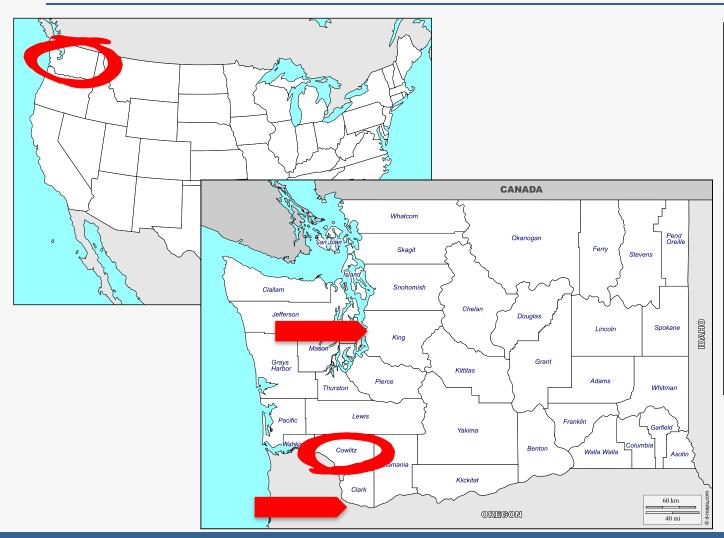
The perception and production of two vowel mergers in Cowlitz County, Washington

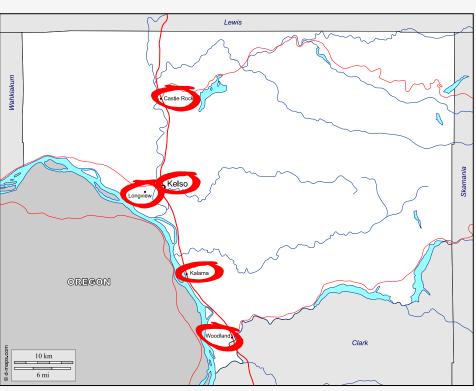
Joey Stanley

University of Georgia joeystan@uga.edu @joey_stan joeystanley.com

American Dialect Society Annual Meeting Austin, Texas January 5, 2017

COWLITZ COUNTY, WASHINGTON





PACIFIC NORTHWEST ENGLISH (CF. STANLEY 2016)

prevelar /e, ε, æ/ raising and merging (Wassink et al. 2009, Freeman 2014, Riebold 2015, etc.)

= MARY-MERRY-MARRY vowels

/u, ʊ, o/ fronting (Ward 2003, Becker et al. 2013, McLarty & Kendall 2014, etc.)

= POOL-PULL-POLE(-PULP) vowels

Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest (LAPNW) (Reed 1952, 1956, 1957, 1961)



Mary-Merry-Marry Merger

 $M/e/ry = m/\epsilon/rry = m/\epsilon/rry$ (henceforth "pre-rhotics")

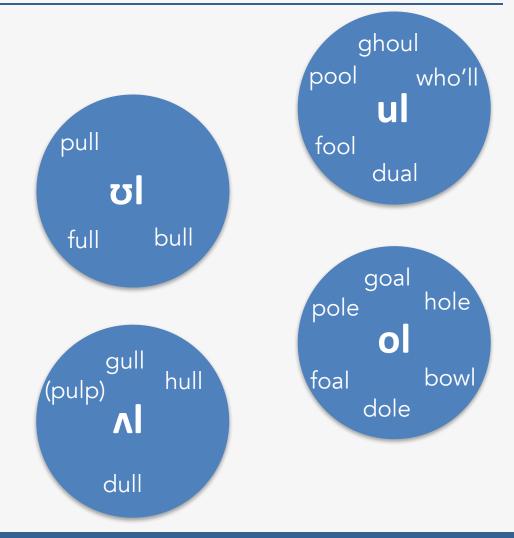
ANAE: "This query was not pursued in most areas of the West and Midwest." (Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2006:54, note 6)

Change in progress 60 years ago

fully merged (Reed 1952, Thomas 1958, Foster & Hoffman 1966) yet...

