Is Idaho English really "the epitome of Average English"?

Joseph A. Stanley
Brigham Young University

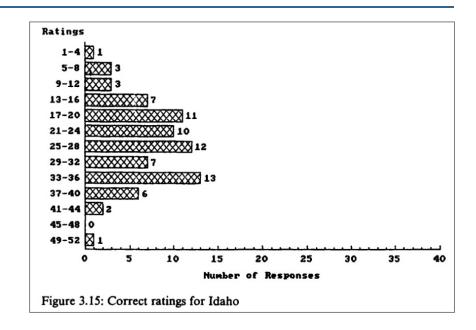
KaTrina Jackson Independent Researcher

American Dialect Society Annual Meeting
January 6, 2023
Denver, CO

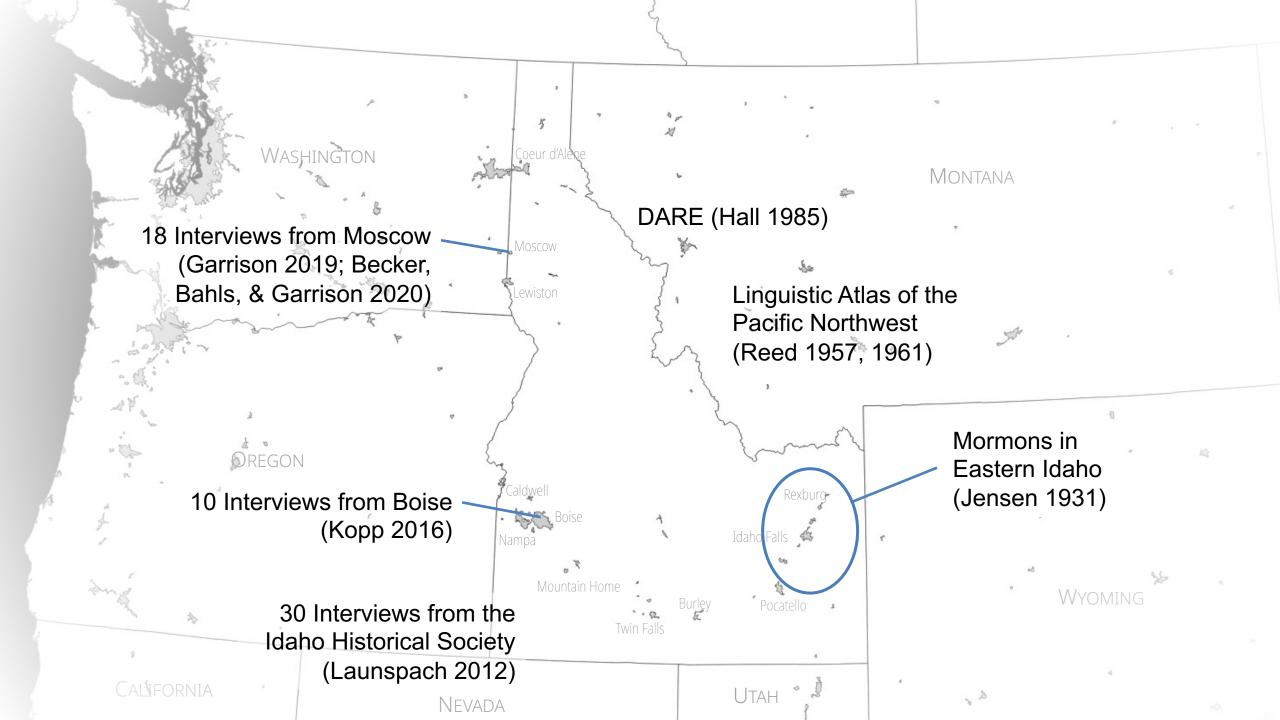
"Epitome of Average English"?

Preston (1989:64–65) chapter 3: "Where they speak correct English"

- Indianans ranked all 50 states' English from most correct to least correct
- Mississippi's ratings clustered low.
- Indiana's ratings clustered high
- New York's was bimodal.
- Florida's was uniform.
- Idaho's was normally distributed, centered around the middle.



