An Eleméntàry Linguistic Definition of Upstate New York

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The variable: *-méntàry*
- i.e., pronunciation of words like ***elementary*** with penultimate secondary stress:
  /ˌɛləˈmɛnˌtɛɹi/ rather than standard /ˌɛləˈmɛnt(ə)ɹi/

Retraction of primary stress to initial syllable also attested in word-list style
- Very rare; grouped with *-méntàry* for purposes of this study

Study I:

- 119 speakers in 23 communities in mostly eastern New York State:
  - 28 phone interviews (Labov et al. 2006 methodology)
    elementary and *documentary* elicited
  - 91 Short Sociolinguistic Encounters (Ash 2002 methodology)
    elementary, *sedimentary*, *complimentary*, *documentary* read from wordlist
    (in Utica, *rudimentary* used instead of *complimentary* and *documentary*)
- 425 total tokens of *-mentary* words collected; 15 ambiguous tokens discarded

Word	% stressed penult	n
elementary (phone & wordlist)	70%	114
elementary (spontaneous)	70%	20
rudimentary	75%	8
documentary	81%	108
complimentary	84%	79
sedimentary	86%	81
Total	79%	410

Results by lexical item and style from Study I

- Most frequent lexeme (*elementary*) least favorable to *-méntàry* pronunciation
- Apparent time indicates *-méntàry* is an innovation
- Suggests analysis as **analogical change**, bringing the pronunciation of *-ary* in *-mentary* words in line with other words, such as *dietary*, *fragmentary*, etc.

Geographical results for Study I:
- All communities sampled use at least 40% *-méntàry*
- *-méntàry* is least prevalent in the eastern part of the state
- This isogloss bears no relationship to phonological features like Northern Cities Shift or *cot-caught* merger (for details of which see Dinkin (to appear)).

Sinhababu (2007) expands known range of *-méntàry* west to Rochester.

Study II:

- 59 speakers in 26 communities in northwestern Pennsylvania and far western New York State
- tokens of *elementary* were read from a word list used as part of an in-depth sociolinguistic interview
- 18 out of 21 speakers from Chautauqua County, NY have *-méntàry*
- the only 2 speakers from northwestern Pennsylvania with *-méntàry* are elderly women
- younger speakers in Ripley, NY pattern with Upstate New York for *elementary* but with northwestern Pennsylvania for *cot* / *caught* merger (see Evanini (to appear) for a detailed description of Ripley)
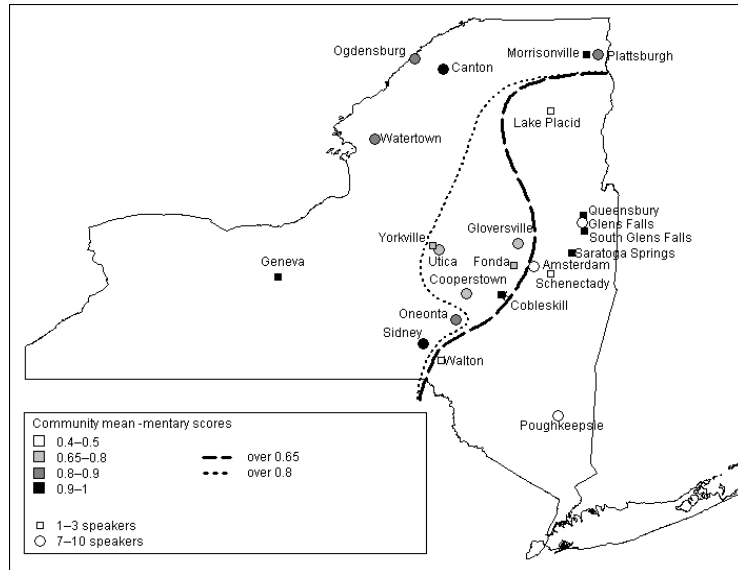
Study III:

