

# Say Yah to Da UP, Eh? (d)/(t) Stopping in UP English among older-aged Finnish-Americans

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## Summary

- In American dialects, /ð, θ/ can be realized as [d]/[t]
  a process referred to as fortition or [d]/[t]-stopping.
- [d]/[t]-stopping previously reported as a substrate effect in heritage communities in the Midwest (and elsewhere).
- Present study examines similar effect among older-aged Finnish heritage communities in Michigan's UP.
- Analyzed reading passage data from 43 older speakers.
- Reveals fortition process not as common in UP English.
- However, in cases of where (d/t)-stopping does occur, working-class males exhibit strongest preference for variant.

# Background

- Interdental fricatives, ([ $\eth$ ]/[ $\theta$ ]) realized as coronal oral stops ([d]/[t]), is a well documented and complex linguistic feature.
- Undergoing of a fortition process (i.e.,  $[\delta]/[\theta] \rightarrow [d]/[t]$ ).
- The following varieties exhibit this feature: Cajun English<sup>1</sup>, African American English<sup>2</sup>, and Wisconsin English<sup>3,4</sup>.
- Furthermore, [d]/[t]-stopping in some rural American English speech communities is said to index not only ethnicity but also working-class<sup>3</sup>.

# Present Study

- Michigan's Upper Peninsula (UP) is an excellent case to examine the linguistic feature & its complex variation w/in an immigrant speech community.
- Rural region with a complex immigration history.
- Fortition of interdental fricatives has been documented in UP English<sup>3,5</sup>:
- However, limited quantitative accounts have been done.
- Present study draws on:
- Reading passage data
- A 43-speaker corpus of older-aged Finnish-heritage American English from Michigan's Marquette County.
- Stratified by language-dominance, sex, and class.

#### GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTION:

- To what degree, if any, is [d]/[t]-stopping occurring in the speech of the older-aged Finnish-heritage speech community in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (UP)?
- Do speakers exhibit this feature in a semi-conservative speech style (e.g., the reading of a passage)?
- Do sociolinguistic trends exist for such data, and if so, do they lend support to the claim that this feature indexes working-class?

#### Dataset

- 1,161 tokens from reading passage task:
- Tokens per speaker:  $23 / \delta / \text{ and } 4 / \theta /$
- Various positions: word-initial, word-medial and word-final
- Unique words: the, they, that, there, then, them, thought, mouth, with, weather, and nothing.

 Table 1: Breakdown of tokens (by position) in passage task

Position	Ling. V	Total	
	/ð/	/θ/	100a1
Word-initial	22	1	23
Word-medial	1	1	2
Word-final	0	2	2
Total	23	4	27

- A 43-speaker sub-corpus out of 69-speaker corpus.<sup>6</sup>
- Controlled variables:
- Location (Marquette County, MI)
- Age (59-100 yoa)
- Heritage (Finnish)
- Stratified variables:
- Sex (male/female)
- Socioeconomic status (working-/middle-class)
- Lingua-dominance (Finnish-dominant bilinguals/English-dominant bilinguals/English monolinguals).

Table 2: Subset of the 69-speaker Finnish-American corpus

A	ge Groups	Bilingualism	Subtotals	Π	Tota	al	
	Older	Bilinguals	28	12			
	Oldel		15	40		$ _{60} $	
	Middle	Monolingual	13		41	09	
-	Younger		13				

 Table 3: Breakdown of 43-speaker sub-corpus

Sex	SES	FINN L1;	ENG L1;	ENG L1;	Total
		Bilingual	Bilingual	Monolingual	
Female	Middle	2	3	5	10
	Working	6	4	4	14
Male	Middle	2	3	3	8
	Working	5	3	3	11
Total		15	13	15	43