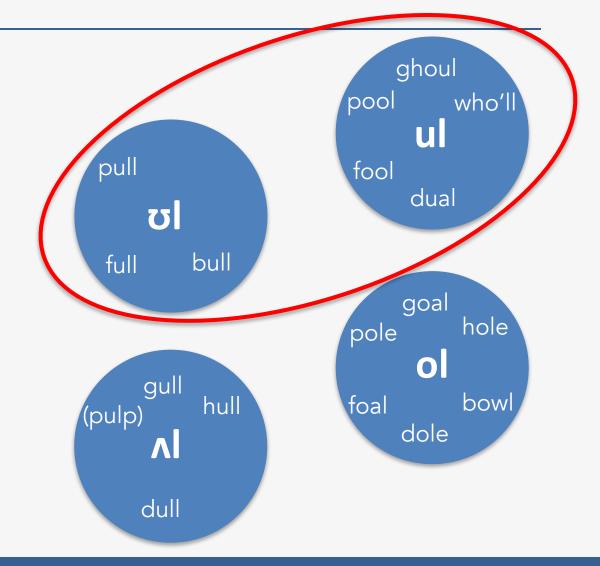
a few older speakers retain /e/ in *Mary* and /æ/ in *marry* (Reed 1961:560) chair "sporadically" as $[\epsilon^{\text{I}}]$ in eastern Washington (561) near even distribution of $[\epsilon]$ and $[\epsilon]$ in parents (562)

several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals



several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals

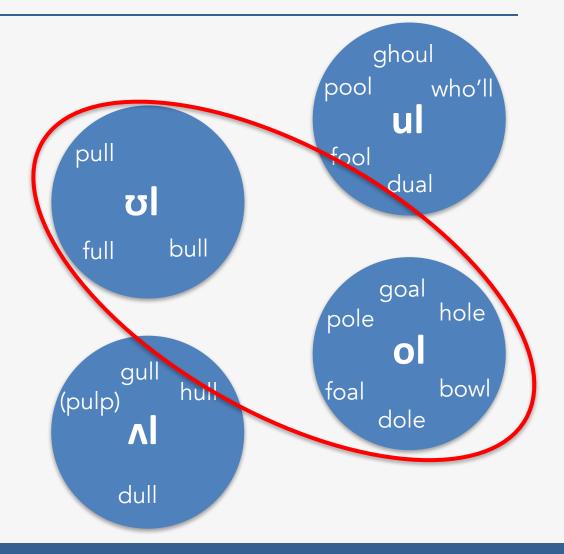
POOL-PULL



"Pre-Lateral" Mergers

several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals

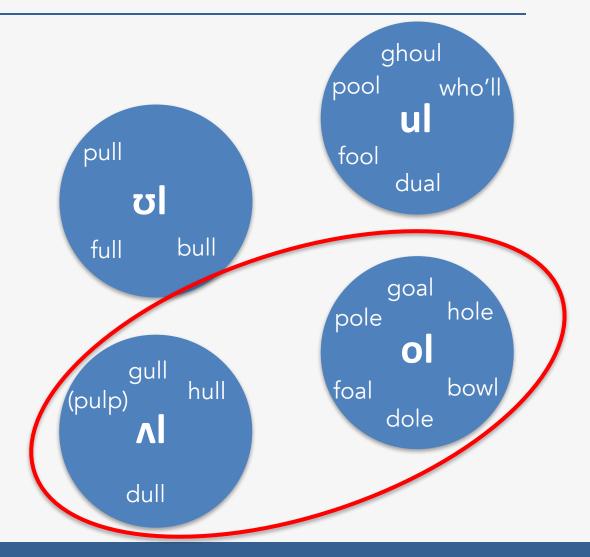
POOL-PULL PULL-POLE



several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals

POOL-PULL PULL-POLE

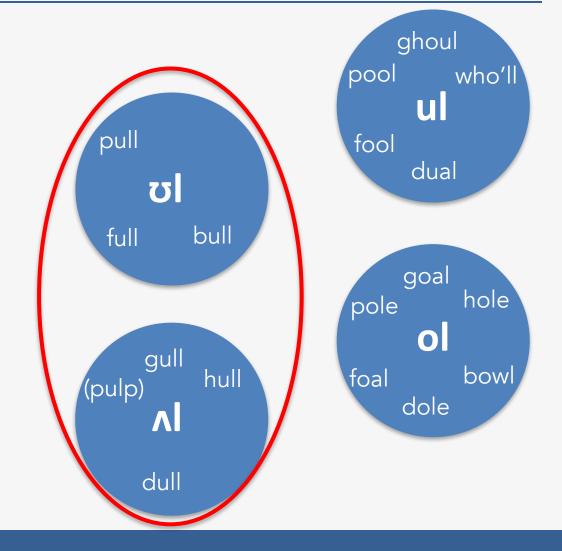
HULL-HOLE



several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals

POOL-PULL PULL-POLE

HULL-HOLE PULL-HULL



several mergers involving back vowels before coda laterals

POOL-PULL PULL-POLE

HULL-HOLE PULL-HULL

"deserve further study" (Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2006: 73)