"Idaho... [shows] a remarkably normal histogram... It is, apparently, the epitome of average English for these raters. Perhaps it is a least-caricatured state, meeting the negative definition of Standard English – the variety which displays no known non-standard elements."



Our Research Questions

Is Idaho English just a northward extension of Utah English?

If not, is there anything that makes Idaho English stand out?

Methods

Linguistic Variables

Utah English features

- prelateral vowel mergers: feel = fill and fail = fell (Petersen 1988, Di Paolo & Faber 1990, Faber & Di Paolo 1995, Baker & Bowie 2010, Baker-Smemoe & Bowie 2015, Stanley & Johnson 2021)
- MOUNTAIN (button, kitten, satin, etc.): mainstream [?n], locally stigmatized variant [?in], hyperarticulated [thin] (Eddington & Savage 2012, Stanley & Vanderniet 2018, Eddington & Brown 2021, Stanley 2022)
- (ing): mainstream [ɪŋ], "g-dropped" [ɪn], VN+ [ɪŋk, ɪŋg], others [in, ɪŋʰ, ɪŋ॰] (Di Paolo & Johnson 2018)
- (thr)-flapping (three, through, throw etc.): [θrɹ] vs. [θɹ] (Stanley 2019)
- t-insertion in /ls/ clusters: fal[t]se, el[t]se, Nel[t]son, Chel[t]sea, etc. (Baker et al. 2009, Savage 2014, Stanley & Vanderniet 2018)

Pan-regional features

- pull = pole = dull (Baker & Bowie 2010, Baker-Smemoe & Bowie 2015, Strelluf 2016, Freeman & Landers 2021, Bowie 2000, Arnold 2014, Squizzero 2009, Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2006)
- LBMS (Becker 2019 and many, many others)
- back vowel fronting

Data

- Put these words into a 200-word wordlist
- Incorporated the wordlist into a survey
 - record themselves reading within the survey itself
 - Asked other questions too (not analyzed in this presentation)
- Distribution
 - Posted it to 14 Idaho-based subreddits (r/Idaho, r/Boise, r/NorthIdaho, r/BYUIdaho, etc)
 - 60 Idahoans, 119 Utahns, and 31 control

