University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics

Volume 20
Issue 2 *Selected Papers from NWAV 42*

Article 13

10-1-2014

# Perhaps we used to, but we don't anymore: The Habitual Past in Oregonian English

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**Abstract**
From a dialectological perspective, the Pacific Northwest has been massively understudied in comparison to other areas of the U.S. Recent years have seen a growing attention to expanding our knowledge of regional dialects in this part of the country, with a number of research projects and publications beginning to address speech and variation within the Pacific Northwest. However, the vast bulk of this recent work has focused on the (socio)phonetics of the region and very little recent work has examined regional variation in morphosyntax in the Pacific Northwest. Motivated by work in York, England by Tagliamonte and Lawrence (2000, "I used to dance, but I don't dance now: The habitual past in English," Journal of English Linguistics 28.4), the present study examines variability in the realization of past habituality in Oregonian English. Unlike previous studies, we find extremely low rates of the form used to relative to would and preterit forms. We explore the internal and external constraints that influence the realization of these forms, and, more broadly, consider possible reasons that account for these rates of use.

# Perhaps we used to, but we don't anymore: The Habitual Past in Oregonian English

Jason McLarty, Charlie Farrington, and Tyler Kendall*

## 1 Introduction

From a dialectological perspective, the American West Coast, and the Pacific Northwest in particular, has been massively understudied in comparison to other areas of the U.S. Recent years have seen a growing attention to expanding our knowledge of regional dialects in this part of the country, with a number of research projects and publications beginning to address speech and variation within the Pacific Northwest (Conn 2006, Nelson 2011, Riebold 2009, Ward 2003). However, the vast bulk of this recent work has focused on the (socio)phonetics of the regional variety/ies and very little recent work has examined regional variation in the morphosyntax of "mainstream" English in the Pacific Northwest, or the broader West Coast for that matter. The present study examines the realization of past habituality in Oregonian English and compares its patterns with those found in other varieties of English (Tagliamonte and Lawrence 2000, Van Herk 2012, Van Herk and Hazen 2011).

Past habituality, as exemplified in (1–3), is generally conveyed through one of three constructions, *used to* + infinitive, *would* + infinitive, or the preterit. As Tagliamonte and Lawrence (2000; hereafter T&L), the main published work on variation in the forms of past habituality in spoken English, demonstrate, and is further explored in Walker 2010, the English aspect system is a ripe field for inquiry, offering much to the understanding of syntactic variation over time and space.

(1) We used to go over to the coast, like every other weekend. [*used to* + infin.]
(2) Me and my brother would go hunt birds all the time. [*would* + infin.]
(3) We usually went to Portland twice a year. [preterit]

Through an analysis of sociolinguistic interview recordings with 29 native Oregonians, we demonstrate that in stark contrast to the primary published treatment of past habitual variation in English (T&L), the *used to* form is almost non-existent for speakers in Oregon (<3% of tokens). The preterit form is used in the majority of cases (~68%) and *would* in the remainder (30%). We also explore the linguistic and social constraints which impact the choice of forms for these data.

This paper is organized in 6 parts. In Section 2, we provide a brief background about the habitual past in English. We describe the previous work on Oregonian English as well as provide some socio-historical context for the Willamette Valley region in Oregon in Section 3. In Section 4, we explain the source of our data, which come through two initiatives: course field-based projects undertaken by undergraduate students at the University of Oregon and preliminary fieldwork in Junction City, a small community in the Willamette Valley. We also describe the internal factors that were coded for analyzing past habituality. In Section 5, we present our findings, focusing on the outcome from statistical models of our data, and we explore the relation between specific adverbial constructions and the forms of past habituality. We close with some brief concluding thoughts in Section 6.

## 2 The Habitual Past in English

In English, past habituality can be overtly marked with *used to* or *would*, or conveyed less explicitly by the preterit form of the verb (simple past). As T&L note, the marked past habitual forms

*This work was supported by a 2013-2014 Faculty Research Award (to Kendall) titled "Dialect Diversity in Oregon". We thank Shireen Farahani, Gabrielle Josephson, Youngju Park, and Rachel Eidson for data coding and conceptual help on this project. We also thank all of the students in the sociolinguistics course (Ling 491) at the University of Oregon during 2012 and 2013. Many of these student-collected interviews were used for this project and parts of this project were inspired by several student-led projects in those courses.

are described in the literature (more so than the preterit) because they are overt. It should be noted that the three constructions are not entirely interchangeable, as (4a-c) illustrate.