variable in Maryland (Bowie 2001), Ohio (Arnold 2014), Missouri (Strelluf 2016), and Utah (Baker & Bowie 2010)

bulk and bulge as $[\Lambda]$ or $[\sigma]$, pull as $[\sigma]$ (Reed 1961)









OVERVIEW

MARY-MERRY-MARRY historically variable, but likely merged today

Status of pre-lateral mergers is unknown, though impressionistically less clear cut

Hypothesis 1: complete MARY-MERRY-MARRY merger

Hypothesis 2: separation of POOL, PULL, POLE, and PULP

Hypothesis 3: production/intuition mismatch

METHODOLOGY

DATA COLLECTION

40 natives of Cowlitz County, ages 18–70s

Number of tokens

word list (23) and minimal pairs (14) list in appendix slides

	word list	minimal pairs	total
pre-laterals	376	842	1,218
pre-rhotics	342	509	851
total	718	1,351	2,069

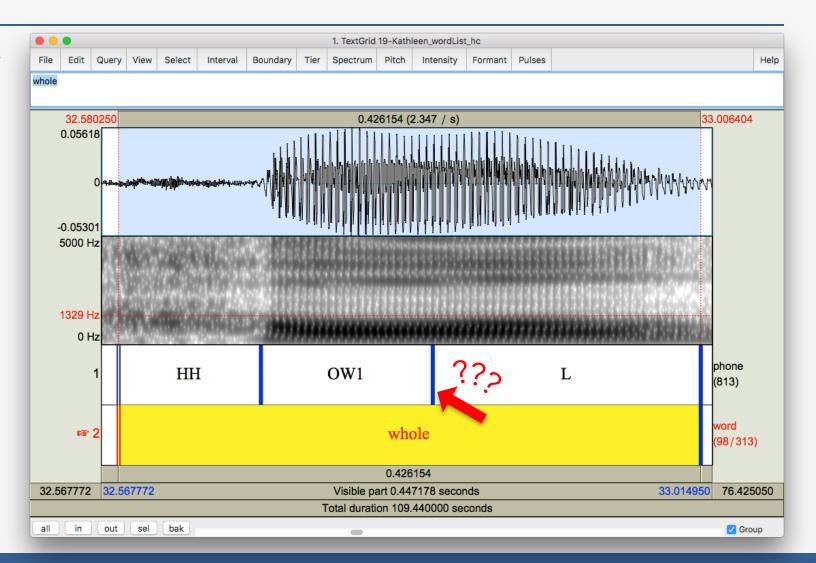
intuition of own minimal pairs

forced aligned with DARLA (Reddy & Stanford 2015), which uses ProsodyLab (Gorman, Howell, & Wagner, 2011) and FAVE (Rosenfelder, Fruehwald, Evanini, & Yuan 2011)