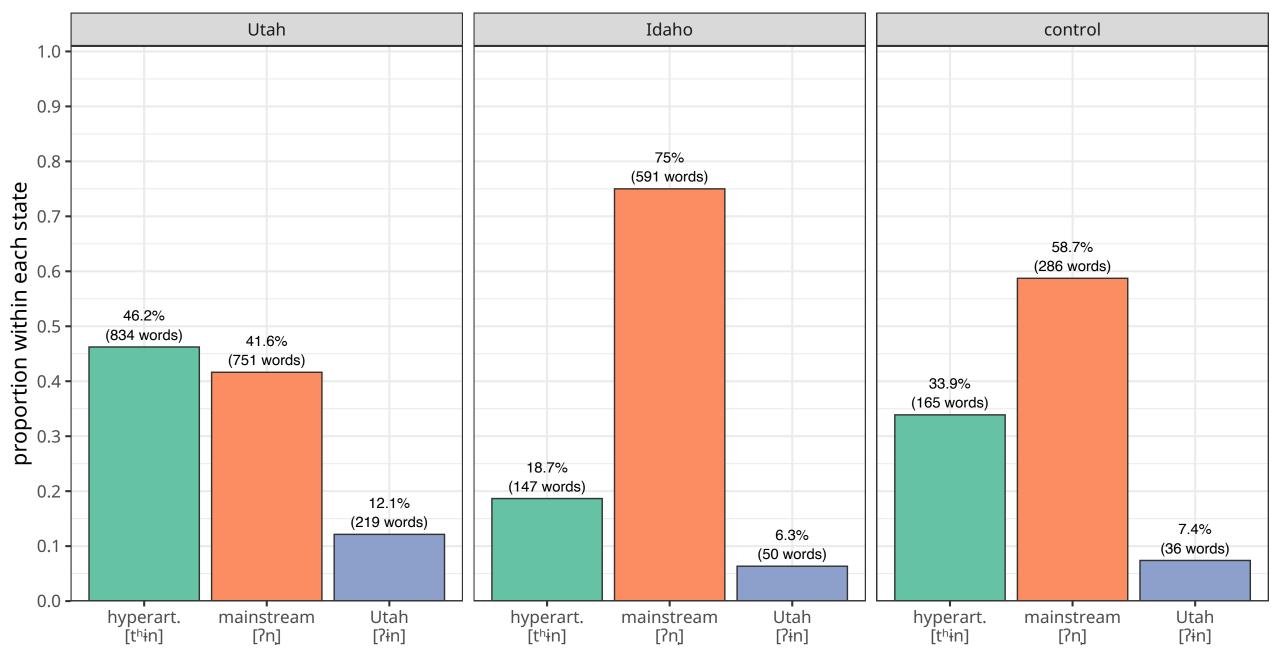
Processing

- Consonants
 - Listened to them, with the help of a spectrogram

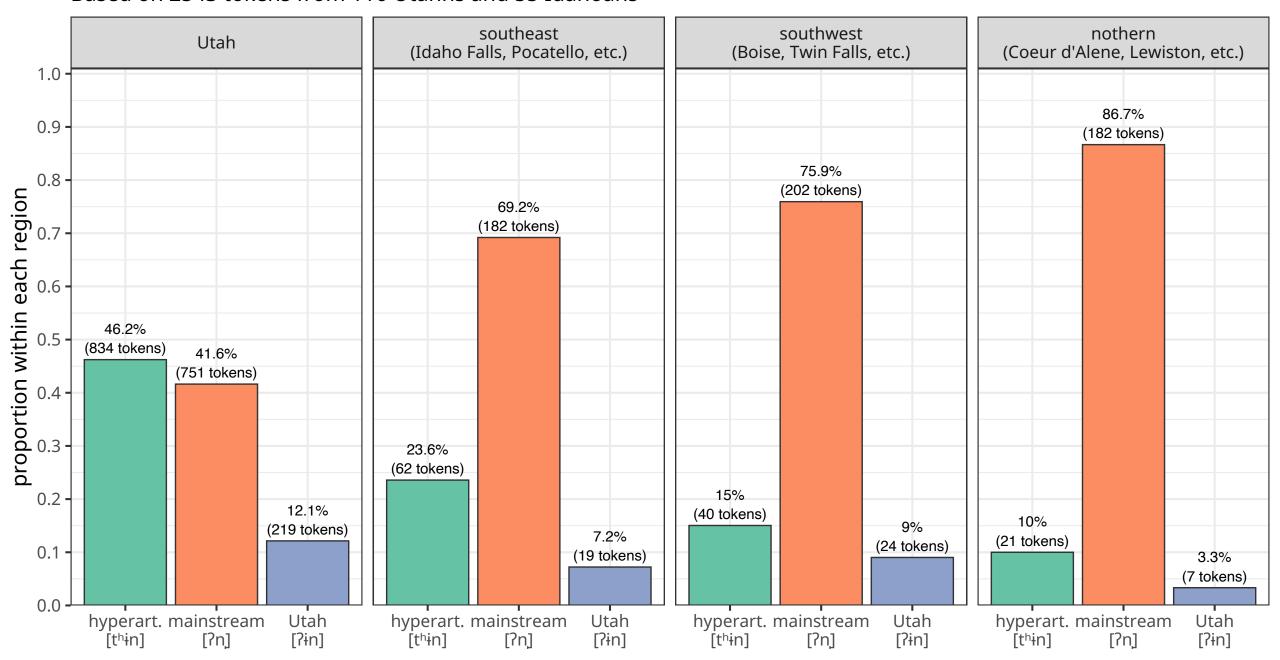
- Vowels
 - Transcribed manually
 - Fast Track for formant extraction (Barreda 2021)
 - MFA for forced-alignment (McAuliffe et al. 2017)
 - Order of operations recommended by Stanley (2022)