(4a) I was actually friends with the girls a little bit too. (TB, 24 YO Male, Eugene, OR)
(4b) I actually used to be friends with the girls a little bit too.
(4c) *I actually would be friends with the girls a little bit too.

Comrie (1976:27–28) defines habitual aspect broadly as "a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of the whole period." Combined with a past sense, these past habitual constructions refer to a series of events as a whole. Additionally, T&L suggest that habitual past can also refer to past states as in (5).

(5) Growing up, I wanted a cat so bad. (JB, 20 YO Female, Lake Oswego, OR)

Quirk and Greenbaum (1972) write that *used to* is the most common of the habitual constructions and Traugott (1972) reports that *used to* is favored over the preterit for marking past habitual events. Palmer (1979) notes that *would* is fairly close in meaning to *used to*.

As T&L observed, however, a great deal of this previous linguistic work was not based on conversational data and does not, necessarily, account for patterns in actual language use. In their analysis of English in York, U.K., T&L examined 4,867 tokens of the habitual past, with the preterit accounting for nearly 70% of the data, *used to* 19% and *would* 6% (other forms, e.g., *kept* V+*ing*, accounted for the remaining cases; we do not consider these rarer cases in this paper). In addition to uncovering that preterit forms were by far the most common realization of past habituality, they also analyzed these tokens from a variationist perspective and demonstrated that linguistic context influences the use of different aspectual constructions when referencing habituality in the past. This analysis focused on the effects of grammatical person, sentence type (affirmative vs. negative), animacy, stativity, the presence of temporal adverbials, duration of habit, and discourse position. They found that grammatical person had a major role in the choice of the habitual past marker. Specifically, first person subjects highly favored *used to*, while second person subjects favored the preterit and third person subjects favored *would*. Previous scholars have suggested that temporal adverbial markers are more likely to be used with *would* compared to *used to*, where an adverbial is "built-in" (Leech 1987, cited in T&L). Because the default meaning of the preterit is not habitual, adding an adverbial is considered to help specify habitual meaning. Results from T&L indicate that adverbs in general were infrequent in their data, occurring with only 8% of their past habituality tokens, and that the presence of adverbials did not have a significant effect on the realization of *used to* or *would* and only a weak favoring effect on the preterit. They also found that discourse sequencing had a weak effect, though it had not been mentioned previously in the literature. *Used to* tended to be used at the beginning of a past habitual sequence, with *would* and the preterit later. Additionally, T&L found negation to be fairly infrequent (less than 10% of the data), but was rarely used with *used to*, and favored the preterit. From these results, we can observe that there is a large amount of (structured) variation in the realization of past habituality, and that preterit forms are, in fact, much more commonly used than traditional grammatical descriptions would imply, but also that different grammatical factors have different effects on what past habitual marker is used.

More recently, Van Herk and Hazen (2011) and Van Herk (2012), following up on T&L's study, examined past habituality in West Virginia and Newfoundland and found very different rates of use for *would* and *used to* (they did not look at the use of the preterit in past habitual constructions and reported *would* and *used to* rates alone). They found similar rates of use in West Virginia (*would* 66% vs. *used to* 34%) and Newfoundland (*would* 64% vs. *used to* 36%), which contrasted to York (which had *would 24%* vs. *used to* 76%, when not considering the preterit). This suggests that in different varieties of English, we might expect different rates of the construction types. The analyses by Van Herk and Hazen (2011) and Van Herk (2012) led us to question how West Coast English speakers, specifically in Oregon, mark past habituality relative to T&L's foundational study.

## 3 Oregonian English and the Willamette Valley

The focus of the present paper is on the variety of English spoken in the Willamette Valley of Western Oregon, in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. The data examined here come from two sources, interviews collected in preliminary fieldwork in Junction City, a small community located in the Willamette Valley, and from interviews collected by undergraduate students enrolled in an upper-level sociolinguistics course at the University of Oregon. Much like (and inspired by) researchers elsewhere (e.g., Labov et al. 2013), we have found the integration of field-based sociolinguistic research to be a valuable component, both pedagogically and for research, in sociolinguistic education. To contextualize our study, we turn to a brief discussion of Oregonian English (Section 3.1), and the Willamette Valley and Junction City (Section 3.2). Figure 1 shows a map of (Western) Oregon, with Junction City labeled and interviewees' hometowns indicated with symbols.