hand-corrected boundaries and extracted formants myself

FORMANT EXTRACTION

boundaries can be arbitrary



FORMANT EXTRACTION

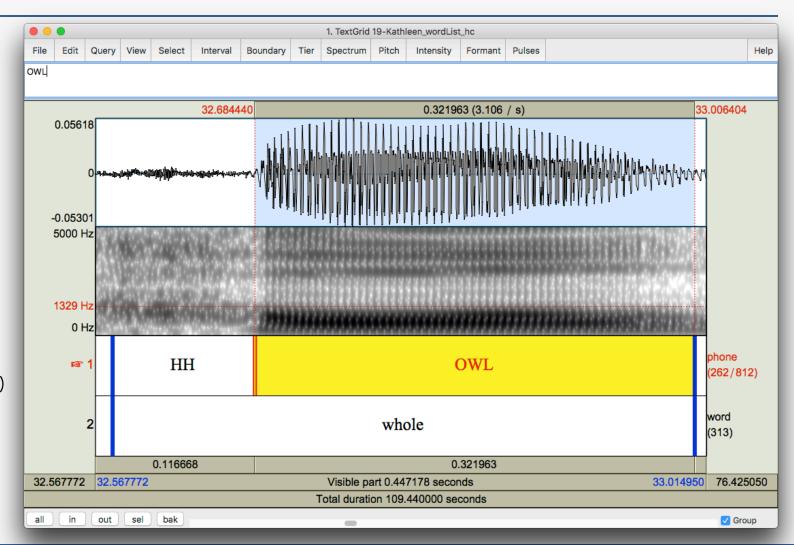
boundaries can be arbitrary

formants extracted at 15 points along the vowel+liquid duration

25% point used for now (reasoning in appendix slides)

Bark normalized (Traunmüller 1997)

Lobanov not ideal since
not all vowels are present
(Thomas & Kendall 2007–2015)



RESULTS

Pre-Laterals: Minimal Pairs

POOL is higher
PULP is lower and fronter
(statistics in appendix slides)

PULL = POLE

(independent two-sided t-tests)

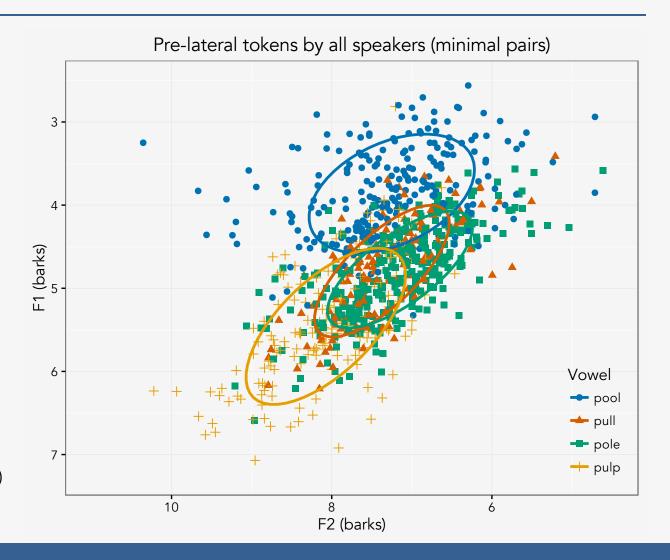
F1:
$$t_{(215.15)} = 0.13$$
, $p = 0.89$

F2:
$$t_{(253.56)} = 2.50$$
, $p = 0.01$

Pillai score: 0.02 (cf. Hay, Warren, & Drager 2006, Hall-Lew 2010, Nycz & Hall-Lew 2013)

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.97

(cf. Bhattacharyya 1943, Calenge 2006, Johnson 2015)



Pre-Laterals: Minimal Pairs

POOL is higher PULP is lower and fronter

(statistics in appendix slides)

PULL = POLE

(independent two-sided t-tests)

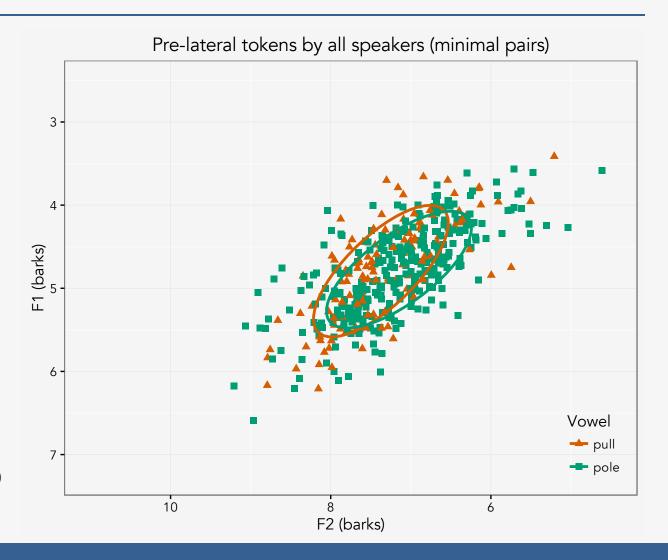
F1:
$$t_{(215.15)} = 0.13$$
, $p = 0.89$

