THE LITERARY REPRESENTATION OF THE PHONOLOGY
OF THE SOUTHERN DIALECT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

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Approved by:

[Signature]
Adviser
PREFACE

The writer has been aided in the preparation of this study by the interest and assistance of many people. To all of them he expresses his appreciation. Especially, however, he is grateful to Professor Robert M. Estrich of The Ohio State University, who has given liberally of his time in directing this study and whose counsel and guidance have been invaluable; to Professor Francis L. Utley of The Ohio State University, who has read the manuscript carefully and made many helpful criticisms and suggestions; to Professor Hans Kurath of the University of Michigan, who has generously permitted the use of the unpublished records of the Linguistic Atlas of the South Atlantic States and the use of his own unpublished manuscript on American pronunciation; and to the late Doctor Guy S. Lowman, whose detailed phonetic transcriptions form the basis for this work. Finally, the author is indebted to his wife, Lois C. Tidwell, whose sympathy, encouragement, and sense of humor have helped to make the work on this study a pleasure.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PART I: THE PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The primary purpose of this dissertation on The Literary Representation of the Phonology of the Southern Dialect is to determine the accuracy of the representation of the sounds of Southern speech by dialect writers. Since many of the writers of "local color" fiction specifically claimed to be writing a phonetically genuine transcription of the language or such claims of authenticity were made for their representation by friendly critics, a study of their accuracy will have value in determining their sincerity and their knowledge of the language and of the character portrayed.

In order to determine a writer's accuracy in representing the phonology of a dialect, it is necessary to have extensive scientific transcriptions of that dialect. Because all areas of the South have not been covered by such scientific reports, this study has been limited to the Southern states along the Atlantic seaboard, an area covered by the field records made by the late Doctor Guy S. Lowman for the Linguistic Atlas of the South Atlantic States; these records
are unpublished but they were generously made available to me by the editor of the *Atlas*, Doctor Hans Kurath of the University of Michigan. The scope of the study has been limited to phonetics and phonemics although a few remarks on morphology may occur incidentally.

Since, as Doctor Kurath states in an unpublished study on American pronunciation, regional and social differences in dialect may arise from the use of a different phonemic system, from a difference in the pronunciation of the same phoneme, an analysis of the phonemic structure of Southern low colloquial speech will be made, using as a basis twenty-one complete and two incomplete *Atlas* field records; these records will also serve to show the phonetic variation within each phoneme and the difference in the occurrence of phonemes in accepted colloquial and low colloquial speech. Because the *Atlas* records of Southern speech alone furnish no means of determining major regional differences, the regional features of Southern speech will be determined by a study of general writings on American variations in pronunciation, with special attention to the studies made by Hans Kurath, C. M. Wise, William A. Read, Charles H. Grady, Argus Tressider, R. I. McDavid, Jr., Edwin F. Shewmake, W. Cabell Greet, and W. E. Farrison.

These materials, then, will form the linguistic basis for detailed studies of the representation of dialectal sounds by Thomas Nelson Page, Charles Waddell Chesnutt, William Gilmore Simms, Mary Noailles Murfree, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Richard Malcolm Johnston, and Joel Chandler Harris. Where necessary in questions of phonemic
occurrence, the Atlas records may be supplemented by other scientific studies of Southern speech, particularly the extensive studies of mountain speech made by Joseph S. Hall and William A. Hackett.

The secondary purposes of the study will be to trace the development of the representation of the Southern low colloquial dialect, using the detailed studies to show the contribution of each author, to show the limitations of dialect re-spelling, and to evaluate re-spelling as a literary device.

PART II: THE INFORMANTS

1 All of the records used for this study were made by the late Doctor Guy S. Lowman for the Linguistic Atlas of the South Atlantic States (Hans Kurath, ed.) Doctor Lorenzo Turner's record of N-24 was used for comparison with Doctor Lowman's transcription.

VIRGINIA

N-153--

Colored woman, seventy-five years old at the time of the report in 1936. Illiterate. Native resident of Charles City County.

N-195--

Colored man, eighty-six years old at the time of the report in 1936. Uneducated native resident of Cumberland County.
Woman, eighty-three years old at the time of the report in 1936. Illiterate native resident of Hanover County.

Woman, fifty-two years old at the time of the report in 1936. High school graduate. Native resident of Hanover County.

Man, seventy-five years old at the time of the report in 1936. Very little education. Native resident of Henrico County.

Man, seventy-nine years old at the time of the report in 1936. Finished fifth grade in school. Native resident of Henrico County.

NORTH CAROLINA

Woman, seventy years old at the time of the report in 1937. Educated "a little each winter." Native resident of Cumberland County.

Woman, fifty-seven years old at the time of the report in 1937. Educated until sixteen years old. Native resident of Cumberland County.
N-381--

Colored man, seventy-seven years old at the time of the report in 1937. Illiterate. Native resident of Scotland County.

N-353--

Colored woman, sixty years old at the time of the report in 1934. Attended school until twenty years old. Native resident of Sampson County.

SOUTH CAROLINA

531--


534--

Woman, fifty-one years old at the time of the report in 1934. Educated at a private finishing school. Native resident of Charleston County.

539--

Woman, seventy years old at the time of the report in 1934. Finished one year of high school. Native resident of Dorchester County.

543--

Man, eighty-four years old at the time of the report in 1934. Gentleman planter. Native resident of Colleton.
Colored woman (Gullah), eighty-eight years old at the time of the report in 1933. Illiterate. Native resident of Charleston County.

Colored man, fifty-eight years old at the time of the report in 1934. Educated privately for seven years. Native resident of Charleston County.

Colored man (Gullah), fifty-three years old at the time of the report in 1934. Illiterate. Native resident of Beaufort County. Field record incomplete.

GEORGIA

Colored man (Gullah), fifth-thirty years old at the time of the report in 1934. Illiterate. Native resident of McIntosh County.

Man, sixty-four years old at the time of the report in 1934. Illiterate native resident of Baldwin County.

Man, eighty-five years old at the time of the report
in 1934. Educated "very little." Native resident of Union County.

Woman, sixty-five years old at the time of the report in 1934. Educated until fourteen. Resident of Clarke County since three years old.

NORTH CAROLINA MOUNTAINS

Man, eighty-four years old at the time of the report in 1936. No education. Native resident of Mitchell County.

Woman, seventy-one years old at the time of the report in 1936. Illiterate. Native resident of Madison County.

Man, seventy-eight years old at the time of the report in 1937. Educated a month or two. Born in Yancey County, but lived in Buncombe County since seven or eight years old.

PART III: THE PHONETIC ALPHABET

1 The phonetic alphabet presented here is that of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada although the Atlas discussion of the alphabet is condensed; for the full explanation of the alphabet, see pages 122-146 of Hans Kurath's Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University, 1939).
VOEELS AND DIPHTHONGS

General

The vowel symbols of the Linguistic Atlas are presented diagrammatically on the following page. The symbols given in the diagram are those of the Atlas except that the alphabet has been regularized by changing the Atlas symbol [i] to [I]. To the Atlas diacritic for labialization [ве] has been added the IPA [в], a symbol which Doctor Lowman uses to indicate greater lip-rounding than [ве].

The 'central values' of the symbols [i, I, e, e, æ, a, o, o, u, u] may be approximately defined as the vowels of beat, bit, bait, bet, bat, palm, bought, but, boat, put, boot, respectively, in the most usual pronunciation of native speakers in the north-central United States.

Symbols shown in parentheses in the diagram denote vowels with the acoustic effect of lip-rounding (usually produced by actual rounding or protrusion of the lips but sometimes by other means).

Shift Signs

The alphabet of the Linguistic Atlas provides shift signs in the form of small arrowheads, which are placed after a vowel symbol to indicate varieties heard as articulated in a higher, a lower, a more advanced, or a more retracted position than the vowel denoted by the
Vowel Diagram
unmodified letter. These shift signs must be interpreted on the basis of the vowel diagram. An arrowhead pointing to the left indicates a more advanced vowel than usual; an arrowhead pointing to the right indicates a more retracted position than usual; an arrowhead pointing down indicates a lower and usually more retracted position for the vowel; and an arrowhead pointing up indicates a higher and usually a somewhat more advanced position. Double shift signs (one pointing to the left or right, the other up or down) are used to indicate shades of sound for which single shift signs are inadequate.

Diacritics Used with Vowel Symbols

The diacritic for labialization [.] may be written under the symbols for unrounded vowels to show weak rounding and under symbols for rounded vowels to indicate overrounding.

The diacritic for nasalization [~] may be written over any vowel symbol to indicate nasal resonance.

The diacritic for 'retroflexion' [·] may be written under any vowel symbol to indicate the acoustic effect of 'r-color,' whether this is produced by actual raising of the tongue tip or by retraction and lateral constriction of the body of the tongue.

The diacritic for breath or devocalization [ˌ] may be written under any vowel symbol to indicate voicelessness.
Length Marks

Vowels which are distinctly long are marked with a single dot, as [a·].

Vowels which are overlong are marked with a colon, as [a:].

Vowels which are appreciably shorter than ordinary are marked with a breve, as [ã].

Very short vowels heard as mere glides without forming the peak of a syllable are written with superior letters, as in five [fæv].

Diphthongs

A falling diphthong, one with decreasing stress, is written with the first symbol full-sized, the second either full-sized or superior according to the length of the glide. A rising diphthong, one with increasing stress, is written with the first symbol superior, the second full-sized. Each symbol in a diphthong may, of course, be modified by any of the diacritics used with vowels and may be followed by a single or double shift sign.

When two contiguous vowels are not intended to represent a diphthong, they are separated by a hyphen: thus real [ri-əl] when pronounced in two syllables. But the hyphen is not used between a stressed diphthong and a following unstressed vowel, between an unstressed vowel and a following unstressed vowel or diphthong, if the stress mark is written, between
identical vowel symbols, or elsewhere if no misunderstanding can arise.

CONSONANTS

The table of consonant symbols used by the Linguistic Atlas is given on the following page.

Voiceless consonants for which no separate symbols are provided are written by adding a small circle below or above the symbol for the corresponding voiced sounds, as [γ', j', ȳ']. When symbols for voiceless and voiced consonants exist side by side, the same diacritic may be added to the latter to indicate a voiceless sound somewhat more weakly articulated than the usual variety: thus [z', õ', õ'] are respectively weaker than [s, t, tʃ] (lenis instead of fortis).

The diacritic for voicing [ʼ] may be written below symbols for voiceless consonants to indicate a voiced sound somewhat more strongly articulated than the usual voiced variety.

The diacritic for retroflexion [ʼ] is used with consonant symbols in two ways. It is written below symbols for alveolar consonants to denote the corresponding retroflex consonants: thus [ʒ, ʒ, ʃ, r], homorganic with [t, d, ɾ, l, t, ɹ]; and it is written below other consonant symbols to indicate the acoustic effect of 'r-color.'
### Table of Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>NASALS</th>
<th>LATERALS</th>
<th>FLAPS</th>
<th>FRICTIONLESS CONTINUANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>p b m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>φ β</td>
<td>(γ) (w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>F v</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t d n 1 ç</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>θ ð s z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>t d n 1 æ l ç</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ã ñ s z r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalized Alveolar</td>
<td>t ð ñ n l ç</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ë ë s z r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td>t ð n l ç</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ë ë s z r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolo-Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ë ë s z r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-Alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ë ë s z r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ç t n l ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ ñ j y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retracted Palatal</td>
<td>ç j ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ ñ j y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Velar</td>
<td>k ɡ n ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ ñ j y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k ɡ n y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ ñ j y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h h h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The diacritic for labialization [ω] may be written below any consonant symbol to indicate the acoustic effect of lip-rounding. When written below a symbol for a bilabial consonant the diacritic indicates protrusion of the lips, often resulting in a characteristic labial off-glide; when written below the symbols, [ω, η] it indicates more than the usual degree of lip-rounding; when written below other consonant symbols, it indicates labialization.

The diacritic for nasalization [‾] may be written above any symbol denoting an oral continuant to indicate nasal resonance.

Syllabic consonants, that is, consonants which form the peak of a syllable, are marked with the diacritic ['].

Consonants which are distinctly long or 'double' are written with doubled symbols.

Consonants which are distinctly short, though of normal strength and audibility, are marked with a breve, as [ r̓ ].

Accentuation

A primary stress (the chief stress in the word or word group) is indicated by a superior vertical stroke [ ′ ] immediately preceding the stressed syllable; a secondary stress is indicated by an inferior vertical stroke [ ‾ ] preceding the syllable.
Word Division

Words are usually separated for convenience in reading. But when a phonetic element of one syllable or more representing a complete word does not form a syllable by itself, but is part of a syllable whose peak lies in the preceding or following word, this non-syllabic element is written separately, but is joined to the preceding or following word by a link [ ]: thus here is [hiəɹ ɪz] but here's [hiəz].

Miscellaneous Signs

When a form in phonetic transcription is given in a context of words in traditional orthography, the phonetic symbols are enclosed in square brackets [ ]: these brackets will also distinguish phonetic from phonemic symbols, for the phonemic symbols are enclosed by slanting lines / /.
### Part IV: The Phonemic Alphabet

#### Vowels and Diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Symbol</th>
<th>Key Word</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɪ/</td>
<td>beat</td>
<td>/bɪt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>bit</td>
<td>/bɪt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>bait</td>
<td>/bet/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>bet</td>
<td>/bɛt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>bat</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ɑ/</td>
<td>palm</td>
<td>/pæm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>bought</td>
<td>/bɔt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>/bʌt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>/bot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>/put/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>boot</td>
<td>/but/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɜ/</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>/bɜd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>sofa</td>
<td>/'sofə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>bard (Sth.)</td>
<td>/bɔrd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/</td>
<td>bard (M-W)</td>
<td>/bɔrd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aɪ/</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>/bait/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>bout</td>
<td>/baut/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔɪ/</td>
<td>boil</td>
<td>/boil/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key Symbol</td>
<td>Key Word</td>
<td>Transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pet</td>
<td>/p e t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bet</td>
<td>/b e t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>/t i n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>din</td>
<td>/d i n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>could</td>
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<td>/z/</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>/g u d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>chin</td>
<td>/ch i n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>/j i n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>fan</td>
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<tr>
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<td>van</td>
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<td>sing</td>
<td>/siŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
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<td>/j e s/</td>
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<td>/w/</td>
<td>wag</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>lag</td>
<td>/l æ g/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>rag</td>
<td>/r æ g/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECONDARY PHONEMES

"/" is loudest stress.

"/" is ordinary stress.

"/\" is less loud stress.

"/\" placed under / l, m, n/ show that they are syllabic.
CHAPTER II

THE SOUNDS OF SOUTHERN LOW COLLOQUIAL SPEECH

The Consonant Phonemes

/p/

The presence of the /p/ phoneme in different phonetic surroundings is shown by its use in pen, pepper, spider, and help. In the records of the Linguistic Atlas of the South Atlantic States studied, there was no significant phonetic variation within the phoneme.

In the final cluster /-sps/ the /p/ is usually omitted, leaving only /-s/; in one record of wasps the /p/ was omitted and the plural shown by /-siz/. In only three records did the full /-sps/ cluster occur in wasps; in four records a collective was indicated by /-sp/; in another record the plural retained the /p/ and added a syllable to make /-sp3z/. The phoneme /t/, which is usually weakened or omitted when final after /s/ or may be substituted inorganically after a final /-s/, may be substituted for /p/ in the /-sps/ cluster of wasps, the word becoming /wɔst/ or /'wɔstiz/. Compare the cluster /-sts/ in the discussion of the phoneme /t/.

The word diphtheria occurs in all twenty-two records and the -ph- is always pronounced /p/, not /f/, indicating /p/ as the accepted pronunciation of the cluster. The final /p/ of coop is more often voiced to /b/ than not; it appears eleven times as /b/ and seven as /p/. The
medial /p/ of Baptist is also occasionally /b/, and the one occurrence of apt in the Atlas materials which I have consulted has /b/ for /p/.

An inorganic /p/ may be introduced medially after /m/ in a stressed syllable, as in something, which occurs phonetically as ['sʌmpθɪn], ['sʌmpm], or ['sʌm'ʌm]. The phonetic forms ['sʌmpm] and ['sʌm'ʌm] I interpret phonemically as /'sʌmpm/; since the voiceless [m] of [m ʌ m] indicates that voice was stopped and was started again with bilabial closure, we may say that [m] here is a totally unaspirated form of /p/; thus the two phonetic forms of something are phonemically the same, ['sʌm'ʌm] having a more weakened form of /p/. The form ['sʌmpm] may also lose the first [m] and become ['sʌpʌm], a form which occurs once, and later the /p/ of this form may be voiced to ['sʌbʌm], which is recorded twice.

/b/

The phoneme /b/ is a bilabial voiced stop.

A /v/ almost regularly becomes /b/ before a syllabic nasal, as in seven, eleven, and oven, the -en having become [m], homorganic to the bilabial /b/. The substitution /b/ for /v/ in seven and eleven occurs in nineteen of the twenty-two records and is not restricted to any area or racial group. This same substitution may occur in evening and government when the [v] is followed by a syllabic [ŋ]
and the two develop into [-b\text{m}]; however, the [n] of evening is usually tautosyllabic with [v]. The phrase of 'em occurs also with /b/.

In the Gullah dialect, in which the bilabial fricative [ð] is an intersectional sound and may be either /v/ or /w/, /b/ may also become confused with [ð], [v] or [w]. Hence substitutions of /b/ for /v/ occur in have, devil, and heave. Such substitutions are not entirely restricted to Gullah speakers but may occur occasionally throughout the lowland area; thus have, hover, and vase occur with /b/ in the Virginia records. No such confusion occurs in the mountains, where /b/ is substituted for /v/ only before a syllabic nasal, as in seven and eleven. Another result of the [ð]-[w]-[v] confusion is seen in the substitution of /w/ for /b/ in best in one of the Virginia records. The substitution of /v/ for /b/ occurs very seldom; /v/ occurs occasionally in wardrobe and once in feeble.

After /m/ a /b/ may be added inorganically, as in chimney ['tʃmblɪ] and family, but these words occur more frequently without a /b/. The reverse process of the omission of a /b/ following an /m/ is illustrated in bumble-bee and one recording of umbrella, which omits /b/ even though it occurs in a different syllable. The word something may add an excrecent /p/ after /m/, make the last syllable [ð], and voice the [p], becoming ['s\text{ʌ}b\text{m}'], phonemically /'s\text{ʌ}b\text{m}/.
The /p/ in coop is more often than not a /b/, and this same substitution occurs occasionally in Baptist and apt. The /b/ and /t/ of vegetables are sometimes metathesized, becoming /'v ɛ jʊ bə tə lz/. The final /b/ of wardrobe is usually faintly articulated and is sometimes omitted.

/t/

The phoneme /t/ may have the following phonetic forms: [t, ʃt, ɻ, ɹ, ʃ, ɾ, dʃ].

The palatalized alveolar [ɻ] occurs only before [j] followed by stressed or unstressed [u]. In most of the Virginia and North Carolina records, the more usual form of /t/ before stressed /ju/, as in tube and Tuesday, is [ʃ], but in the South Carolina and Georgia records, [t] is more frequent in these words. One speaker uses the advanced palatal [ɻ] in both tube and Tuesday, but this I assign to the /k/ phoneme; since [t] and [k] are the voiceless stops made by tongue contact against the roof of the mouth, some dividing line between them must be set; I have assigned the dental and alveolar voiceless stops to the phoneme /t/ and the palatal and velars to the /k/ phoneme. The reason for this is apparent when we note the wide use of [c] and [ʃ] for /k/.

The phoneme /ʃ/, phonetically the cluster [tʃ], may replace /tʃ/ in tube and Tuesday, as it almost regularly does when /tʃ/ precedes an unstressed /u/, as in the words picture, furniture, oyster (although oyster more often ends
in /tə/), or in the phrases don't you, learnt you, and taught you. In the record of N-667, the /t/ appears to have been lost in furniture after /tʃ/ had been replaced by [ʃ], leaving only [ʃ] as the intervocalic consonant.

Voiced [t] and the alveolar flap [l] occur in free alternation with the aspirated voiceless [t] intervocically when preceded by a stressed vowel and followed by an unstressed vowel or the sonorants [ɹ] and [ŋ], except that [l] never occurs before the lateral [l]. Neither [t] nor [ɾ] occurs before the homorganic [ŋ]. Thus instances of each are recorded for Saturday, thirty, forty, water, beautiful, swasted, cartridge, and pretties, but [t], never [ɾ], is recorded in mantel, little, kettle, and turtle. Neither occurs in words like getting, cutting, setting when those words end in syllabic [ŋ]. Both [t] and [ɾ] may also occur before a stressed or unstressed vowel if /t/ occurs in the preceding word, as in put it on (both t's), want to, out of, and a lot of. [ɾ] for /t/ occurs very seldom--almost never--in the speech of the Negro informants. The retroflex [ɾ] occurs in one recording of water and once in 'matoes.

Although [ɾ] occurs after the [θ] of three and thrashed, it is not a /t/, but a member of the /r/ phoneme. No phonemic confusion need result from this intersection, for as Dr. Bernard Bloch points out,\(^1\) every flap after a dental

\(^1\) "Phonemic Overlapping," Am.Sp., XIV (1941), 279-80.
spirant belongs to the /r/ phoneme and every intervocalic flap belongs to /t/.

The glottal stop [ʔ] appears as a member of the /t/ phoneme before [ŋ] in mountain, setting, getting, cutting, beatingest, and didn't (the second d is a member of the /t/ phoneme here), and before [ɪ] in kettle. In this position it appears in free alternation with the aspirated voiceless [ʃt]. It is interesting to note that since [ɻ] does not occur before [ɪ] and [ŋ] and [ʔ] occurs only before [ɪ] and [ŋ], they are in complementary distribution as alternants of [ʃt].

An intervocalic /t/ may also become completely voiced, and thus [d], instances of which occur in twenty-seven, Saturday (by assimilation to the succeeding [d] and with the loss of a syllable), kettle, water, thirty, forty, beautiful, Baptist, tatler, mantel, seventy, pretty, and vittles, and in the phrase put it on.

The [t] in a post-vocalic cluster after [s, n, f, p] may be omitted in the speech of the lowland area from Virginia to Georgia, but in the mountain area it is omitted with regularity only after [p]. Thus chest, vest, past, feist, first, breakfast, breast, west, east, frost, yeast, student, don't, didn't, hasn't, ain't, soft, loft, and drempt may have [t] omitted. By way of contrast, the highland speakers do not usually omit [t] after [s, n, f], but do after [p], as in drempt. In only one word, breakfast, did all the mountain informants omit [t]. No other
omissions of [t] were recorded after [s, n, f]. Conversely, a [t] is often added inorganically after [s, n, f], a practice much more usual among the mountaineers, who retain organic [t] in this position, than among the lowland speakers, who often omit organic [t] after [s, n, f]. Thus a [t] was often added finally to *orphan*, *across*, *trough*, *once*, *twice*, and *sermon* by the mountain speakers but very infrequently by the lowland informants. One speaker added an inorganic medial [t] after the [f] in *orphan*.

Medially a [t] may be omitted after [p] and before a syllabic nasal, as in *captain*, or after [f] as in *after* and *afternoon*. As is usual throughout the country, no [t] is sounded in the [−stʃ] cluster, as in *bristle*, or the [−stn] cluster, as in *listen*; since the *ing* of *roasting ears* may become [n], *roasting* usually has no /t/. The low colloquial speakers of the South also omit /t/ in an [−ntl] cluster, as in *gentleman* and *mantel*, and in the [−ktl−] combination of *directly*.

The combination −sts, as in *posts, fist*, *locust*, *ghosts*, *tastes*, and *costs*, is almost never pronounced [−sts] by low colloquial speakers, whether highland or lowland; such words may end with a lengthened [s], as in *costs* [kɔːs], with an added syllable and the [t] retained, as in [ˈgostɪz], or with an added syllable without the [t], as in [ˈlɔkəsɪz].
The clusters [-ns] and [-nts] occur in free variation, but [-nts-] is much more usual in fence, answer, dance, rinse (if not with [-nts]), chance, since, and once. Similarly, [-ntʃ] and [-nʃ] are in free variation, but [-ntʃ] is much more frequent in branch and bench.

Drought, which historically has variants ending in [ό] or [t], is almost universally ended with [ό] by the Southern low colloquial speakers, although one informant who often substituted [s] for [ό], ends drought with [s]. Various substitutions for the phoneme /t/ occur. The medial [t] of turtle and the final [t] of vomit are as often [k] as [t]; six speakers ended confederate with [k], not [t]; and one ended shallott with [k]. A /k/ is substituted for /t/ in one recording of big to-do. The confusion of the alveolar stop [t] and the velar stop [k] is quite apparent in casket, the final syllable of which occurs as [-kʃt], [-tʃk], [-tʃt], and [-tʃn]. Since both ask and asked occur as [æst] (if they are not [æks] and [ækst]), we may say that a [t] is substituted for [k] in the present tense of the verb. The word disc appears twice in the records studied, once ending in /-s/ and once in /-st/.