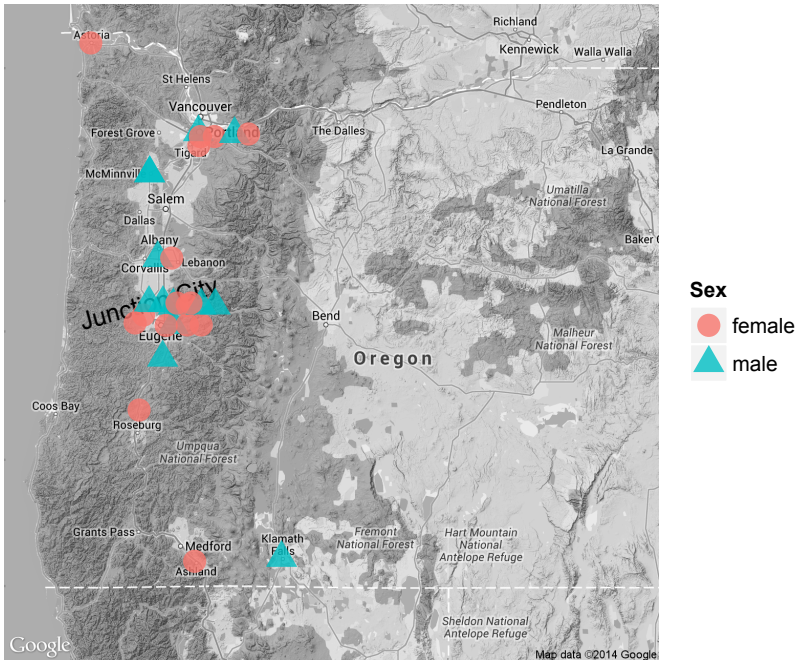


Figure 1: Oregon with subjects' hometowns indicated.

### 3.1 Oregonian English

Oregonian English has been relatively understudied compared to other dialect regions of the United States (Labov et al. 2006), with most studies phonologically oriented (Becker et al. 2013, Conn 2006, Riebold 2009, Ward 2003). The *Atlas of North American English* (Labov et al. 2006) placed Oregon within the Western Dialect, exhibiting features associated with California, and other features, such as the low back merger, and /u/ fronting, which represent, more broadly, West Coast varieties of English. Labov et al. (2006:279) note that the West exhibits "low homogeneity", at least in phonological inventory. This lack of homogeneity in the West is likely a result of the relative newness of Western settlement compared to the Eastern U.S. (Labov et al. 2006, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006). The West generally, and Oregon specifically, provides a rich sociolinguistic backdrop for a range of inquiries. For example, how did/do processes of dialect leveling play out in this expansive region (e.g., Fridland and Kendall under review)? Where and how are innovations in the region developing (Becker et al. 2013, Wassink 2011)? How do ethnic varieties interact with regional norms in the context of a "young" dialect region (Fought 1999, Riebold 2014)?

Though a small number of families have been in the region for five or six generations, most have only been resident for two or three generations, and have migrated from various places further East in the United States (e.g., Ohio Valley states, Tennessee, Missouri, etc.). Many Western-

ers view themselves as having more or less "standard accents" or as speaking "standard English". In Portland, Oregon, Becker et al. 2013 find that many Portlanders have a "myth of non-accent" which is evidenced in both map tasks as well as in sociolinguistic interviews themselves. This view, coupled with the relative newness of the dialect region, makes the examination of variation in the English aspect system especially relevant, as it complements the largely phonological research otherwise being undertaken and it allows us to better understand the West more generally and Oregon specifically. As T&L (325) observe, "none of [the past habitual] forms are overtly stigmatized and all are compatible with Standard English grammar."