F2:
$$t_{(253.56)} = 2.50$$
, $p = 0.01$

Pillai score: 0.02 (cf. Hay, Warren, & Drager 2006, Hall-Lew 2010, Nycz & Hall-Lew 2013)

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.97

(cf. Bhattacharyya 1943, Calenge 2006, Johnson 2015)



PRE-LATERALS: WORD LIST

PULL = POLE

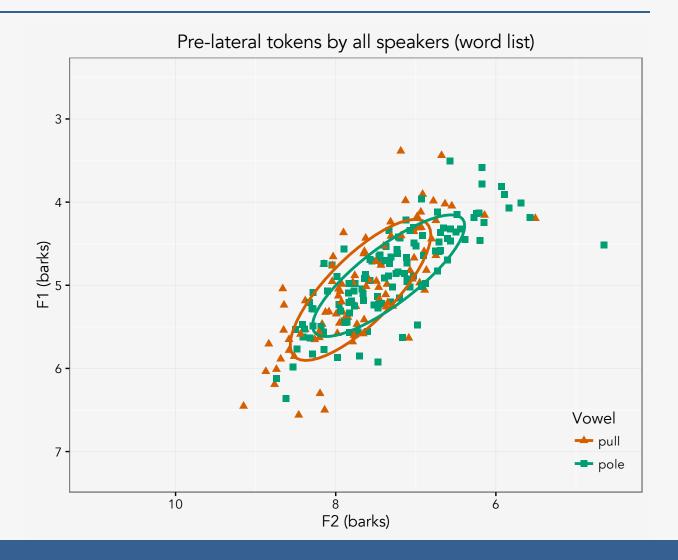
(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1: $t_{(191.45)} = 2.06$, p = 0.04

F2: $t_{(212.96)} = 3.88$, p < 0.001

Pillai score: 0.07

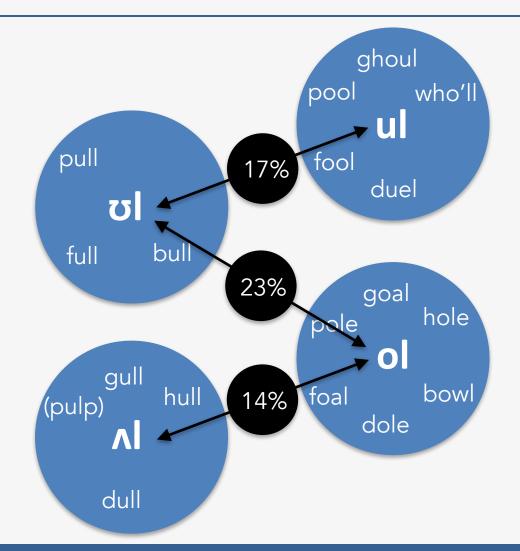
Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.95



PRE-LATERALS: PERCEPTION

% = pairs reported merged

hesitant responses



PRE-RHOTICS: WORD LIST

MERRY = MARRY—no doubt about it

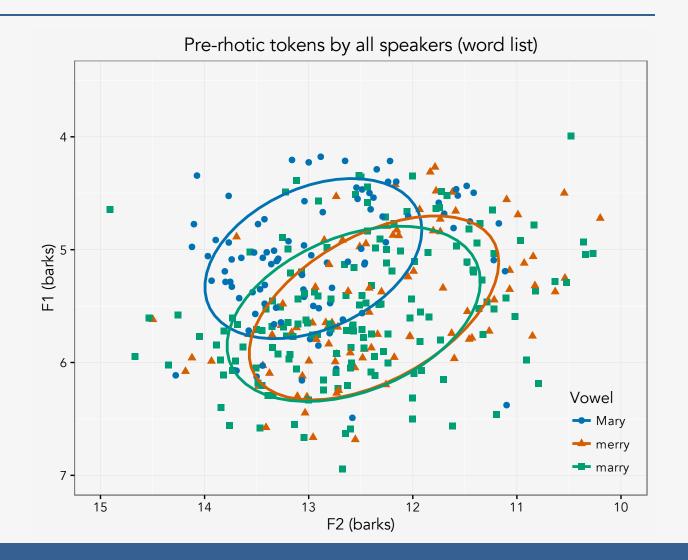
MARY slightly higher than M{E,A}RRY (independent one-sided *t*-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(175.87)} = -6.44$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(188.15)} = 4.36$$
, $p < 0.001$

