

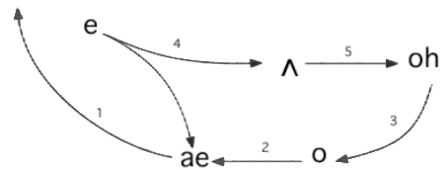
## The Present-Day Dialectological Status of the Hudson Valley

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### Hudson Valley (HV):

- identified as a principal lexical dialect region by mid-20th century dialectology (Kurath 1949, Kurath & McDavid 1961)
- not investigated in more recent phonological work (*ANAE*: Labov et al. 2006)
- therefore current phonological status of Hudson Valley is unknown

**Current data:** new interviews with 119 Upstate New York speakers (see Appendix for details), many along border of Hudson Valley as located by Kurath (1949), plus 10 Upstate interviews from *ANAE*.



The Northern Cities Shift

**Northern Cities Shift (NCS)** characteristic of **Inland North**, region adjacent to HV.

Labov (2007)'s **vowel mean diagnostics for participation in NCS:**

- **ED criterion:** /e/ less than 375 Hz fronter than /o/
- **UD criterion:** /o/ fronter than /ʌ/
- **EQ criterion:** /æ/ both fronter and higher than /e/
- **AE1 criterion:** /æ/ higher than 700 Hz (i.e., F1 is less than 700 Hz)
- **O2 criterion:** /o/ fronter than 1500 Hz

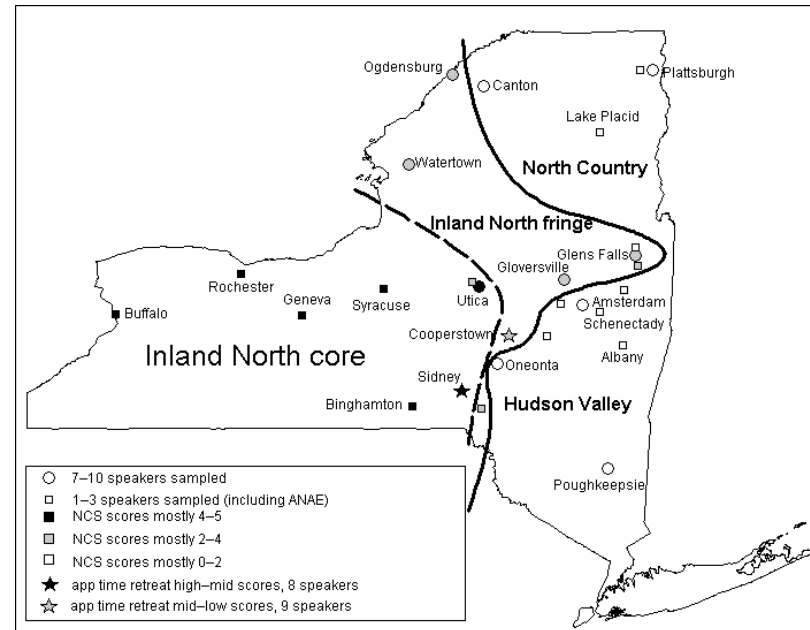
A speaker's **NCS score** is the number of criteria satisfied.

(All means are computed disregarding tokens before nasals and liquids.)

Results: southeastern boundary of high NCS scores roughly matches northwestern boundary of HV from Kurath (1949); see Dinkin (2008, 2009) for details.

So Hudson Valley **remains a separate dialect region** from Inland North on phonological grounds.

However, the **boundary is permeable:** Sidney and perhaps other smaller villages seem to be retreating from NCS under influence of nearby Hudson Valley cities.



Hudson Valley lacks obvious distinctive features of its own; however, **Hudson Valley core** subregion (Albany, Poughkeepsie) exhibits diffused New York City features:

- raised /oh/
- tensing of /æ/ before voiced stops, voiceless fricatives

See Labov (2007), Dinkin (2009), Dinkin & Friesner (2009).

No substantial linguistic difference between HV overall and Western New England; however, Inland North's settlement history derives from WNE and HV's doesn't (Dinkin 2008, 2009).

Majority of Hudson Valley speakers have **NCS score of 2**: clearly distinct from Inland North, but NCS features are not completely absent.