### 3.2 The Willamette Valley and Junction City

The Willamette Valley, the primary location of our study, was settled by European Americans in the 1830s, acting as the end of the Oregon Trail. Today, two-thirds of the population of Oregon reside in this part of the state, which also contains the three most populous cities, Portland, Eugene, and Salem (Schwantes 1989). The Willamette Valley lies between the Oregon Coastal Range and Cascade Mountain Range on its east and west, and is bounded by the Calapooya Range, which approaches the Klamath Mountain Range, to the south, and the Columbia River, to the north. Interstate 5, the West Coast's main interstate highway, runs through the Willamette Valley and cuts through Portland, Eugene, and Salem. In addition to these metropolitan centers, the Willamette Valley is home to many small towns that are primarily farming communities. One such community, Junction City, was founded in 1872 as a junction of the East and West divisions of the Southern Pacific railroad (which later moved to Eugene, dampening the further growth of the community). Junction City has been a focal site for our research on Oregonian English since summer 2013. Even today, Junction City has a large farming community, with many large family-owned farms (dairy, Christmas tree, general crop); despite its relative rurality, Junction City is in close proximity (13 miles) to Oregon's second largest city, Eugene. Junction city provides a prototypical example of a small rural community that is in close proximity to a major metropolitan center in Oregon. In fact, much of the Willamette Valley can be characterized as such providing a juxtaposition of rural and metropolitan centers within close distance to one another. While not the focus of the present paper, Junction City was prominently the site of a Danish "colony" in the early twentieth century (Rasmussen and Larsen 1998) and the community continues to highlight its connections to Scandinavia, for example, holding an annual Scandinavian Festival each summer. Our larger interest in the community, as well as the broader region, seeks to better understand the role of non-English heritage groups in the composition of the large dialectological picture in Oregon.

## 4 Data

### 4.1 Subjects

The data for this analysis come from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Western Oregon between 2012 and 2013. As mention in the previous section, interviews were either obtained as a part of a sociolinguistic community study of the town of Junction City, OR (described above and located on the map in Figure 1) or through projects undertaken by participants in the upper-level sociolinguistics course at the University of Oregon.

| Age | Female White | Female Non-White | Male White | Male Non-White | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19–29 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 17 |
| 34–48 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| 52–95 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| Totals | 13 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 29 |

Table 1: Speaker demographics.

Table 1 displays demographic information about the 29 speakers used for this analysis and Table 2 displays information about the number of past habituality instances analyzed here. Figure 1 presents a map showing the speakers' hometowns, which are primarily from the Willamette Val-

ley in Western Oregon. All speakers examined here are native to Oregon. As indicated in Table 1, all but six of the speakers self-identify as White. The Non-White speakers self-identify as Hispanic (x3), Black-Hispanic, Indian-American, and Japanese but are grouped together due to low *N*s.

| Tokens | N | % (all) | % (not incl. preterit) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Preterit | 2,144 | 67.6 | - |
| *Used to* | 76 | 2.4 | 7.4 |
| *Would* | 951 | 30.0 | 92.6 |
| Total | 3,171 | *(Average 109 tokens per speaker)* | |

Table 2: Past habituality tokens.

### 4.2 Coding Past Habituality

In order to analyze linguistic and social constraints influencing the realization of past habitual forms in Oregon English, all instances of past habituality were extracted from the interviews with the 29 speakers. Four separate analysts coded the data, with most tokens coded by more than one analyst. The following social and linguistic factor groups were coded and examined. The linguistic factors examined were primarily inspired by T&L, although the data here do not include factors for animacy, stativity, and duration of habit, and our coding of discourse position includes fewer categories than in T&L's analysis.

- The speaker's sex (female or male)
- The speaker's ethnicity (White or Non-White)
- The speaker's age (continuous, although binned in Table 1 for display)
- Grammatical person (first, second, or third)
- Presence of temporal adverbials (present or absent)
- Discourse position (first in a sequence, second in a sequence, later in a sequence, or unsequenced)
- Polarity (negative or positive)
- Passivity (passive or active)

For social factors, the data were also coded for year-of-birth, speaker hometown, and subregion within Western Oregon, however, these factors are excluded from consideration in the present analysis. Speaker ethnicity did not arise as significant in any of the statistical models discussed below, a not surprising result given the low number of Non-White participants.