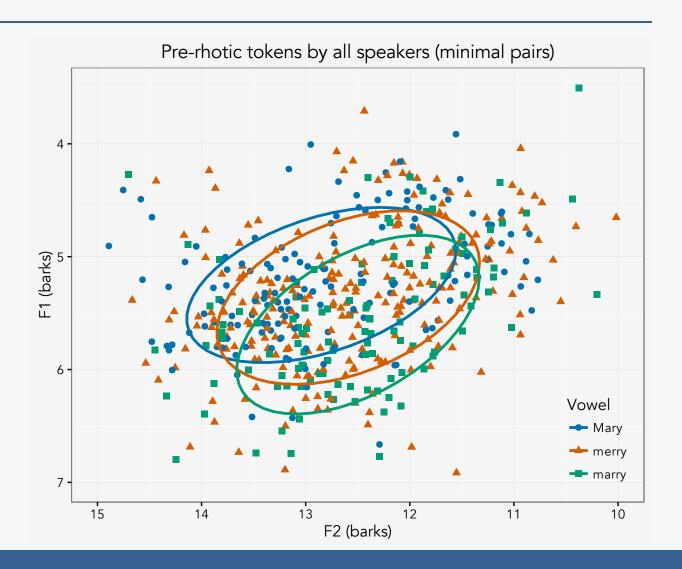
Pillai score: 0.20

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.90



PRE-RHOTICS: MINIMAL PAIRS

(near-)complete merger hint of a three-way distinction



PRE-RHOTICS: MINIMAL PAIRS

(near-)complete merger hint of a three-way distinction

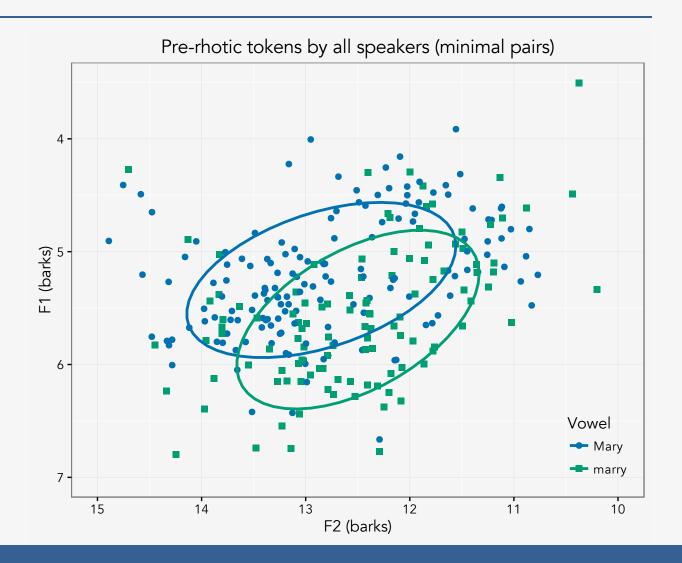
slight MARY~MARRY distinction (independent one-sided t-tests)

F1: $t_{(212.07)} = -4.11$, p < 0.001

F2: $t_{(257.82)} = 2.67$, p = 0.004

Pillai score: 0.13

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.94



PRE-RHOTICS: MINIMAL PAIRS

(near-)complete merger hint of a three-way distinction

slight MARY~MARRY distinction (independent one-sided t-tests)

