# Asian American English in Utah

## A Case Study

*Leanne Chun*

*This case study of an Asian American who grew up in Utah examines the participant's use of specific features of Utah English. The author concludes that the participant does not strongly exhibit any of the selected features, but other features of the participant's idiolect, influenced by some time spent in California, are apparent. The author further concludes that although features of the participant's idiolect can be analyzed in isolation, this case study is a starting point for further research in several areas, including* th*-stopping and aspiration in Asian American English and the relationship between Asian American English and regional varieties.*

Many years ago, in a time before caller ID and spam blockers, my dad occasionally picked up calls from telemarketers. Sometimes, rather than immediately hanging up, he would take the time to amuse us kids either by telling the caller that the person they asked for was dying of AIDS in the hospital (my father is not always the most tactful person), or by feigning a horrendous FOB (fresh-off-the-boat) accent and apologizing for his "poe Engrishee." My father was born in South Korea, and his name indicates as much. Considering this name was all the caller knew about him, my father's use of a thickly accented English was usually enough to deter the caller from continuing the conversation (or Dad would hang up and chuckle). As trivial—and amusing—as these occurrences were, they were my first introduction to the concept of accents.

As I researched ethnic varieties and accents in the US, I couldn't help but remember my early experiences with my dad, and I also began to wonder about the speech of one of my Asian American friends here in Utah. My Asian American friend—I'll call her Kendall, for privacy—moved from Korea to Utah when she was thirteen years old. While she and I were hanging out recently, I started noticing small points of linguistic interest in her speech (thanks to my Varieties of English class, I will never not do that anymore), and I began to wonder how linguists would describe her speech.

When I think about categorizing my own speech, I remember when I was given a rude awakening regarding my "Utah accent." I moved to Kansas when I was fourteen, and I remember my best friend (a Kansas native) teasing me about *moun'ain*; I couldn't dismiss her teasing. In subsequent years, I've gone to great lengths to pronounce the *t* in words that naturally permit a glottal stop. Imagine my delight when I learned that glottalization in words like *mountain* is perfectly acceptable! After a class discussion about Utah English (UTE)—and given the research I had been doing about Asian American English (AsAmE)—I wondered if Kendall had distinct Utah features in her speech (e.g., *t*-insertion, *pin-pen* merger, etc.) or if she followed the general trend of AsAmE and displayed more features of Standard American English (also General American English). Thus, this case study was born: Does the speech of an Asian American who has lived in Utah for half her life reflect specific characteristics of Utah English?

# Background

Given that this case study compares two varieties of English, I've included background for both varieties in this section. As much of the research on AsAmE indicates, it seems that AsAmE can equate many of its features with what Lee (2016) has dubbed "General American English" (GAE). As such, relevant features of GAE are also mentioned in this section.

## Utah English

Stanley (2021b) provided great insight into one of the most stereotypical features of Utah English: the pronunciation of *mountain*, or more generally, [tən] following a stress syllable. Other example words include *button* and *mutant*. We have learned from researchers over the years that most Americans pronounce the [tən] syllable with a glottal stop: [ʔṇ]. However, some speakers "skip the syllabic nasal and pronounce the vowel," pronouncing it as [ʔɪṇ] (Stanley, 2021b), and *this* is the variant that most people associate with UTE. It's the reason that my best friend in Kansas teased me for not being able to pronounce my *t*'s. However, I am, apparently, not the only Utahn to be teased about this linguistic feature because a new variant has emerged from Utahns' hypercorrection of the [ʔɪn] pronunciation of the post-stress syllable sound. What many call "hyperarticulated," the [maʊntʰɨn̩] variant has become what could be considered the new Utah variant. This linguistic feature, the pronunciation of *mountain*, is one that Utahns are often aware of, though I don't know many who can articulate the difference between the generally accepted [ʔṇ] and the not-so-accepted [ʔɪṇ].