In the Gullah dialect, which has no phoneme /θ/ and substitutes /t/ for it, one would expect moth and moths with [t], but the form also occurs in the speech of one of the white speakers in the mountains. Fifth and sixth often end in /t/, not /θ/, although fifth may occur
without either, ending in /f/. When it occurs in an unemphatic word in the sentence, initial [ʃ] preceded by a [t] is often assimilated to the [t] and remains phonetically only as a lengthened [t], as in the phrases shut the door, it's this, get there, at the stomach, at the bell. The medial /s/ and final /ʃ/ of sausage are both changed to /t/ in one Gullah record of sausage as [ˈsatrɪt].

Final [d] often becomes [t] after [n], as in reverend, Ireland, and second, and after [l], as in spoiled. Final [d] also occurs as [t] in serenade, salad, learned, bursted, hundred, orchard, fretted, swatted, toted. The occurrence of the initial [d] of directly as [t] was noted twice in the Georgia records.

One mountain speaker used initial [tl-], a cluster which normally does not occur in English, for the initial [kl-] of clearing, clothes, climbed, and clever. As Dr. Lowman suggests,\(^2\) this may be the result of her German ancestry; on the other hand, it may result from the preservation of a child's substitution.

\(^2\)In a note to the field record of Informant 479.

Metathesis of [t] occurs twice in the records in vegetables as /ˈvɛʃətəlz/ and twice informants omitted [t] altogether from the word, with the consequent loss of a syllable, /ˈvɛʃəblz/.
The members of the phoneme /d/ are the alveolar [d], the dental [g], and the palatalized alveolar [dj].

The most frequent form of /d/ before the stressed /ju/ of dues is the palatalized alveolar [dj], although an alveolar [d] often occurs. One speaker uses the dental [g] in dues and another substitutes /j/, phonetically [dj], for /dj/ in the word, a substitution which is almost regularly made when /d/ occurs before an unstressed /ju/, as in education and learned you. The advanced palatal [j] occurs once before the stressed /ju/ of dues, but [j], as a palatal, belongs to the phoneme /g/.

After [n], as in grandfather, grandpa, grandmother, grind, husband, wind, behind, ground, stand, and, brand, mind, and reverend, and after [l], as in child, old, cold, gold, [d] is frequently omitted, and sometimes is omitted in children. It is usually retained, however, if followed by a vowel in the next syllable or word, as in find a, but it is almost never retained before the sonorant [l] in bundle. A [d] may be added inorganically after [n] and before a vowel, as it very frequently is in the phrase on account. Two speakers, one from South Carolina and one from Virginia, omit the final [d] of rancid.

A [d] may become [t] if it follows [n] in the same syllable, as in grandpa, Ireland, reverend, second, and learned, or after [j], as in spoiled. A final [d] may
also become [t] occasionally in bursted, fretted, sweated, 
toted, serenade, hundred, and orchard. As was noted in the 
discussion of the phoneme /t/, /d/ may be substituted for 
/t/ intervocally before an unstressed syllable, as in 
kettle, water, thirty, forty, pretty, etc., and /d/ may be 
substituted when /t/ final precedes a stressed or unstressed 
vowel in the following word, as in put it on. The substitu-
tion of /t/ for the initial /d/ of directly was recorded 
twice.

The dialect of the Gullah Negroes has no phoneme /ð/ 
and uses /d/ where /ð/ would occur in other dialects. 
Although the other Negroes in the South have a /ð/ phoneme, 
they often use /d/ in monosyllables like they, them, that, 
with, the, etc. The use of /d/ as the consonant in un-
stressed the is not confined to Negroes, for it occasionally 
occurring in the white pronunciation of the in wash up the 
dishes and back of the door. This use of /d/ for /ð/ 
explains the forms [f] and [dʒ] in with you, which, 
after having substituted /d/ for /ð/, follows the pattern 
for /d/ before unstressed /ju/.

One informant substitutes /nd/ for the /ŋ ɡ/ of 
stronger. A /z/ before a syllabic [ŋ], as in wasn't, 
may become the homorganic alveolar stop [d].
/k/

The phonetic forms [k, ƙ, c] belong to the phoneme /k/.

Occurrences of both the velar stop [k] and the palatalized velar [ƙ] are recorded in kettle, cow, keg, bucket, careless, calm, cartridge, casket, and basket; [k] is more commonly used before the stressed syllabic of cow, kettle, cartridge, and keg; [ƙ] is more common in the stressed syllable of careless and calm and in the un-stressed syllable of bucket, casket, and basket. A velar [k] is regularly used in the initial cluster /kl/, and is almost regularly used in car and captain.

The /k/ of the stressed syllable of cow, keg, captain, careless, calm, and casket and the un-stressed syllable of bucket is sometimes recorded as [ç] or [c], a palatal stop which I include as a member of the /k/ phoneme. Since /t/ and /k/ are voiceless stops made on the roof of the mouth and some dividing line is necessary, it seems logical to assign to /k/ those voiceless stops made by the contact of the tongue with the velum or with the palate. The logic of this division is based upon the occurrence of an advanced palatal stop [ç] in two words, tube and Tuesday, in the pronunciation of only one speaker in contrast to the frequent occurrence of [ç] or [c] for /k/ in the speech of many speakers.

As was noted in the discussion of the phoneme /t/, the
use of [č] in tube and Tuesday is a substitution of the phoneme /k/ for /t/. This confusion of the phonemes /k/ and /t/ often occurs when /k/ follows /s/; three examples of the substitution of /t/ for /k/ were noted in casket; one of the two occurrences of disc ended with /t/; and in ask, when the word is not pronounced /aks/, /t/ is as frequent as /k/. The medial /t/ of turtle and the final /t/ of vomit are as frequently /k/ as /t/; Confederate was ended in /k/ by six speakers and shallott by one. The phonetic similarity of [t] and [k] may explain their metathesis in casket as /'kæstɪk/.

One instance of the substitution of /l/ for /k/ occurs in casket as /'kæstɪlt/.

The /g/ of spigot is, except in one instance, always /k/. The -sk of ask and asked may remain the historically older and unmetathesized /-ks/. The -sk- of tusks and muskmelon is usually /s/, but is sometimes /s/, and in one speaker's record the singular tusk was /tʒθ/ and the plural tusks was /'tʃsɹz/. The /k/ of asked is frequently absent in the speech of those who pronounce /k/ in ask; thus some speakers use /əsk/ in the present tense and /əst/ in the past.

/g/

The phoneme /g/ may phonetically be [ ɡ, ʃ, ʒ ].

The velar [ɡ] is usual in the initial cluster /gl-/,
as in glass, and is more frequent in garden, guardian, and girl than [ʃ], the retracted palatal which also occurs often in those words. Girl and guardian are also recorded opening with the consonant cluster /gʃ-/.

Two instances of a palatalized [ʃ] were recorded for girl. Since [ʃ] belongs to the /g/ phoneme, the one occurrence of dues with [ʃ] will have to be classified as the phonemic substitution of /g/ for /d/.

The /g/ is frequently omitted from recognize, and in all but one instance, the /g/ of spigot became /k/, phonetically usually [k].

/f/

The phoneme /f/ includes the following phonetic forms: [f, φ, ʃ, ɾ, ɾ].

The voiceless bilabial fricative [φ] is sometimes used by the Virginia Negro informants for the /f/ in coffin, both, and food; the same speakers use the for [ʃ] for /f/ in five, fellow, forward, coffee, soft, affectionate, often, and afraid. One of the North Carolina speakers, N-381, uses the nasalized [ɾ] for the second /f/ in fifth.

The /f/ of after is frequently omitted, but the omission is considered old-fashioned by most of the speakers and the form without /f/ is used with regularity only in the mountains. In the mountains also afternoon may occur without /f/. The final consonant cluster of fifth was only once
fully pronounced as /-f θ/; in five records fifth appears without the /f/. Other forms omit the /θ/ or change it to /t/.

The -ph- of nephew is pronounced /f/ by all but two of the South Carolina speakers, who use /v/. The /f/ of the greeting Christmas gift is frequently changed to /v/, but Christmas give may be the speaker's intention. The /v/ of Virginia, verandah, Asheville, and Louisville, on the other hand, often is changed to /f/. Hoof' s may occur with either /f/ or /v/. The -ph- of diphtheria is recorded with /p/ in every one of the records.

A /θ/ may occasionally become /f/, as in both, mouth, and tooth, but only three instances of both, two of mouth, and one instance of tooth were recorded with /f/. No instances of /f/ for initial /θ/, as in three, or a medial /θ/, as in nothing, were recorded. The one transcription of both with [θ] is classed as the phonemic substitution of /f/ for /θ/.

/v/

Included in the phoneme /v/ are the phonetic forms [v, ũ, β].

In the records of the Linguistic Atlas the voiced bilabial fricative [β] occurs so frequently in some areas for both /v/ and /w/ that it must be classified as an intersectional sound in which /v/ and /w/ overlap. A [β]
is recorded for /v/ in vase, victuals, gave, of, drive, driving, evening, five, Civil, haven't, stovepipe, over, seven, eleven, and government. An extensive list of words in which [β] is used for /w/ is given in the discussion of the phoneme /w/. Since /w/ occurs in a syllable only initially or pre-vocally in certain initial clusters, and /v/, when it occurs initially, occurs in no cluster, no confusion is caused by the use of [β] in an initial cluster, as in twelve, for /v/ does not occur in initial clusters. No confusion arises if [β] occurs postvocally in the syllable, as in drive, for /w/ does not occur finally; hence the only phonemic overlapping occurs when a [β] alone occurs initially in the syllable, for [β] then may be /v/ or /w/ and vest and west be homophones. The use of [β], and the consequent confusion of /v/ and /w/, is extensive among the Gullah Negroes, noticeable among the white speakers of Charleston, and occasional among the Negroes and illiterate whites of the lowlands, but the mountain speakers do not use [β] or confuse /v/ and /w/.

The labio-dental frictionless continuant [u] may occur for syllabic final /v/, as in evening and have; one instance of each of these words with [u] occurs in the records.

Before a syllabic nasal, whether in the highlands or the lowlands, a /v/ almost regularly becomes /b/, as in
seven, eleven, oven, government, and of 'em; of these words, seven and eleven almost always develop the syllabic nasal and end with [-bmp]. Since a /b/ is very occasionally substituted for /v/ in heave, devil, vase, victuals, and have in the lowland areas, which use [β], but not in the mountain area, the confusion of /b/ and /v/ may result from an attempt to distinguish /v/ and /w/. The record of [β] for the /b/ of giblets is substitution of /v/ for /b/.

A /v/ may become a voiceless /f/ when initial in the syllable, as in Virginia, verandah, Asheville, and Louisville. Hoofs may occur with /f/ or /v/. A postvocalic /v/ is often faintly articulated, as in gave, have, stove-pipe, drive, over, government, and Civil, and it is sometimes omitted from evening, frequently from out of, and almost regularly from give me. Of 'em may substitute /w/ for /v/, and one instance occurs of [r] being substituted for the /v/ of of 'em, apparently a linking [r] added for an omitted /v/.

A /d/ is also used once for the /v/ of evening. Out of and off of may retain the historical on for of, often spelled out'n and off'n by dialect writers.

/θ/

The phoneme /θ/ is a voiceless dental fricative, as in three, nothing, and both.

In the Gullah dialect there is no /θ/ phoneme and /t/ is used for the th of such words as three, thirty,
thirteen, thrashed, thinking, Thursday, hearth, bath, nothing, and something.

In all the Southern areas studied the /θ/ of fifth and sixth, if not omitted, is often /t/, and occasionally moth and cloth, which have /t/ for /θ/ in Gullah, will also have /t/ among other speakers. The final -th of mouth, tooth, and both is very infrequently /f/, but no instances of the substitution of /f/ for initial /θ/, as in three, or medial /θ/, as in nothing, were recorded. Among some of the Negro speakers, /s/ was occasionally substituted for /θ/ in three, thirteen, drouth, South, and thrifty. One instance of the voicing of /θ/ to /ð/ occurred in moth.

The /θ/ is often omitted from fifth and sixth when those words do not substitute /t/ for the /θ/. With and moth also omit /θ/ occasionally, and cloth is recorded once without /θ/.

With occurs about as frequently with /ð/ as it does with /θ/. The regular form of drought is drouth—with /θ/, not /t/.

/ð/

The phoneme /ð/ is a voiced dental fricative, as in them and father.

The Gullah dialect has no /ð/ phoneme and substitutes /d/ for it, as in they, them, without, with, father, that's, there, those, rather, another, and farthest. Although this substitution of /d/ for /ð/ occurs regularly only in
Gullah, other speakers, more frequently Negroes than whites but not always Negroes, occasionally use /d/ for /ʃ/ in with, without, them, that, they, farthest, farther, and there. Unaccented short words beginning with /ʃ/ and preceded by a voiced sound often substitute /d/ for /ʃ/, as in all the, own the, of the, and behind the, and sometimes /ʃ/ after a voiceless sound will become /d/, as in wash up the dishes. More often, however, /ʃ/ following a voiceless sound will become /t/, examples of which are recorded for at the stomach, at the bell, up the dishes, launch the boat, shut the door, it's this way, get there, and off the.

The /ʃ/ of go with you may, after being replaced by /d/, unite with the succeeding /j/ and become phonetically [dʒ]. One speaker substitutes /z/ for the /ʃ/ of motherless. With may end with /ʃ/ or /θ/.

The /ʃ/ may occasionally be omitted from there in the phrase them there boys and is sometimes also omitted from the words farthest, moths, and whether.

/s/

The phoneme /s/ is phonetically the voiceless rill spirant [s].

An /s/ is usually voiced to /z/ in grease (verb) and mistress (Miz or Miziz) and may even be /z/ in Miss and piece. Among some of the non-Gullah Negroes, /s/ may be
used for /θ/ in three, thirteen, drouth, South, and moth, and one Gullah informant uses /sw-/ as the initial phonemic cluster in thrifty.

A /s/ is almost always substituted for /s/ in rinse, which adds an inorganic /t/ after the nasal and ends in /ʃ/, phonetically [tʃ]; only four records of rinse end with [s]. Before /j/ in the next word, as in miss you and this year, an /s/ usually, but not always, becomes /ʃ/.

The /s/ of oyster appears three times as /ʃ/. Among Gullah speakers see may have /ʃ/ for the initial phoneme and /s/ m/ be used for see 'em, see him, or even see you; one Gullah informant also uses /s/ for the second /s in sausage.

The /s/ of shrank is as often /s/ as /ʃ/, and the one occurrence of shrubbed is with /s/. Once shrank occurs with lip-rounded [g]. One North Carolina speaker uses /s/ for the medial /ʃ/ of social and sociable; and one Gullah informant uses /s/ for the final phoneme of dish.

The /sk/ of tusk and muskmelon is usually /ʃ/ but may be /s/ without /k/; one instance of /θ/ as the final phoneme of tusk is recorded. Souse (head cheese) is also recorded once with final /θ/.

The initial /s/ of spigot and scuttle may very occasionally be omitted, as may inflectional /s/, as in minutes. One instance of the omission of /s/ in justice of is recorded. Since in the combinations -sts, as in posts, and -sps, as in wasps, the full cluster is practically never pronounced but becomes /-s/, /-st/, or /-sp/, the
second /s/ is omitted. If, however, a syllable is added to show the plural, as in /postɪz/, the /s/ has become /z/.

/ʃ/

The phoneme /s/ is phonetically [ʃ], as in sure and rash.

An /s/ before a /j/ in the succeeding word, as in miss you and this year, is in free variation with /ʃ/, but /ʃ/ is more frequently used. A /ʃ/ is used in three records for the s of oyster. The Gullah informants may use /ʃ/ for the initial phoneme of see and the medial s of sausage; conversely, one Gullah speaker uses /s/ for the final phoneme of dish. Shrunk may have /ʃ/ or /s/ initially, and the one record of the word shrubbed has /s/. One North Carolina informant uses /s/ medially in sociable and social.

The -sk of tusk and muskmelon is usually /ʃ/, although muskmelon occurs quite a few times with /s/ and no /k/. Bench and branch usually end with /ʃ/, not /ʃ/. One speaker uses /ʃ/ for the initial /ʃ/ of shock, and one Gullah informant substitutes /ʃ/ for the final /t/ of bracelet.

/ch/

The phoneme /ʃ/ is phonetically [ʃ], as in chair and beach.

The [tʃ] of unstressed syllables may become [tʃ],
phonemically /\check{c}/, as in furniture (but [tj] is as frequent), picture, don't you, natured, and oyster (but [t\v]) occurs more often in oyster). The [tj] of stressed syllables, as in tube and Tuesday, may infrequently become /c/. One Gullah speaker uses /\check{s}/, not /\check{c}/, in furniture, and one of the North Carolina informants uses /\check{c}/ for the initial /\check{s}/ of shock. Bench and branch may have final /\check{s}/ or /\check{c}/, but /\check{c}/ is usual. Rinse regularly ends with /\check{z}/, phonetically [t\j], the [t] having been added inorganically after a nasal and the [s] changed to [\j].

/z/

The phoneme /z/ occurs phonetically as the voiced alveolar rill spirant [z] and the retroflex fricative [z\v].

One speaker uses the retroflex [z\v] before the syllabic [n] of wasn't and daresn't; but [z\v] was not noted in the other records. The /z/ of his, when it occurs before homorganic voiceless [s], as in himself, is usually voiceless [z\v]. A /z/ after a nasal may combine with an excrescent /d/ and become [d\v], phonemically /\j/; three examples of the substitution of /\j/ for /z/ are recorded for reins. Some confusion of /z/ and /\j/ in Gullah is also indicated by single records of sausage and lounge ending with /z/ and zig-zag using /\j/ for both z's.

A voiced /z/ may be used for voiceless /s/ in piece and miss, and a /z/ is usual in grease (verb) and
mistress. A /z/ before a syllabic [ŋ], as in wasn't, may become the homorganic voiced stop [d]. Pry may add a final /z/ and become a homophone of prize.

The declensional /z/ of the plural may be omitted from words like miles, bushels, heads, cheeses, wasps, and posts. In the Gullah dialect the declensional /z/ of the plural, of the third person singular, and of the possessive may be omitted, allowing such phrases as [wɪ hi 'oβə,kot] (with his overcoat).

/z/ and /ʃ/

The phoneme /ʒ/ is phonetically [ʒ], as in azure and the phoneme /ʃ/ is phonetically [dʒ], as in judge.

In the records studied /ʒ/ appears only in hoosier (backwoodsman), which also occurs with /ʃ/.

The word just is recorded twenty-eight times with /ʃ/, once with /d/, and once with /j/ as the initial phoneme. The /ʃ/ of magistrate is also recorded once as /d/.

The phoneme /z/ of reins is recorded three times as [dʒ], phonemically /ʃ/, having added an inorganic [d] after the nasal and changed [z] to [ʒ]. One Gullah speaker uses /ʃ/ for /z/ in zig-zag, and conversely uses /z/ for the final /ʃ/ in sausage and lounge.

The phonetic cluster [dj] of an unstressed syllable, as in education, often becomes [dʒ], hence phonemically
/ʃ/. This use of /ʃ/ for /dʒ/ is also noted for learned you (though learned is usually learnt) and with you (after -th became /d/). Two Gullah speakers use /ʃ/ for the /dʒ/ in the stressed syllable of dues.

/m/

The phoneme /m/ includes the bilabial nasal [m], the bilabial semi-consonant [ɱ], and the labio-dental semi-consonant [ŋ].

In many words with a syllabic [ŋ] following a bilabial or labio-dental stop, as in seven, eleven, haven't, government, captain, oven, open, and coffin, an [ɱ] is substituted for [ŋ] and is thus assimilated to the preceding stop. Of course, complete homorganic is achieved by substituting [m] for [ŋ] after the bilabials [p] and [b], but it is often achieved after [v] by substituting the bilabial [b] for the labio-dental [v], as is regularly done in seven and eleven and often done in haven't, government, of'em, and oven. Sometimes homorganic after [f] and [v] is achieved by substituting the labio-dental [ŋ] for [ŋ], as in haven't, government, and often. An /n/ before a bilabial [b], as in by and by and point-blank, is also assimilated to the [b] and changed to /m/.

After an [m], as in something, an excrecent /p/ may be added, -thing become syllabic [ŋ], [ŋ] become [ɱ] through assimilation to the excrecent [p], and something
take the phonetic form ['sæməm]. Since the voiceless [m] between two voiced nasals indicates the stopping and re-
starting of voice with bilabial closure, we must assign
[好人] between [m] and [n] to the /p/ phoneme. The final /m/ of rheumatism is occasionally omitted. The /m/ of pumpkin
is usually assimilated to the following velar stop [k] and becomes [ŋ]. One Gullah informant substitutes /n/ for
the /m/ of umbrella.

/n/

The phoneme /n/ occurs phonetically as the alveolar
nasal [n], the palatalized alveolar nasal [ɲ], and the
alveolar nasal semi-consonant [ŋ].

Syllabic [ŋ] occurs after alveolar stops, as in
didn't, wouldn't, outen, garden, mountain, certainly, and
curtain, after labio-dental fricatives, as in offen, often,
and haven't, and after rill spirants, as in hasn't, wasn't,
daresn't, poison, and parson.

Voiceless [ŋ] occurs in mantle [mæn̥], afternoon
[-fɔn'-], mountain [-mɔn], and 'twarn't me [-m-], but
since [ŋ] indicates the stopping of voice with alveolar
closure, we assign it to the /t/ phoneme.

The palatalized alveolar [ɲ] occurs before /j/ in
one recording of near, and syllabic [ŋ] is recorded once
in haven't.

Final -nt, as in ain't, won't, and don't, may often be
without /t/, as is mentioned in the discussion of that phoneme, but the vowel may also be nasalized and the /n/ omitted, the vowel nasality becoming an alternate form of the morpheme -nt. One informant also drops the /n/ in varmints and corruption, and another drops the /n/ of children. One Gullah speaker omitted the final /-n/ of orphan and another the /n/ of mantle. The /n/ of the sandhi form of the article a is usually not used in expressions like a apple and a old man; a glottal stop may or may not be used between the vowels. One recording of umbrella has initial /n/, which may be retained from the sandhi form an.

The [-mn-] cluster of chimney is almost regularly replaced by[-ml-]; conversely, the /l/ after syllabic [n] in certainly is frequently replaced by /n/. One of the North Carolina Negroes substituted /l/ for the final /n/ of American.

Syllabic [ŋ] may become syllabic [m̩] after the bilabial stops, as in captain and open, and after labiodentals which have become bilabials, as in seven, eleven, haven't, and oven; [ŋ] may become [ŋ] after labio-dentals which are not changed to bilabials, as in haven't, government, and often. An /n/ before a bilabial, as in by and by and point-blank, may be assimilated to the bilabial position of the stop and become [m].

An /n/ may become /ŋ/ after a velar stop, as in bacon and unstressed can, or before a velar stop, as in don't care. Two of the mountain informants pronounced palm as
[\text{n}], apparently substituting /n/ for /m/, but this may be a folk etymology. An alternate pronunciation of onion as ['\text{\text{n}}]n], usually noted as old-fashioned, substitutes /\eta/ for /n/. One of the Virginia informants substitutes /n/ for the final /t/ of casket.

The possessive pronouns yours, ours, theirs, his, and hers occur frequently with final /-n/. The Gullah speakers may add a final [on] to our or us, they or them, his or him, and she or her for the possessive form. The old forms boughten and hearn still appear, but most verbs do not have an irregular form in [-n]. Thus forms like riz for risen, blowed for blown, freeze or froze for frozen, driv for driven, rode or rid for ridden, et or eat for eaten, broke for broken, wore for worn, swelled or swelled for swollen, and tore for torn are common.

/\eta/

The phoneme /\eta/ includes phonetically the velar nasal [\text{n}], the palatal nasal [\text{n}], and the velar nasal semi-consonant [\text{n}].

The -ing ending is usually not [-\text{\text{n}}], but syllabic [n], after alveolar stops, as in getting, setting, cutting, beatingest, lightning, and courting, and [-\text{n}] after consonants other than the alveolar stops and after vowels, as in morning, evening, going, fairing, changing, drizzling, nothing, laying, sparkling, palings, washing, ironing, clearing,
etc. Syllabic [ŋ] is very infrequently substituted for the [ŋ] of -ing endings after consonants other than the alveolar stops, as in roasting.

An [n] may become [ŋ] before a velar stop, as in don't care, and the [m] of pumpkin almost regularly is assimilated to the velar [k]. After a velar stop, as in bacon and unstressed can, syllabic [ŋ] occurs for [n] by assimilation to the velar stop. One form of onion ['ɪŋən] substitutes [ŋ] for [n]. One informant reversed this substitution and used /nd/ for the /ŋg/ in stronger and /n/ for the /ŋ/ of strong.