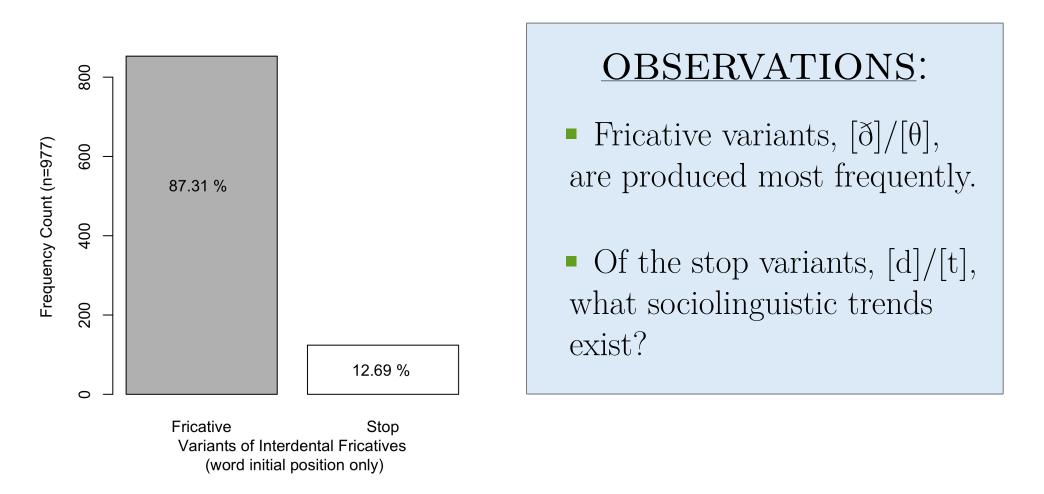
### Methods

- Data comes from a reading passage task.
- 27 words of potential tokens of interdental fricatives occur.
- For each case, the token produced by each speaker was determined to be either a fricative ([8]/[8]) or a oral stop ([d]/[t]) via spectrographic analysis<sup>7</sup>.
- Determine frequency of [d]/[t]-stopping occurrence.
- The cases where [d]/[t]-stopping does occurs:
- Statistical comparison (e.g., Chi-square of Indpendence)