Another feature that few Utahns seem aware of is the pre-lateral GUILT-ZEAL merger. Usually, tense and lax vowels are fairly distinct, but just as the distinction has been lost in front of *r* (i.e., *nearer* and *mirror* rhyme), so too has the distinction become less noticeable in front of *l*'s spoken by many Utahns. (The words *guilt* and *zeal* are pre-lateral-specific versions of Wells's Lexical Sets for the [ɪ] and [i] vowel sounds. These lexical sets are commonly used by dialectologists to discuss vowel sounds easily, without needing to constantly refer to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) transcriptions. The names of lexical sets are capitalized to indicate that they represent a set of words with that vowel sound and are not being used semantically.) A linguistic professor I had once shared a story of a man who tried to rob a gas station

in Utah. He threw a gunny sack on the counter and commanded, "Fill the bag," to which the clerk behind the counter responded by grabbing and *feeling* the bag. That story caused a collective chuckle, and though it might not be true, it demonstrates the GUILT-ZEAL merger well, including the idea that few Utahns recognize that they have this merger.

The last feature that I focus on in this study is another feature that it seems many Utahns are not aware of: *t*-intrusion. Utahns' lack of awareness regarding this feature could stem from its being more uncommon than [maʊʔɪn̩] (*moun'ain*) or the pre-lateral GUILT-ZEAL merger; in fact, I personally know only one person who uses this feature, but I have occasionally heard it in isolation when I least expected to. *T*-intrusion is the presence of a [t] sound between *l* and *s* in words not spelled with *-ts* in them (e.g., *Watson* or *jetsam*). Examples include *salsa* and *false*. Someone with this feature would pronounce "saltsa" ([sɑltsə]) and "faltse" ([fɑlts]).

## Asian American English

Some may be confused by the meaning of the word *accent*—a word that is sometimes used in place of *variety* or *dialect*—so it's important to establish the identity of AsAmE speakers. There is a stark difference between the accented FOB English that my dad feigned to get out of conversations and the variety of English known as Asian American English. Accented English is more likely to be spoken by those who are learning English as a second language, and AsAmE is its speakers' native dialect (Reyes, 2020). There are about twenty-two million speakers of AsAmE; these speakers can trace their heritage to more than twenty Asian countries (Budiman, 2022). In that demographic, proficient English speakers include 95% of US-born Asian Americans (second-generation immigrants) and 57% of foreign-born Asian Americans (Generation 1.5 or first-generation immigrants). Second-generation Asian Americans, the children of first-generation immigrants, are likely to speak English as their first language, whereas Generation 1.5 came to the United States at an age young enough that they learned English fluently (as is the case of my dad and this case study's subject, Kendall) (DeAnza College, 2019).

The wide variety of Asian cultural heritage could influence AsAmE, but many studies note that the culture of Generation 1.5 and second-generation speakers (the populations that most studies focus on) are more likely to be influenced by the

regional culture rather than their parents' culture(s). These speakers are also more likely to speak only English in the home (Budiman, 2021).

Much of the research done on AsAmE concentrates on specific areas that have high populations of Asian Americans, rather than AsAmE speakers across the whole country. These highly populated areas include the Sunset District in San Francisco, Gwinnett County in Georgia, and Bergen County in New Jersey. Because the few studies that have been done are so specific to certain areas, it's difficult to name general features of AsAmE the same way that we might for Northern Cities English or Southern English. However, one commonality in these studies was their referral to "General American English" when classifying linguistic features that didn't align with the regional variety. For example, Lee (2016) concluded that Asian American speakers tense the [æ] sound in pre-nasal environments "in accordance with General American English" (p. 1). Raised TRAP vowels—"TRAP" referring to a lexical set of words with the [æ] vowel sound—before nasals is a linguistic feature of Midwestern American English (Stanley, 2021a). (When a speaker produces this vowel higher in the vowel space—when they tense the vowel—it is referred to as a "raised" vowel.)