For linguistic factors, we also hoped to examine possible differences between questions and statements, but past habitual questions were so rare in our data (only 9 such forms were found in the speech of the interviewees) that these were omitted from the data here. Grammatical person was not found to be a significant factor in any of the statistical models so is not discussed further. Other factors have been coded but are not pursued here. For instance, adverbials were also coded for their syntactic position relative to any auxiliary and the main verb but we limit our statistical focus to more basic question of whether the presence of adverbials matters. A subset of these data was examined for a series of additional factors in Farahani 2014; we discuss this briefly in Section 6.

## 5 Analysis and Discussion

As was clearly visible in Table 2, preterit forms make up the majority (67.6%) of verb forms for encoding past habituality in these data. *Used to* forms are quite rare, consisting of only 2.4% of the realized forms. *Would* makes up the remaining 30% of the forms. Overall, our most striking finding is perhaps the simple observation that *used to* forms are extremely rare in our data, accounting for a substantially lower proportion of tokens than in previous studies (e.g., T&L, Van Herk and Hazen 2011).

Mixed-effect logistic regressions, which include random intercepts for speakers (cf. Baayen

2008), were used to statistically analyze the past habituality data for the factors listed in Section 4.2. Two models were developed, one examining *used to* vs. preterit + *would* and one examining *would* vs. preterit + *used to*. One complexity of analyzing past habituality, as discussed by T&L, is that all three forms are not always interchangeable; thus, each model only examined forms for which the application value (i.e., *used to* or *would*) was a valid option. In this section, we examine the statistical results for *used to* (Section 5.1) and *would* (Section 5.2) and then pause briefly to consider the role of adverbials in past habitual constructions (Section 5.3).

### 5.1 Used to

*Used to* is clearly a minority option for speakers of Oregon English, despite the claims about the past habitual system in major grammatical descriptions of English (Quirk and Greenbaum 1972, Traugott 1972), and the findings of T&L's variationist study of York (U.K.) English. Due to a floor effect (having so few *used to* tokens, just 76 out of 3,171), statistical analyses yield little insight into the social and linguistic factors conditioning use of *used to* in Oregon. The only factor to arise as significant in the mixed-effect logistic regression modeling (not shown, for sake of space), is discourse position, with unsequenced past habitual mentions favoring *used to* relative to those in all sequenced positions, regardless of position ($p < 0.01$). There is some indication that temporal adverbials influence the realization of *used to*, although these effects were marginal. We revisit the role of temporal adverbials in Section 5.3 and discuss the paucity of *used to* tokens further in Section 6.

### 5.2 Would

*Would* constitutes 951, or 30%, of the 3,171 instances under investigation, and more insight about its conditioning is available through the statistical model. Table 3 presents the fixed effects from the best statistical model for the data.

| Factor | Log-Odds | Std. Error | Pr(>\|z\|) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker age (continuous) | -0.015441 | 0.007683 | 0.04446 |
| Discourse position=1st, not later | -0.339093 | 0.153668 | 0.02734 |
| Discourse position=2nd, not later | -0.069128 | 0.150347 | 0.64567 |
| Discourse position=unseq'd, not later | -0.578708 | 0.141574 | < 0.0001 |
| Is there a temporal adverbial? | -0.303334 | 0.103808 | 0.00348 |
| Is polarity negative? | -1.344638 | 0.209692 | < 0.000001 |
| Is utterance passive? | -1.675211 | 0.778274 | 0.03136 |

Table 3: Fixed effects from *would* model.

In terms of internal constraints on *would* use, we find that discourse position, sentence polarity, passivity, and the presence of temporal adverbials are significant. Instances of past habituality that occur in a sequence in discourse but which occur later in the telling than the first or second verb phrase, relatively favor *would* compared to first position (and second position, although not significant) and unsequenced utterances. Negated utterances disfavor *would*, as do passive utterances, although it is worth noting that both of these sentence types are fairly rare in our data ($N$ = 171 negative utterances and $N$ = only 16 passive utterances). The presence of temporal adverbials significantly disfavors the use of *would*. We expand on the role of temporal adverbials below in Section 5.3.

Age, a continuous measure, was the only social factor to arise as significant. The findings indicate that older speakers are less likely to use *would*. We consider this finding further at the end of this paper.

