

**Ethnicity and rurality in the Prairies: the case of /æ/
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The Canadian Prairies have been largely omitted in the study of Canadian English, with only a few studies in existence, which are either focused on a single variable (i.e. Hagiwara 2006 for Canadian Raising, Nyvlek 1992 for lexicon) or large in scope but include a small representation of speakers (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006, Boberg 2008). Furthermore, ethnicity, although a robust variable in the study of variation in American English, has only in recent years begun to be investigated as a factor in variation in Canadian English, where its role remains less clear: Hoffman & Walker (2010) finds that evidence of ethnicity as a factor in variation is somewhat sporadic, especially past the first generation. Boberg (2004, 2012) finds evidence of ethnophonetic variation in Montreal English, but argues that English's minority status and the social and geographic segregation of ethnic groups results in such ethnodialectal variation that would be less evident in a unilingual city (Boberg 2012). It is with this backdrop that we investigate the Filipino population in Winnipeg, an important yet previously unstudied group.

The first wave of Filipino immigration into Winnipeg began in the late 1950s, with a second wave in the 1970s consisting primarily of garment industry workers, and a steady flow since. Filipino-Canadians today make up 9% of the overall Winnipeg population (Statistics Canada 2013), and are the most important visible minority in Winnipeg. The population is furthermore geographically concentrated in the West of the city, with strong familial, religious and community ties, and occupies a prominent position within Winnipeg.

This paper discusses the /æ/-system in the Canadian Prairies, building on the findings of Boberg (2008, 2012) which show that /æ/-raising before /g/ is particularly salient in the Prairies. Our goal is to investigate whether there is evidence of distinctive Filipino sociophonetic patterning, given the combination of the special social situation of Filipino Winnipeggers and possible first-generation language transfer effects.

This study is based on a wordlist sample of 87 speakers from Calgary (C, N=24), Filipino Winnipeg (FW, N=29), and Southern Manitoba (SM, N=34), stratified by *age*, *gender*, *socioeconomic status*, *urbanity* and *ethnicity*. All of the tokens (N=1432) are automatically measured and extracted using FAVE (Rosenfeld et al. 2011), and then categorized by four phonetic environments (/æ/, /æɡ/, /æŋ/, /æŋ/). The data are subjected to mixed-effects modeling and plotting in R.

The first overall finding is that there is significantly less /æ/ retraction (Canadian Shift) among FW than among the other Prairies speakers. Furthermore, while /æ/ is significantly raised and fronted before /g/, /n/ and /ŋ/, æg-raising is the strongest across the board, consistent with Boberg (2008)'s findings for the Prairies. However, while Calgary and SM speakers show apparent-time generational differences before the voiced velar, this pattern was not found in FW data, in which the systems of the younger (English L1) speakers are consistent with those of older (English L2) speakers. Furthermore, Cartesian measures of the distance between /æ/ and /æɡ/ are significantly lower in FWs, indicating different vowel systems within these speakers. Interestingly, this divergence in the FWs mirrors the pattern found in the Mormon community in Southern Alberta, where younger and older women patterned similarly, and there was again no apparent time change in progress (Rosen & Skriver 2015). We argue that close-knit social networks (Milroy & Milroy 1992) enjoyed by FWs appear to be playing a role in reinforcing internal community norms which are resistant to external linguistic pressure to change, and that

these internal norms are in turn influenced by language contact effects from the older generation's L1, setting up an emergent linguistic market in the sense of Hall-Lew (2009).

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