## General American English

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, GAE is "the native speech of natives of the US whose speech is not that of the South or of the *r*-dropping Northeast." In other words, General American English is Standard American English, generally considered today to be the variety found in the American West, but there are blurred lines between the Midwest and the West being the true standard. Stanley (2021a) points out that the Midwestern variety can be difficult to pinpoint, but one way to conceptualize it is to identify things that it does not have—the Northern Cities' vowel shift, for example—and things that it does have—such as the pre-nasal raised TRAP vowel described in the section above and the *Mary-merry-marry* merger. The Western American English variety has some discrepancies with the Midwestern dialect, but there is enough overlap that they could both be considered the standard variety; in other words, features of both varieties comprise the standard, and the standard is not only one of them.

Other things that the majority of American English speakers do, such as pronouncing [tən] after stress syllables as [ʔn̩], are

features of the standard that are not necessarily defined as being part of the standard; however, most would agree that they are features widely used by most of the American population (Stanley, 2021b). Following the trend of other AsAmE studies, I recognize that some of Kendall's speech patterns could be more reflective of the Standard American variety, though the standard was not the focus of the study.

## The Present Study

The present study mimics other studies on Asian American English in that I compare the regional linguistic features of an Asian American speaker with the features of primarily European American speakers (i.e., the three traits of UTE that I focus on are defined based on the largely European American population in Utah). Current research on AsAmE concentrates on Asian Americans who are the majority demographic in their respective geographical area (mostly in big cities, usually on the coasts), but the research seems to be missing the perspective of Asian Americans as the minority demographic. It seems possible that Kendall, being of a minority demographic in Utah as an Asian American, would either assimilate to the regional variety and adopt many of its most distinct features in order to fit in—whether consciously or subconsciously—or she would maintain speech patterns that were more reminiscent of the standard American variety to fit into a wider identity of being Asian American. This study does not seek to define her personal identity but rather her dialect's identity, based on linguistic features. Of course, individual speakers have unique combinations of different varieties, which is why the present study will focus on only three features of UTE and their presence or absence in Kendall's speech.

## Methods

Kendall was the ideal subject for this case study because she has lived in Utah for almost exactly half of her life. The age at which she came to the United States, the number of years that she's lived here, and the high level of cultural assimilation she experienced growing up combine to make her a quintessential Generation 1.5 speaker of AsAmE. Kendall spent a significant period of time in California, where she participated in a church mission trip for a year and a half, and as we spoke, she commented that

the time she spent in California was important for her English learning progress, even though she had already reached a high level of proficiency by that point. While living in California as a missionary, she didn't use Korean at all, giving English a chance to solidify in her mind. She still speaks Korean fluently, but her Korean language ability does not impede her English at all—she is fluent in both languages.

Kendall's proximity to me made it easy to gather data, and I haven't known her long enough for me to be desensitized to linguistic points of interest in her speech. (In contrast, my dad's speech sounds completely normal to me. Disregarding his fake FOB accent, I've never thought that he has an accent, and I would find it more difficult to analyze his speech than someone that I'm not as accustomed to.)

My primary data is an interview with Kendall and a recording of Kendall reading the passage included in Figure 1. I analyzed the interview for the three specific features of Utah English—*mountain*, *t*-intrusion, and the pre-lateral GUILT-ZEAL merger—making note of any words that fell into these three categories. I listened a few more times to check for any General American English features as discussed in the background, such as the pre-nasal raised TRAP vowel and the *Mary-merry-marry* merger.