Results

Realization of /tən/ in words like mountain, button, and satin Based on 3079 words from 116 Utahns, 58 Idahoans, and 30 others

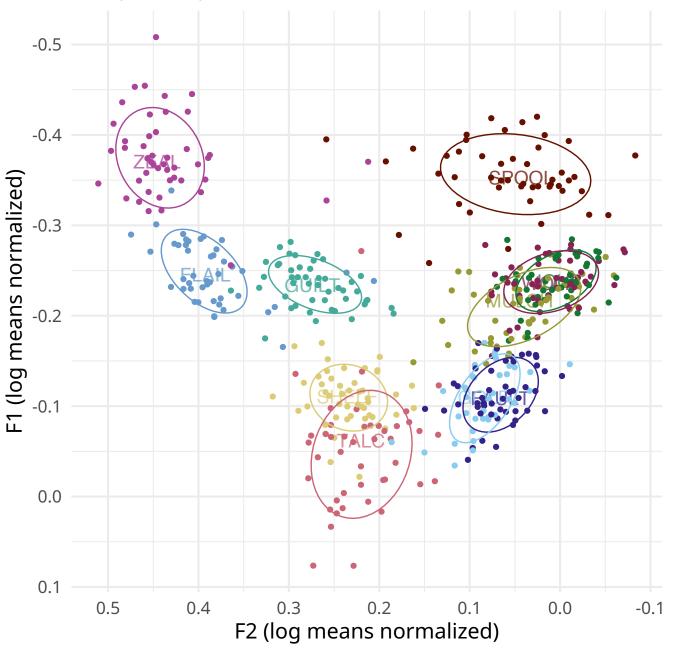


Realization of /tən/ in words like mountain, button, and satin by region within Idaho Based on 2543 tokens from 116 Utahns and 55 Idahoans