### Results I: Global Distribution

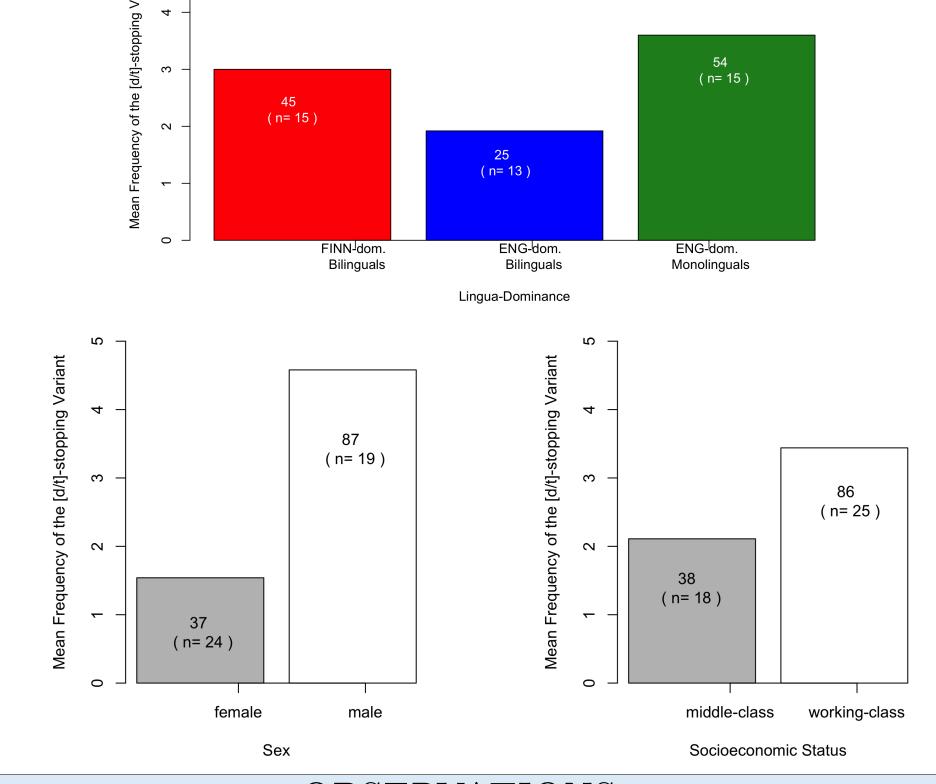
Figure 1: Global distribution

of [d]/[t]-stopping variable



#### Results II: Main Effects

Figure 2: Main Effects of Sociolinguistic Variables

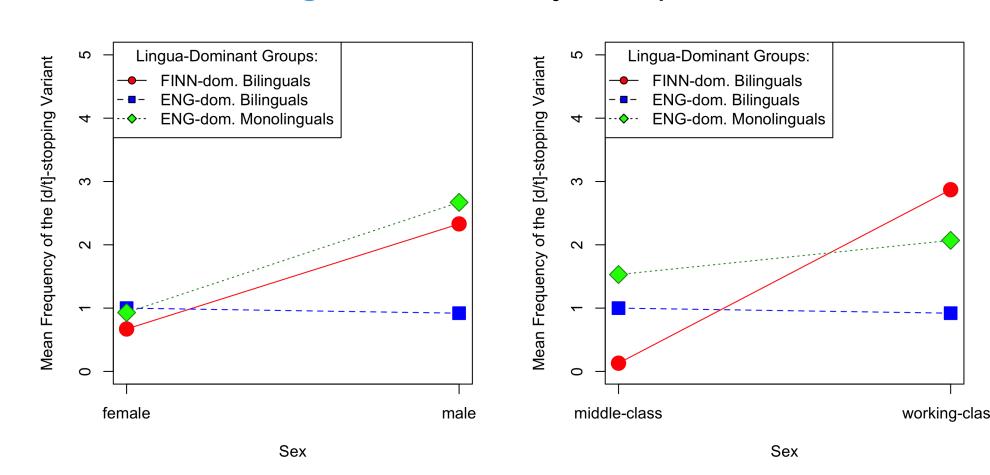


#### OBSERVATIONS:

- Strong main effect for Sex factor, with marginal effect for SES.
- Marginal preference for ENG-dominant monolinguals.

# Results III: 2-way Interactions

Figure 4: Two-way Comparison



#### OBSERVATIONS:

• Marginal preference for all lingua-dominant males and working-class.

## Results IV: 3-way Interactions

Figure 6: Three-way Comparison

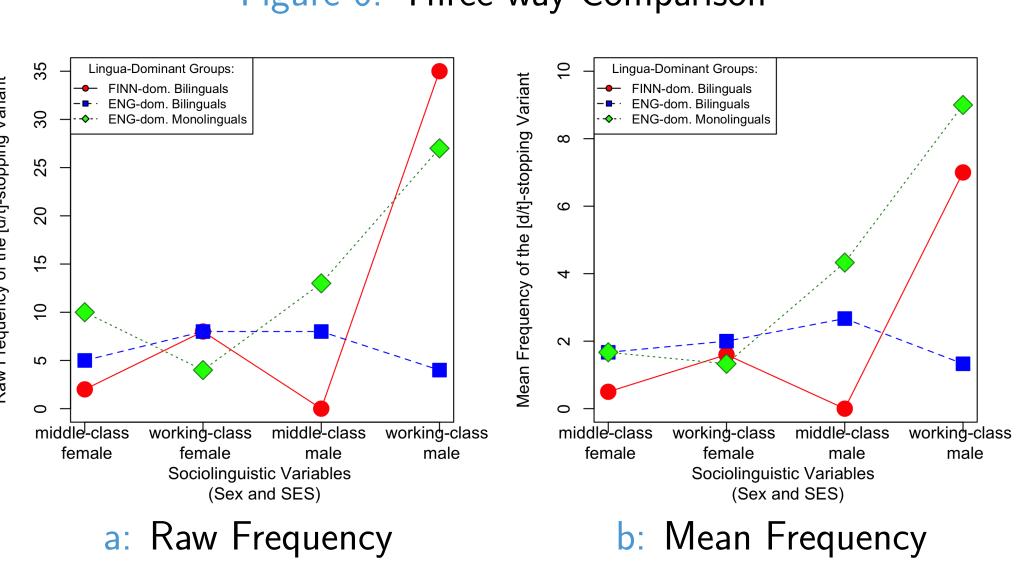


Table 4: Distribution of speakers' raw and mean frequency by Lingua-Dominance, Sex, and SES

Lingua-Dominance	Sex	SES	nSpeakers	Frequency	Mean
	female	MC	4	2	0.50
FINN-dom.		WC	5	8	1.60
Bilingual	male -	MC	0	0	0.00
		WC	5	35	7.00
	female	MC	3	5	1.67
ENG-dom.		WC	4	8	2.00
Bilingual		MC	3	8	2.67
		WC	3	4	1.33
	female -	MC	6	10	1.67
ENG-dom. Monolingual		WC	3	4	1.33
	male -	MC	3	13	4.33
		WC	3	27	9.00

## Discussion

- This study reveals:
- [δ]/[θ]-variants produced far more often than [d]/[t]-variants.
- In cases of the latter, [d]/[t]-stopping occurs:
- most often among working-class males
- least among middle- and working-class females.
- The frequency of [d]/[t]-stopping in this study does not support previously claims about UP English.<sup>5</sup>
- Possible Cause: Conservative speech style
- Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic trends reported do support the claim that this feature of UP English seems to index working-class.<sup>3</sup>
- Furthermore, [d]/[t]-stopping indexes not only working-class but working-class masculinity.
- Indicative of a prestigious linguistic marker for local speech and identity in Michigan's UP English speech community.

#### References

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