The palatal [ɲ] may occasionally replace /nj/ in New Orleans, near, and onion; its use initially in humor, used to, young, and weren't to indicates the addition of an inorganic /n/ before the /j/, and its use for the medial /n/ of kernel indicates the addition of a succeeding /j/.

/r/

The consonantal phoneme /r/ appears phonetically as an alveolar frictionless continuant [r], an alveolar fricative slit spirant [ɋ], a retroflex frictionless continuant [ɾ], a retroflex fricative [ɭ], an alveolar flap [ɭ], or a retroflex flap [ɾ].

The usual form of the /r/ phoneme initially or in an initial cluster, except after [t] and [d], is the frictionless continuant [r], as in crib, three, broom, frost, roof,
rinses, crop, bread, grease, road, screech, proud, throwed, threashed, pretty, April, and shrank, and [r] may occur after [t] and [d], as in tree and drown. The /r/ of initial clusters after [t] and [d], as in tree, trough, strawberry, cartridge, drown, drop, draft, drug, strand, and hundred, is usually the fricative spirant [ɻ], and sometimes [ɻ] occurs after other consonants than the alveolar stops, as in April, crib, throwed, thrashed, frost, and grease. Voiceless [ɻ] also occurs after the voiceless consonants of three and April and lip-rounded [ɻ] is recorded once in three.

The retroflex frictionless continuant [γ], made farther back than [r], appears very infrequently in initial clusters, as in three, or intervocally, as in parents, borrow, and married. The retroflex fricative [ɻ] occurs in one recording of cherry. The alveolar flap [ɻ] appears as a member of the /r/ phoneme after a dental spirant, as in three, thrashed, and throwed, but, as is shown in the discussion of the /t/ phoneme, an intervocalic [ɻ], as in water, belongs to the /t/ phoneme. The retroflex flap [γ], which among the Jullah speakers is used for medial /d/, is elsewhere a member of the /r/ phoneme, occurring after a dental or alveolar stop or fricative, as in three, thrashed, the road, the roof, and strawberry. An [γ] occurs often in the speech of one of the mountain informants, but it is also recorded three times in three in other areas and once elsewhere in thrashed.
The /r/ of consonant clusters before the vowel of an unstressed syllable, as in hundred, apron, April, children, Negroes, and cartridge, may be metathesized and become vocalic, or it may be omitted, apparently after metathesis, as in cartridge, children, and secretary. An /r/ of an initial cluster may also be metathesized in stressed syllables, as in thrashed (once) and pretty, or it may be omitted, as in pretty. Threwed and through may also omit /r/, but all records of from retained /r/.

An initial /r/ or the /r/ of initial clusters may often have some degree of lip rounding. Roof is recorded twice with [ɹ], three once with [ɻ], screech twice with [ʃ], and shrank once with [ɹ]. The labialization becomes dominant in two recordings of shrank with [sw-] and may possibly explain the initial cluster [sw-] of the oft-recorded form squinch owl for screech owl. An /l/ is substituted for /r/ in five recordings of proud and four of fritters. An /r/ is added inorganically after the /f/ of orphan in three records.

Intervocalic /r/ in the Southern records is usually consonantal, not vocalic as in some mid-western dialects. Glory, in other words, because of syllable division before the /r/, is phonetically [ˈgloɹI], not [ˈgloɹI]. Hence consonantal [ɾ] is recorded for the intervocalic /r/ in words like bureau, harrow, cigarette, cherry, strawberry, parents, American, married, grocery, borrow, carry, stirrups, squirrel, terrapin, etc.
An intervocalic consonantal /r/ after a stressed syllable and before a checked unstressed syllable, as in *foreigner, ironing, Irish, Ireland, spirits, barrel, stirrup, syrup, squirrel, terrapin,* and *serenade,* may become vocalic and the succeeding unstressed syllabic be omitted. In areas in which vocalic /r/ is pronounced with lateral constriction of retroflexion (r-color) and [ɾ] is substituted for the final -ow of *harrow* and *furrow,* medial [r] becomes [ɾ] before the succeeding [ɾ], thus *furrow* [fʊɾ-ɾ] and *harrow* [ˈhaɾ-ɾ]. One instance of the loss of /r/ is recorded in *tourist.*

If intervocalic /r/ occurs between two unstressed syllables following a checked stressed syllable, as in *funeral, reverend, hickory, Confederate, grocery, trumpery, gallery, strawberries,* and *cigarette,* the preceding unstressed vowel may be omitted and /r/ become post-consonantal instead of intervocalic. If, however, the unstressed syllable following the /r/ is checked, as in *Confederate, reverend,* and *funeral,* or followed by another syllable in the same word, as in *tolerable,* vocalic [ɾ] may be substituted for [ɾəɾə], as sometimes is recorded, or [ɾə] may then be substituted for [ɾə] and r-color be completely lost. The word *library* often loses the first /r/ and then falls into the pattern of /r/ between two unstressed syllables following a checked syllable and becomes [ˈlaiəri].

An intervocalic /r/ preceded by a stressed syllable
and followed by an unstressed open syllable, as in cherry, berries, and carry, is almost always retained, though often weakened, but two instances of the loss of /r/ in carry are recorded.

An intrusive linking r is not a part of the pattern of Southern speech in phrases such as law and and idea of and an [r] is not usual between a word ending with -r and a word beginning with a vowel, as in your sunt and year ago. A linking r does almost regularly appear, however, in the phrase swallow it, which may also be linked by [w] or [v]. An /r/ may also link the first two syllables of iodine.

The intervocalic /r/ of cherry once has [v], a member of the /v/ phoneme, substituted for it. An /l/ is substituted for the /r/ in bureau by one of the Gullah informants.

/l/

The phoneme /l/ includes the phonetic forms [l, ɬ, ʃ, l].

The weakly velarized alveolar [l] is usual in initial position, as in log, laughing, and little, in initial clusters, as in clothes, closet, plow, glass, and flower, and medially, as in skillet, gully, stallion, salad, swallow, chil(dr)en, Nelly, and college. In a number of these words, however, Gullah speakers use the "clear" [ʃ], which has the timbre of a front vowel, but one Gullah speaker uses dark [ɬ] in children.
A dark [ɨ], which has the timbre of a back vowel, is usual finally and in final clusters, as in twelve, field, towel, funnel, wheelbarrow, bull, help, yourself, salt, walnut, and always. Gullah, as well as some white, speakers may use the clearer [l] in these words and "clear" [l] is even recorded from Gullah informants in wheelbarrow, hill, bull, elm, and always, and from white speakers in help, walnut, and always. Obviously, then, "clear" and "dark" [ɨ] and [ɻ] are in free variation with the weakly velarized [l].

An /l/ often becomes a vocalic glide or disappears in help, myself, alter, walnut, gentleman, etc., and it usually disappears from half, calf, folks, and bolster. The /l/ of tolerable may disappear, along with the two succeeding syllables, leaving the word di-syllabic. Certainly may drop the /l/ and end with [nɪnɪ], and laurel is recorded once without final /l/.

An /l/ may be added medially to orphan [ˈɔrflɪn], sparking [ˈspɔklɪn], and diphtheria [dɪpθrɪlɪ], and it may be added finally to diphtheria and after the g of gab.

The /l/ of walnut may, as noted above, be dropped, but it may also become /ʒ/, the non-syllabic r-vowel phoneme, or /ʃ/, the non-syllabic r-vowel equivalent in the r-less regions. The consonantal /r/ of an initial cluster may sometimes be /l/, as in fritters in which /l/ is recorded four times, and proud, in which it is recorded five times.
One speaker substitutes /l/ for the final /n/ of American.

The vowel before an /l/ of an unstressed syllable may disappear and syllabic [l] or [ʃ] be used, as in apple, tolerable, stable, funnel, mantle, bristle, bushel, turtle, drizzle, single, etc.

/j/

The phoneme /j/ is the palatal frictionless continuant [j], which occurs only before vowels. A superior high front vowel [i] or [i] preceding the vowel, as in [iʌ] or [iʊ], is considered a member of the /j/ phoneme since it is non-syllabic, but [i] and [i], if not written with superior symbols, as in [ɪʌ] or [ɪʊ], are considered vowels.

In all parts of the United States, the vowel phoneme /u/ is preceded by /j/ initially, as in humor, and after labials and velars, as in beauty and cute. Southern speakers, in contrast to Midwestern, use /ju/ after the dentals /t, d, n/, as in tube, dues, and new. In unstressed syllables, however, the old form of /u/ without /j/ is often preserved, as in picture [ˈpɪktə], pasture, creature, Matthew, genuine,ague, and education. Daniel may also retain the old-fashioned form without the palatal. The /ju/ of stressed syllables may have /o/ substituted for the /u/, as in pure and puke, but the /j/ remains to distinguish pure from poor and puke from poke.
A /j/ is frequently recorded for the [i] of here, ear, afeared, near, and beard, and the non-syllabic /俬/ or /ɔ/ of these words becomes syllabic /ʒ/ in the Charleston area, where /e/, not /i/, is used as the vowel in these words, a /j/ seldom occurs—only one of six speakers, for instance, uses /j/ in beard and ear and only three of six use /j/ in here. A /j/ may also be added to heard, possibly because of the [i] of a regularized form heared, and in scarce and scared, which probably developed a [j] glide after a fronted [k] (see below); these words in like manner have an [ʒ] or [ɹ] vowel after /j/. A /j/ is usually added to pert.

After a /g/ or /k/, a /j/ is frequently recorded, as in garden, guardian, girl, carriage, carry, can, can't, careless, calf, calm, cow, keg, car, and casket; the addition of /j/ occurs more often, but not exclusively, after the fronted [g] and [k] or the palatals [ʃ] and [c].

The phonemic cluster /tʃ/, as in picture, oyster, Tuesday, furniture, and tube, may have the phoneme /c/, phonetically [tʃ], substituted for it; /c/ occurs fairly regularly in picture, frequently in furniture, which more often has /tʃ/, three times in Tuesday, and only twice in oyster, which often has no /j/, and tube. The substitution of /ɛ/ for /tʃ/ occurs even more regularly when /t/ is final in one word and /j/ is initial in the next, as in learnt you, don't you, taught you, and got your.
In a similar manner, the cluster /dj/ may become /ʃ/, phonetically [dʒ], as regularly occurs in education, in which /dj/ is not recorded, but only twice in dues and guardian. The /ʃ/ may be more regularly substituted when /d/ is final in one word and /j/ is initial in the next, as in learned you (if not learnt you) and with you (if /ð/ becomes /d/).

The cluster /nj/ may occasionally become [ɲ], phonemically /ŋ/, in new, near, and onion. An [ɲ] is also recorded initially in used to, humor, and young, possibly indicating the addition of an excrecent /n/. A /j/ may be added inorganically after the /l/ of melon. One speaker substitutes /j/ for the /j/ of just. Gullah speakers have a form of you all which may be [unə] or add an initial /h/ or /j/.

/h/

The phoneme /h/ is phonetically the glottal fricative [h], which is made with the tongue and lip position of the following sound.

The phoneme /h/ is present in all the records in such words as heard, house, hammer, harrow, and hog. It occurs everywhere but in the Charleston area in the /hw-/ cluster, as in what, wheelbarrow, while, and white. In Charleston only one informant (Number 534, a highly educated one) uses /hw-/ in these words; all others use /w/. The words wharf,
whoa, and exclamatory why usually occur with /w/, not /hw/, although the educated Charleston informant uses /hw/ in exclamatory why.

/hent/, the unstressed form of have not, is usual in the mountain area of North Carolina and the inland area of Georgia, but it is regularly supplanted along the coast by /ent/. When used as the subject of a clause, it may have an initial /h/ in the same areas which use /hent/, although a few on the coast know the form /hit/ but class it as old-fashioned.

An /h/ is often omitted from unstressed words, as in says he, himself, pay him, that his father, and like his, but it may be added initially to Italian and medially in overalls. The Gullah word for heard, [ˈjɛdə], apparently has had /j/ substituted for /h/.

/w/

The phoneme /w/ has the phonetic form of [w, v, ə] in the records of the Linguistic Atlas of the South Atlantic States.

The voiced bilabial fricative [β], as was indicated in the discussion of the phoneme /v/, may be a member of the /w/ or /v/ phoneme, particularly in the Charleston area. When [β] occurs initially in a syllable, phonemic confusion exists, but if it occurs in an initial cluster, it is a [w]; in all other positions [β] is a member of the
/v/ phoneme. Outside of the Charleston area [β] is recorded for /w/ in well, weather, towel, with, without, widow, wife, Wednesday, always, wagon, wind, and flower; its use is almost, but not entirely, restricted to Negroes. In the Charleston area [β] was also recorded for wool, whetstone (since [w] replaced [hw]), underwear, wishbone, ways, toward, backward, week, and west. Although the Negroes of the Charleston area use [β] for /w/ much more frequently than the whites, [β] is by no means restricted to Negroes; the /w/ of always, for instance, occurred twice as [β] in the records of white speakers.

The use of the labio-dental frictionless continuant [u] for /w/ in always, well, and forwards is a substitution of /v/ for /w/. In one of the North Carolina records a /v/ occurs for /w/ in towel, which is also recorded once with /b/. The process of /v/ for /w/ is reversed in the use of /w/ recorded for /v/ in government, vest, Virginia, and of 'em. The /w/ of without, as well as that of towel, is once transcribed as [b].

The voiceless bilabial frictionless continuant [w] may follow a voiceless stop, as in twenty and twelve. A faintly articulated [w], written in the field records with a superior letter to indicate its shortness and indistinctness, occurs in won't, without, wool, swallow, worm-fence, and with, and complete omissions of /w/ are recorded for wool, woman, and without. Always is quite frequently recorded without /w/, but that pronunciation
is often classified by the speaker as old-fashioned. The words ending in -ward or -wards, as forward, awkward, and toward, may occur with or without /w/ and usage is almost equally divided. Towards, however, usually has an /ɔ/ vowel after the /w/ if the /w/ is used and an /o/ vowel if the /w/ is not used. Ones in the expression young ones is usually without /w/, but occurs twice with it.

An inorganic /w/ may be added initially to ought to or after initial /s/, as in sag. Going, when it has the /aɪ/ diphthong, may have a /w/ after the initial /g/ but occurs often without it.

An /r/ after a dental or alveolar fricative may have lip rounding and may even become /w/. For instance, the /r/ in shrank is recorded once as [r] and twice as [w]. Thrifty is recorded once with initial [sw-], three once with [ɔ], and the initial [hw-] of whipping is [hr-] in the record of N-153. This may explain the variation in the initial consonant cluster of screech, which is transcribed as [skrɪʃ], [skrɪʃ], [skrɪʃ], and [skwɪntʃ]. The interchange of /r/ and /w/ may also be the explanation of the linking /r/ in swallow it, which occurs almost regularly in an area which does not use linking /r/ in law and order or father and.
The Vowel Phonemes

The vowel phonemes of Southern American may be divided into two classes: checked and free. The checked vowels, /i, e, æ, u, â, a/, occur in syllables checked by a consonant, as in bit, bet, pat, put, but, and hot, or in syllables ending with non-syllabic /ə/, as in car. Checked vowels, if not monophthongal, are in-gliding diphthongs, as in [i̯, e̯, æ̯, u̯, â̯, ə̯].

The free vowels, /i, e, u, o, ɔ, ɔ̈/, and the diphthongs, /ai, au, oi/, may occur in free syllables, as in bee, bay, shoe, bow, fur, law, lie, now, and boy, or in checked syllables, as in beat, bai, boot, boat, hurt, salt, light, loud, and boil. Free vowels may end a word or syllable, but checked vowels may not. Free vowels, if not monophthongal, are up-gliding diphthongs, as in [i, e, u, o, ɔ, ɔ̈]. The three diphthongs belong with the free vowels because they are made up of a vowel and an up-glide and occur in both free and checked syllables. The up-glide of the diphthongs is not the natural up-glide after the first element and hence they are real diphthongs. The first element of /ai/ and /au/, if appearing alone, would belong to the checked vowel phoneme /a/ and would have an in-glide; the other diphthong, /ɔi/, has a fronting up-glide in place of the back up-glide usual after the phoneme /ɔ/.

The vowel phoneme /ə/ occurs only in unstressed
syllables. The free vowels /i, o, 3/ may also occur in unstressed syllables, as in happy, minnow, and father, except that in the areas which do not have post-vocalic r, /ə/ replaces /ɔ/ as the syllabic in words like father. Of the checked vowels, only /I/ occurs in unstressed syllables, as in savage and haunted.

Non-syllabic /œ/ is the postvocalic r, as in four and hard, of the "r-less" coastal areas; in other areas non-syllabic /ʒ/ is used for postvocalic r.

/ɪ/

The phoneme /ɪ/ may occur phonetically as [i, i ɪ, i, ɪ, ɨi, iː].

Informants from the South Carolina area use a monophthongal [ɪ] frequently in words such as three, week, greasy, cheese, bean, peach, tree, teacher and ever, and only in the South Carolina records does an in-gliding [iə] appear; an [iə] may occur in that area before the lateral [l], the alveolar nasal [n], or the alveolar fricatives [s] and [z], as in field, bean, yeast, and greasy.

An /ɪ/ before a non-syllabic /œ/, as in sar, hear, beard, and near, may become /j/ and the /œ/ become syllabic /ʒ/. On the colloquial level there is no phonemic distinction between /ɪ/ and /i/ before /œ/, but on the low colloquial level /iə/ often merges with the /ʒ/ phoneme and the distinction between beard and bird rests
with the added /j/ phoneme in beard. The transcriptions of ear as [jɔ] and here as [hj3ə] show the substitution completely made phonetically, but we must also class [ɪə] or [ɪə] as phonemically /j3/, since the superior [ɪ] or [i] marks the beginning of a glide and is not syllabic. The phonemic sequence /j3/ occurs regularly in the mountain records of here, near, ear, beard, and year; /j3/ is usual elsewhere (except in the Charleston area) in beard, near, and year, and it occurs occasionally elsewhere in here and ear, but here and ear more often have the phonemic sequence /jɪə/. Here also occurs as /hjʌ/, the r-color of /3/ having been lost. Very occasionally ear, near, and queer may have disyllabic /jɪ-ə/ or /jɪ-ə/. In the Charleston area, the usual form of the vowel phoneme in words like ear, near, and beard is /ɛə/; here may be /heə/ or /hjeə/ and year is usually /jeə/. Spirit often has an /ɛ/ vowel before intervocalic /r/, but it may have /æ/, or it may be monosyllabic and have /3/.

Careless, chair, scared, and scarce sometimes have /iə/ and fall into the pattern of /iə/ words otherwise. Careless, scared, and scarce usually have /j/ after /k/ and hence have the phonemic sequence /j3/; chair may have /3/, /j3/, /i-ə/, or /iə/. Queer, here’s, and cleared are are comparable to careless, etc., in that they may have /ɛə/, /æə/, or /ʊə/, or may follow the pattern of /iə/ words. Rearing regularly has /æ/ or /ɑ/, not /i/ or /3/.
In the Charleston area, these words usually have /je²/ or /e²/.

Part and heard, which have the vowel /3/ in accepted colloquial speech, among low colloquial speakers belong to the /i²/ words, for they occur more frequently with /j3/ than /3/ and may also occur with /i²/. Spirit, on the other hand, may occur with /æ/, /ɛ/, or /3/, as was indicated above.

An /i/ is regularly substituted for the /e/ of drain except in the Charleston area, where both /e/ and /i/ occur. Deaf usually occurs with an /i/ vowel although it frequently has /i/ and sometimes /ɛ/; end is recorded once with /i/. An /i/ is occasionally substituted for the /i/ of dishes, and /i/ is recorded once in little and idiot; he may replace his in Gullah speech. An /i/ is frequently used in the last syllable of guardian, and /i/ sometimes replaces the /ai/ of appendicitis and quinine. The /i/ of neither is sometimes replaced by /ʌ/ and leak occurs once with an /i/ vowel. The Gullah form /'ɛnti/ for ain't I substitutes /i/ for /ai/.

The substitution of [ɨ] for final [ə] in words like borrow, sofa, china, Georgia, and Sarah occurs regularly in the mountain area and often in the inland area of Georgia; the use of [ɨ] elsewhere is infrequent. Final [ɨ] in Sarah occurs only in the mountain records. It seems that the substitution of final [ɨ] is a vanishing linguistic phenomenon, for it is preserved only by the older informants
or in the more inaccessible districts. Unstressed final /u/, as in Matthew, don't you, learned you, and miss you, may become [ɪ], not [ə], in the inland area. The final [ɪ] of all of these words belongs to the /i/ phoneme since it ends a word and is up-gliding. Also a member of the /i/ phoneme is the [ɪ] sometimes recorded in the medial syllable of sycamore, cantaloupe, and Tennessee, for it is final in the syllable.

/I/

The phoneme /i/ may have the phonetic form of [ɪ, ɪ, í, ï].

A monophthongal [ɪ] is usual before alveolars, as in kitchen, little, dishes, wish, and minute, but a diphthongal [í] with a centering glide occurs often before labials, as in crib, whip, and him, or the continuant [l], as in hill.

The phonemes /i/ and /ɛ/ are often substituted for each other, almost to the point of phonemic confusion. Before nasals, /i/ may be substituted for /ɛ/, as in again, ten, General, pen, any, them, and Kentucky, and /ɛ/ may be substituted for /i/, as in since and rinse. January may occur with /æ/ or /ɛ/, but it is also recorded eight times with /i/. But the confusion of /i/ and /ɛ/ is not alone before nasals. Before alveolar,
as in get, instead, kettle, and yesterday, an /I/ usually occurs for /ɛ/; chest and steady are also recorded sometimes with /I/, although steady is more often with /ʌ/. Before the lateral /l/, as in yellow, melon, and umbrella, /I/ may replace /ɛ/, although yellow often has /æ/. Deaf, which oftener has /i/, may sometimes substitute /I/ for /ɛ/. An /ɛ/ may be substituted for /I/, as in if and till.

An /I/ may sometimes replace /ʌ/, as in onion /'ɔn/. just, such, scuttle, and cover. Just and such may also have an /ɛ/ vowel; such more often has /I/ than /ɛ/, but just more frequently has /ɛ/ except in the mountain area.

Many other substitutions of /I/ or for /I/ occur. An /ʊ/ sometimes replaces /I/ in whip, and one informant uses /u/ in river. Yolk sometimes has /I/ in place of /o/ (or /ɛ/). Catch, which usually has an /ɛ/ vowel, is once recorded with /I/, and one informant substitutes /I/ for the /ʃ/ in kernel. An /i/ may sometimes occur in dishes, idiot, and little; and the Gullah informants may use he for his. An /I/ sometimes replaces the /aɪ/ of quinine, and one mountain speaker uses /I/ for /aɪ/ in like. On the other hand, Italian may have initial /aɪ/ or /haɪ/. The final vowel of counterpane is usually /I/, not /ɛ/. Am I going (Are I going)
often opens with /æ?/ for are, but [Iː] may be used.

Verbs with /a1/ in the infinitive often change the /a1/ to /I/ to form the past tense, as is recorded in rise /rɪz/, drive, ride, fight, dive, and climb.

Before dental stops and fricatives, as in bucket, haunted, careless, rinses, lettuce, ballad, salad, spigot, pallet, and the unstressed forms of at and as, the unstressed vowel is /I/, not the usual /ə/ of Midwestern speech. Not so generally used is an /I/ before the dental sonorants /l/ and /n/, as in towel, bushel, funnel, barrel, reckon, wagon, garden, mountain, bacon, and unstressed can, but a few instances of /I/ are recorded in these words. Before velars, as in stomach, /I/ is entirely lacking except in the mountain area, where it is regularly used.

/e/

The vowel phoneme /e/, as in haystack, ways, raise, etc., occurs with the following phonetic forms: [e, eʰ, eɪ, eɪ, ɛ, ɛ]. The forms [ɛ] and [ɛ] belong to the /e/ phoneme because they are up-gliding; the phoneme /ɛ/, if not monophthongal, is an in-gliding diphthong.

The speakers in the Charleston area often use a pure monophthongal [e], as in ways, cake, and raise, but if a diphthongal form is used, it is in-gliding, unlike the
up-gliding [ɛʰ] of all the other areas. The Charleston area is different from the other areas also in its use of /e/ before /ɑ/ in words which usually follow an /iɑ/ pattern and have /iɑ/ or /ə/, as in clear, queer, chair, near, careless, and scared. Scarce frequently has /e/ in the other areas, but if it has /e/, the /ɑ/ is usually dropped and the form is /skes/.