**Figure 1**

*Reading Passage Targeting the Following Features of Utah English:* Mountain, T-*intrusion, and the Pre-Lateral* GUILT-ZEAL *Merger*

> Living in the West, you don't see many kilts. In Provo, that kind of fashion would be stared at in the street; however, button-down shirts are quite common, especially on Sundays. They are not only expected at church, but they are also modeled well by people such as President Nelson. Every week, people in button-down shirts and people in skirts fill the pews of church houses. Most go every week to feel a certain way—a good way—but some would say that church attendance is kind of compulsive. I remember thinking that when I was in kindergarten. I used to pretend to be ill in order to stay home. Sometimes it worked, but often it didn't. My mom was too smart. Even though I tried to get out of going to church sometimes, I remember the Sunday school lessons when we learned about the armor of God, the shield of faith, and the sword of truth. The visual of myself standing strong in that armor has stayed with me, a kind of seal of membership in God's church. When I think of that image, I stand tall, like the mountain behind my house, proud to be one of God's children.

### Reading Passage

As the pronunciation of *mountain* is one of the most distinctly Utah features, I had to choose it and its Utahn [ʔɪn] ending as one of the features to analyze. The words in the reading passage that target this feature are *mountain, kindergarten,* and *button*.

The pre-lateral GUILT-ZEAL merger is the second feature that I analyzed. This feature has been brought up in other linguistic classes, and I notice it in my own speech, which makes sense to me, having lived in Utah for over half my life. Kendall has also lived in Utah for half of her life, so this seems like an important feature to focus on. The ZEAL words that I chose to test are *feel, seal,* and *shield*. The GUILT words are *fill, kilt,* and *ill*.

*T*-intrusion is the last feature that I analyzed. Admittedly, I've only noticed this occasionally in European Americans native to Utah, so I was curious to see if Kendall has been around this feature enough to have it in her own speech. I assume that words in this group not only have *l*'s in the middle of them but are also not homophones with words that are spelled with *-ts* in them. The words I chose are *Nelson, also,* and *compulsive*.

### Interview

In the interview, I asked Kendall questions about her English-learning journey, her accent, her cultural identity, and various questions about others' perceptions of her speech. Although this study will focus on the phonological aspects of her speech, the content of her interview responses provides an interesting sociolinguistic perspective. As I played back the interview, I identified those of Kendall's words that fall under each linguistic feature, noting whether they have the [ʔɪṇ], [ʔṇ], or [tʰɨn̩] ending, an inserted *t*, or an [i] or [ɪ] vowel (see the appendix for interview notes).

## Results and Discussion

I should note that some of the results of this study could be a little skewed because of my pre-interview discussion with Kendall. As I explained to her the purpose of the study, the linguistic feature *mountain* came up, priming her to expect at least that word in the reading passage. I also could have designed the interview questions better so that they elicited more of the phonological features that I wanted to target, such as the pre-lateral ZEAL and GUILT

vowels and the syllabic nasals after stress syllables, but Kendall's recording of the reading passage did provide valuable input for those phonological features.

I also recognize that I am not an expert, by any means, and the analysis equipment available to me was very limited (i.e., I relied solely on my own ear for the analysis). Had I a deeper knowledge of phonological processes and access to more sophisticated instruments that could chart vowel sounds for me, the results of this study would probably be much more concrete. However, given that I've taken only one class on varieties of English, the results that I could discern with my naked ear seem reasonably accurate. Other limitations to the study, such as time constraints and amateur equipment, should be considered. Despite these limitations, this study yielded interesting results—a few of which were unanticipated—and I noticed several patterns in Kendall's speech that answer my initial question about whether her speech has been significantly influenced by UTE.

First, I noticed a pattern in the results for her pronunciation of *mountain* and like words. In our pre-interview discussion, Kendall acknowledged that this feature is stereotypically Utahn and indicated that she's aware of the hyper-corrected variant (see Table 1). She then mentioned that she personally pronounces it as [maʊʔn̩]. Her self-assertion held true when she pronounced *button* and *kindergarten*; both pronunciations indicate that the standard [ʔn̩] is much more prevalent in her speech than the Utahn [ʔɪn̩].