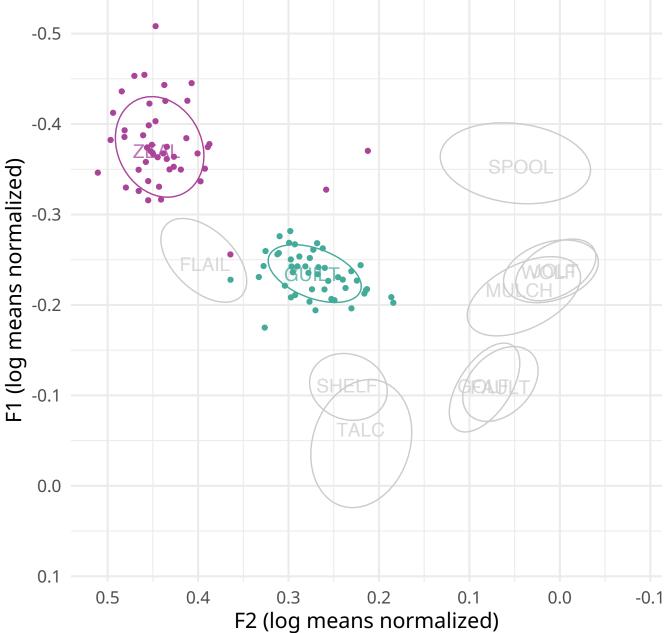
Prelateral allophones in Idaho

One point represents mean normalized F1-F2 measurements per speaker



ZEAL (/il/) and GUILT (/ɪl/) in Idaho

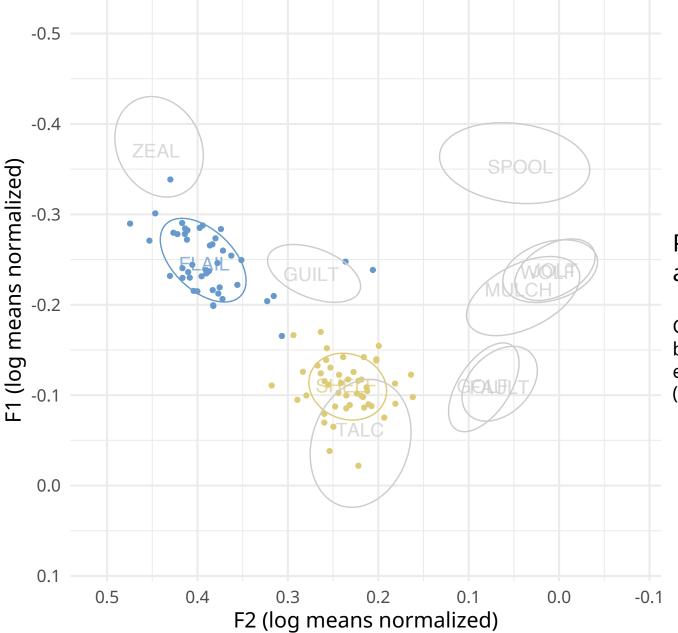
One point represents mean normalized F1-F2 measurements per speaker



Pillai scores: 0.69–0.98 all *p*-values < 0.001

Calculated using the bootstrapping technique explained in Stanley & Sneller (forthcoming)

FLAIL (/el/) and SHELF (/ɛl/) in Idaho
One point represents mean normalized F1-F2 measurements per speaker



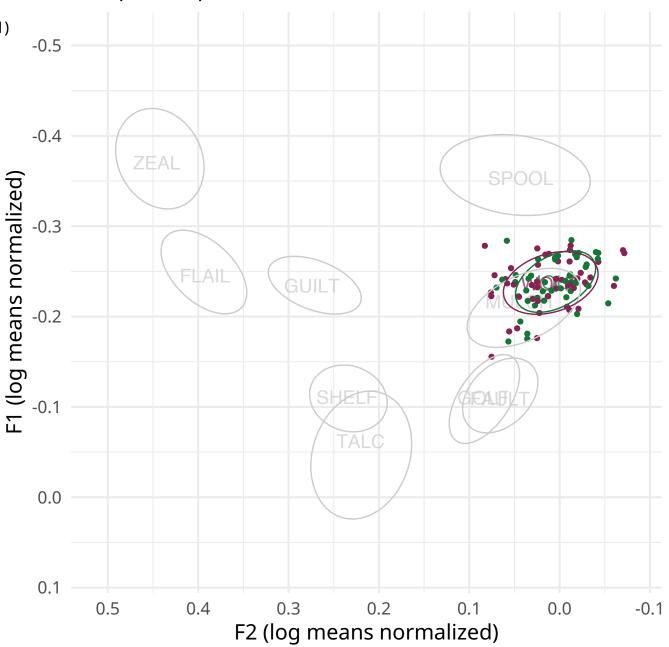
Pillai scores: 0.74–0.98 all *p*-values < 0.001

Calculated using the bootstrapping technique explained in Stanley & Sneller (forthcoming)

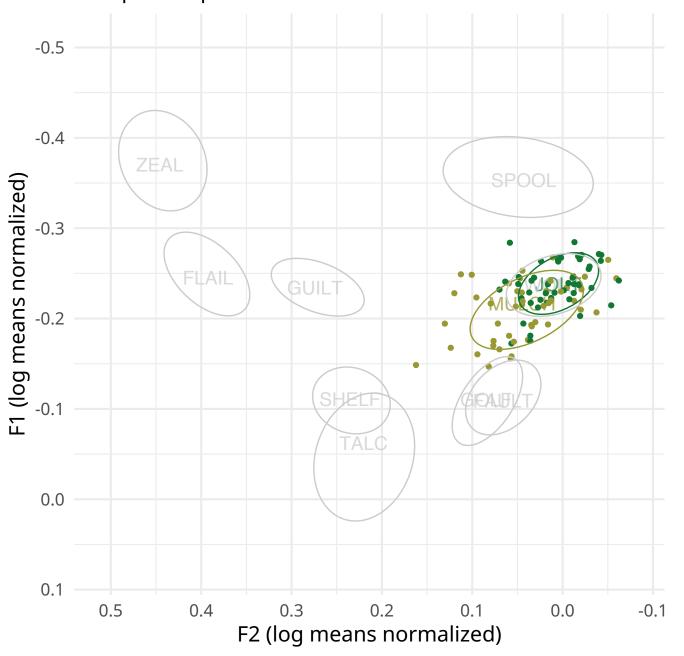
Also found in: Kansas City (Strelluf 2016) Oklahoma (Freeman & Landers 2021) Maryland (Bowie 2000) Ohio (Arnold 2014) Washington (Squizzero 2009)