Before intervocalic /r/, as in parents, fairing, and never a, the Charleston informants use /e/, but the informants from the other areas usually have an /ə/, although /ɛ/ appears frequently in the speech of the North Carolina informants. Dairy and Mary have an /e/ vowel everywhere except in the mountains, where /ɛ/ is used, possibly as a result of Midwestern influence. Merry usually occurs with an /ɛ/ except in Charleston, where it may have /e/ or /ɛ/.

The /e/ of drain is regularly replaced by /i/ except in Charleston, where both vowels occur in the word, and /i/ is the most frequently used vowel in the past tense of eat, although /ɛ/ occurs often. They sometimes has an /i/ vowel. An /ɛ/ not only appears for the /e/ of ate, but it is used occasionally in break, take, make, and afraid. This [ɛ] in break, etc., unlike the [ɛʰ] which is phonemically /e/, is in-gliding, if not monophthongal. The accepted /e/ of tomatoes may be replaced by /ɑ/ or /ə/, the former apparently an old form which occurs also without the first syllable. The final vowel of counterpane is usually /ɪ/.
An /e/ is almost regularly substituted for /i/ in real, an /e/ occurring nineteen times. An /e/ is substituted for /ɛ/ frequently in egg and sometimes in keg; and an /e/ is recorded once in head and web. An /e/ may be substituted occasionally for /æ/ before a nasal, as frequently in can't, but also in haunted, which often has /æ/, sunt, answer, and chance, and /e/ may replace /ɛ/ in other positions, as in half, drag (noun), and piazza. The older form of because with /e/ in the stressed syllable occurs in a few of the records, as does also the old form of quoits with /e/. An /e/ may replace the /I/ of rinses, apparently after /I/ became /ɛ/. The old form of china with an /e/ as the stressed vowel is recorded twice in the records studied.

/ɛ/

The phoneme /ɛ/ may occur phonetically as [ɛ] or [ɛʰ]. The phonetic form [ɛʰ] belongs to the /e/ phoneme since it is up-gliding.

/ɛ/ and /I/ are frequently confused before a nasal. Again is regularly recorded with /I/ and General is as often with /I/ as /ɛ/. Other substitutions of /I/ for /ɛ/ are recorded in ten, pen, any, them, and Kentucky. Conversely, an /I/ before a nasal may be replaced by /ɛ/, as usually in rinses and more than half the time in since. But the confusion of /ɛ/ and /I/ is not restricted to the pre-nasal position. An /I/ is substituted for /ɛ/ regularly in get and instead, almost regularly in
kettle, more than half the time in yesterday, frequently in deaf (which as often has /i/) and melon, and occasionally in yellow (which may, however, substitute an /æ/), chest, umbrella, and steady (but steady usually has /ʌ/). On the other hand, /ɛ/ often replaces /i/ in till and if.

An /æ/ is frequently substituted for the /ɛ/ of yellow, which may also have /i/ or /a/, and keg, and /æ/ is usual in threshed, which might better be spelled thrashed. An /ɛ/, on the other hand, regularly replaces the /æ/ of radishes and catch, and often replaces the /æ/ of January (which may also have an /i/ vowel), rather, and canal. The /æ/ vowel is usual before the tautosyllabic r of words like there, fair, stair, and where, but a few instances of /ɛ/ are recorded. Before an intervocalic /r/, as in Mary and dairy, the mountain informants use /ɛ/, but the informants of the other areas use /ə/. The North Carolina informants, who of all the speakers most frequently use /ɛ/ in words like there, may also use /ɛ/ before the intervocalic /r/ of words like parents, terrapin, and ne'er a, words which have /æ/ in the other areas; the North Carolina informants may also use /ɛ/ in ear and year. Spirit may have /ɛ/ before intervocalic /r/, as kerosene sometimes does, and merry usually does. The /ɔ/ of mercy may be replaced by /ɛ/, although /æ/ more frequently replaces the /ɔ/.

The /e/ of words like break, take, make, and afraid
is sometimes changed to /ɛ/, and an /ɛ/ in ate is frequent. The Gullah speakers substitute /ɛ/ for /e/ in ain't I ['ɛn'ti:]. An /ɛ/ is, conversely, frequently replaced by /e/ in egg, which is also recorded once with /aɪ/, and an /e/ is sometimes used in seven, keg, web, and head.

An /ɛ/ frequently replaces /ʌ/, as in shove, shut, brush, just, touch, touchy, and such, and justice is recorded once with /ɛ/. Just and such also occur frequently with /ɪ/. The word steady undergoes the reverse process and has /ʌ/ as the stressed vowel more than half the time.

Deaf practically never has /ɛ/ for a vowel, but substitutes /i/ and /ɪ/, the former occurring more frequently. End, too, may substitute /i/ for /e/. The usual past tense of dream is dremp't, which has an /ɛ/ vowel. One recording of the past tense of freeze has an /ɛ/ vowel—/frɛz/. The old form hulp /hop/ for helped is recorded in ten of the records. Yolk may have an /ɛ/ vowel.

/ɛ/

The vowel phoneme /ɛ/ may be recorded phonetically as [ɛ, ɛo, ɛi].

The Charleston area uses the monophthongal [ɛ] or the in-gliding [ɛo] consistently, but usage in other areas varies. In monosyllables, as in chance, past, ash, bag,
sack, shafts, calf, glass, laugh, can't, aunt, and dance, an up-gliding [\(\text{æ}^\text{x}\)] is frequent, except that monosyllables checked by bilabials, as in wrap and ma'am, have [\(\text{æ}\)] or [\(\text{æ}^\text{ə}\)]. A monophthongal [\(\text{æ}\)] is usual in the initial stressed syllables of polysyllabic words, as in January, pantry, stallion, Saturday, and casket, although pasture and answer occur with up-gliding [\(\text{æ}^\text{x}\)]. The Gullah dialect has no /\(\text{æ}\)/ phoneme and substitutes for it regularly; in most words [a], phonemically /a/, is substituted for the usual /\(\text{æ}\)/. Although the low colloquial white speakers of the Charleston region have an /\(\text{æ}\)/ phoneme, [a] occurs frequently with no apparent pattern, as in ashes, pantry, bag, and shafts.

An /\(\text{æ}\)/ occurs in Southern colloquial speech before tautosyllabic r, as in fair, chair, dare, careless, scared, scarce, stair, there, and where, except in the Charleston area, where /e/ is used in these words as well as in the usual /\(i\text{æ}\)/ words, such as here. In low colloquial speech outside the Charleston area, those words with /k/ or /\(\text{ç}\)/ before /\(\text{æ}\)/ may have /\(i\text{æ}\)/, as in chair, careless, scared, and scarce, or, like the /\(i\text{æ}\)/ words, become /\(j\text{ʒ}\)/, as is often recorded in careless, scared, and scarce, and sometimes in chair. Chair is more frequently recorded with /\(i\text{æ}\)/ than /\(j\text{ʒ}\)/ and is also recorded with /\(j\text{ʒ}\)/. There and anywhere often occur with an /\(j\text{ʒ}\)/ vowel. Conversely, /\(\text{æ}^\text{əj}\)/ replaces /\(i\text{æ}\)/ in some words; an /\(\text{æ}\)/ is usual in -rearing, frequent in queer and cleared (cleared may also
occur with /i, e, ɛ, ʒ/), and is recorded once in here's. In the North Carolina area studied, /ɛ/ is as frequent as /ɛ/ in stair, there's, and anywhere, but /ɛ/ does not occur elsewhere before /r/.

Words with /æ³/ in accepted colloquial speech may also replace /æ³/ with /a²/ in low colloquial, as is occasionally recorded in queer (/æ³/ on low colloquial level), anywhere, stair, and there. On the other hand, the /a²/ of are may become /æ³/ in the how are you and are they of the low colloquial speakers of the inland areas; the unstressed are of we are going does not become /æ³/, but /ʒ/. An /ɛ/, not /æ³/, often replaces the accepted /a³/ of hearth, cartridge, and marsh, but hearth may also substitute /ʒ/ for /a³/. Words that have /ʒ/ in colloquial speech may sometimes replace /ʒ/ with /ɛ/ in low colloquial, as in mercy (also with /ɛ/ and /ʌ/) and girl.

An /ɛ/ occurs in all areas before intervocalic /r/, as in married, but there is some variation in the occurrence of /ɛ/ before /r/. The Charleston area, which, as noted above, uses /e²/ where other areas use /ɛ²/, may use /e/ before /r/ in words which elsewhere have /ɛ/, as is regularly recorded in parents and fairing, or words which elsewhere have /ɛ/, as is twice recorded in merry. An /ɛ/ is usual in the South Atlantic records in kerosene, ne'er a (also with /e/), terrapin, carry, and carriage, but all of these words also occur with /ɛ/ and all but
never a are occasionally recorded with /a/. Terrapin with /a/ may lose the second syllable and the /r/ thus be made postvocalic /ə/. In low colloquial speech, harrow, barrow, and wheelbarrow have an /a/ vowel more often than an /ɛ/, married is recorded three times with /a/ in the Charleston records, and fairing is recorded once with /a/. Spirit, which in accepted colloquial has an /i/ vowel, is once recorded with /ɛ/, but it more frequently has /ɛ/, and once has /ɔ/. The vowel of are may become /i/ when the r is made intervocalic, as in am (are) I going. The /aɪ-ə-/ of iodine is once recorded with /ɛ/ before intervocalic /r/, /ɛrə-/.

An /a/ may still be retained before /f, s, n/, as in after, pasture, bastard, and aunt, by some Virginia speakers, but it occurs infrequently. It occurs most often in words used often at home but not frequently read in books, as in pasture and bastard. An /a/ also replaces /ɛ/ in other positions, as in dabber, strap, madam, stamp, and wrapped, but an /ɔ/ may also occur frequently in stamp and occasionally in bastard, pasture, and wrapped. An /ɛ/, on the other hand, frequently replaces /a/ in the old forms of yonder, psalm, calm, palm, and crop, and sometimes in drop.

An /ɔ/ before a dental, as in daughter, launch, jaundice, haunted, sausage, and sauce, may be replaced by /ɛ/; this substitution is usual before the nasal dental of launch, haunted (which may have /e/), and jaundice.
Soft is also recorded twice with /ə/. Tassel occurs as frequently with /ɔ/ as with /æ/.

An /æ/ before /n/ plus a consonant, as in aunt, chance, haunted (see the preceding paragraph), and answer, may sometimes become /e/, as it frequently does in can't. The noun drag is once pronounced with /e/.

An /æ/ usually replaces /ɛ/ in keg and threshed, and eleven informants use or have heard /æ/ in yellow. But an /ɛ/ replaces /æ/ usually in radishes and catch, frequently in January (also recorded eight times with /i/), and rather, and once in the final syllable of canal.

The /e/ of tomatoes may be replaced by /ə/ or /ɑ/, both often called old-fashioned by the informants; the form with /æ/ generally appears without the first syllable. An /ʌ/ is often substituted for the /æ/ of the past tense of drag, and rather, which may have /ɛ/, usually has an /ʌ/ vowel in low colloquial pronunciation. Who occurs once with an /æ/ substituted for the usual /u/.

/ɑ/

The vowel phoneme /ɑ/ occurs phonetically as [a, ɑ, ɔ]. Since the early field records were made before the symbol [ɔ] was used, the [ɔ] of the early records is the equivalent of the later [ɔ], according to Dr. Hans Kurath,
the editor of the *Linguistic Atlas*; hence an [ɔ] appearing in the records made from the New England work-sheet has been changed to [ɔ] to agree with the later record made from the South Atlantic work-sheet.

The Gullah speakers of coastal South Carolina and Georgia have no /ɛ/ phoneme and usually substitute [a], phonemically /a/, for /ɛ/ except before postvocalic or intervocalic r, when an /e/ is usually employed. The low colloquial white speakers of the Charleston area use /ɛ/, but may have [a] in many words, apparently without pattern, for [a] appears in *half, past, ashes, pantry, bag, shafts, harrow, calf, stallion, class,* and *chat* in the speech of Informant 543.

When an /a/ occurs before a tautosyllabic r, as in *barn, car, garden,* and *start,* the r may become non-syllabic /ɹ/, or it may be omitted; it is more frequently omitted when r is followed by a consonant, as in *garden,* than when r is final, as in *car.* In the mountain area, where post-vocalic r has retroflexion or constriction, there is no omission of /ɹ/. In some words, as in *hearth,* *cartridge,* and *marsh,* the accepted /a/ of colloquial speech is replaced by /ɛ/ in low colloquial, and the /ɹ/ is consistently omitted when /ɛ/ is used; *hearth* may, however, occur with an /ɔ/ vowel. The verb form *are* may occur with /ɛ/, as in *how are you* and *are they,* and when it does, the /ɹ/ is retained. An /a/ before /ɹ/ may frequently
become /ɔ/ in foreigner, far, farthest, and farther, this /ɔ/ may become /ʌ/; sometimes far forms its comparative and superlative simply by adding -er and -est, resulting in forms such as /'fɔr3-3/ and /'fɔr3 rɪs/.

Occasionally, but not often, an /a/ before tautosyllabic r may become /ɔ/, as in barn, car, garden, start, hearth, and cartridge.

But other vowels before tautosyllabic r may be replaced by /a/. The accepted /æ²/ of there, anywhere, stair, and chair may become /a²/, and the accepted /ɪ²/ of queer, which often has /æ²/, is twice recorded as /a²/. The /ɔ/ of learned sometimes becomes /a²/, and weren’t, which usually has an /ɔ/ vowel, and sermon are each recorded once with /a²/. A few words with /ɔ/ before tautosyllabic r may very occasionally substitute /a/ for /ɔ/; an /a/ is recorded once in morning, cork, and warmed, twice in forty, and four times in storm. Squirrel occurs in one of the mountain records as a monosyllable with /a²/.

An /a/ is usual before the intervocalic /r/ of tomorrow, borrow, oranges, laurel, and forehead in all areas except that area dominated by Charleston, where /ɔ/ occurs more frequently in these words than /a/. The accepted /r/ of words such as barrel, harrow, fairing, terrapin, wheelbarrow, barrow, and kerosene may become /ar/ on the low colloquial level, and in the Charleston area, married and
carry are recorded with /a/. The intervocalic /r/ of are (am) I going may be preceded by /ə/ or /i/.

There is a great deal of variation within the South Atlantic area in the use of /a/ and /ɔ/ in certain words. On, dog, frost, fall, coffin, office, cost, loss, salt, daughter, want, and always consistently have an /ɔ/ vowel in all areas except that the best educated Charleston informant uses /a/ in office and three informants know or use the old-fashioned pronunciation of daughter with /ə/. Pots, rock, ox, crop, strap, vomit, college, rod, watch, and swallow occur with /ɔ/ only in the Charleston area, except that one North Carolina informant uses /ɔ/ in vomit; in all the areas except Charleston these words consistently have an /a/ vowel, except that crop and strap may sometimes have /ə/. An o before g, as in log, hog, and frog, is more often /ɔ/ than /a/ although a number of /a/’s are recorded in them and foggy as often has /a/ as /ɔ/; as mentioned above, dog regularly occurs with /ɔ/. Swamp, closet, and water are predominantly pronounced with /ɔ/, only three or four instances of /a/ having been recorded in any of them. Wash, on the other hand, usually has an /a/ vowel, and strong usually has /a/ except in the Charleston and North Carolina areas. Both /a/ and /ɔ/ appear in long and song. John more often occurs with /a/ than /ɔ/, but it is recorded nine times with /ɔ/. Usage in some words is fairly evenly divided between /ɔ/
and /a/, as in God, foggy, faucet, launch, and sausage; the last two words may also occur with an /æ/ vowel.

An /æ/ may often be substituted in low colloquial for an accepted colloquial /a/, as in yonder, calm, palm, psalm, and crop. Sausage, which usually has /a/ or /ɔ/, and father are each recorded once with /æ/.

On the other hand, the accepted /æ/ of stamp, wrapped, pasture, flap, bastard, after, dabber, aunt, and madam may occur as /a/; an /ɔ/ is also recorded often in stamp and occasionally in wrapped, pasture, bastard, and flap. An /a/ instead of /æ/ before /f, s, n/, as in after, pasture, bastard, and aunt, occurs sometimes in the Virginia records and in the speech of those South Carolina informants who have no /æ/ phoneme or substitute /a/ indiscriminately for /æ/, but an /a/ or /ɔ/ is usual everywhere in stamp and frequent in wrapped.

The /a/ of what and wasn't may be replaced by /ʌ/, and /ʌ/ is also recorded in got and of'em. An /a/ or /ɔ/, on the other hand, may replace /ʌ/ before a nasal, as in hungry, uneasy, and unwrapped, and an /a/ is once recorded as the initial vowel of onion. One Gullah informant substitutes /a/ for the usual /aʊ/ of lounge. The stressed syllable of tomatoes may occur with /a/, although it usually has /e/ or /æ/.
The phoneme /ɔ/ occurs phonetically as [ɔ, ɔ̃, ɒ]. An [p] in the early records, which were made with the New England work-sheet, is the equivalent of the [ʊ] of the later records and belongs to the /a/ phoneme.

In the areas which use /ɔ/ for tautosyllabic r, the /ɔ/ is as frequently omitted as used after /ɔ/, as in towards, forty, morning, storm, horse, war, warmed, and weren't (weren't has /ɔ/ more often than not). In the mountain area, however, the tautosyllabic r of these words becomes the constricted non-syllabic /ɔ/ and is pronounced regularly in all of them except horse, which consistently occurs without r, and warmed, which is once recorded without r. As noted parenthetically above, weren't occurs often with /ɔ/. For, on the other hand, is only once recorded with /ɔ/; it usually occurs with /ɔ/ or /æ/. Many words which usually have /a/ before tautosyllabic r, such as barn, car, garden, start, hearth, and cartridge, may occasionally replace /a/ with /ɔ/. An /a/, conversely, occasionally occurs in forty, morning, storm, and warmed, words which usually have /ɔ/. Towards occurs about as frequently with /ɔ/ in the form /tɔ.Matcherdz/ as with /ɔ/ in the form /tɔ.Matcherdz/.

The usual /a/ before intervocalic /r/, as in tomorrow, borrow, oranges, laurel, and forehead, may be replaced by /ɔ/, as is frequently recorded in the Charleston area.
Either /a/ or /ɔ/ may appear in a number of words and the appearance of one or the other does not follow a pattern. An /ɔ/ appears consistently everywhere in on, dog, frost, coffin, office, cost, loss, falls, salt, daughter, want, and always except that daughter with /æ/ is given as an old-fashioned pronunciation by three informants and the best educated Charleston informant uses /a/ in office. An /a/ is recorded in pots, rock, crop, strap, vomit, college, rod, watch, and swallow except in the Charleston area, where /ɔ/ is generally used, and in the record of one North Carolina informant, who uses an /ɔ/ in vomit; strap and crop may also occur with an /æ/ vowel. An o before g, as in log, hog, and frog, is more often pronounced /ɔ/ than /a/; as noted above, dog occurs regularly with /ɔ/, but foggy as often has /a/ as /ɔ/ in the records. Swamp, closet, and water usually occur with /ɔ/, but each of these words is recorded three or four times with /a/. Wash and strong, on the other hand, occur much more often with /a/ than /ɔ/; John is recorded with /a/ a few more times than with /ɔ/, but an /ɔ/ occurs in nine records. Song and long may have /a/ or /ɔ/. The transcriptions of God, foggy, faucet, launch, and sausage are fairly evenly divided between /a/ and /ɔ/ (but sausage and launch may also have /æ/). An /ɔ/ may very occasionally replace /a/ in what, which often has /ʌ/, and father, which sometimes has /æ/.
The accepted /æ/ of some words, as in wrapped, pasture, bastard, and flap, is usually replaced by /a/ in low colloquial speech, but the /æ/ is sometimes replaced by /ɔ/. Stamp frequently has an /ɔ/ vowel and is always with /ɔ/ or /a/ in low colloquial; tassel has an /ɔ/ as often as an /æ/ vowel. On the other hand, /æ/ often replaces an accepted /ɔ/. An au before a nasal may be pronounced /æ/, as it usually is in jaundice and haunted and frequently is in launch. Daughter, soft, and sauce are also recorded occasionally with an /æ/ vowel; sauce does not occur in many of the records, for dope is more commonly used.

An accepted colloquial /ʌ/ before /n/, as in hungry, uneasy, and unwrapped, may become /a/ or /ɔ/, an /a/ occurring more frequently in hungry and an /ɔ/ occurring oftener in uneasy and unwrapped.

The word won’t usually appears with an /ɔ/ vowel, but /u/, /ɔ/, and /ʌ/ are also recorded in it. Since want appears consistently with /ɔ/, the use of /ɔ/ in won't erases any phonemic distinction between them. Fought may occur with /ɔ/, /au/, or /ɪ/; the North Carolina informants use only /ɔ/ or /au/, the Virginia informants use only /ɔ/ and /ɪ/, and the mountain informants use only /au/ or /ɪ/, but the Georgia and South Carolina speakers know or use all three vowels. Because is recorded seven times with an /æ/ in the stressed syllable, but the informants usually called /kez/ old-fashioned. A no as a negative response to a question may have an /ɔ/ vowel.
The vowel phoneme /ɔ/ may be recorded phonetically as [ɔ, ɔʰ, ɔ̂].

Speakers in the Charleston area often use a monophthongal [ɔ] in words like home, but an in-gliding [ɔ̂] may appear in that area. In the other areas, if a monophthong does not occur, an up-gliding [ɔʰ] is usual. Two instances of post and one of coat with [ɔ̂] occur in the Virginia records, but other than in these instances, [ɔ̂] is restricted to the Charleston area, where it is used in a majority of the recordings of coat, post, home, clothes, stone, and whole.

A final non-syllabic /ə/ may occur for a tautosyllabic r after /ɔ/, or it may be omitted; four, door, and your, in other words, may be /foə/, /doə/, and /joə/, or /fo/, /do/, and /jo/. But the non-syllabic /ə/ for tautosyllabic r before a consonant, as in board, usually remains.

The accepted colloquial /u/ before tautosyllabic r, as in sure, your, pure, and poor, is usually replaced by /ɔ/ in low colloquial speech, and the /u/ of cured is sometimes replaced by /ɔ/; your, however, may, when unstressed, become /jɔ/, /jə/, or /jɪ/. Pour occurs regularly with /ɔ/ and is not distinguished from poor, but both are distinguished from pure /pjoə/ by /j/. An /ɔ/ also replaces /u/ regularly in ewe and sometimes in puke.

Towards has an /ɔ/ vowel if disyllabic, /tə'wɔrədəz/,
but an /o/ vowel if monosyllabic, /toʊdz/. Hoarse and mourning have an /o/ vowel and are thus in contrast to horse and morning, which have /ɔ/. Going often becomes /gwain/ and is occasionally recorded as /gain/. Won't usually has an /o/ vowel, but it is recorded three times with /u/, twice with /ɔ/, and once with /ʌ/.

The usual /o/ of home is replaced by /u/ only in Virginia, where it is recorded in four of the six records studied. The /o/ of the final syllable of cantaloupe is replaced by /u/ in one record. A no as a negative response to a question is often recorded as /ɔ/. Volk may occur with an /ɛ/ or /i/ replacing the accepted colloquial /o/. Woman usually has an /u/ vowel in the first syllable, but it is once recorded with /o/. The stressed vowel of open is sometimes /ʌ/.

Verbs which have /aɪ/ in the infinitive, as in rise, drive, and ride, may form the past tense by changing the vowel to /i/, and thus the accepted forms rose, drove, and rode may be unused. The past of freeze is often recorded with an /i;/ and once with an /ɛ/ vowel. Helped is frequently recorded with the old /o/.

Atlas informant 534, a precise speaker, uses /o/ in the unaccented final syllable of tomorrow, wheelbarrow, borrow, pillow, and widow, but, with the exception of this speaker and two other speakers who use /o/ in widow, an /o/ is not used in the final syllable of these words. An /ə/ is usual in tomorrow, wheelbarrow, pillow, fellow,
and widow in the r-less regions; in the regions which pronounce postvocalic r with constriction, an /ɔ/ is usual in fellow, pillow, and widow, as well as in hollow, minnow, and meadow, but tomorrow and wheelbarrow may occur with /ə/ or /a/ in these regions, the /ə/ apparently occurring as a result of dissimilation after intervocalic /r/.

Borrow usually ends in [ɪ], phonemically /i/; an /ə/ sometimes occurs in borrow in the coastal areas, but [ɪ] is regular in the Georgia and mountain records. Barrow and borrow have the same stressed vowels but are distinguished by the unstressed /i/ of borrow and the /ə/ of barrow.

/u/

The checked vowel phoneme /u/ may be transcribed phonetically as monophthongal [u] or [ʊ] or in-gliding diphthongal [ʊᵻ] or [ʊᵻ]. Before /ʃ/, as in push, a fronting, up-gliding diphthong [ʊᵻ] may appear.