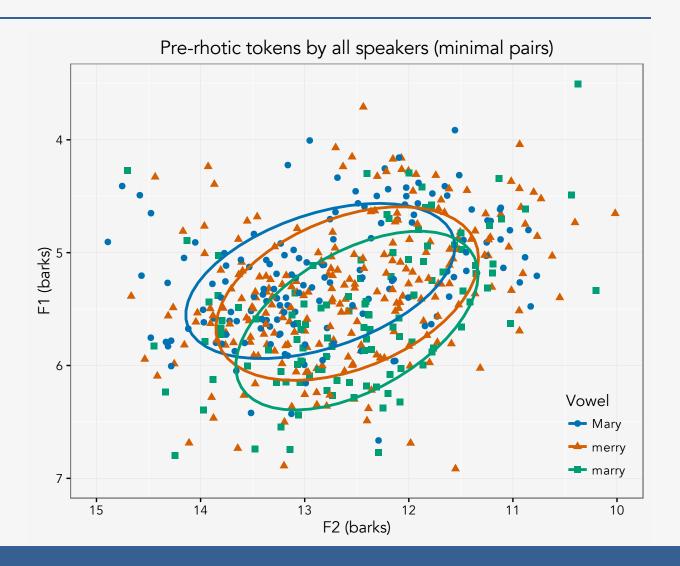
F1: $t_{(212.07)} = -4.11$, p < 0.001

F2: $t_{(257.82)} = 2.67$, p = 0.004

Pillai score: 0.13

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.94

"phoneme continuum"? (see appendix slides)



PRE-RHOTICS: PERCEPTION

confidently answered

MARY (/e/) = MERRY (/ ϵ /): 98%

MARY (/e/) = MARRY (/æ/): 99%

MERRY $(/\epsilon/)$ = MARRY (/æ/): 97%

OVERVIEW

	PULL vs. POLE word list minimal pairs		MARY vs. MERRY/MARRY word list minimal pairs		
production	"merged"	merged	distinct	phoneme continuum	
speaker intuition	23% reported merged		98% reported merged		

clear case of "near-merger" (Labov et al. 1972, Labov et al. 1991, Di Paolo 1992, Bowie 2001, etc.)

MARY-MERRY/MARRY: distinct in production, merged in perception

PULL-POLE: merged in production, distinct in perception

CONCLUSION

Cowlitz County natives merge PULL and POLE while maintaining a distinction between MARY and MERRY/MARRY.

```
Hypothesis 1: X complete MARY-MERRY-MARRY merger
```

Hypothesis 2: X separation of POOL, PULL, POLE, and PULP

Hypothesis 3: ✓ production/intuition mismatch

awareness of possible distinction affecting intuition?

Ongoing changes in Cowlitz County

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This slideshow available at joeystanley.com/ADS2017

APPENDICES

WORD LIST ITEMS

These were embedded psuedorandomly in a 160-item word list, with words targeting other research questions acting as fillers.	/er/ /εr/ /ær/	dairy, hairy, vary heritage, numeric, sheriff arrow, carry, narrate, parrot, sparrow
Participants often commented on how random the words seemed, so they likely did not catch on to the research questions these words targeted.	/ul/ /ʊl/ /ol/ /ʌl/	cool, school fulcrum, pulpit, wool control, holster, stroll, whole adult, culprit, vulture

The following words were excluded because they did not satisfy the required syllable type for their particular merger (open syllables for *Mary-merry-marry* and closed syllables for the prelaterals), which was only learned after data-collection:

bullet, (Coca-)Cola, gullible, hooligan, polar (bear), pulley, sullen, tulips, yuletide,

MINIMAL PAIRS & TRIPLETS

/er/	/εr/	/ær/		/ul/	/ʊl/	/ol/	/ \ I/
fairy	ferry			rule		role	
	perish	parish		stool		stole	
	very	vary			bull	bowl	
	terrible					goal	gull
hairy		Harry				colt	cult
Mary	merry	marry				whole/hole	
						bolder/boulder	
			school			skull	
The pairs bear~bare, hair~hare, and stares~stairs were excluded because the targeted vowel was not before an intervocalic /r/.		Pairs from the same class are assumed to be homophonous for all speakers and were included to test speakers' attention.	who'll		hole	hull	
			pool	pull	pole		
The word <i>terrible</i> was paird with the invented word "tear-able" (as in 'able to be torn'), but participants didn't respond well to that, and it was excluded.			fool	full	pole		

POOL STATISTICS

pool ≠ pull (word list)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(155.89)} = -13.99$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(144.62)} = -5.01 p < 0.001$$

Pillai score: 0.14

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.60

pool ≠ pole (word list)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(160.853)} = -13.47$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(158.27)} = -1.27$$
, $p = 0.205$

Pillai score: 0.13

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.60

pool ≠ pulp (word list)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(153.79)} = -17.37$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(154.47)} = -10.52$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.24

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.47

This is admitedly interesting. /ʊl/ is a bit fronter in the minimal pairs than in the word list.