The results for the pre-lateral merger are not as obviously dichotomic as I thought they would be. All of the ZEAL words—*feel, shield, seal*—were pronounced with the [i] vowel sound that I expected. Kendall's pronunciation of *kilts* in the reading passage was the [ɪ] vowel expected of GUILT words, but she then repeated it while we were laughing about something and pronounced it as [kɛlt]. This [kɛlt] pronunciation seemed like an anomaly in the data, but I would need more evidence to be sure. *Ill* was also pronounced with the typical [ɪ] vowel, but *fill* sounded more like the [i] typical of ZEAL words. Overall, Kendall exhibited features of Standard American English in these pre-lateral vowels except for in the word *fill*.

As I listened to the interview, I noticed that Kendall could possibly have a different pre-lateral merger than the one I selected for this study. When she said the word *school*, it sounded more like [skʌl] than [skul]. This tells me that she may have a pre-lateral

WOLF-SPOOL merger, but there are not enough data points to confirm this theory. For the sake of this study, her [skʌl] pronunciation of *school* is another anomaly in the data.

**Table 1**

*Summary of Analysis for Specified Features of UTE in Kendall's Idiolect*

| Features Analyzed | Presence in Kendall's Idiolect | |
|---|---|---|
| [tən] before a stressed syllable | Present | Not Present |
| *mountain* | | x [ʔn] (self-asserted) |
| *kindergarten* | | x [ʔn] |
| *button* | | x [ʔn] |
| GUILT-ZEAL merger | | |
| *fill* | x [fil] | |
| *kilt* | | x |
| *ill* | | x |
| *feel* | | x |
| *shield* | | x |
| *seal* | | x |
| *t*-insertion | | |
| *also* | | x |
| *Nelson* | | x |
| *compulsive* | | x |

One of the first things I noticed was that Kendall does not have the *t*-insertion feature. Her pronunciation of words in the interview (*also, else, answer, once*) and words in the reading passage (*also, Nelson, compulsive*) matched that of speakers of the standard American English variety, which is to say that they did not have an inserted *t*.

The first unexpected result of the study was that Kendall has quite a bit of *th*-stopping, which is when dental fricatives [θ] (as in *thing*) and [ð] (as in *that*) are changed to either a dental or alveolar stop ([t], [d], respectively). It's very subtle but present nonetheless in words such as *they, the*, and *that*. *Th*-stopping is not a feature of Standard American English, whether the standard be

Western or Midwestern American English (Stanley, 2021a, 2021b). Hall-Lew (2009), quoting the work of Chun (2001) and Reyes (2005), pointed out that some Asian American youths appropriate African American speech patterns in order to assert their cultural differences (p. 10). However, unlike the big-city Asian American youths of Chun's and Reyes's studies, Kendall grew up in Utah where, if her experience was anything like mine, she didn't have much opportunity to directly interact with members of the African American community. There were only about forty thousand Black Americans in the state in 2020 and only about twenty-nine thousand in the year 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021). It's possible that music founded by African Americans (e.g., hip-hop) influenced Kendall's speech patterns, but I think this is unlikely. More likely is that the time she lived in California, a state that generally has greater demographic variety, influenced the development of the *th*-stopping feature in her speech. Though the direct influence of Kendall's *th*-stopping remains a mystery, this study shows that it *is* a distinct feature of Kendall's speech.

The second unexpected result of my analysis was the presence of extra aspiration on some of Kendall's middle- and end-of-word consonants. Kendall added aspiration to the final consonant of *midnight* and *works*, as well as the initial consonant of *here*, *say*, and the second syllable of *process*. Except for the final *t* in *midnight*, these are fricative sounds that require a constant stream of air to produce, but it seems as though Kendall's articulators make less contact with each other than standard fricative formation requires, giving her pronunciation the impression of having "extra" aspiration. This phenomenon also seems to occur with her final *t* sound in *midnight*, giving the voiceless alveolar stop a fricative quality.

