic raising of /æ/ before velars; these two proposals would then allow comparisons to be made with results by Rosen and her colleagues (2015, 2016). Future studies could also look beyond the phonological domain, and consider features in other areas of grammar such morphosyntactic variables.

As mentioned, one of the critiques of the ethnolect approach is that the term "reflects a view of language as fixed rather than fluid entity, and of identity as compartmentalized, allowing one to think of an ethnolect as a discrete system indexial of ethnicity alone (Eckert 2008:26)." With that in mind, another avenue worth pursuing in exploring ethnic patterns would be to apply the EO questionnaire (Hoffman & Walker 2010, Nagy *et al*. 2014). This would enable participants to have a more dynamic and fluid approach to identifying their cultural and ethnic affiliation – allowing for a more nuanced discussion of linguistic patterns akin to Benor's (2010:160) notion of linguistic repertoire, which speaks to the "fluid set of linguistic resrouces that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities."[31]

It could be the case that ethnicity is not a central aspect in the construction of Filipinos' identities (*cf*. Hoffman & Walker 2010). Therefore, future studies in CS could also examine other socially categories that are more meaningful to the Filipino community – perhaps incorporating an ethnographic aspect and adopting a framework such as the Communities of Practice (Eckert 1998) much like De Decker's (2002) study of CS in a rural setting. For example, one could stratify Filipinos according to the type of admission channels first-generation parents used to enter Metro Vancouver, since previous studies on Filipino diaspora (e.g., Kelly 2014) have shown that forming community networks as

[31] This type of approach has already been adopted by numerous studies (see for example, Becker 2014 and her survey of AAVE).

well as accessing different community resources are constrained by the type of admission channel used. Finally, future studies could also explore the (ethno)linguistic patterns of mixed-race Filipinos. As mentioned, studies on the linguistic behaviour of mixed-race speakers have been largely neglected but studies like Gordon (2000) have already begun to include such participants. Due to their unique community organization, this might prove to be an intruiging inquiry.

This thesis hopefully gives additional insight to two important discussions. The first is the discouse on Filipino diaspora. Filipinos are visible in society yet remain invisible in the scholarly literature. I hope that in providing some preliminary observations of their linguistic behaviour, this thesis could stimulate further dialogue concerning this important (speech) community. The second is the discourse on CS: since this a replicational study, the results offer further support for the findings in previous studies, and more imporantly, reinforce the vailidity of quantitative methods used in analyzing CS. Finally, there is still much to be explored regarding CS; therefore, this thesis contributes to a more accurate description of CS and of Canadian English in general.

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Appendix A.

Interview questionnaire

The following are some of the questions that will be used during the semi-structured interviews:

1) What is your full name?

2) What is your year of birth?

3) Where do you live (name of city is enough)?

4) When did your parents come to Canada?

5) Where did your parents live back in the Philippines?

6) Are you in school? If so, what school, year, and program?

7) Are you working? If so, in what field?

8) What language do you and your parents speak at home?

9) Do you prefer one language (e.g. English or Tagalog) to another at home?

10) Do you think there is such a thing as “Canadian English”? If so, can you describe any features?

11) Do you think there is such a thing as “Philippine English”? If so, can you describe any features?

12) Did you experience any instances of discrimination because of the way you speak? **

**The researcher will make it clear that this question will be asked so as to not affect behaviour during the conversation.

Appendix B.

Reading passage

Excerpt taken from “Kesler finds bliss after split from Vancouver blowtorch” by Iain Macintyre (November 7, 2014; http://www.vancouversun.com/sports/hockey/vancouver-canucks/Kesler+finds+bliss+after+split+from/10360329/story.html)

> The Vancouver Canucks are doing fine without their Ex.
>
> They’ve quit smoking and lost weight, reconnected with friends, regained some self-esteem. They’re thinking about taking yoga classes and learning Spanish. They feel younger.
>
> Had they known being single could be this great, the Canucks would have divorced Ryan Kesler years ago. Of course, that would have made it more difficult to win all those division titles, two Presidents’ Trophies and become the best team in the National Hockey League right up until Game 7 of the 2011 Stanley Cup Final.
>
> Kesler was not only part of the most successful period in franchise history, but the foundation for it.
>
> We should remember that when the Canucks, all sleek and happy, visit Los Angeles this weekend for a pair of games that include the first one against Kesler since their former cornerstone was traded on-demand to the Anaheim Ducks last June.
>
> The Canucks don’t miss him. There’s a little more oxygen in the dressing room and a lot less drama without Kesler.
>
> The team is also deeper and younger without him.

Appendix C.

Word list (Boberg 2008)

bar	proud	step	dull	set	tooth
sit	tide	mafia	cool	deck	new
file	star	boots	food	coat	turn
student	sod	writer	stone	cup	bang
collar	Pakistani	pour	house	veto	tight
stare	lager	dark	hanger	core	pair
pajamas	charity	llama	gag	seen	spirit
lasagna	rider	worry	Iraq	tool	cow
strong	stamp	Slavic	singer	curry	carry
tally	spa	dead	tan	pasta	monitor
sort	saw	side	whale	shout	stayed
too	horrible	relative	dirt	spice	code
sell	sale	town	tour	panorama	seed
sat	see	foot	plaza	façade	state
fork	coin	father	say	taco	ferry
start	Colorado	soon	full	berry	
still	steel	due	tie	sock	
sterile	tag	barrel	ham	Picasso	
palm	stir	foil	care	avocado	
down	soprano	sawed	tube	short	
drama	which	top	sure	toy	
south	tire	Don	cold	tip	
bother	stood	dun	stole	ten	
doubt	band	gown	sick	boat	
void	tin	loud	sanity	hurry	
fool	poor	sight	fight	seat	
caller	bird	foul	tap	calm	
caught	toe	borrow	macho	bad	
sack	stain	stud	steer	talk	
bag	sad	dawn	lava	duck	
sore	sour	cut	girl	cook	
bold	cot	did	do	go	

Appendix D.

Vowels and representative tokens

æ	bad, sack, sad, sat, tally, tap
ɛ	dead, deck, sell, set, step, ten
ɪ	did, sick, singer, sit, spirit, still, tin, tip
o	bother, collar, cot, Don, sock, sod, strong, top
oh	caller, caught, dawn, saw, sawed, talk
ah	calm, father, palm, spa
æg	bag, gag, tag
æN	band, bang, ham, hanger, sanity, stamp, tan
ahr	bar, car, dark, harp, star, start
aw	cow, foul, loud, proud, sour
awn	down, gown, town
awT	doubt, house, shout, south
ay	file, rider, side, sign, tide, tie, tire
ayT	fight, sight, spice, tight, writer
er	berry, ferry, sterile, carry, barrel
ey	sale, say, stain, state, stayed
eyr	care, pair, stare
ɜ˞	bird, dirt, girl, stir, sure, turn
iy	seat, see, seed, seen, steel, steer
or	horrible
ow	boat, coat, code, go, stone, toe
owl	bold, cold, stole
owr	pour
oy	coin, foil, toy, void
uw	boots, due, food, soon, too, tooth
uwl	cool, fool, tool
uwr	poor, tour
ʊ	cook, foot, full, stood
ʌ	cup, cut, duck, dull, sun, stud
ʌr	worry
ohr	core, fork, short, sore, sort

Note. Only 145 out of 180 were used for the analysis (see Boberg 2010 for exclusion criteria).