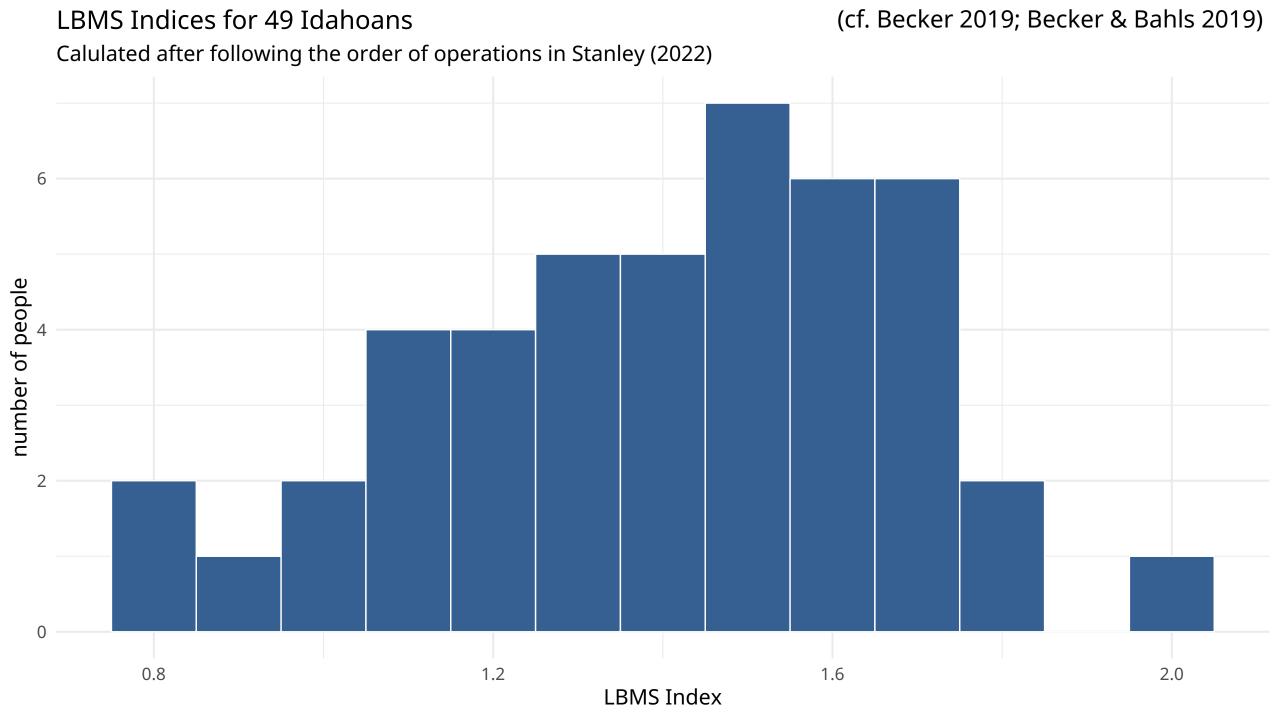
WOLF (/ʊl/) and JOLT (/ol/) in Idaho

One point represents mean normalized F1-F2 measurements per speaker



JOLT (/ol/) and MULCH (/ʌl/) in Idaho
One point represents mean normalized F1-F2 measurements per speaker