Of the many Standard American English features, two stood out in Kendall's speech. Kendall's TRAP vowel in words such as *understand* seemed tenser, reminiscent of the Western American variety that she was exposed to at length while on her mission trip in California. Dialectologists have found that in Western American English, the TRAP vowel ([æ]) before a nasal like *m* or *n* is being raised more and more (Stanley, 2021c). Her *r* in the word *Korean* was the typical "American *r*" found in most varieties of American English.

The last feature of interest in Kendall's speech was her tendency to upspeak at the end of declarative thought groups. Of

course, all varieties of English use rising intonation to indicate an interrogative utterance, but when Kendall explained things or related anecdotal details, her intonation rose before the place that a comma or period would be, not necessarily a question mark. Not many American varieties of English have this prosodic feature, but Western American English is one of the exceptions, and Kendall was exposed to this variety extensively when she lived in California for a year and a half.

## Sociolinguistic Points of Interest

As I asked Kendall about her experience learning and living with English, a few of her responses stood out to me. She explained that as a thirteen-year-old, she was her household's primary English speaker. I asked her if she resented that role—if she felt that she was robbed of a childhood—and her response was quite touching. She said that any sacrifices she had to make in her role as the English speaker of the house were far outweighed by what she was given by moving here. Being the designated English speaker was an opportunity to practice and improve her language skills, not a burden that impeded her childhood. Her personality is a major factor for this appreciative perspective, but it seems important to note that language was the only "adult" responsibility she was given as a young teenager. She was not required to provide for the family in any other material way, which most likely allowed her to remain grateful for language-practicing opportunities and not become resentful of the adult role she was asked to play in the household.

I also asked if she had any experience with "accent-ism," or the discrimination of someone based on his or her accent. She didn't have a personal experience, but she did acknowledge that prejudice abounds, even in Utah Valley. She shared that a Korean friend of hers who speaks accented English, not AsAmE, experienced some uncomfortable prejudice that centered around her speech patterns in a group project for school. After sharing that story of her friend, Kendall commented that she's aware that her English proficiency keeps her from being discriminated against, and we both wondered aloud how different her experiences would be if she did speak accented English and not AsAmE.

Throughout the interview, Kendall expressed gratitude for her language abilities, both Korean and English, because they allow her to belong to two cultural groups that she identifies with.

She explained that when she's with Korean friends, she has little trouble fitting in, though they sometimes comment that her ability to speak English so well and her close associations with an English-speaking culture make her an American, not a Korean. Regardless of this occasional teasing, she feels at home with Korean people. In a similar way, her ability to speak a native variety of English allows her to also feel at home with Americans. In some ways, her bilingualism allows her to code-switch between cultures, and the result is a sweet mixture of both cultures in one fantastic human being.

## Conclusion

A lot more could be said about this case study, but suffice it to say that this study has provided excellent insight into the extent to which a local variety of English has influenced an ethnic one. Given all the targeted and unexpected features of Kendall's speech that I identified, I've concluded that her time in California was much more formative than I originally anticipated, and I would categorize her speech as Western American English, with a few important exceptions. Her lack of a *t*-insertion feature and her standard pronunciation of [maʊʔn̩] give evidence for my conclusion, as does the pre-lateral GUILT-ZEAL merger. Though it was largely nonexistent in her speech, the merger was very apparent in the word *fill*, which merged toward [i]. As other studies done on AsAmE have found, I've concluded that prominent features of the regional dialect were incorporated into the Asian American variety. An example of this would be the study done by Lee (2016), who found that the [ɔ] feature typical of Bergen County in New Jersey *was* a feature of the AsAmE speakers. Similarly, in Kendall's speech, the pre-lateral vowel in *fill* merging toward [i], a feature fairly distinct in UTE, seemed to be a distinct feature of Kendall's variety of English. However, further research would confirm whether this was a one-time pronunciation or an actual feature of her idiolect. Further research is also required to explore the possible pre-lateral SPOOL-WOLF merger in her speech, which, if present, would suggest that UTE has more influence on her dialect than the current results indicate.