In Virginia and South Carolina, broom and room usually have an /u/ vowel, but in the other areas, /u/ is usual in these words. Coop occurs everywhere with /u/ and hoops has /u/ except for one occurrence of /u/.

Roof always has /u/ except for one South Carolina speaker's /u/.

Other words vary between /u/ and /ʌ/. Soot everywhere has an /ʌ/ vowel, but took, put, and bulk may have
/u/ or /ʌ/; took regularly occurs with /ʌ/ in the mountains and is recorded five times with /ʌ/ elsewhere; put occurs thirteen times with /ʌ/, a pronunciation reserved in standard American for the golfing term putt; bulk has /u/ in Virginia and North Carolina and /ʌ/ in Georgia and South Carolina, but one Gullah informant uses /ɔ/ in the word.

The accepted colloquial /i/ of whip sometimes in low colloquial becomes /u/, and an /u/ is used once in river. Home is pronounced with /u/ only in Virginia, where four of the six informants use it. Suck is pronounced with /u/ twice by one of the mountain informants.

/u/

The phoneme /u/ may appear phonetically as [u, ʌ, u̯, ú].

Before tautosyllabic r, as in pure and poor, there is no distinction in accepted colloquial speech between /u/ and /U/, but only the one phoneme /u/. In low colloquial speech, there is a tendency to change /u/ to /o/ before tautosyllabic r, as in poor, pure, sure, your (if not /jɔ/, /jʊ/, or /jɪ/), and cured, and thus eliminate the phoneme /u/ before /ɔ/. Sure, for instance, occurs with /o/ in eighteen of the records studied. But this substitution of /o/ for /u/ also occurs usually in ewe and sometimes in puke.
As it does in the other areas of America, /ju/ occurs after labials and velars, as in bureau and cute, and initially, as in used to. But following a dental, as in Tuesday, dues, and new, Southern speakers also regularly have a phonetic segment [ɪu], [ɪu], or [ju], all of which are analyzed phonemically as /ju/. Very occasionally the phonetic segment [tju-], as in Tuesday and tube, may become [tʃu-], phonemically /ʃu/, and the sequence [dju-], as in dues, may become [dʒu-], phonemically /ʃu/.

An unstressed /u/, as in Matthew, nephew, andague, may remain /u/, become the unstressed syllabic phoneme /ə/, or become an /i/. An /i/, usually occurring phonetically as [ɪ], is even more frequently used for the /u/ in the unstressed you of don't you, learned you, miss you, knock you down, and for you. Often the usual unstressed /ju/ is replaced by the old unpalatalized form in picture /bɪktə/, pasture, education /ɛd ɪ 'keʃən/, creature,ague, and genuine, and the /j/ is occasionally omitted from Matthew.

The vowel of a number of words may be /u/, /u/, or /ʌ/. Room andbroom usually have /u/ in the inland records (Virginia and South Carolina). Roof androot usually have /u/ everywhere, although single occurrences of /ʌ/ and /U/ are recorded in roof. Hoops andcoops, on the other hand, usually have an /U/ vowel; one /u/ is recorded in hoops. Hoofs occurs with /u/ or /ʌ/.

There are only a few other substitutions of /u/ or
for /u/. The vowel of *chew* occurs in ten of the field
records as /ɔ/, the vowel of *who* is recorded once as /æ/,
and *bureau* and *humor* are each recorded once with an /i/
vowel in the first syllable. *Cantaloupe* once has an /u/,
not /o/, in the final syllable, and *won't*, which usually
has /o/ and sometimes /ɔ/ or /ʌ/, occurs in three records
with /u/.

/ʌ/

The checked vowel phoneme /ʌ/ usually occurs phonetically
as a monophthongal [ʌ] or an in-gliding diphthongal [ʌə],
but before /z/, as in *mush* and *brush*, an up-gliding [ʌʒ]
may be used. Some speakers may also use [ʊ], the unrounded
counterpart of [u] but a member of the /ʌ/ phoneme.

The phoneme /ʌ/ does not occur before tautosyllabic
r. Words such as *thirty*, *curtain*, *cur*, *worm*, *colonel*,
*learned*, *mercy*, and *nurse* usually have the mid-central
constricted vowel phoneme /ʒ/, but in a very few instances
the mid-back /ʌ/ is used in these words. Before an inter-
vocalic /r/, as in *furrow*, *squirrel*, and *worry*, an /ʌ/
may be used, but more frequently the vowel is assimilated
to the following /r/ and becomes /ʒ/. *Squirrel* also oc-
curs four times with /ɛr/, twice with /ɪr/, once with
/ɑr/, and once with /a/.  

An accepted colloquial /ʌ/ may be replaced by /ɛ,
I, 3, a, o, u/ in low colloquial. An /ɛ/ replaces /ʌ/ in shut, brush, touch, and touchy more often than not, and shove occurs with an /ɛ/ vowel. An unstressed just, as in just a minute or I just know, is usually recorded with /ɛ/ or /i/, and such is usually pronounced with /ɪ/ but occurs in three records with /ɛ/. Onion sometimes retains the old pronunciation with /ɪ/, /'ɪŋən/, and cover and scuttle are each recorded once with /ɪ/. An /ɑ̃/, as noted above, may sometimes become /ʌ/, but the reverse substitution of /ɑ̃/ for /ʌ/ is recorded six times in judge and once in a Gullah record of bulge. Shut occurs with /a/ in one of the Virginia records, and onion is pronounced with /a/ by one Gullah informant. Hungry, uneasy, and unwrapped may replace the accepted /ʌ/ with /a/ or /ɔ/, an /a/ occurring more frequently in hungry and /ɔ/ oftener in the other two words. Bulge regularly has an /ʌ/ vowel in North and South Carolina (except for one Gullah /ɔ/) and an /u/ vowel in Georgia, Virginia, and the mountains. Suck is pronounced with /u/ by one informant.

Various substitutions of /ʌ/ for other vowels occur in low colloquial speech. The substitution of /ʌ/ for /o/ occurs once in volk, which usually has /ɛ/ or /i/, once in won't, and once in a Gullah record of open. Hoofs is twice recorded with /ʌ/. An /a/ may occasionally be replaced by /ʌ/, as in got, of 'em, and what. The accepted /æ/ of rather is usually changed to /ʌ/ in low colloquial, although /ɛ/ is also used in it, and the past tense of
drag is often formed by changing the vowel to /ʌ/. As often as not, steady is pronounced with /ʌ/. Neither is recorded six times with an /ʌ/ replacing the accepted colloquial /i/. Soot everywhere has /ʌ/, and took, put, and bulk may have /u/ or /ʌ/; bulk is also recorded once under /ɔ/.

/ɔ/

The phoneme /ɔ/, which occurs in such words as thirty, curtain, and worm, is a mid-central vowel with lateral constriction and is recorded phonetically as [ɔ, ɔ̃, ə, ɚ, ɜ]. The lip-rounded [ʊ] or [ɔ] occurs most frequently in the Charleston area, but it also appears in the Virginia and North Carolina records. Northeastern Georgia speakers may use a diphthongal /ɔɪ/ in place of /ɔ/, as is recorded usually in the speech of Atlas informant 791 and occasionally in the speech of N-667; this diphthong does not occur elsewhere except that N-381, a North Carolina informant, uses it in heard and earthworm.

Stressed syllables retain /ɔ/ even in the "r-less" regions, although the degree of lateral constriction may be less than in the regions which pronounce postvocalic r. An unconstricted mid-back /ʌ/ replaces /ɔ/ only twice in sermon, only once in certainly, learned, worm, cur, curtain, and thirty, and in none of the records of Thursday, girl, and heard. The substitution of /ʌ/ for /ɔ/ in a few words,
such as nurse, curse, and burst, occurs not only in the r-less coastal regions, but in the mountains, where post-vocalic r is usually pronounced; hence these words do not follow the pattern and must be considered low colloquial forms, not just forms existing in the areas which do not have postvocalic r. Dr. Lowman notes 723's distinction between a /nas/ and /nas/ (suckle) the baby.

Among all classes of speakers in the coastal areas of Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, an /ɜ/ does not occur in unstressed syllables, as in father and butcher. Instead, an unconstricted [ə] is used; this, then, is the substitution of the unstressed syllabic phoneme /ə/ for /ɜ/. An /ɜ/ in unstressed syllables occurs occasionally in the North Carolina records, about half the time in the Georgia records, and regularly in the mountain records except for one informant's use of /ə/ in father and mother. Internally in polysyllabic words, as in Saturday, afternoon, and yesterday, an unstressed /ɜ/ may become /ə/ on the coast; it may be omitted in any area, [ˈsədə], etc.; or it may become [ɪ] before the succeeding dental of yesterday and Saturday. The inland speakers who use /ɜ/ in unstressed syllables may substitute /ɜ/ for final /ə/, as in fellow, widow, wheelbarrow, pillow, and tomorrow, a common substitution except after /r/, as in wheelbarrow and tomorrow, where dissimilation apparently leads to the use of /ə/. Borrow, however, regularly ends in [ɪ], phonemically /i/, in the
inland area and is thus distinct from barrow, which ends with /ə/.

An /ʌ/ may occur before intervocalic /r/, as in furrow, squirrel, and worry, but an /3/ is more usual; squirrel and worry are also recorded with /ɛr/ and squirrel is twice pronounced with /ɪr/, once with /aɪ/, and once with /a/, and worry is once pronounced with /iə/.

The accepted /3/ of colloquial speech may become /j3/ or /iə/ in low colloquial, as is often recorded in heard and pert, or it may become /æ/, as it does sometimes in mercy and girl. The accepted /iə/ of near, here, ear, beard, and year may in low colloquial change the /i/ to /j/ and thus make the non-syllabic /ə/ into syllabic /3/. Afraid, the low colloquial form of afraid, may also occur with /j3/. Cleared may be pronounced without /i/ and with /3/ as the syllabic. Some words with accepted /æə/, such as scared, careless, scarce, and chair, may in low colloquial substitute /iə/ or follow the above noted pattern of /iə/ words and have /j3/; chair, however, may, like cleared, omit /i/ and have only /3/, not /j3/. There and anywhere often also substitute /3/ for /æə/.

Mercy may substitute /ʌ/ or /æ/ for /3/, or it may have /ɛ/. An accepted /3/ may be changed to /aə/, as it sometimes is recorded in sermon, rearing, and learned; the Gullah form of /gəl/ is with /a/. Squirrel is once
recorded with /a/ and once with /aɪ/. *Kernel* is once pronounced with /ɪ/ replacing the usual /ɜ/. *Weren't* usually has /ɔə/ replacing the accepted /ɔː/, but it is also recorded once with /aə/.

An /ɜ/, on the other hand, may replace the accepted colloquial /ɔə/ of *forward, for, nor, towards,* and *Orleans*. The accepted /ɑː/ of *far* and *farther* often becomes /ɜ/ or /ʌ/, and /ɜ/ replaces /ɑ/ sometimes before intervocalic /r/, as in *forehead* and *foreigner*. An unstressed *are, as in we are going,* may be /ɜ/. An /ɜ/ is three times recorded for the usual /ʌ/ in *judge*. One mountain speaker substitutes syllabic [l] for the /ɜ/ of *nicker* and *whicker*. The /juə/ of unstressed *your* may be reduced to /jɜ/, /jə/, or /jɪ/.

When a consonantal /r/ precedes an unstressed vowel and follows a stressed syllable checked by a stop, as in *hundred, April, apron, children, negroes,* and *cartridge*, the /r/ and /ə/ may combine into /ɜ/, usually transcribed phonetically as [ɜ]; this /ɜ/ apparently may then lose its constriction, like other /ɜ/’s in unstressed syllables, and become /ə/, or, before a succeeding dental, as in *cartridge*, become /ɪ/.

When an intervocalic /r/ separates a preceding stressed syllable from an unstressed syllable, as in *foreigner, ironing, Irish, Ireland, spirits, barrel, stirrup, syrup, squirrel, terrapin,* and *serenade*, the succeeding unstressed syllable may be omitted and the /r/ become vocalic. Speakers who substitute /ɜ/ for the final /o/ of words like *harrow*
and *furrow* may by assimilation make the */r/* vocalic:

/ɑə - 3/, /ɪə - 3/.

/ə/

The phoneme */ə/* occurs only in unstressed syllables. The free vowels */i/*, */o/*, and */u/* and the checked vowel */ɪ/* may also appear in unstressed syllables, but only */i/*, */ɪ/*, and */ə/* occur everywhere in the unstressed syllables of low colloquial speech. Coastal speakers substitute */ə/* for the */ɜ/* of unstressed syllables, as in *fath*er, and the low colloquial speakers of that area regularly substitute */ə/* for unaccented */o/*, as in *fellow* and *minnow*. Inland speakers use */ɜ/* in unaccented syllables, as in *fath*er, and often substitute */ɜ/* for final */o/* or */ə/*, as in *fellow*, *minnow*, and *lim*e. An */o/* in unaccented syllables is used only by the precise colloquial speakers.

Before tautosyllabic dental stops, as in *haunt*ed, *bucket*, *minute*, *sausage*, and *cabbage*, or before tautosyllabic dental fricatives, as in *rin*ses, *farthest*, *careless*, and *lettuce*, the unaccented vowel is */ɪ/* in Southern speech. Before the dental sonorants */n/*, as in *mount*ain and *government*, and */l/*, as in *towel* and *bushel*, an */l/* may be used by the coastal low colloquial speakers, but the mountain informants use */ə/* regularly in these words. Before the velar stop */k/*, as in *stomach*, the mountain speakers consistently use */l/*, but the coastal speakers always have */ə/*.
An /i/, phonetically usually [ɪ], may replace final /ə/ in the low colloquial pronunciation of sofa, china, Georgia, and Sarah. This substitution is made usually in the mountain area, more often than not in the inland area of Georgia and North Carolina, but infrequently in the coastal area of Virginia and South Carolina.

/ə/ and /ɔ/

A tautosyllabic r, as in ear and four, is a non-syllabic vowel phoneme. If it has no lateral constriction, it is /ə/, phonetically [ə], but if it has lateral constriction, it is a non-syllabic /ɔ/, phonetically [ə, ɔ, ɔ].

An /ɔ/ occurs regularly in the coastal areas of Virginia and South Carolina, but an /ɔ/ is regular in the mountains. In the North Carolina and Georgia records, both inland and coastal features appear and /ə/ or /ɔ/ may be used. The isophones which separate /ə/ and /ɔ/ parallel those which separate /ə/ from /ɔ/ in unaccented syllables, as in father and butcher.

The ares which use /ɔ/ do not omit the /ɔ/ after front vowels, as in ear and chair, but may omit it after the low-central /a/, as in ear and garden, or after the back vowels /ɔ/, as in morning and war, and /ɔ/, as in four and sure.

Low colloquial speech in the South tends to have fewer vowels before tautosyllabic r than accepted colloquial speech has. Low colloquial speakers consistently use only
/ɑ/, /o/, and /ɔ/ before /æ/, but the Southern speakers of accepted colloquial use, in addition to these vowels, /i/, /æ/, and /u/. Both groups, of course, use the stressed vowel phoneme /3/, as in bird. An accepted colloquial /i²/, as in ear, beard, year, and here, often becomes /3/ in low colloquial; accepted /æ²/, as in careless, scared, and chair, may become /3/ in low colloquial, or, as in stair and there, become /ɑ²/; and accepted /u²/, as in sure, pure, and poor, usually becomes /o²/ in low colloquial. All the areas of the South Atlantic states follow this general pattern except the Charleston area, which uses /e²/ for the /i²/ of here, ear, and beard and for the /æ²/ of careless, chair, and scared.

Some words have low colloquial forms without /æ/ or /3/; hearth, cartridge, and marsh have a form with /æ/ which does not have an /æ/ following it; horse occurs without /æ/ in all of the mountain records and hence must be a low colloquial form.

/aʊ/

The diphthongal vowel phoneme /aʊ/ may appear phonetically as [aʊ, ɐʊ, ɑʊ, əʊ, ɔʊ].

The fast diphthong [æʊ], in which the second element is prominent, is used by the white speakers of Virginia before voiceless consonants, as in drought, without, out,
and South, but the Virginia Negro informants do not use [əu]. In their speech, an [ɛu], a phonetic form which does not occur in the speech of the Virginia white informants, may appear in any position, as in cow, proud, and out. The white informants use an [ɛu] in every position except before voiceless consonants—finally, as in cow, or before voiced consonants, as in proud and down—but the Negro records have [ɛu] only once— in one recording of down. South Carolina speakers usually have an [aʊ] finally and before voiced consonants, and an [ɛu] before voiceless consonants. An [aʊ] appears occasionally in the records from North Carolina, an area which shows a mixture of Charleston and inland forms. In the other areas of the South, [ɛu] is the usual phonetic form of /aʊ/ in all positions, as in about, drought, plow, mountain, without, down, and proud.

An r following an /aʊ/, as in flower and shower, is syllabic /ə/ or /ɜ/, /’flau-ə/ or /’flau-ɜ/, etc.; the second element of the diphthong may become /w/, as it often also does before /l/, as in towel and owl, and the phonemic form be /’flawə/, /’tawlə/, etc. The /w/ of this form may become [β], as is recorded in towel, owl, flower, and shower, or /v/, as is recorded once in towel, owl, flower, and shower, or /v/, as is recorded once in towel and once in flower.

The /aʊ/ of lounge is replaced once by /ai/ and once by /a/. Might often has the old-fashioned pronuncia-
ion with /au/. Fought occurs with /ɔ/ or /au/ in North Carolina, with /ɔ/ or /i/ in Virginia, with /au/ or /i/ in the mountains, and with /ɔ/, /au/, or /i/ in Georgia and South Carolina.

/ai/

The diphthongal phoneme /ai/ appears phonetically in the Atlas records as [aɪ, aɪ, aɛ, aɛ, aɪ, aɪ, aɛ, 

æ, ɛɪ]. The fast diphthong [ɛɪ], in which the second element is prominent, occurs before voiceless consonants, as in twice, white, and might, in the Virginia and South Carolina records and in the speech of N-664, a Georgia Gullah dominated by the Charleston pattern; an [ɛɪ] does not occur elsewhere except in the mountain pronunciation of might. The slow diphthong [æɪ], [æɪ], or [æɛ], in which the first element of the diphthong is prominent, occurs in Virginia and South Carolina in all positions other than before voiceless consonants, as in five, time, tire, spider, and why, and in all positions in the other areas.

A non-syllabic /ə/ does not follow /ai/, for a final -re following /ai/, as in tire, wire, and fire, is not tautosyllabic, but syllabic, /'taɪ-ə/ or /'taɪ-ə/, etc.; since the up-glide of the diphthong is reversed by the centering of /ə/ or /ɛ/, a new syllabic impulse occurs. Sometimes the second element of the diphthong is omitted and the accepted /-aɪ-ə/ or /-/aɪ-ə/ becomes
phonemically /-ɑː/; an /-ɑː/ is recorded in fire, tire, and wire in the mountain area, but it occurs elsewhere only in one Virginia recording of fireplace.

The accepted /ɔI/ of many words often becomes /aI/ in low colloquial, as in boil, spoiled, poison, joint, joined, and hoist, but oil, a word more restricted to trade with townspeople, has /aI/ in the speech of only two of the Gullah informants. The /aʊ/ of lounge is once pronounced with /aI/, the /I/ of Italian may be /aI/, and egg is once recorded with /aI/. Genuine may occur with a secondary accent on the third syllable and the vowel of that syllable be /aI/; the dialectal word vigorous occurs with /aI/ in the first syllable.

An /aI/ may be replaced by /au/ in the low colloquial pronunciation of might, and /aI/ is occasionally replaced by /ʌ/ in I'm and by and by. Quinine may have /i/ replacing the /aI/ of the first syllable, or it may have /I/. The Gullah /'ɛnti/ for ain't I apparently substitutes /i/ for /aI/, and one Virginia speaker uses /I/ in like. Obliged occurs in four records with /i/ and china in five with /e/, but both of these pronunciations are usually noted as old-fashioned.

/ɔI/

The phoneme /ɔI/, as in boy and oil, may occur phonetically as [ɔI, ɔI, ɔI, ɔ̃].
An /aɪ/ may replace /ɔɪ/ in many words, as in boiled, spoiled, poison, joint, hoist, and joined, but the forms with /aɪ/ seem to be disappearing, for when an informant gives both forms, he usually classes the /aɪ/ form as old-fashioned. Poison occurs with /aɪ/ more frequently than the other words in this list, an /ɔɪ/ occurring in it only six times. Oil has an /ɔɪ/ regularly except in the speech of two Gullah informants.

Quoit, in modern accepted usage pronounced with /ɔɪ/, may occur with [ɛɪ], phonemically /e/.

SOUTHERN FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

I. Distinctively Southern Features.

1. The phonetic form of /au/. The /au/ of the South usually is a "slow" diphthong, in which the first element is prominent, in contrast to the /au/ of the East and Midwest, which is usually a "fast" diphthong, in which the second element is prominent. The second element may at times be very short in Southern speech, particularly before r as in flower, approaching, but not often reaching /flaʊ/. The first element of the /au/ phoneme is usually low-front [æ] in the South, as distinct from the [a] or [ə] of other regions. The "fast" diphthong [əu] is used in eastern Virginia before voiceless consonants, as in out and house.

The regional variants of the /au/ phoneme have been
noted, among others, by Kurath (AP, 292-3), Grandgent (EA, 446), Greet (SSP, 606), and Wise (SAD, 41) in general studies; by Shewmake (EPV, 23-4; LPEV, 489-90; and DVP, 35), Greet (PEW, 167), Greet and Maloney (TNV, 94), Lowman (TAUV), Primer (PFV, 198), and Tressider (SSV, 286; NVS, 113-5; and SVS, 268) in studies of Virginia; by Farrison (INDG, 137) in a study of North Carolina; and by Hall (SMS, 45-6) and Hackett (DPSA, 119-20) in studies of the Southern mountains.

2. The phonetic form of /æɪ/. The "fast" diphthong [ɛɪ], in which the second element is prominent, is used before voiceless consonants, as in twice, might, and rice, by speakers of the coastal regions of Virginia and South Carolina. In these areas a distinctively "slow" diphthong [æɪ], [ɛɪ], or [ɛɪ] is used finally and before voiced consonants, as in ride and why, and the "slow" diphthong is used in all positions in the other areas of the South Atlantic states. A different first element in the Southern "fast" diphthong before voiceless consonants, transcribed as [æɪ], [ɛɪ], or [ɛɪ], has been noted by Kurath (AP, 293), Greet (SSP, 604), Shewmake (EPV, 25-6; LPEV, 491-2; and DVP, 35), and Evans (SLI, 188). The distinctively slow diphthong has also been noted frequently. Some authors, notably Tressider (SSV, 287 and SVS, 269), Evans (SLI, 188-90), Duke (LIR), Wilson (SUV, 212), Wise (SAD, 40), Hackett (DPSA, 120-1), Hall (SMS, 43-4), and
Kurath (AP, 293) record the more or less frequent reduction of the diphthong to a simple vowel, particularly before r, but the use of a simple [ə] for /aɪ/ is denied by Farrison (INDG, 130) and Edgerton (ANSP, 190); Greet (PEW, 166-7) says that the simple vowel is seldom heard. All of these studies agree, however, that the Southern /aɪ/ is particularly slow.

3. The use of /ju/ after dentals. The use of /ju/ after /t, d, n/, as in tune, due, and news, is a distinctive Southern characteristic and has been noted by almost every authority on regional variants. Wise (SAD, 39), Kurath (AP, 292), Greet (SSP, 605), Wheatley (SST, 44), Shewmake (EPV, 26-7), Tressider (SSV, 286), Hall (SMS, 37-9), and Read (VS, 70-1) are among those who have recorded the variation.

4. The use of /æ/, not /ɛ/, before tautosyllabic r. The Southerner's use of the phoneme /æ/ in words like hair, dare, and there, words which elsewhere usually have /ɛ/, has been noted by Kurath (AP, 293), Farrison (INDG, 146), Hall (SMS, 24-6), Greet (SSP, 606-7), and Krapp (ELA, II, 108).

5. The use of /u/ in hoop, coop, Cooper. The Southern pronunciation of words like hoop and coop with an /u/ vowel has been noted by such authorities as Kurath (AP, 293), Tressider (NVS, 119), and Shewmake (EPV, 30).
6. The use of /ɔ/ before the r of glory, more, hoarse, etc. The regional use of /ɔ/ before r, as in glory, door, and floor, has been noted, among others, by Kurath (AP, 293 and MM, 170-3), Shewmake (EPV, 30), Read (VS, 71), Grandgent (NAP, 84), Greet (PEW, 164 and SSP, 604-5), Davis and Hill (DNR, 55), and Hall (SMS, 34-6). Tressider (NVS, 118) gives the percentages of his college students who use /ɔ/, and he concludes that /ɔ/ is more frequent among those speakers who "drop r." Krapp (PSE, 85, 116) calls the Southern /ɔ/ before intervocalic r, as in story and oral, an older pronunciation.