To be expected: /ul/ is the same backness as /ol/

pool ≠ pull (minimal pairs)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(234,23)} = -14.92$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(331.42)} = -0.52 (p = 0.601)$$

Pillai score: 0.12

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.72

pool ≠ pole (minimal pairs)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(517.85)} = -20.35$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(444.58)} = 1.89 (p = 0.059)$$

Pillai score: 0.15

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.70

pool ≠ pulp (minimal pairs)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(268.94)} = -23.73$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(382.35)} = -9.27$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.25

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.53

PULP STATISTICS

pulp ≠ pool (word list)

(see previous slide)

pulp ≠ pull (word list)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(182.43)} = 4.04$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(167.19)} = 6.52$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.06

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.84

pulp ≠ pole (word list)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(175.92)} = 6.31$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(177.14)} = 9.71$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.09

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.74

pulp ≠ pool (minimal pairs)

(see previous slide)

pulp ≠ pull (minimal pairs)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(285.81)} = 8.33$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(282.14)} = 8.74$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.07

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.82

$pulp \neq pole$ (minimal pairs)

(independent two-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(249.73)} = 10.13$$
, $p < 0.001$

F2:
$$t_{(312.02)} = 12.69$$
, $p < 0.001$

Pillai score: 0.10

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.79

"PHONEME CONTINUUM" STATISTICS

Mary = merry

(independent one-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(361.44)} = -2.11 p = 0.012$$

F2:
$$t_{(313.141)} = 2.20$$
, $p = 0.014$

Pillai score: 0.03

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.98

merry ≠ marry

(independent one-sided t-tests)

F1:
$$t_{(210.088)} = -2.54$$
, $p = 0.994$

F2:
$$t_{(231.412)} = 0.87$$
 $p = 0.807$

Pillai score: 0.03

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.98

Marginal significance.

No significance.

Mary ≠ marry

(independent one-sided t tests)

F1:
$$t_{(212.07)} = -4.11 p < 0.001$$

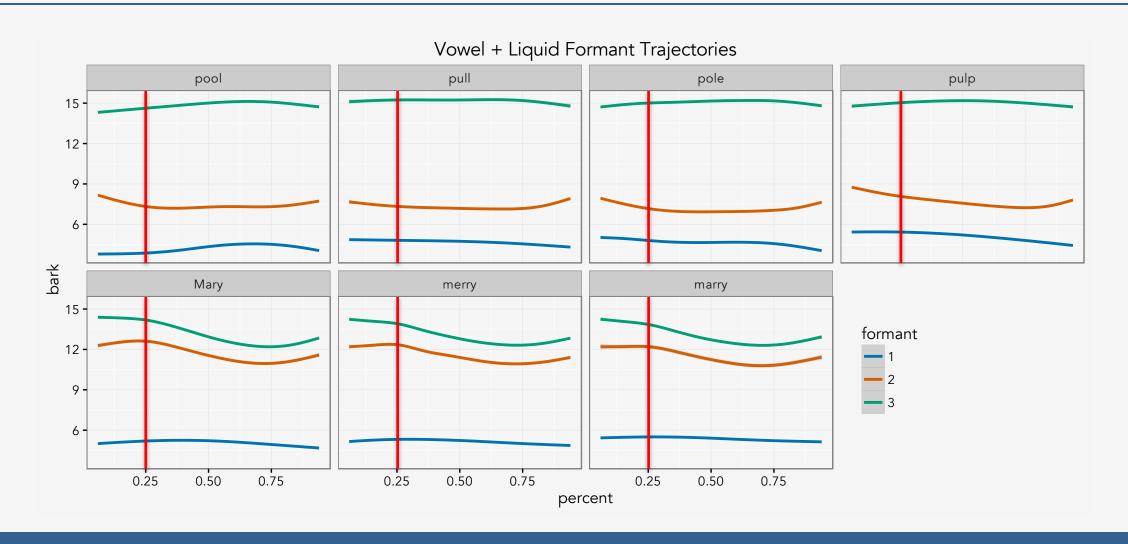
F2:
$$t_{(257.82)} = 2.67$$
, $p = 0.004$

Pillai score: 0.13

Bhattacharyya's affinity: 0.94

Yet, more significance and less overlap.

WHY THE 25% POINT?



WHY THE 25% POINT?

past transitional formants

[+] is in full effect (and merged for everyone) by 60%

PULP is at its lowest
POOL is at its backest
MARY-MERRY-MARRY at
their frontest