Kendall's lack of the *t*-insertion feature leads me to conclude that the prevalence of a phonological feature in a given variety has a positively correlated relationship with how much it affects other varieties. Because *t*-insertion is not as common a feature

in UTE, Kendall probably wasn't exposed to it very much while she became proficient in the language, and so the *t*-insertion feature had little chance of affecting Kendall's individual variety of English. It could be interesting to conduct further research on the extent of the *t*-insertion feature in UTE, both to see how common it is (or isn't) and how aware people are of it.

Given that this project was a case study, and therefore somewhat limited, many of my conclusions are ideas for future research. For example, I'm curious about Kendall's *th*-stopping and extra aspiration. I recognize that extra aspiration could be unique to the speaker, not the variety, but *th*-stopping was mentioned in other studies done on AsAmE. More research about the following aspects of this feature could yield interesting results: whether Asian Americans conscientiously employ *th*-stopping (and if they do, why) and the extent of *th*-stopping in big cities like New York compared to suburban areas like Orem, Utah.

There are also many opportunities to explore the sociolinguistic side of AsAmE in suburban (and possibly rural) areas. Future research could explore the general attitudes *toward* Asian Americans in Utah, the attitudes *of* Asian Americans in Utah, or the racial or accent-related experiences of Asian Americans who grew up in big cities compared to those who grew up in suburban areas.

As I mentioned before, the scope of this project was small, but I learned a lot about designing and conducting a study and analyzing phonological features to draw conclusions from. It would be important for future research to expound on the findings of this study, but for now, the results give promising insight into the relationship between regional and ethnic varieties.

# References

BDD. (n.d.). *Demographics of Asian Americans*. Wikipedia. Retrieved December 14, 2021, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Asian_Americans

Budiman, A., & Ruiz, N. G. (n.d.). *Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population*. Pew Research Center. Retrieved December 14, 2021, from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/04/29/key-facts-about-asian-americans/

Buckley, G. (2014). *Phonetic symbols*. Phonetic symbols. https://www.ling.upenn.edu/courses/Fall_2014/ling115/phonetics.html

Chun, E. (2001). The construction of White, Black, and Korean American identities through African American Vernacular English. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology, 11*, 52–64.

Hall-Lew, L. (2009). *Ethnicity and phonetic variation in a San Francisco neighborhood* [Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University]. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.702.8379&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Lee, J. (2016). The participation of a Northern New Jersey Korean American community in local and national language variation. *American Speech*. https://read.dukeupress.edu/american-speech/article/91/3/327/6157/The-Participation-of-a-Northern-New-Jersey-Korean

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.) General American. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved December 14, 2021, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/general%20american

Reyes, A. (2005). Appropriation of African American slang by Asian American youth. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 9*, 509–532.

Reyes, A. (2020). The voicing of Asian American figures: Korean linguistic styles at an Asian American cram school. In Alim, H. S., Rickford, J. R., & Ball, A. F. (Eds.), *Raciolinguistics: How language shapes our ideas about race* (pp. 309–326). Oxford University Press.

Stanley, J. (2021a). *Midwestern American English* [PowerPoint slides].

Stanley, J. (2021b). *Utah English* [PowerPoint slides].

Stanley, J. (2021c). *Western American English* [PowerPoint slides].