### 5.3 The Role of Adverbials

As mentioned above, the past habituality data were coded for any co-occurring temporal modifying adverbials. Temporal adverbials are much more common in the data here than they were in T&L's data from York, U.K.; 27.6% of the tokens here co-occur with adverbials compared to 8%

in York. As would be expected from natural speech, the actual realization of these temporal adverbials was quite varied and over 300 different adverbial forms and constructions were realized by the speakers. These adverbials were collapsed into a series of construction categories for analysis (e.g., forms based on "always", forms of the sort "when X", etc.). Form types that occurred less than 10 times (including, e.g., "each X", "once X", "until X", "while X") along with adverbials that did not match larger categories in our category framework (e.g., "my whole life") were classified as "misc". Overall, the influence of temporal adverbials on the realization of past habitual forms is complex. Our statistical results indicate that the presence of a temporal adverbial disfavors the use of *would*. Some marginal trends for *used to* emerged but these did not arise in the best statistical models of the data. However, some general observations can be made about the correlation of different adverbial types and different forms of the past habituality marker and we explore this here.

The majority of the past habitual utterances (2,297 or 72.4%) did not contain any temporal adverbials. These non-modified habitual expressions were realized through similar proportions of the three forms as the larger dataset (67.1% preterit, 2.2% *used to*, 30.6% *would*) despite expectations that the use of preterit forms to indicate past habituality would collocate with adverbials to mark habitual/iterative meanings. The finding, above, that the presence of temporal adverbs disfavors the use of *would* helps make sense of this, however, since there is a significant relationship between the presence of temporal adverbials and the choice of past habituality form. This finding goes against the previous suggestion that temporal adverbs are more likely to be used with *would* since an adverb is not "built-in" (Leech 1987). Overall, though, it seems that discourse context is often enough to carry past habitual meaning without explicit marking of any kind (at the utterance level).

221 (7.0%) of the utterances were classified as misc. The remaining 653 (20.6%) were classified into 14 categories. These are depicted, with the rates of use of *used to* and *would* in Figure 2 (*N*s are displayed in the figure. The percentage of preterit forms is interpretable as the remainder; e.g., 100% of the "back X" forms were in preterit because 0% were *used to* or *would*).

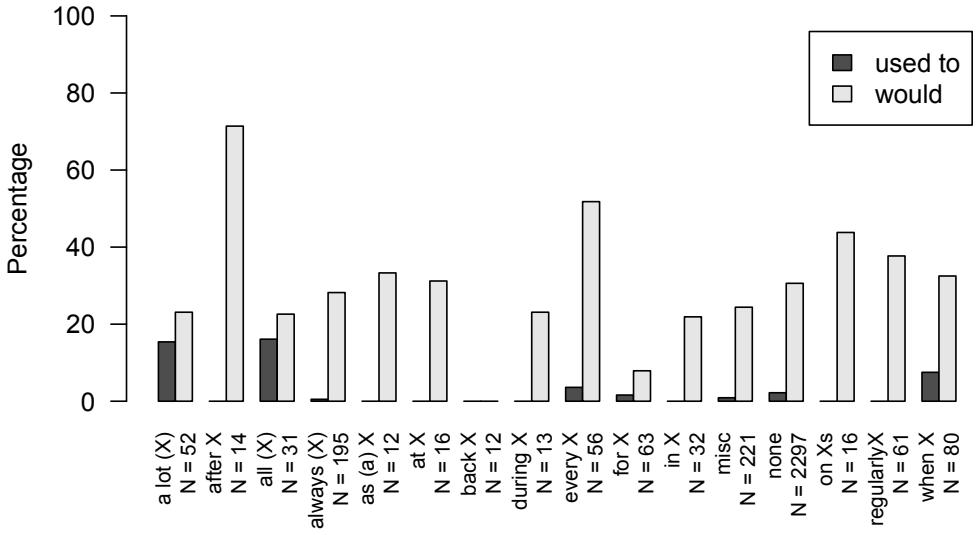


Figure 2: *Would* and *used to* rates by adverbials.