7. The diphthongization of checked vowels, particularly before voiced consonants. The vowels of such words as bad, bed, bid, and bud are always longer in Southern speech than in the speech of the other parts of the United States and may add a glide [ə] at the end. This variation has been noted by Wilson (SUV, 212), Kurath (AP, 293), Greet (SSP, 603), Wise (SAD, 42), and Wheatley (SST, 41).

8. The weak articulation of final consonant groups. The failure of Southern speakers, particularly on the low colloquial level, to explode final stops in clusters, as in last, kept, and stand, is noted by Davis and Hill (DNR, 55), Caffee (SNCP, 127-8), Kurath (AP, 294), Wise (SAD, 41), and others; the failure to explode final stops not in clusters is classed as a Southern and Midwestern feature by Rositzke (FSGA, 65-6).

9. The slighting of unstressed syllables. The extensive slighting or omission of unstressed syllables in Southern speech, as 'member for remember, 'cause for because
and 'thout for without, has been noted by Kurath (AP, 294),
Farrison (INDG, 157-9, 166-9), and others.

10. The confusion of /I/ and /ɛ/ before nasals.
The use of /I/ for /ɛ/ and /ɛ/ for /I/ has often been
noted: by Tressider (SVS, 264, 267; SSV, 287; and NVS, 119),
Hall (SMS, 15-6, 18-21), Wilson (SUV, 210-1), Wise (SAD, 41),
Greet (SSP, 607), Farrison (INDG, 88-9), and Hackett (DPSA,
121-2). The confusion leads Voelker (PAP, 4-6) to suggest
a single phoneme, but a better explanation is that it is
only phonemic neutralization before nasals, as McDavid
points out (RH, 189).

11. The use of a glide /j/ after /z/ and /k/. The
use of /j/ after a fronted velar, as in garden and car,
often spelled gy- and ov- by dialect writers, is a pro-
nunciation that is distinctive to the South. It has been
reported by Farrison (INDG, 211-2), Johnson (WLSR, 382),
Caffee (SNCP, 131), and Greet (SSP, 609-11), but the pro-
nunciation seems to be a receding phenomenon, as Grandgent
(EA, 449-500) and Tressider (NVS, 118-9) aver.

12. Miscellaneous. The -th of with is often voice-
less in Southern speech, as has been noted by Tressider
(SSV, 287), Caffee (SNCP, 130), and Primer (CP, 242).
Mrs. (Mistress) usually has a /z/ -- /mɪz/ or /'mɪzɪz/ --
as Kurath (AP, 294) notes. Grease, the verb, is usually
pronounced with /z/, not with /s/, as in Midwestern,
according to Hemph (GG) and Kurath (AP, 294). An initial
shr-, as in shrink, shrub, and shrieked, may be pronounced
/ə/ in the South, as has been noted by Reese (PSS, 255) and Tressider (SVS, 271). Kurath (AP, 295) lists the substitution of /d/ for /ɛ/, as in them and there, and the substitution of /f/ for /θ/, as in both and truth, as Negro features. As Greet (SSP, 595-6) points out, however, the substitution of /d/ for /ɛ/ is also common on the east side of New York, in the Southern mountains, and among the white fishermen of eastern Virginia; Greet and Meloney (TNV, 96) also note it in the white speech of eastern Virginia; Walsh (TSW, 83) shows it in southwest Virginia; and McDavid (RH, 187) reports the substitution of /d/ for /ɛ/ in Louisiana. The substitution of /f/ for /θ/, as in with and truth, must occur seldom, for, as was noted in the discussion of the phoneme /θ/ in the first part of this chapter, the substitution was recorded only in mouth, both, and tooth and even that very infrequently; Farrison (INDG, 207) reports that /f/ is sometimes used in truth, but never in with; Greet and Meloney (TNV, 95) report with and three heard with /f/ in the speech of a white informant in Guinea Neck.

II. Southern and Midwestern Features.

1. The use of /a/ in hot, rock, rod, etc. The South and the Midwest use an unrounded /a/ in hot and rock, words in which Eastern speakers use a rounded vowel. This pronunciation has been noted by such authorities as Kurath (AP, 294), McDavid (LBV, 145-7), and Greet (SSP, 604). On
with /ɔ/, however, is distinctively Southern.

2. The use of /ɔ/ in half, dance, grass. The coastal [a] of words with an a before f, s, th, or a nasal plus a voiceless stop or continuant is pronounced /ɔ/ by Southern speakers, except some few along the coast, and by Midwestern speakers, as has been noted by Tressider (SVS, 265 and NVS, 116-7), Kurath (AP, 294), Read (VS, 72), and Greet (SSP, 603-4).

3. The use of /ɔ/ before intervocalic /r/. The Eastern and cultured /ʌ/ before /r/, as in courage and hurry, is /ɔ/ in much of Southern and Midwestern speech, particularly on the level of the common people. Kurath (AP, 294), Krapp (PSE, 89), and others have noted this variation between /ɔr/ and /ʌr/, although, as was noted in the discussion of the phonemes /ʌ/ and /ɔ/ in the first part of this chapter, an /ɔ/ in these words does not consistently appear in Southern low colloquial speech.

III. Southern and Eastern Features.

1. The treatment of the r-vowel. The coastal South and East use a constricted, not a retroflex, vowel in the stressed syllables of such words as bird, dirty, and her, and an /ɛ/ is substituted for the r-vowel of unstressed syllables, as in father and gather. This treatment of the r-vowel has been discussed by Shewmake (EPV, 28-30), Greet (SSP, 601, 608), Kurath (AP, 294), and Wise (SAD, 39-40), among others, and the Atlas records of the New England use
of the r-vowel have been analyzed by Bloch (PRNE).

2. The treatment of postvocalic r. The omission of postvocalic r, as in hard and bear, or its reduction to a vocalic [ə] has been noted by Shewmake (EPV, 29-30), Greet (SSP, 601), Read (VS, 77-8), Kurath (AP, 294-5), Wise (SAD, 39-40), Primer (CF, 240), and Tressider (SVS, 270).3

3A linking r, as in far away, occurs very seldom in Southern speech, but frequently in Eastern speech. The occasional occurrence of linking r has been noted by Read (VS, 77), Kurath (AP, 294-5), Wise (SAD, 39), Shewmake (EPV, 30), Tressider (NVS, 118), and Greet (SSP, 603); Greet, as well as others, has also noted that the South, unlike New England, does not use the intrusive, or parasitic r, as in law-r and order.

3. The use of /ə/ before /ŋ/. The use of /ə/ in words like song and long has been reported by Shewmake (EPV, 30), Kurath (AP, 295), and Greet (FEW, 164), but McDavid (LBV, 148), in a study of the pronunciation of the Piedmont of South Carolina, finds song and long "generally" (sixty-six to eighty-three per cent of the time) have [ɔ].

4. The use of [i] in unaccented syllables before dentals. The use of an [i] before the dentals of the unaccented syllables of such words as bucket, darkness, and houses in the area along the North Atlantic coast has been noted by Kurath (AP, 285; LA-NE, maps 129, 304, 467), Greet (SSP, 508), and Farrison (INDG, 162-3); its use over a larger area is indicated by Wheatley (SST, 38), but Hall (SMS, 82-3) shows that [ə], not [i], is usual in the mountains.
CHAPTER III

THE SPEECH OF THE VIRGINIA NEGRO AS REPRESENTED BY

THOMAS NELSON PAGE

Thomas Nelson Page is widely known as a writer of stories in Negro dialect, but he himself did not claim to be phonetically accurate. In an introductory note to his collected works, he sets forth the rough outline of his system of reproducing the sounds of the speech of Virginia Negroes:

The dialect of the negroes of Eastern Virginia differs totally from that of the Southern negroes, and in some material points from that of those located farther west.

The elision is so constant that it is impossible to produce the exact sound, and in some cases it has been found necessary to subordinate the phonetic arrangement to intelligibility.

The following rules may, however, aid the reader:

The final consonant is rarely sounded. Adverbs, prepositions, and short words are frequently slighted, as is the possessive. The letter r is not usually rolled except when used as a substitute for th, but is pronounced ah.1

1 The Novels, Stories, Sketches and Poems of Thomas Nelson Page (New York, Scribner's, 1912), I, xviv.

In order to make a detailed study of Page's representation of the sounds of speech of the Virginia Negro, I have taken a long selection from "Meh Lady,"2 a story

2 Ibid., I, 97-170.
told by Uncle Billy, an old colored man. The story is set somewhere near Richmond, as can be determined from such passages as "... she sent me up to Richmond next day..." and "...de doctor whar come from Richmon' to see Mistis, 'cause de ain' no doctor in de neighborhood since de war...." The language of this area Page must have known well, for he grew up in Hanover County, which adjoins Henrico, the county in which Richmond is located. All of the words in the first forty-four pages of "Meh Lady" were studied, and any inconsistent variant spellings of these words occurring in the next thirteen pages were added to them. Since almost all of this material is in the language of Uncle Billy, it gives an adequate basis for a determination of what features represented are Southern features and what are merely features of general low colloquial speech.
1. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. Much of the dialectal flavor of Page's writing comes from his omission of unstressed syllables. He omits the initial syllable in 'vise, 'gins, 'cause or cause, 'yant (be-), 'fo', 'hind, 'passionate (com-), 'stracted, 'light (de-), clar or 'clar', 'pendin', 'pendence, 'spise, 'rection (di-), 'spectin', spressly, specks, 'joyin', 'sperience, 'sep', 'streme, 'citement, skusin', 'spressify, 'stid, 'quisitive, swade (per-), 'sponsible, 'quest (re-), 'members (re-), 'treatin' (re-), 'pose (compose), 'posed (op-), 'fusin' (con-), 'umption, and 'zactly. Of these words, three also appear in spellings different from those given: behine, directions, and begin. Some of the initial omissions might be questioned on the grounds of their causing confusion although the meaning is usually made clear by the context: 'light, which Page uses for both slight and delight, might also be confused with light; 'pose, which occurs as 'pose for compose and 'posed for opposed, might also be confused with pose or dispose; 'passionate, which Page uses for compassionate, might easily be taken to mean passionate; and 'treatin' might be treating instead of retreating. In light of the practice in other words, one might ask why the initial syllable was retained in induschus and intrude; rekiver and redoubt, of course, must retain the
first syllable to distinguish them from kiver and doubt.

An initial [ə] is almost invariably omitted: 'bout, 'dentify, 'light, 'mong, 'way, 'peared, 'quainted, 'cross, 'long, 'tention, 'stomished, 'roun', 'live, 'g'inst, 'polo-
gize, 'sleep, 'shamed, 'gree, 'nough, 'Lijah, and 'bleeged.
Three of these words, however, also occur with initial
[ə]: alive, enough, and against.

Medial syllables are frequently omitted, particularly when an unstressed vowel occurs between a stop and an /l/
followed by a vowel, or when /r/ occurs between two un-
stressed vowels: amb'lances, b'leave, b'longst, reg'lar,
fam'ly, might'ly, partic'ler, and weevly show the omission
before /l/; bat'ry, clem'ren', miser'ble, Confede'cy, Con-
fed'ate, ev'ything, ev'ywhar, ev'ybody, ev'y, diffunce,
Gener'l or Gen'1, matchel, and ign'anoe show the omission
of a syllable before or after /r/. Of these words, one,
Confederate, occurs also with its usual form. Unaccented
vowels following the /s/ of an initial syllable may also
be omitted: s'render, s'care, s'pose, s'picion or spicion.
Other words from which medial syllables are omitted are:
Gov'ment, hankcher, sut'n'y, pres'n'y, and pris'ner.
Page 's failure to omit the medial syllable of visitors or
memory is probably an oversight. His cyar, cyars, and
cyared for carry, carry, and carried indicates the omission
of intervocalic /r/ and the succeeding unaccented vowel of
an open syllable; this omission, as was noted in Chapter
II, practically never occurs, although the /r/ may be very
lightly made.

2. Omission of final stops. Page notes the omission of final /d/ after /n/ in an', 'roun', boun', behin' or behine, bline, een (end), fine (find), groun', gran', han', kine (kind), lan', mine (mind), fan (fanned), roun', Richmon', stan', soun', and ten' (tend), but he is not always consistent. Some of these words also occur with /d/: 'hind, round, and find. Spend, mind, 'terminated, and handsome retain final /d/. The omission of /d/ in the [ndz] cluster, an omission which occurs frequently in general colloquial speech, he indicates in han's for hands (but hands also occurs); to have been consistent, he should have omitted the d from bonds and diamonds. His omission of /d/ after /n/ but before a vowel is also inconsistent: han' 'em but handin', and both stan'in' and standin'. Page also omits final /d/ after /l/: chile, fiel', hole (or holt), wull (world), ole, and tole; and after /s/: ease' me; but /d/ remains in gold. These omissions of /d/ conform to the language pattern as obtained from the Atlas records. However, Page goes further and omits /d/ after tautosyllabic r: skeer' me (but also skeered), and tire'; the latter, however, is used twice in the expression tire' to death, in which the /d/ is assimilated to the /t/.

In similar fashion, a final /t/ after /n/ is omitted: ain', 'tain', couldn', cyarn' (can't), don', didn', hadn',
sen', won', oon', wouldn', twarn', warn' (wanted), warn' (wastn't), whym', wan', and oodn'; a final /t/ after /s/ is omitted: almos', breas', fines', harves', jes', j'ice (joist), mos', nex', pos', struss (trust), twis', use' to, and res (or res'); a final /t/ after /p/ is omitted: 'sep' (except); a final /t/ after /f/ is omitted: lef', sort' (soft), and swif'; a final /t/ after /k/ is omitted: look' (looked) and p'teck. The omission of final /t/ in clusters has been noted as a characteristic of Southern speech in the second chapter, and hence follows the dialect pattern. Page, however, is not entirely consistent in the omission of final /t/ in clusters, as is shown by the spelling of the following words, many of which are listed above without /t/: 'g'inst, against, breast, don't know, fust, grettest, larst or lahst (last), left, must, post, stomped, sert, swift, want me, wa'n't, don't orn (want), farst, 'zactly, fact, rest, used to, and waste. The /t/ of don't know or next day is not pronounced in general colloquial, of course, and one might assume that Page left it there because it would not be pronounced by the reader were it not for his use of didn' know and done (don't) get. His use of the two forms post and pos' may arise from a difference in the succeeding phonemes: post it and pos' dyah; but he does not always use /t/ before a vowel in the next word; a /t/ may be omitted before a vowel in the same word, as in twis'in'. The omission of final /t/ in le' me is a general low colloquial feature,
but le' him, where the /t/ is omitted from intervocalic position, does not seem likely; Page also uses let him. The form whar for what also indicates the omission of a /t/ not in a cluster. The words Christmas and wrastlin' occur, but a /t/ in those sequences does not occur in colloquial speech.

3. Retention of /ɔ/ before tautosyllabic r. Since Page's system of dialect representation is to retain r after ɔ to indicate /ɔ/ and omit r after ɔ to indicate /o/, he can indicate the Southern retention of older /o/ in befo', fo', bait-go'd, mo', co'se, co'tin', co't, do', flo', mo' nin' (mourning), po'ch, po', s'o' de, and sto'. The r of hoarse, which regularly has /o/ in Virginia speech, is not omitted, probably because the author felt the ɔa spelling indicated /ɔ/.

4. Addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/. Page indicated the addition of a /ʃ/ after a fronted initial velar stop and before /ə/ by the addition of a ʃ in cvarn' (can't), cyar (carry), cyars, cyared, kyars (cars), gyardin' (guarding), and gyardin (garden), but he neglects his pattern when he gives guards its usual spelling.

5. Negro substitutions. Page usually indicates the substitution of /f/ for /θ/ and /d/ for /ð/, but his pattern involves more than just these simple substitutions. An /f/ is substituted for a medial or final /θ/ in bofe, mouf, mouful, nuffin, Norf, parf and pahf, Souf, and bref, but initial /θ/ is retained in th'oo, th'ee, etc. This conforms to the usage of the Atlas informants, who occasionally substitute /f/ for /θ/ in both, mouth,
and tooth, but never use /ʃ/ for initial /θ/. Nothing also occurs in "Meh Lady" as nothin' and as muttin'. Some'n' for something, indicating the omission of /θ/, is frequently recorded in the Atlas field records. The form mon' for month seems unlikely.

Page usually substitutes /d/ for syllabically initial /ð/ , as in nevertheless, do' (though), dat's, dat, dis, de, dee (they), dyah and dyar, dem, de (their), dese, and den (than and then), and for final /ð/, as in wid and withhold. Then and them may also occur without an initial consonant in unstressed positions. Though is probably an oversight on the author's part. Smoove fits the same pattern as bofe --the substitution of a labiodental for an alveolar fricative. For an intervocalic /ð/, as in brother, Page often substitutes rr and makes it final in the word, dropping the succeeding /ə/: brurrs, nurr and anurr (another), nurr (neither), urr, urrs (others), wherr. In a prefatory note to his collected stories (TNP-PE, I, xviv) he explains the sound meant by this rr: "The letter r is not usually rolled except when used as a substitute for th, but is pronounced ah." Transferred into phonetics, Page must have meant [ʃ], a "rolled r" which, as pointed out in Chapter II, is a member of the /t/ phoneme when it occurs inter-

vocally; [ʃ] may occur after a stressed syllable and before an unstressed vowel or the sonorant [r]. Since /d/ is often substituted for /ð/, and since [ʃ], although a
member of the /t/ phoneme, is voiced, and thus like /d/, we are warranted in assuming that what Page was trying to transcribe was [brʌtə], phonemically /brʌtə/. Page is not always consistent in using rr for medial /ʃ/: gather, nuther (neither), weather, further (usually /fʌðə/ in low colloquial), and ruther. The form clo'es is "eye dialect," for the th of this word is not sounded in general colloquial (PDAE).

6. Features not indicated. Page makes no attempt to indicate the following features of Southern pronunciation:
the phonetic form of the phonemes /aI/ and /au/; the use of /ju/ after dentals; the use of /u/ in hoop, coop, etc.;
the diphthongization of "short" vowels; the confusion of /I/ and /ɛ/ before nasals; and the use of /θ/ in with.
Since he was writing low colloquial dialect, he did not show the use of /æ/ before tautosyllabic r, for words of the accepted /ær/ type occur in low colloquial with /j3/, /iɔr/, or /ər/, as is shown elsewhere in this chapter.

II. Southern and Midwestern Features.

1. Use of /æ/ before /f, s, n, θ/. Since, as is noted in Chapter II, an /a/ is often used in words of this type in eastern Virginia, particularly by the older and less educated, Page is warranted in indicating /a/ in cyarn' (can't), farst (fast), lahst and larst, grahss, parse (pass) and parsin', marse and marster, parf and pahf,
pahsture, and mon, but he inconsistently uses grass and past.

2. Features not indicated. Page does not indicate the use of /ə/ in words like hot, rock, etc., or the use of /ɔ/ for /ʌ/ before intervocalic /r/.

III. Southern and Eastern Features.

1. Treatment of the r-vowel. Page usually spells the Southern [ɔ] with u, apparently by analogy with words like but, bud, and hut; by so doing, he indicates the loss of retroflexion, but the reader will by analogy make the vowel /ʌ/, not /ɔ/, and thus bird and bud, hurt and hut become homonyms. Occasionally, but not always, the absence of r is indicated by an apostrophe. Words in which u is substituted for /ɔ/ are: bu'st, bud, bunnin', bu'nt, sut'n'ye, Cun'il, cussin', dut, uth, fust, bu't and hut, juckin', nu'ss, suh, shu't, tu'ns, tunned and tu'mned, thusty, univusity, wull, wud, wuss'n, wuckin', wuck, and wums. Of this group of words, bu'st, cussin', suh, and nu'ss have a general low colloquial form with /ʌ/, a form which exists in the regions which have a retroflex r-vowel as well as in the regions which do not have one. The other words in the list have a laterally constricted [ɔ] in the Virginia area in which the story is located. Page does not always omit the r in such words, however: curls, curve, 'termind, 'sturb, her, herse'f, Colonel, skeurts (skirts), spurs, thirty, and further; the last word has a general
low colloquial form with /ʌ/ replacing the /ɔ/. There
seems to be no reason why Page leaves the r in some words
and omits it from others, for, although curls without r
would be a homophone of culls, bird as Page spells it is
a homophone of bud. Some words which sometimes have /ɔ/
are given by Page with ar, indicating /ɑɹ/, a pronunciation
often occurring in low colloquial: consarned, nowhar, and
war (were). He also uses gal, a common form of girl,
and hear' for the past tense of to hear.

The r-vowel of unstressed syllables, as in after,
is usually /ə/, not /ɔ/, in Southern coastal speech,
but Page normally does not indicate this substitution:
after, afterwards, binders, pall-bearers, back'ards,
cradlers, ever, nuver, marster, nevertheless, nuther,
partic'ler, peninsular, pomper, pris'ner, 'members, reg'lar,
rekiver, s'render, winter, letter, and yander. The use of
both Gener'il and Gen'il indicates that er was meant for [ɔ].
The spelling of the second syllable of yistidy follows the
Southern low colloquial pattern of making the er into [ə]
and then changing it to [i] before dentals.

2. Treatment of postvocalic r. Page usually indicates
the Southern and Eastern reduction of postvocalic r to
[ə] by omitting it, but he retains it after /ɑ/, as in
army, barn, and hard, and after o when he intends the vowel
to be pronounced /ɔ/, as in corn, horse, and mornin'. A
full discussion of the treatment of postvocalic r will be
given later in a section on low colloquial vowels before r.

3. Use of /ɪ/ in unaccented syllables before dentala.
Page notes the coastal use of /ɪ/ instead of /ə/ in
bullits, gyardin, gyardin', kitchin, pardin, and waggins,
but of these words, garden, guarding, and pardon occur
usually with syllabic [ŋ] in the Atlas records; Page does
not follow his pattern in pocket and basket.
LOW COLLOQUIAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

1. Vowels before tautosyllabic r. Page apparently indicates the presence of /iə/ in his spelling of 'peared, beard, tears, and fear'd, but his lack of consistency in words of this class leaves one in doubt. He apparently recognizes the low colloquial shift to /ja/ in the spelling of hear as hyah and heah and of here as heah, although he once has hear 'em, in which r is intervocalic; the -yah and -eah may, however, indicate /jaə/. He also notes the shift to /aə/ of the accepted /iə/ in clear by spelling it as cl'ar, but it also appears in its usual form clear.

Words with accepted /aə/ often shift /aə/ to /aə/ in low colloquial, as is noted in Chapter II. Page notes this shift by substituting -ar, -eoh, -yah, or -yar for the usual spelling: byah-footed, byah (bear), ev'ywhar, fyah (fair), hyah (hair and hare), cl'ar and 'cl'ar' (declare), r'ar and rar (rear), spyah (spare), prars (prayers), dyah and dyar, teoh and tyah (tear), upstyrars, wyah, and whar. Since he spells army with both ah- and ar-, we can well assume the vowel indicated is /a/, and since tear is spelled with -eoh and -yah and there with -yah and -yar, we can assume that all of these spellings represent the same vowel. What Page means by the y of these forms is not obvious, for normally a /j/ does not occur in these words; wear he spells both wyah and whah. It seems likely that since /ja/ or /jaə/ are common forms after /k/ and
/g/, as in car and guard, Page first uses a -yah or -yar spelling for these words and continues to use that spelling in all words which shift to an /a/ vowel, whether or not a /j/ is present. Some words with accepted /aː/ substitute /ʃj/ or /ʃ/ in low colloquial, as Page notes: keer, cheer, skeer', and skeered. His apparent inconsistency in using de and d' for there and dee for their is not an inconsistency, but simply a recognition of a weakly stressed form. He is, however, inconsistent in his pattern when he writes pall-bearers; and the intervocalic /r/ of barrel-head would likely become vocalic, which is not indicated. His spelling of wear as whah is probably the result of confusing the word with where, for he also spells wear as wyah.

Page usually does not change the spelling of /aː/ words: army, farm, gyardin, hard, pardin, start, stars, kyars, barn, bark, and hearty; but he occasionally re-spells army as ahmy. He indicates the general low colloquial pronunciation of far by spelling it fur, but his spelling of parcel as parecel, while it does indicate a change in vowel, does not indicate to the average reader that there is no r in the word. Since Page was a native Virginian, his own speech probably did not have a retroflex non-syllabic in words like parcel and hard and so he does not eliminate the r in writing dialect stories. He uses both partic'ler and partic'lar, but the difference in spelling must be an inconsistency, for the word always
ends with [ə].

After /o/ an r is usually omitted in Page's writing of dialect: befo' or 'fo', co'se, co'tin', co't, do', flo', fo', bait-go'd, mo', mo'nin' (mourning), po'ch, po', s'o'de, and sto', but inconsistently deserts the pattern in writing store-room and hoarse. Pourin', a word in which /o/ precedes intervocalic /r/, retains the r.