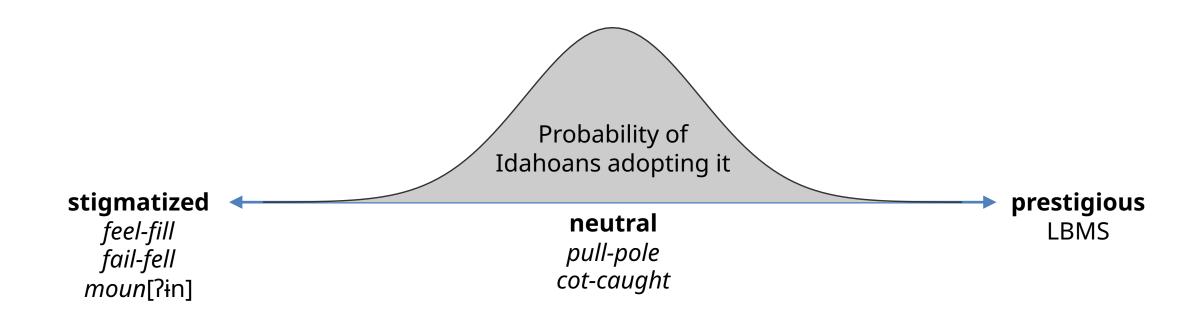
Summary

- **Utah variables**
 - feel-fill and fail-fell mergers: absent
 - mountain: few stigmatized variants
 - variants.
- Pan-regional variables
 - pull-pole merger: widespread
 - pole-dull merger: in progress
 - LBMS: Relatively little shifting

For under-the-radar changes, Idaho is keeping up.

Idaho avoids locally stigmatized

For socially charged changes, Idaho is behind the curve.



Discussion

Who cares?

- Our sample suggests there's nothing special about Idaho English.
- Perhaps avoidance of Utah-indexing features because of animosity towards Utah?
- Why is this oft-overlooked region to close to the standard?

Is Idaho English the epitome of average English?

"Idaho... is, apparently, the epitome of average English for these raters. Perhaps it is a least-caricatured state, meeting the negative definition of Standard English – the variety which displays no known non-standard elements."

We find no evidence to suggest otherwise.

References

- Arnold, Lacey R. 2014. Production and perception of the pre-lateral, non-low, back yowel merger in northeast Ohio. Jensen, Paul, 1931. Desert Rats' Word-List from Eastern Idaho, American Speech 7(2), 119–123. The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America 135(4), 2425–2425.
- Baker, Wendy & David Bowie. 2010. Religious affiliation as a correlate of linguistic behavior. University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics 15(2), https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol15/iss2/2/, (14 August. 2015).
- Baker, Wendy, David Eddington & Lyndsey Nay. 2009. Dialect identification: The effects of region of origin and amount of experience. American Speech 84(1), 48-71, https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-2009-004.
- Baker-Smemoe, Wendy & David Bowie. 2015. Linguistic behavior and religious activity. Language & Communication 116-124. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2014.12.004.
- Becker, Kara (ed.). 2019. The Low-Back-Merger Shift: Uniting the Canadian Vowel Shift, the California Vowel Shift, and short front vowel shifts across North America (Publication of the American Dialect Society 104). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Becker, Kara & Cecilia Bahls, 2019. The Low-Back-Merger Shift in Port Townsend, Washington, Presented at the New Ways of Analyzing Variation 48, Eugene, Oregon.
- Becker, Kara, Cecilia Bahls & Arthur Garrison. 2020. Rural speakers are shifting, too: The Low-Back-Merger Shift in Moscow, Idaho and Port Townsend, Washington. Presented at the American Dialect Society Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.
- Bowie, David. 2000. The Effect of Geographic Mobility on the Retention of a Local Dialect. Philadelphia: University of Savage, David. 2014. How we feel about how we talk: A language attitude survey of Utah English. Provo, Utah: Pennsylvania Dissertation.
- Di Paolo, Marianna & Alice Faber. 1990. Phonation differences and the phonetic content of the tense-lax contrast in Stanley, Joseph A. 2019. (thr)-Flapping in American English: Social factors and articulatory motivations. Proceedings Utah English, Language Variation and Change 2(02), 155-204, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394500000326.
- Di Paolo, Marianna & Lisa Johnson. 2018. Revisiting (NG) in Utah English. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Dialect Society, Salt Lake City.
- Eddington, David Ellingson & Earl Kjar Brown. 2021. A production and perception study of /t/ glottalization and oral releases following glottals in the US. American Speech 96(1). 1-41. https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-8620501.
- Eddington, David & Matthew Savage, 2012. Where are the moun[?a]ns in Utah? American Speech 87(3), 336–349. https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-1958345.
- Faber, Alice & Marianna Di Paolo, 1995. The discriminability of nearly merged sounds, Language Variation and Change 7(1), 35-78.
- Freeman, Valerie & Molly Landers. 2021. Back prelateral mergers in Oklahoma: Variation in production. Poster presented at the New Ways of Analyzing Variation 49, Austin, Texas.
- Garrison, Arthur Scott. 2019. Not Quite Canada, Definitely Not California: Evidence of the Low-Back-Merger Shift in Moscow, Idaho. Portland, Oregon: Reed College Bachelor's Thesis.
- Hall, Joan H. 1985. A Lexical Survey of the Snake River Region, Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones 12–28.