Figure 2 shows that while many of the adverbial categories show relatively stable rates of use of the different forms—rates of *used to* near 0% and rates of *would* near 30%—certain adverbials do appear to correlate more regularly with *would* (e.g., "after X" and "every X") and, at least relatively speaking, with *used to* (namely, "a lot (X)", "all (X)", and "when X"). This suggests that some adverbial constructions and habitual past verbal forms may be correlated in their use. Further research could usefully shed light on whether these relationships are form-based or more deeply

semantic in nature.

## 6 Conclusion

To close, we wish to acknowledge that the paucity of *used to* tokens in our data is surprising, both due to robust findings of T&L and the previous grammatical descriptions about the English tense and aspect system (e.g., Quirk and Greenbaum 1972). In fact, Oregonians themselves are quick to report a relatively substantial preference for *used to* in self-report tasks; as a part of a larger dialect survey, we asked 55 undergraduate students to pick one of three forms—*would go*, *used to go*, or *went*—to fill in the blank in the following question:

(6) You and your family frequently saw movies when you were a child and you are telling someone about it. Please fill in the blank with the most suitable choice from the selections for this sentence: "We _____ to the cinema a lot when I was a child."

Ignoring one participant who selected all three choices, 50% (27) of the 54 remaining participants chose the preterit form *went*, but 41% (22) selected *used to go* and only 9% (5) selected *would go*. While the question contains adverbials that indeed relatively favor *used to* (see Section 5.3), these responses clearly do not align with the production data collected from our sociolinguistic interviews. Oregonians are clearly aware that *used to* is a "normal" form to encode past habitual meaning despite their low rates of use in interview speech.

What is the source of this mismatch between actual language use and self-report? One potential explanation is that *used to* may carry a narrower sense than just past habituality. It appears to implicate a specifically contrastive meaning (cf. T&L:330–331). Later in the same dialect survey we asked the participants to choose whether "The statement 'I used to eat at the food court at Valley River Center' more likely means which of the following: a. Some time ago I ate at the Valley River Center repeatedly but I don't anymore. b. Some time ago I ate at the Valley River Center repeatedly but I make no claim about whether I eat there now." 82% (45 of the 55) of the participants selected the first option, "but I don't anymore". This is by no means conclusive evidence but we do take this as suggestive that *used to* may be (probabilistically) used in more limited contexts than the general habitual past.

Overall, better understanding putative meaning differences between the past habitual forms will required further research but was pursued to some extent by Farahani 2014. Farahani conducted a follow up survey to the questions discussed above and also examined a subset of our production tokens for a wider range of linguistic and discourse factors. Her analysis found that contrastive past habitual utterances significantly favored *used to* relative to non-contrastive and ambiguous utterances, supporting the notion that *used to* has more specific meaning (possibilities) than just habitual past. Her survey results also indicated a cline of "goodness" for contexts in which *used to* can occur. For instance, an example sentence ("Bill used to skateboard, …") was rated most natural when it ended with an explicitly contrastive statement ("but now he rollerblades"), less natural, but second best, when it ended with an implicitly contrastive statement ("and then he broke his leg"), and least natural when left ambiguous ("and now he's an astronaut") or finished with an explicitly non-contrastive statement ("and he still does").

Thus, in sum, the very low rates of *used to* in comparison to earlier descriptions and empirical studies in other English varieties, along with these production and perception tendencies, suggest that Oregonian English has undergone, or may be undergoing, a semantic narrowing for *used to*. From our data alone, it is unclear whether this is unique to the region or a larger component of variation in the English tense and aspect system, although the much greater frequency found by T&L for *used to* suggests that *used to* in York English is at least not limited to contrastive contexts.

Finally, there is some evidence in our data that language change may be occurring: speaker age arose as a significant predictor of *would* use in our data, with older speakers relatively disfavoring *would*. While it did not surface as significant in our models of *used to*, it is worth noting that there is nonetheless a trend in a complementary direction there to the *would* pattern. Older speakers do use relatively more *used to* forms (not just preterit forms). The lack of significance in that model is likely at least partly a floor effect, since altogether *used to* forms comprise only 2.4% of our data. More data from older speakers, as well as more young speakers, and from older, ar-

chival recordings, will be needed to assess whether the patterns here are a product of recent language change or reflect a longer-term varietal difference between the English of the region and varieties in the U.K. and further east in the U.S.

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