U.S. Census Bureau. (2021). *Utah Demographics*. Data Commons. Retrieved December 16, 2021, from https://datacommons.org/browser/geoId/49?statVar=Count_Person_BlackOrAfricanAmericanAlone

# Appendix

## Kendall Interview Notes

| Time | Word – Notes |
|---|---|
| 3:40 | field – L as an approximate W (aka, L vocalization from Mid-western English) |
| 3:50 | also – no t-insertion |
| 4:06 | home screen – up-speak intonation |
| 4:22 | couldn't → coulden |
| 5:19 | Gilmore → GUILT vowel (no merger), didn't really pronounce the L |
| 6:28 | they – *th*-stopping |
| 7:03 | the – slight *th*-stopping |
| 7:06 | once – no *t*-intrusion (eligible word?) |
| 8:54 | understand – TRAP vowel → need more sophisticated machinery to really analyze the vowels |
| 10:27 | that – *th*-stopping |
| 13:26 | Korean – R = standard R? |
| 13:47 | else – no *t*-intrusion |
| 14:27 | midnight – ending t w/ extra aspiration |
| 15:21 | that's – *th*-stopping |
| 15:59 | works – aspiration on ending [s]? (kinda hissy) |
| 16:57 | open – short vowel sounds |
| 18:46 | grew up here – lots of linking, extra aspiration on H in here |
| 20:22 | Korean – American R? |
| 24:05 | shower – not really two syllables? → "sha(')r" → seems like a one-time thing (i.e., can't find other examples to establish a pattern) |
| 25:23 | school – sounds like "skull" → different pre-lateral merger (WOLF-SPOOL, merging toward WOLF?) → needs more research (i.e., a different set of target words) |

| | |
|---|---|
| 26:39 | process – [s] at beginning of first syllable → point of interest, can't really articulate why; seems more aspirated. |
| 28:05 | that – *th*-stopping |
| 29:46 | say – aspirated [s] |
| 31:45 | answer – could be a slight *t*-intrusion, but I think not (and I've listened to it a bunch of times) → eligible word?; also, do other factors come into play (i.e., she's emphasizing the word) |

## Reading passage → [33:34]

Living in the West, you don't see many **kilts** 33:36 no merger 34:06 sounded like "kelt". In Provo, that kind of fashion would be stared at in the street; however, **button** 34:21 first pronounced as with a French accent; she was probably conscientiously pronouncing the glottal stop (but she only really faltered and giggled on mountain)-down shirts are quite common, especially on Sundays. They are not only expected at church, but they are **also** 34:28 no *t*-insertion modeled well by people such as President **Nelson** 34:32 no *t*-insertion. Every week, people in button no hesitation to pronounce according to general usage-down shirts and people in skirts **fill** 34:37 ZEAL the pews of church houses. Most go every week to **feel** 34:42 ZEAL a certain way—a good way—but some would say that church attendance is kind of **compulsive** 34:47. I remember thinking that when I was in **kindergarten** 34:51 regular glottal stop. I used to pretend to be **ill** 34:55 GUILT in order to stay home. Sometimes it worked, but often it didn't. My mom was too smart. Even though I tried to get out of going to church sometimes, I remember the Sunday school lessons when we learned about the armor of God, the **shield** 35:13 ZEAL of faith, and the sword of truth. The visual of myself standing strong in that armor has stayed with me, a kind of **seal** 35:27–8 ZEAL of membership in God's church. When I think of that image, I stand tall, like the **mountain** 35:35 regular glottal stop (but aware of the phonological feature I was testing) behind my house, proud to be one of God's children.

## Additional Notes on the Interview

Around 12:33 → asked about growing up when her dad went back to Korea → not resentful toward her role as translator because it was the only thing she had to worry about; her sacrifice to help with English was "nothing compared to what she was given"; she was glad that she had more opportunities to practice English

(her personality is such that she not only didn't mind being in charge of English, but she also was grateful for the opportunity to improve)

Non-case study research could be an interesting way to ascertain the cause of resentment toward immigrant parents who need their kids to speak English for them → is the cause the language or the added responsibilities beyond the language?

Around 22 → thinking in English or Korean → mostly in images, English w/ English-speakers, Korean w/ Korean-speakers

Around 27 → racial discrimination

Around 32 → she likes Big Bang Theory because of Raj's accent (e.g., "ting" instead of "thing")