- https://doi.org/10.2307/451559.
- Kopp, Daniela. 2016. The Boise Idahoan English Accent: A Phonological Study. Bern: University of Bern Bachelor's
- Laboy, William, Sharon Ash & Charles Boberg, 2006. The atlas of North American English: Phonetics, phonology and sound change. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Launspach, Sonja A. 2012. The Journey to Idaho: The Use of Oral History Tapes and Census Data to Trace the History of Regional Dialect Features. Idaho Yesterdays 53(1 & 2). http://134.50.3.223/idahoyesterdays/index.php/IY/article/view/55. (9 January, 2017).
- Barreda, Santiago, 2021, Fast Track: fast, (nearly) automatic formant-tracking using Praat, Linguistics Vanguard 7(1). McAuliffe, Michael, Michael Morgan Mihuc, Michael Wagner & Morgan Sonderegger, 2017, Montreal Forced Aligner: Trainable text-speech alignment using Kaldi. Proceedings of the 18th Conference of the International Speech Communication Association.
 - Petersen, Michèle, 1988, Phonetic variation and change; An analysis of steel and still, Deseret Language and Linguistic Society Symposium 14(1). http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/dlls/vol14/iss1/6.
 - Preston, Dennis. 1989. Perceptual Dialectology: Non-Linguists' view of Areal Linguistics. Dordrecht: Foris.
 - Reed, Carroll E. 1957. Word geography of the Pacific Northwest. Orbis 6. 86–93.
 - Reed, Carroll E. 1961. The Pronunciation of English in the Pacific Northwest. Language 37(4). 559–564. https://doi.org/10.2307/411357.
 - Brigham Young University Master's Thesis, http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/5578.
 - of the 5th Annual Linguistics Conference at UGA 49-63.
 - Stanley, Joseph A. 2022. Order of Operations in Sociophonetic Analysis. In University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, vol. Vol. 28: Iss. 2, Article 17. Available at: https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol28/iss2/17.
 - Stanley, Joseph A. & Lisa Morgan Johnson, 2021, Vowels can merge because of changes in trajectory: Prelaterals in rural Utah English. Presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Washington D.C.
 - Stanley, Joseph A. & Betsy Sneller. Forthcoming. Sample size matters when calculating Pillai scores. The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America 150(4), A70-A70, https://doi.org/10.1121/10.0007656.
 - Stanley, Joseph A. & Kyle Vanderniet. 2018. Consonantal Variation in Utah English. In Proceedings of the 4th Annual Linguistics Conference at UGA, 50-65. Athens, Georgia: The Linguistic Society at UGA. https://hdl.handle.net/10724/37876. (30 June, 2018).
 - Squizzero, R. 2009. Bulls and bowls in china shops: A perceptual experiment investigating pre-lateral vowels in Seattle English. Undergraduate thesis, University of Washington.
 - Strelluf, Christopher, 2016, Overlap among back yowels before /l/ in Kansas City, Language Variation and Change 28(3). 379-407. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954394516000144.

Is Idaho English really "the epitome of Average English"?

Joseph A. Stanley
Brigham Young University

KaTrina Jackson
Independent Researcher

It sure seems like it!

These slides are available at joeystanley.com/ads2023