NCS scores	<i>ANAE</i> Inland North (n = 61)	Hudson Valley (n = 33)	<i>ANAE</i> elsewhere (n = 385)
5	36%	0%	1%
4	26%	0%	1%
3	16%	9%	3%
2	16%	70%	9%
1	5%	18%	21%
0	0%	3%	66%

NCS criteria	<i>ANAE</i> Inland North ( <i>n</i> = 61)	Hudson Valley ( <i>n</i> = 33)	<i>ANAE</i> elsewhere ( <i>n</i> = 385)
<b>UD</b>	93%	88%	15%
<b>ED</b>	84%	82%	13%
<b>EQ</b>	66%	0%	3%
<b>AE1</b>	84%	9%	17%
<b>O2</b>	46%	9%	5%

HV satisfies **UD and ED criteria** at Inland North–like levels, but not EQ, AE1, and O2.

vowel means	<i>ANAE</i> Inland North ( <i>n</i> = 61)	Hudson Valley ( <i>n</i> = 33)	<i>ANAE</i> elsewhere ( <i>n</i> = 385)
/o/ F2	1498 Hz	1421 Hz	1310 Hz
/e/ F2	1740 Hz	1724 Hz	1847 Hz
/ʌ/ F2	1353 Hz	1324 Hz	1470 Hz
/æ/ F1	653 Hz	766 Hz	767 Hz

The Hudson Valley:

- **resembles or exceeds the Inland North** as a whole in backing of /e/ and /ʌ/,
- is **midway between the Inland North and elsewhere** in fronting of /o/, and
- **resembles non–Inland North regions** in height of /æ/.<sup>1</sup>

So the Hudson Valley is **subject to some aspects of the NCS**, to varying degrees, and **not to others**.

This is consistent with a model in which NCS features **diffused** into HV from neighboring Inland North; cf. Labov (2007)’s argument that the NCS diffuses as a collection of independent sound changes, rather than a unitary chain-shift system.

This implies that the Inland North / Hudson Valley boundary acts as a **barrier to diffusion** of /æ/-raising. Why?

Hypothesis: **differing phonological structures of /æ/**.

- **Nasal system:** prenasal /æ/ occupies a distinct higher region of phonetic space.
- **Continuous system:** prenasal /æ/ is still higher than non-prenasal /æ/, but all tokens are still within a single cluster in phonetic space.

In this data, **continuous /æ/** most concentrated in Inland North; HV has mostly nasal /æ/.

**Life cycle of phonological change** (Bermúdez-Otero 2007):

- **Phase I:** A rule for phonetic implementation of phonological features
  - **Phase II:** An allophonic rule acting discretely **on** phonological features
- Prenasal /æ/ tokens are higher than non-prenasal tokens in both nasal and continuous systems, but by **Phase I** rule in **continuous systems** and **Phase II** in **nasal systems**.

<sup>1</sup> The New York State component of the Inland North is more advanced in backing of /e/ and /ʌ/ than the remainder of the Inland North; the Hudson Valley falls in between the two components of the Inland North with respect to these vowels. The mean /o/ F2 for non–Inland North communities becomes 1339 Hz when regions with the *caught-cot* merger are excluded.

Therefore in a nasal system, prenasal and non-prenasal /æ/ **act independently** with respect to phonetic implementation rules such as NCS /æ/-raising.

Thus perhaps the phonologically distinct prenasal allophone can **block** non-prenasal /æ/ from being raised into its space.

If this is true, it could explain why the Hudson Valley seems to **resist** raising of /æ/ while **accepting** other NCS elements.

**Future research:** Test this hypothesis!

#### Appendix: Data set

- 91 in-person interviews with upstate NY natives, conducted 2006–08; including Short Sociolinguistic Encounters (Ash 2002) and scheduled interviews:
  - Amsterdam (5), Canton (7), Cooperstown (5), Glens Falls (7), Gloversville (7), Morrisonville (1), Ogdensburg (7), Oneonta (9), Plattsburgh (7), Poughkeepsie (7), Queensbury (2), Sidney (6), South Glens Falls (3), Utica (7), Watertown (10), Yorkville (1)
- 28 telephone interviews with upstate NY natives, conducted 2006–08, *ANAE* methodology:
  - Amsterdam, Canton, Cobleskill, Fonda, Geneva, Gloversville, Lake Placid, Ogdensburg, Saratoga Springs, Schenectady, Sidney, Walton (2 each); Cooperstown (4)

Vowel formants measured in Praat, log-mean normalized in Plotnik using methodology of *ANAE*. Speakers’ F1/F2 means for phonemes are computed disregarding tokens before nasals and liquids. Regions:

- **Inland North core:** Geneva, Utica, Yorkville; plus *ANAE* data from Binghamton, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse
- **Inland North fringe:** Glens Falls, Gloversville, Ogdensburg, South Glens Falls, Walton, Watertown
- **North Country:** Canton, Lake Placid, Morrisonville, Plattsburgh,
- **Hudson Valley core:** Poughkeepsie plus *ANAE* data from Albany
- **Hudson Valley fringe:** Amsterdam, Cobleskill, Hartford, Oneonta, Saratoga, Schenectady
- unclassified: Cooperstown, Queensbury, Sidney

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