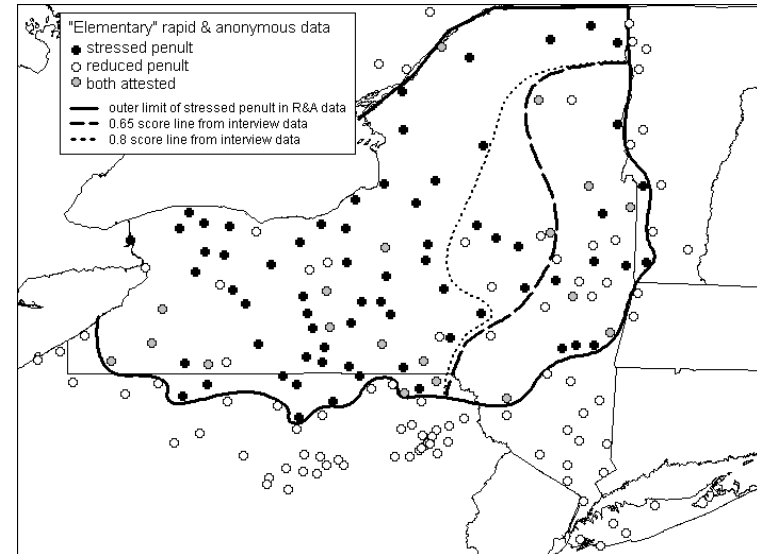**Rapid anonymous telephone survey** on *elementary*:
- Called school offices across New York State and adjacent parts of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Ontario to elicit the word *elementary*
- Slightly underestimates actual range of *-méntàry*
- Confirms Study I: *-méntàry* least frequent in eastern New York
- Confirms Study II: *-méntàry* absent in northwestern Pennsylvania
- Further east, *-méntàry* seems to respect **North–Midland boundary** (Kurath 1949) in Pennsylvania
  - Northwestern PA was formerly part of North but now resembles Midland more closely (Evanini to appear)—this apparently applies to *-mentary* as well
  - North–Midland boundary located at **communication minimum** (Labov 1974)
- Sharp boundary at U.S.–Canada line as expected (cf. Boberg 2000, Chambers 1994)
- *-méntàry* stress pattern found in more or less all of **Upstate New York**
- Possible disfavoring effect of city size: *-méntàry* observed in only three of the nine largest Upstate cities, but 87% of other communities within *-méntàry* region
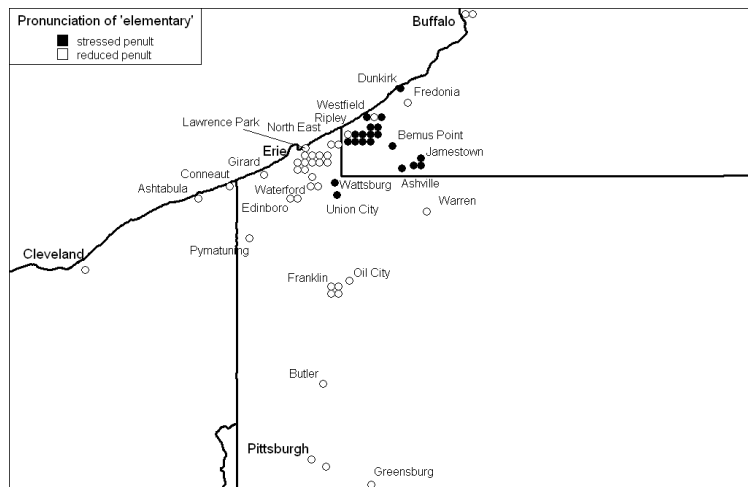
Conclusions:

- Pronunciation of **a bound morpheme** can be the **object of diffusion**: in the area where *-méntàry* is seemingly newer, the more frequent word still lags the change; this is expected for diffusion at the morpheme level but not at the lexical level
- 1940s North–Midland boundary in Pennsylvania still exists today
- Lexical features don't necessarily pay any attention to phonological isoglosses
- Perhaps lexical isoglosses are more likely to match recognizable regions like "Upstate"
  - cf. the *soda*/*pop* boundary separating Central and Western NY (Campbell 2003).

Map 1. Community results from Study I: community percentages of *-méntàry*, weighted by speaker

Map 2. Results from Study II: individual pronunciations of *elementary*

Map 3: Results of Study III, with isoglosses from Study I superimposed

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