As after /a/, so after /ɔ/, Page's pattern is to leave the r in the word, even though it is likely to be lost in that position: corn, horse, mornin', nor, Norf, or, quarters, sorf', border, nor, forty, and sort. He indicates the use of /ɔ/ in God by spelling it God. A key to his pronunciation is given by his contrast of mornin' and mo'nin' (mourning), indicating that or is /ɔ/ and o' is /o/. He is writing "eye dialect" when he uses furgit and nur and fur in unstressed positions, for these words have [ə] or [ɔ] in general colloquial; Page also uses the forms nor and forgit. Todes is a good spelling for /todz/, the old-fashioned form of towards.

The low colloquial use of /o/ before tautosyllabic r in words which have /u/ in accepted colloquial is indicated by Page's spelling of sure as sho' and surely as sholy. He does not re-spell words which have /aɪ / or /au / before r: fireplace, briers, and our.

2. The phoneme /i/. The spellings nuther and murr for neither indicate the substitution of /ʌ/ for /i/, a substitution which was made in six of the Atlas records
studied. The spelling retch for reach and reached indicates the substitution of /ɛ/ for /i/; this substitution is general low colloquial (see ADD). The spelling nigger, indicating the substitution of /ɪ/ for /i/, represents a pronunciation not restricted to the South (see Emerson, ID, 134) but more usual there.

3. The phoneme /ɪ/. In "Meh Lady," the pronoun it is given the form hit when it occurs as the subject of a clause or in an otherwise stressed position; this usage was known by some of the Atlas informants but was not always used consistently by them. An unstressed it is often reduced to 't to show its use as a consonant in the succeeding word, as in 'tain and 'twuz, or to show the slighting of the vowel, as in pick 't up and send 't. The replacing of /ɪ/ by /ɛ/ is indicated in sense (since), but since also occurs. Leetle with an /i/ vowel, tell ('til) and ef with /ɛ/, and whup (whip, v.) with /u/ are substitutions for accepted /ɪ/ which are recorded in the Atlas records of low colloquial speech; however, Page also gives the forms till and little. Ondebted for indebted seems unlikely although it may be felt to be analogous to the un- words, such as undo, which become /ɔn/ or /ən/. Wimens, which also occurs as womens, is "eye dialect"; grievous, a general low colloquial form, also appears in "Meh Lady" as grievous. The form he (/hi/) for his has been noted among the Tidewater Negroes by
by Greet (SSP, 612) and occurs in some of the Atlas records of Gullah speech.

4. The phoneme /e/. Page indicates the substitution of /ɛ/ for /e/ by the spelling e: breck, gre't, grettest, meckin', meck, and teck; the occurrence of /ɛ/ in break, take, and make in the Atlas records was noted in the second chapter, and great fits the same pattern. Page also inconsistently gives the forms break and breakin'. Chamber indicates an /a/ vowel, a pronunciation reported by Green (VPS, 31), but chamber also appears.

5. The phoneme /ɛ/. The substitution of /i/ for /ɛ/ is indicated in ag'in, 'g'inst, git, gittin, furgit, or forgit, 'stid, vi'stidy, vɪt, and divilment; these substitutions, current in general colloquial speech, are vindicated by the Atlas records except for divilment, which is a general low colloquial euphemism (see ADD). Page is not consistent in this substitution, as the following forms show: against, yet, and gettin'. The substitution of /e/ for /ɛ/ is indicated in baid and aidge, but bed also occurs; if the pattern of substitution were consistent, an /a/ would also be used in eggs, legs, and head. An /i/ in end is indicated by enn; the spelling enn is probably an orthographic error. Helped for the past of to help and sort for the past of to set occur frequently in the Atlas records and sort as the past of to send has frequently been reported from the South (Kephart, OSH, 358; Payne, EA, 373); Page also uses sen' for the past of to send. The
substitution of /æ/ for /ɛ/, which Page records in valler and wrestlin', is a low colloquial feature; yellow occurs with /æ/ in the Atlas materials and wrestling, like threshing, has a general low colloquial form with /æ/ (see Wentworth, ADD). The use of /ʌ/ in steady, indicated by the spelling study, is the usual form in the Atlas records; nuver for never is given in Green's list from Southeast Virginia (VFS, 258), but Page uses the form never as well nuver. Turrible for terrible probably indicates the use of /ɜə/, a general low colloquial pronunciation (see ADD). Page's use of nay for ne'er a must indicate an /e/ vowel, but this pronunciation is recorded in the Atlas records only for the Gullah informants.

6. The phoneme /æ/. A low colloquial /ɛ/ apparently replaces the accepted /æ/ in ketch, kerridge, gather, and hed (had), but hed may be Page's method of showing [ə] when the word is in unstressed position, as he seems to intend the e in ken, for had and hadn' and kin, cyarn', and kinnor also occur; his use of cannot seems to be an oversight. Ez for as apparently indicates an /ə/ vowel, but as is noted in Chapter II, the pattern of Southern coastal speech is to use an /I/ before dentals; hence iz would have been a more accurate spelling. Page seems to reduce the /æri/ of carry to /a2/ in his use of cyars, cyar, and cyared, for he has kyars for cars and thus must intend a monosyllable by cyar; if so, he departs from the
usage of the Atlas informants, who almost invariably retain intervocalic \( \mathbf{r} \). The substitution of \( /\mathbf{r}/ \) for \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) is indicated in the words pomper, tromped, and stomped; as noted in Chapter II, stamp often occurs with \( /\mathbf{r}/ \), and pomper fits the same pattern. Rather often occurs in low colloquial speech with \( /\mathbf{r}/ \), and this is indicated by Page with the form rather.

7. The phoneme \( /\mathbf{a}/ \). Page notes the change of \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) to \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) in drap, drapt, craps, and yander, a pattern noted in the Atlas field records. God has the form Gord, indicating an \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) vowel. According to the pattern which Page established, \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) should represent \( /\mathbf{a}/ \), but his use of it in 'twarn' (it weren't) and warn' (wanted) must not represent \( /\mathbf{a}/ \), for these words occur usually with \( /\mathbf{r}/ \). Page also uses want, wan', and orn for want, and wa'n't for wasn't. Got appears for the past of to get and gotten for the past participle. Was for was is "eye dialect."

8. The phoneme \( /\mathbf{c}/ \). The past tense of to catch Page gives as catch, apparently indicating \( /\mathbf{a}/ \), a form recorded a number of times in the Atlas study. The old form of because with \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) Page does not use.

9. The phoneme \( /\mathbf{o}/ \). A final unstressed \( /\mathbf{o}/ \), which may remain \( /\mathbf{o}/ \) or become \( /\mathbf{a}/ \) in colloquial speech (see PDAE), Page indicates with -er, representing [\( /\mathbf{a}/ \)], not [\( /\mathbf{u}/ \)], since [\( /\mathbf{u}/ \)] does not occur in unstressed syllables in the speech of the area in which his story is set. Since
[ə] is acceptable colloquial pronunciation for words of that type. Page's yaller, feller, foller, holler, winder, and piller are "eye dialect," as is also perlite for polite. The author neglects his pattern in writing pillows. Hollerin' may have an intervocalic /r/ as swallow it does among many of the Atlas informants. Going usually has the form gwine, but it also appears as gwi' and goin'; gwine appears often in the Atlas records and although gwi' does not appear, it follows the pattern of nasalizing the vowel and dropping /n/ in a future construction without to: gwi' do (see McMillan, VN, 123); goin' appears to be an oversight on the part of the author. Page uses drive, druv, and driv for the past tense of to drive; the Atlas field records indicate driv (/I/) and drove are the forms commonly used. Page's rid (/I/) for rode often occurs in the Atlas materials. No as a negative answer to a question is spelled nor, indicating an /ɔ/ vowel and a pronunciation sometimes used by Atlas informants.

10. The phoneme /u/. Page shows his cognizance of the low colloquial substitution of /o/ for /u/ before tautosyllabic r when he writes sho' for sure, but his form you' for your which also occurs as your seems to indicate merely the loss of r. Similarly the form pourin' may well have an /u/ in the reader's pronunciation, but always has an /o/ in Southern low colloquial. Who may have its usual form when stressed, but Page usually writes whar, a form which serves for who, which, what, and that as a relative
pronoun; Page apparently intends the /ʌ/ vowel of what, but the one occurrence for who in the Atlas records has an /ə/. A /ju/ when unstressed following the stop of a stressed syllable and preceding /l/ of a following unstressed syllable may be omitted: partic'ler and reg'lar. The unstressed /ju/ of a medial syllable may become [ɪ], phonemically /i/, as in imp'ident and arg'oment, following the pattern of unstressed low colloquial /ju/ discussed in Chapter II. Page does not indicate the unpalatalized form of /ju/ in unstressed syllables before r, as in pahsture.

11. The phoneme /ʌ/. Page uses u to represent /ʌ/ when he re-spells. Words which have o for /ʌ/ in their normal form have the o changed to u if they have been re-spelled otherwise and that re-spelling might lead to mispronunciation: murr(other), anurr,urr, brurrs, nuttin', and nuffin'; nothing appears in three forms: nothin', muttin', and nuffin'. The substitution of /ɛ/ for /ʌ/ discussed in Chapter II is noted by Page in bresh, jes', shet, and tetch or tech, and the substitution of /ɪ/ for /ʌ/ is noted in sich, kiver, and rekiver. The replacing of /ʌ/ by /ɔ/ before nasals is shown in hungry, onder, and onlock; ondubted for indebted, in which /ɔ/ replaces /ɪ/, seems doubtful. Cum and dun for come and done are "eye dialect" spellings; however, they usually appear as come and done.

12. The phoneme /u/. Page uses teck, a form noted
above for *take*, as a form of the past tense of *to take*, but he also uses *tuck*, indicating /ʌ/, a vowel which occurs frequently in this word in Doctor Lowman's field records; the past participle of *to take* appears as *tooken*.

13. The diphthongal vowel phonemes. The use of *meh*, as in *meh lady*, is "eye dialect," for Page obviously means /mə/, the general colloquial pronunciation of unstressed *my*. The replacing of /aɪ/ by /au/ *in mourt* and by /i/ *in 'bleeged* conforms to the usage recorded in the *Atlas* studies.

The use of *huccome* for *how come* indicates the weakening of /au/ through lack of stress; this phenomenon is noted by Green (*VFS*, 194).

Page does not always re-spell /ɔi/, as in *noise* (noise), but many of the words with accepted /ɔi/ have the low colloquial /ai/: *disapp'ented*, *j'ice* (joist), *p'int*, and *p'intedly*.

14. The phoneme /ə/. Page shows the substitution of [ɪ], phonemically /i/, in the unstressed medial syllables of *aggrivate*, *thorybreds*, *impident*, and *argument*; this pattern is noted among the uneducated *Atlas* informants. The frequent omission of /ə/ has been discussed in the section on the omission of unstressed syllables. *Pay-role* (also once *parole*) indicates a shift of stress and the consequent change of /ə/ to /e/.

15. Treatment of consonantal /r/. The /r/ of consonant clusters before the vowel of an unstressed syllable
may be metathesized and made vocalic or it may be omitted; since the metathesized /rə/ would become vocalic /ʔ/, and /ʔ/ in unstressed syllables becomes /ə/ in coastal speech, the /r/ disappears in either case. Page notes this loss of consonantal /r/ in induschus, mistis, niggers, monsus or mons'ous (monstrous), chil'n, interduce, hunderd, pertector, and p'iteck; the omission of tr in monstrous does not seem likely. Reward and erward both occur; the latter may be intended for award, but the sense demands reward: "...Gord will erward me...." The omission of the /r/ from the initial consonant cluster of a stressed syllable is noted by Page in fum (also spelled from), out'ages, th'oo, and th'ee; the Atlas records consulted show the omission of /r/ in through, but all records of from and three retain /r/; out'ages seems an unlikely form, since /r/ is not really in a cluster. Pretty has its usual form in "Meh Lady" although general colloquial unstressed pretty has an /ʔ/ vowel (PDAE) and that vowel is used in both stressed and unstressed positions by low colloquial speakers; apron also occurs in its usual form although in Southern low colloquial it is usually /'epən/.

The weak intervocalic /r/ which occurs after a stressed syllable and before an unstressed open syllable, as in carry, an /r/ that is usually retained in a weak form but may occasionally be omitted, is indicated as omitted by Page in oyər (carry), cvərs, nəv (ne'er a),
cvared, and ve'y, but marry is left with its usual spelling. Because /I/ becomes consonantal /j/, the r of cu'yus is postvocalic, not intervocalic, and is thus omitted. An intervocalic /r/ between two unstressed syllables following a stressed syllable may become post-consonantal by the omission of the preceding vowel or vocalic by the omission of the succeeding vowel, as is noted in Chapter II; Page indicates the vocalization of /r/ in Gen'1 and Gener'1, diffunce, and natchel; when the syllable succeeding /r/ is open, as in every, the vowel preceding /r/ is usually omitted and /r/ made post-consonantal, although the vowel succeeding /r/ may be omitted and /r/ become vocalic /ə/; that pattern makes Page's ev'y, ev'body, and ev'thing doubtful, for y would probably be read as /I/. Before an -ing suffix, Page usually retains /r/, as in cheerin', pesterin', and perseverin', but rahin' (rearing), heahin', and pot'in' occur. He retains /r/ in kerridge. Barrel, by the pattern established from the Atlas records, may be monosyllabic, but Page gives it the usual spelling.

16. The phonemes /t/ and /d/. A syllabic final /d/ may become /t/ after /n/ or /l/, as is noted in Chapter II. Page indicates this shift in pronunciation in 'yant (be-yond), holt (also hole), and helt. The use of /t/ as the initial consonant of directly, which Page writes to rekly, is recorded twice in the Atlas records studied. The use of tch in natchel is "eye dialect," for natural has [tʃ]
in general colloquial (see PDAE). The omission of /t/ in monsus and mon'sous (monstrous) seems unlikely. The use of /t/ in belongst to is at the most useless.

17. The phoneme /γ/. Page regularly uses -in or -in' for the suffix -ing, as in bunnin', breakin', gittin', etc., and does not distinguish syllabic [n], which usually occurs after an alveolar stop, as in cuttin', ridin', etc.; an /in/ in such words would appear unnatural. He also shows the common substitution of /in/ for /Iγ/ in words like nothin' and mornin' and the usual retention of /Iγ/ in things and anything. The forms lightning and riding occur inconsistently.

18. The phoneme /b/. Page adds a /b/ in fam'bly, which occurs with /b/ in the Atlas records, but occurs more frequently without it. He does not omit the /b/ from either tumble or limb done, both of which normally occur without /b/ in Southern low colloquial.

19. The phoneme /k/. In order to indicate the retention of a k-sound after the change of a succeeding vowel, Page sometimes changes c to k, as in kerridge, ketch, and kyars, but he also intends /k/ in cyars, etc.

20. The phonemes /f/ and /v/. Page uses the form after, not the form without /f/ which frequently occurs in the Atlas records and is often designated "old-fashioned." The faintly articulated /v/ noted in Chapter II is omitted by Page in gi' 'em, gi' her, gi' me, gi'n and gin (gave
and given), but he also writes even and heaven, words which
are usually pronounced /'i bm/ and /'h bm/ in low colloquial
usage, and divilment. Have often appears in the form 'a',
the usual unstressed form in low colloquial. Of may remain
the historical on, or it may appear unstressed as o', even
before vowels, as in o' ur, a practice justified by the
usage of the Atlas informants.

21. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. In an introductory
note to his collected works, Page points out that the
possessive is frequently slighted by the Negroes of eastern
Virginia (TNP-PE, I, xviv). He illustrates this principle
by using such forms as he (his), horse'foot, Phil' room,
and husband' cousin (but also husband's cousin). On the
other hand, the declensional /s/ or /z/ of the plural is
used, as in folks and curls, and is even added inorganically,
as in chill'ng and mens. The /s/ and /k/ are metathesized
in ax and axin', a metathesis which occurs frequently in
the Atlas records. The addition of an initial /s/ in
struss (trust) seems unlikely, as does also the substitu-
tion of /j/ for /z/ in noise (noise). Wuz for was is
"eye dialect."

22. The phoneme /w/. The /w/ of an unstressed
syllable following a stressed syllable is omitted in al'ays,
back'ards, and for'ards, as it is in low colloquial speech,
but Page does not fall into "eye dialect" by omitting /w/
in answer. He may also omit the /w/ and the vowel of the
first syllable of without, making it 'dout, but without
also appears as widout and bedout, the b of the latter form apparently arising from the use of the bilabial fricative \( /\beta \). The \(/w/\) of a stressed syllable may be omitted, as in oon' (won't), ooman, orn (wan't), and oodn', but \(/w/\) is retained in other forms: won' (won't), warn' (wanted), would, and wouldn'. Page also uses the old form todes (/todz/) for towards. All of these practices in the treatment of \(/w/\) can be justified by the Atlas records.

23. The phoneme \(/l/\). Page omits \(/l/\) in hisse'f and sometimes in herse'f, but at other times he writes herself and always retains \(/l/\) in half and myself; all of these words are likely to occur in low colloquial without \(/l/\). The loss of \(/l/\) in a'tho' would be natural in low colloquial speech, but though would quite likely be used instead. Certainly appears without \(/l/\) in the form sut'n'y, a form recorded by Dr. Lowman in the Atlas records. The omission of \(/l/\) in gent'man and on'y is a result of the slighting of unstressed syllables.

24. "Eye dialect" in "Meh Lady." Page does not resort too frequently to "eye dialect," the re-spelling of words to conform to general colloquial pronunciation, but he does occasionally use it: hospittle, wuz and 'twuz, solum (but also solemn), wimens (but also womens ), fur, furgit (but also forgot), s'o'de, cum (but also come), dun (but also done), clo'es, meh, nur (nor), bin (but also been), ez (but also as), perlite, feller, foller, holler,
piller (but also pillow), and winder. Of the words occurring in variant forms, only furgit and piller are usually re-spelled; the re-spelling of solemn, womens, come, done, and been seems to be an oversight; ez occurs only when very weakly stressed. Both used to and use' to occur frequently; the latter form, of course, is "eye dialect," for colloquial speech uses only the /t/.

SUMMARY

Thomas Nelson Page indicates five features of Southern pronunciation in "Meh Lady," including the peculiar substitutions, but he does not indicate seven others; of the five Southern features which he does indicate, two—the omission of unstressed syllables and the omission of final stops—are not peculiarly Southern, but are more usual there. He represents one of three Southern-Midwestern features and all three of the Southern-Eastern features. Much of the dialectal flavor of his story comes from the representation of low colloquial pronunciations and some of the flavor comes from the use of "eye dialect." An estimate of the relative frequency of occurrence of regional, Negro, low colloquial, and "eye dialect" re-spellings may be made by an analysis of a short passage. Of the first 190 words on page 140, 102 are not re-spelled; in the 88 re-spelled words there are 97 indications of pronunciation: 35 of low colloquial, 27 of regional, 16 of Negro, and 9 of colloquial ("eye dialect").
CHAPTER IV

THE SPEECH OF THE NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO AS REPRESENTED BY

CHARLES WADDELL CHESNUTT

Charles Waddell Chesnutt is an important figure in the history of the development of literature by colored writers; as late as 1918 Benjamin Brawley called him "the best known novelist and short story writer of the race."¹

¹The Negro in Literature and Art (New York, Duffield), p. 45.

Chesnutt was born and educated in Cleveland, Ohio, but he was then employed for twelve years in the public schools of North Carolina, serving almost half that time as principal of the State Normal School at Fayetteville. Most of Chesnutt's stories and novels deal with his own race and the discrimination against its members, and most of them are set in North Carolina, the area of the South which Chesnutt knew best.

For a study of Chesnutt's representation of Southern Negro speech, I have selected The House Behind the Cedars,²

²(New York, Houghton Miflin, 1900).

one of his best known novels. All of the low colloquial
dialect of the novel has been considered; this includes the speech of Mis' Molly Walden, Frank and Peter Fowler, Homer and Mary B. Pettifoot, Jeff Wain, Dave, Plato, and Aunt Zilphy.

The fact that the story is set in North Carolina is mentioned by the author several times, but the exact setting can be shown to be Fayetteville by internal evidence. The city is called Patesville in the story, but like Fayetteville, it is located on a navigable river some distance from the sea, and like Fayetteville, the river on which it is located reaches the sea at Wilmington:

The journey [from Patesville] down the sluggish river to the sea-board in the flat-bottomed, stern-wheel steamer lasted all day and most of the night.  

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3 Page 41.

When the steamer [from Patesville] tied up at the wharf at Wilmington....

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4 Page 43.

Further evidence that Fayetteville is the setting can be gained from the fact that a journey from Patesville to Sampson County by buggy "required more than a day, and might with slight effort be prolonged into two." Sampson County

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5 Page

is the next county east of the real Fayetteville.
I. Southern Features.

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. Unstressed syllables may suffer aphaeresis in general low colloquial speech, but this phenomenon is more general in Southern low colloquial. Chesnutt does much of his re-spelling to indicate the loss of a syllable. He omits the initial syllable in 'cause, 'sturb, 'tater, and 'member, but retains it consistently in befo' and beyon'. An initial [ə] is more frequently omitted: 'bout, 'ten', 'cross, 'long, 'way, 'preciate, roun', 'rived, 'shamed, 'lowed, 'bused, 'peared, 'sociatin', 'monge', 'nuther, and 'specially; a number of these words, however, are also given with the initial [ə]: about, along, away, and anudder; some words, such as enough and account, should also omit the initial [ə] to follow the pattern, but they do not.

Chesnutt often indicates the loss of a syllable when /r/ occurs between two unstressed vowels: consid'able, cun'jin', dif'fe'nce, eve'body or eve'rybody, flatt'rin', gin'ally, mis'ry, and inter'rested; the spelling eve'body seems preferable to eve'rybody, for everybody often becomes '/ɛvəˌbɒdɪ/. The loss of a syllable is also indicated when an unstressed vowel occurs between a stop and an /l/ followed by a vowel, as in b'longs, prob'ly,
onreg'lar, and pertic'ler, but this loss is not always indicated, as it should be in families. Unaccented vowels following the /s/ of an initial syllable may be omitted, as in s'pec', s'prise, s'pose, and s'picion, and the unaccented vowel of a syllable before a secondary accent is omitted in obs'quies. Other losses of unaccented vowels are noted in comp'ny, priv'lege, and ma'm, but business is not re-spelled, but it probably does not indicate the retention of an [i] which is generally lost in colloquial.

2. Omission of final stops. Chesnutt notes the omission of a final /d/ after /n/ in an', roun', 'ten', beyon', een', fin', foun', frien'ships, kin', lan'lo'd, min', stan', husban', and soun'; he is not consistent in this spelling, however, for find, found, stand, and hand'ful also appear. He also notes the omission of /d/ in the [ndz] cluster of frien's, husban's, han's, and spen's; a /d/ in this position does not occur in accepted colloquial. The loss of /d/ final after /l/ he notes in chile, gol', hol', olo, tole, Smithfiel', and worl', but he inconsistently uses child, old, and world too. The loss of /d/ in a final [ldz] cluster is noted in worl's; the form use' ter indicates the assimilation of /d/ to the /t/ of the succeeding word. The forms griev'e and trim' indicate undeclined preterites, not shifts in the pronunciation of griev ed and trim med.

The omission of final /t/ following /n/ is noted by Chesnutt in ain', don', didn', hadn', needn', should'n',
won', and wouldn', but his lack of consistency is shown by the fact that at other times /t/ is retained after /n/ in many of these words and in words that fall into the same pattern: ain't, don't, didn't, hadn't, oughtn't, won't, and wa'n't. The change in form cannot be traced to the difference in the initial phoneme of the succeeding word, for such forms as won' need and won't come occur. The phrase want to occurs both as wanter and wanter, but both must have a single /t/ and even this /t/ is often omitted in this phrase in low colloquial. The loss of final /t/ after /s/ is noted in 'monge', bes', breakfas', cos', eas', fus'-class, happties', jus', las', les', los', mida', mos', pas', riches', and trus', but the forms just, last, and trust also occur. A final /t/ is omitted after /f/ in lef', shif'less, and witchcraf', but left also occurs. A /t/ is omitted after /k/ in conduc's, deestric', terreckly, exac'ly, and fac', and after /p/ in kep'; how completely the /t/ after /p/ is lost is indicated by its not reappearing in excepin'. Both once and oncet occur; the latter seems unlikely to occur in a dialect which consistently omits /t/ after /s/. The bilabial stop /b/ is omitted after homorganic /m/ in plum'.

3. Addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/. Chesnutt indicates the use of a /j/ after /k/ and before /a/ in kyards, kyarpet, and kyart; no words with /gə-/ occur.
4. Negro substitutions. Chesnutt indicates the substitution of /d/ for /ð/, but no other negro substitutions occur in the story. The substitution of /d/ for /ð/ is not even made consistently; /d/ occurs in anudder, de, dat, den, d'in (then), dey, dere, dem, deir, dese, wid, and widout, but /ð/ is indicated in another, 'muther, both'in', brother (which also occurs as brer), moths, other, the, that, then, than, they're, there, their, with, and without. The shift of /θ/ to /f/ is not indicated in The House Behind the Cedars, but the th spelling is retained in mouth, North, nothin', thank, and think; thank does occur as t'ank, indicating the substitution of /t/ for /θ/, a substitution frequent among Gullah speakers.

5. Features not indicated. Chesnutt does not indicate the following Southern features of pronunciation: the phonetic forms of the phonemes /aɪ/ and /au/; the use of /ju/ after dentals; the use of /æ/ in words like hair and there; the use of /u/ in words like coop; the diphthongization of "short" vowels; the confusion of /ɛ/ and /i/ before nasals; the use of /θ/ in with; or the use of /ɔ/ before r in such words as more and story. Of the four features he indicates, the omission of unstressed syllables and the omission of final stops are not exclusively Southern, although they occur more frequently in Southern low colloquial speech than in the low colloquial speech of other areas.
II. Southern and Midwestern Features

1. Features not indicated. Chesnutt does not indicate any of the features common to Southern and Midwestern: the use of /a/ in words like hot and rock, the use of /æ/ in words like half and grass, or the substitution of /3/ for /ʌ/ before intervocalic /r/.

III. Southern and Eastern Features

1. Treatment of the r-vowel. Chesnutt's use of such forms as bust, fus'-class, fu'ther, muss, suh, tu'n, wuk, wukkin', wuth, and wo'ds may at first lead one to think that he recognizes fully the lack of retroflexion in the Southern r-vowel of stressed syllables, but he often does not re-spell words with the r-vowel: birds, deserve, purse, sir, turn, turned, worl', 'sturb, her, certain, thirty, dirty, and words. Many of the words re-spelled have low colloquial forms without r even in the regions which pronounce a retroflex r-vowel. The form gal for girl shows the use of a low colloquial form also.

The r-vowel of unstressed syllables appears in all Southern coastal speech as the phoneme /ə/, but Chesnutt does not consistently recognize this phonemic substitution in Southern speech. He does indicate the use of /ə/ in cullud, doctuh, honah, lettuh, neighbo'hood, proputty, Fuhginny, and ce'tifikit, but he does not indicate such a use in color, fu'ther, other, anudder, pa'dners, w'enever, mo'over, wonder, ever, and many other words.
2. Treatment of postvocalic $r$. Chesnutt's treatment of postvocalic $r$ is highly inconsistent. He re-spells the $r$ part of the word only after /i/, as in heah for here and not always does he re-spell it after /i/; he may retain or omit $r$ after /æ/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/, /ɔr/, and /au/.

3. Use of /ɪ/ in unaccented syllables before dentals. The author of The House Behind the Cedars does not indicate the Southern coastal use of /ɪ/ in the unaccented syllable of words like bucket and careless.
1. Vowels before tautosyllabic r. Chesnutt’s hyuh for here and dis yer for this here indicate that he notices the low colloquial substitution of /3/ for /iə/; however, one could not readily interpret heah, deah, and yeahs as /ŋj3̯/, /dj3̯/, and /j3 z/. The forms feared, here, and years are not consistent with his pattern. The form quare for queer indicates a low colloquial substitution of /æ/ for /i/.

In some words, such as hair’s, bear, spare, and downstairs, Chesnutt does not indicate whether the vowel is /æ/ or /ɛ/. He does show the low colloquial substitution of /iə/ or /j3̯/ after /k/ and /ʒ/ in keer, keerful, skeer, and sheer, although care also appears, and he indicates the low colloquial use of /ɔ/ in chuhman for chairman. The low colloquial substitution of /a 2/ for /æ 2/ is noted in whar and nowhar, but where, there, and dere also occur. He must intend nary to have an /æ/ vowel since the r is intervocalic; bairl may also have /æ/, although a form with an /a/ vowel would fit the pattern of whar. The form dey for there may indicate /de/, but the form dere for there leads one to think that the /æ/ vowel is retained.

Chesnutt is fairly consistent in omitting tautosyllabic r after /o/, as in befo’, co’se, do’, flo’, mo’, sco’, and drugsto’, but drugstore is also used by the speaker who
uses drugsto'. The low colloquial substitution of /o/ for /u/ before tautosyllabic r is noted in po', pore, pyo', sho', shorely, yo', yo'r, yo'se'f, and yo'n, but sure and your appear inconsistently.

Chesnutt is not systematic in the spelling of /ɔ/ before tautosyllabic r. Sometimes he simply omits the r, as in bo'n, fo' ty, Geo'ge, hoss, lan'lo'd, mo' nin', and sho't, but sometimes he re-spells, as in bawn (born), Lawd, Laws-a-massy, mawmin', wah, and tawches. North, or, and for may appear without re-spelling; however, Chesnutt indicates the use of /ɔ/ in unaccented or, nor, and for by the forms er, ner, fer, and fergot and the lack of retroflexion in this /ɔ/ in the forms fuh and fuhgot. None of the occurrences of for have enough stress to warrant the pronunciation /tɔʔ/. The old fashioned form of towards with an /o/ vowel is spelled as to'dz.

Some words with /a/ before tautosyllabic r occur without the r: pa'dners, pa'ty, hea't, sha'p, and va'id, but heart's, party, and yard also occur. Many other words, such as barn, darlin', harness, and sweetheart, do not omit r after /a/.

As is noted in Chapter II, an /ə/ always appears for the r following a diphthong. Chesnutt, however, uses ou' for our; he also uses our and does not omit the r in hour and flower. He indicates the loss of r in enti'ely, but leaves it in hires.
2. The phoneme /i/. Chesnutt indicates the use of /e/ for /i/ in rake and r'a'ly, and the use of /ʌ/ for /i/ in nuther; these substitutions are common in low colloquial speech. The substitution of /I/ for /i/ in nigger is not restricted to the South.

3. The phoneme /I/. The use of /i/ in deestric' is an old-fashioned pronunciation; the substitution of /ɛ/ for /I/, as indicated in ef, sence, and 'tel (till also occurs), is warranted by a study of the Atlas records, as is the substitution of /u/ in wush. Sperrit, indicating an /ɛ/ vowel, also occurs in the Atlas records.

4. The phoneme /ɛ/. The substitution of /I/ for /ɛ/ in agin or az'in, zin'ally, gits, Jimny, gittin', and yistiddy conforms to general low colloquial, but Chesnutt also uses again, gittin', and yet. The use of /i/ in een' is now largely restricted to the older uneducated speakers. The /æ/ of yaller and kag is duplicated in the Atlas records, as is the shift of /ɛ/ to /e/ indicated in haid; if /e/ occurs in haid, however, it should also occur in bed. The vas for yes, indicating an /æ/ or an /a/, is frequently listed by Wentworth (ADD). Set for set occurs in the Atlas records. Be'in for been, whether used to indicate /ɛ/ or /I/, is only "eye dialect."

5. The phoneme /æ/. The use of /ɛ/ in ketchin', of /I/ in kin, of /a/ in Mars and marster, and of /ʌ/ in ruther is justified by the Atlas transcriptions of low colloquial speech; can't also occurs. Ez for as is "eye
dialect," since /æ/ is generally not pronounced in as and the vowel would be /I/ in Southern coastal speech because of the succeeding dental. Shill for unstressed shall is also "eye dialect."

6. The phoneme /a/. The use of /ʌ/, instead of the alternate /a/, is indicated by the spelling of cunjin' (conjuring). Both was and wuz occur in Chesnutt's novel; the latter form is "eye dialect."

7. The phoneme /o/. Driv, indicating the /drɪv/ noted in Chapter II, is used for drove. The sequence /o-I/ may become /aɪ/, as in gwine, but goin' also occurs.

8. The phoneme /ɔ/. The use of /ɔ/ is indicated in dawgs and hawgs, words which occur with /ɔ/ more frequently than with /a/ in the Atlas records studied. Rolly for Raleigh indicates the use of /a/.

9. The phoneme /u/. The pronunciation of took with /ʌ/, a pronunciation noted in Chapter II, is indicated by the spelling tuck.

10. The phoneme /ʌ/. The re-spelling of the /ʌ/ in 'muther is unnecessary, since everyone pronounces the o as /ʌ/; there is possibly more justification in re-spelling the vowel in the form anudder, for the change in the succeeding consonant might mislead the reader in the pronunciation of the vowel. The form another also occurs, as does other. Both judge and jedge occur; the use of /ɛ/ for /ʌ/ indicated by the latter spelling is warranted by
the Atlas records. Nuthin' is "eye dialect" and also occurs in the story as nothin'. Such Chesnutt does not re-spell. The use of /a/ or /ɔ/ for /ʌ/ in an un-prefix is indicated in onreglar and onruly; this substitution is noted in Chapter II.

11. The phoneme /ɔ/. Chesnutt often uses er to indicate [ɔ], as in ter (to), hafter, handkercher, inter, kinder, mulatter, er (of), outer, wanter, ter-night, and ter-morrer. His use of er is not consistent, however, for want to also occurs and of may occur as ɔ', er, and of with little justification for the difference in form; er all and of it show the use of two forms when a vowel succeeds in the following word. The form ɔ' for you in thank you probably indicates the use of /i/ final. A final /i/ is also indicated in borry and nary, a usage noted in Chapter II. The substitution of /i/ for /ɔ/ before a dental is indicated in yistiddy. There is no need to re-spell the final syllable of ce'tifikasi't, for /i/ usually appears in it everywhere in the country. Ernuff for enough is pure "eye dialect."

12. The phoneme /aɪ/. Chesnutt's use of lack for like indicates the Southern confusion of these words, a confusion which has been noted by Evans (SLI, 190). The substitution of /aʊ/ for /aɪ/ in mought is noted in Chapter II.

13. The phoneme /aʊ/. Chesnutt notes the simplification of /aʊ/ to /a/ in one word: hoddy for howdy.
14. The phoneme /ɔI/. The low colloquial substitution of /æI/ for /ɔI/ is indicated by the forms j'Int and spile.

15. The phoneme /r/. As has been previously noted in the discussion of the omission of unstressed syllables, a syllable may often be lost when an /r/ occurs between two unaccented vowels; sometimes the /r/ and one of the vowels disappear, as in gin'ally, and sometimes the unaccented vowel preceding the /r/ disappears and the /r/ changes from intervocalic to prevocalic, as in int'rested. Sometimes the prevocalic /r/ of a cluster suffers ecbilipsis, as is indicated in child'en, f'm (from), hund'ed, int'oduce, monst'ous, mist'iss, nigger, th'owin', and th'ough; this pattern is noted in Chapter II. The elimination of intervocalic /r/ indicated in both'in', Ma'y, and scamp'in' is not borne out by a study of the Atlas records; Chesnut also uses very and wonderin', which according to his system should also lose the intervocalic /r/.

16. The phonemes /t/ and /d/. The substitution of /t/ for /d/ final after /l/, as in kill't, and for initial /d/, as in terreckly, is noted in Chapter II. The /t/ is omitted after /p/ and before syllabic /m/ in excep'n'.

17. The phonemes /f/ and /v/. The /f/ is left out of after in the old-fashioned form of atter. A /v/ may sometimes become /b/, as in hab, lib, and libbed, but becomes /f/ before /t/ as in hafter. Chesnut does not
follow the pattern when he writes love; and seven, of course, usually has /b/ although Chesmutt gives it the normal spelling. He indicates the substitution of /f/ for initial /v/ in Fuhginny. As in all colloquial speech, of may occur without /v/, as Chesmutt indicates in er and o', but retains the /v/ when followed by a vowel in the next word, as in of it; the phrase er all indicates the omission of /v/ before a succeeding vowel, an omission that seems unlikely. After out and off the old-fashioned form on is used: out'n and off'n. The /v/ is lost in the phrase gimme and in the form gin for gave.

18. The phoneme /z/. A /z/ may be added excrescently as an additional indicator of the plural, as in gent'ems.

19. The phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/. The /n/ of the sandhi form of the indefinite article may not occur, as Chesmutt indicates in a' angel; the lack of this sandhi form is noted in Chapter II. The -ing ending regularly becomes -in', as in axin', 'sociatin', both'in', ketchin', feelin's, huntin', leavin', nothin', Wilmin'ton, and willin'.

20. The phoneme /h/. The omission of /h/ in the unstressed forms of the personal pronouns beginning with /h/, as in 'im and 'is, is a general colloquial feature of pronunciation and does not need to be noted. Chesmutt apparently means to indicate that initial /hw/ does not occur in the dialect, for he uses the forms w'ite, w'at, w'ile, w'arf, w'en, and w'snever, although white and what also occur. He leaves the h in whar and where, possibly to prevent confusion, and in whole and exclamatory why
because they are normally not pronounced with /h/. The lack of /h/ indicated by dis yer and dese yer is a frequently noted characteristic of low colloquial speech.

21. The phoneme /w/. Chesnutt uses both always and alluz; the latter is an old-fashioned form recorded sometimes in the Atlas records. The loss of /w/ in 'oman is also noted in Chapter II.

22. The phoneme /j/. As has been noted previously in the discussion of vowels before tautosyllabic r, the form hyuh indicates the substitution of /j3/ for accepted /iə/, but Chesnutt does not consistently maintain this pattern. He does consistently indicate the addition of /j/ after /k/ and before /a/, as in kyars, kyarpet, and kyart. He notes the old unpalatalized /u/ in legislatur' and the use of /i/ for accepted /jə/ final in Fuhginny.

23. The phoneme /l/. The omission of /l/ in gent'eman or gent'emens is a result of the slighting of unstressed syllables; Chesnutt also uses the form gentleman. A postvocalic /l/ of a cluster is omitted in he'p, he'ped, yo'sef, and yo'sef, but inconsistently help and half are also used. The omission of /l/ in else seems unlikely, and Chesnutt elsewhere uses else.

24. Metathesis. Other than the examples given above in the discussions of individual phonemes, only one example of metathesis occurs: axin', the historically unmetathesized form of asking.
25. "Eye dialect." Chesnutt re-spells a number of words when the re-spelling indicates nothing more than the general colloquial pronunciation: ez (but also as), acshully, ernuff (but also enough), ba'n, bokeys, conduc's, kin, exactly, fer (but also fuh and for), fergot (but also fuhgot), frien's, frien'ships, husban's, han's, inter, kinder, mulatter, ner (nor), nuthin', er (but also or), er (but also of and c'), cuter, spen's, shill (shall), ter (to), ter-night, ter-morrer, winders, wanter, wuz or 'uz, and w'enever.

26. Inconsistency. Chesnutt's inconsistencies in dialect representation are the product of a mind not too careful with detail, whether linguistic or otherwise. For example, his faulty plot structure is easily illustrated. On page 123 the plot hinges upon Mis' Molly Walden's not being able to read, for her failure to read or to find someone who can read the message sent by Judge Straight allows Rowena's race to be discovered, thus blasting her engagement to a white man and leading eventually to her death. Yet on page 93--only thirty pages earlier--Rowena received a letter from Mis' Molly, which began, "MY DEAR DAUGHTER,—I take my pen in hand to let you know that I am not very well." A writer who demonstrates such lapses in the development of his plot cannot be expected to show consistency in his dialect representation.
SUMMARY

Charles Waddell Chesnutt indicates four of the twelve Southern features of pronunciation, including Negro substitutions of phonemes, in *The House Behind the Cedars*. Two of the features he indicates—the omission of unstressed syllables and the omission of final stops—are Southern only in the extent of their use, and one feature—the addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/--occurs in only three words; thus his indication of the Negro substitution of /t/ for /θ/ and /d/ for /ð/ is the most significant Southern dialect feature in the book. He represents none of the distinctive Southern and Midwestern pronunciations, but represents to some degree two of the three Southern and Eastern features. Dialectal pronunciation in his story is indicated chiefly by the omission of unstressed syllables and final stops, by the re-spelling of /ʒ/, by the omission of postvocalic /r/, by the substitution of /t/ and /d/ for /θ/ and /ð/, by the use of low colloquial pronunciations, and by the use of "eye dialect." Of 283 words of the speech of Jeff Wain beginning at the middle of page 214, 170 are not re-spelled. Of the re-spelled words, 48 show regional, 25 show Negro, and 20 show low colloquial pronunciation; 25 merely show colloquial pronunciation and are thus "eye dialect."
CHAPTER V

THE LOW COLLOQUIAL SPEECH OF CHARLESTON AS REPRESENTED

BY WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS

William Gilmore Simms, prolific author of Revolutionary tales and border romances, introduces many low colloquial characters, both colored and white, and re-spells their conversation to indicate their pronunciation. As the basis of a study of Simms's representation of the phonetics of low colloquial speech, I have selected as an example of Negro speech the short story "Caloya; or, The Loves of the Driver,"\(^1\) and as an example of white speech the romance

\[\text{\footnotesize 1In The Wigwam and the Cabin (Chicago, M.A. Donohue, n.d.), pp. 361-429.}\]

The Sword and the Distaff; or, Fair, Fat and Forty.\(^2\)

\[\text{\footnotesize 2Second edition (Charleston, Walker Richards, 1852). Later published as Woodcraft; or, Hawks About the Dovcote.}\]

The phonological study of "Caloya; or, The Loves of the Driver" includes all of the speech of Mingo Gillison, the central figure of the story. Mingo is the driver of an estate located "in the neighborhood of the Ashley River,"\(^3\)

\[\text{\footnotesize 3Page 365.}\]

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and thus his speech falls into the Charleston pattern. The study of *The Sword and the Distaff* includes all of the low colloquial white dialect through page 280; the principal low colloquial speakers in this passage are Bostwick, Fordham, and Sergeant Millhouse, but a number of other characters have a few speeches. Simms identifies

the locale of the story at the very beginning:

> The British forces in Charleston, South-Carolina, prepared to abandon that city early in the following December.\(^4\)

\(^4\)Page 1.

The action of the story occurs at the Ashepoo River plantations of Mrs. Eveleigh or Captain Porgy,\(^5\) in Charleston,

\(^5\)Page 18.

or between Charleston and the Ashepoo; all of this area falls within the immediate speech area of Charleston.
REGIONAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

I. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. The omission of unstressed syllables, which is more common in Southern low colloquial than elsewhere, Simms often notes in writing white or Negro dialect. Mingo Gillison, the colored driver of "Caloya," omits the initial syllable in 'way, feard, 'tack, 'mother, 'bout, 'nough, 'possum, 'casion, 'pon, 'fore, 'habe (behave), twixt, 'cause, 'pen (depend), 'speck, 'spectful, 'spectable, and 'sponsible, but he inconsistently uses agin and ajen, about, afeard, before and afore, expen', respectableness, between, and behind; expen', of course, would be confused with spen' if the initial vowel were omitted. The white speakers of The Sword and the Distaff omit the initial syllable of 'musements, 'greed (but also agreed), 'cute, 'pon, 'zackly, 'Lisha, 'scuses, 'possum, 'member, and 'coon, but retain it in other words, as in enough and bekaze (or because); many words with initial be- do not omit the syllable, but do omit the /b/, as in ahind, atween, and afore.

The syncope of /ə/ in an initial unstressed syllable after /s/ is indicated in 'spose and s'pose and in 'spicion; the syncope of /ə/ after initial /b/ and before /l/ is shown in b'lieve and b'longs, but the same speaker uses believe. The form p'rhaps indicates the loss of a syllable,
but perhaps also occurs; that the latter form indicates metathesis is further indicated by spellings such as preticklar for particular. A medial vowel is lost in hom'ney, but hominey also occurs. Apocope occurs in foun't for forty, idee for idea, and seesuck for seersucker.

2. Omission of final stops. Simms indicates that both white and Negro speakers omit final /t/ and /d/ in clusters, but Mingo, the Negro speaker, omits final stops much more often than do the white speakers. The white speakers omit /t/ in agin (against), 'zackly, and jes', but even these words sometimes have /t/: aginst, 'zactly, and 'zact, and jest and jist. Mingo, however, omits /t/ in the forms breckkus, bes', 'speck, jis' leff or lef', mus' know, tex', and wais'; although he sometimes uses best, breakfast, jist, 'spectful, and must and retains /t/ inconsistently in many other words, as in aint, hasn't, lost, and softly, the omission of final /t/ in clusters occurs much more frequently in his speech than in the speech of the white speakers.

The omission of final /d/ in clusters is even more definitely a Negro characteristic in Simms's representation of low colloquial speech. The white speakers omit /d/ final after /n/ in en for and, but retain /d/ elsewhere, as in eend and Gould. Mingo, however, omits /d/ after /n/ in the forms expen', fren' or frien', men', stan',
or 'tan, sen', and fin', but /d/ in this position is not regularly omitted for behind, friend, hand, husband, land, and stand also occur. A /d/ final after /l/ may be omitted, as in buil', ole, and worl', but it is sometimes retained, as in field and old.

3. Use of /æ/ before tautosyllabic r. The use of /æ/ in words like hair is a feature of Southern speech, but in Charleston an /e/ is usual in such words. Simms has the white speakers use such forms as that, anywhar, and onawar's, indicating the low colloquial shift to /a2/, but there and onawares also occur in the speech of the whites. Mingo's use of day (there), whay, and whare, however, indicates that Simms notices the /e2/ of Charleston speech, but he does not re-spell Mingo's care or e'er a. The white speakers' that ere for that there may have an /e/ vowel, but the lack of re-spelling of the vowel does not preclude /æ/ or /e/.

4. Negro substitutions. Simms indicates the difference between Negro and white low colloquial speech principally by three substitutions of phonemes in Negro speech: /d/ for /ð/, /t/ for /θ/, and /b/ for /v/. Other than in these substitutions, in the use of a few Gullah inflections and Gullah words, in the Negro use of malapropisms, and in the greater loss of final stops noted above, he makes no material difference in the white and Negro dialects.
Mingo, the central figure of "Caloya," substitutes /d/ for /ð/ in altogether, dem, readers, neider, smood, wid, widin (within), wheider, den, de'rs or der's, dat, de, den, and dis, but a number of these words also occur with /ð/: altogether, them, neither or nother, smooth, there's or ther's, that's, and the. To be consistent in the substitution he should also replace th in farther, other, 'nother, without, they's, these, and though. Clothes, which usually has no /ð/ in colloquial speech, is not re-spelled. Both the white and colored speakers use such weakened forms as 'em for them and are for there.

Mingo substitutes /t/ for /ð/ in breat', not'ing, tree (three), mout', strengt', someting trut', tings, tink, test', t'irsty, and t'roat, but the forms nothing, truth, thing, and teeth also occur. The substitution pattern is not followed in both, anything, and through; since such a substitution would make both a homophone of boat and through a homophone of true, Simms may be trying to prevent confusion when he retains the usual spelling.

The substitution of /ð/ for /v/ occurs a number of times in Mingo's speech: 'habe (behave), dibble, aber, eben, gib, hab, heaby, lob or lub, neber or nebber, obersse or obrshee, obershar, oberfull, ob, dizarb, desarbings, seben, sebenty, starbing, bex, and berry. Some of these words also occur with /v/: every, never, of, and very; three other words, varmints, overwork, and
seventeen, occur with /v/ although a consistent pattern demands /b/. The white speakers substitute /b/ for /v/ only one time, in Ebeleigh for Eveleigh; they substitute /w/ for /v/ in civility, warmints (but also varmints), volunteered, and witals, although /v/ remains in many words: civil, hav', vartue, ventur', valleyables, and villany. This variation between Simms’s transcription of white and Negro speech suggests that both whites and Negroes use a bilabial fricative [β] for /v/ and /w/; this is further suggested by Mingo’s substitution of /b/ for /w/ in viskey (whiskey, which has initial /w/, not /hw/, in Charleston), for viskey also occurs in Mingo’s speech, and by his substitution of /v/ in trivilation. Mingo also uses gie and gin, low colloquial forms of give without /v/, and both he and the white speakers omit /v/ in the unstressed form of have.

Mingo uses a few Gullah forms: enby for ain’t I, ain’t he, etc., verry for hear, obershaw, and he for the third person singular pronoun, whether nominative or possessive or masculine or feminine. These forms are recorded by Doctor Lowman in the Atlas records studied except verry, which occurs in Doctor Turner’s Atlas record N-24 as [jɛ dɪ], and obershaw for overseer, which is vindicated in the Atlas transcriptions of see ‘em, see it, etc., as [ʃɔm], a result of the uniting of /s/ and /j/ or /ʃ/ into /ʂ/. Obershee is also used by Mingo.
Gullah is also indicated in Mingo's omission of inflectional endings or addition of them unnecessarily. An -ed may be omitted from the past tense, as in burn and bez; the third person singular verb of the present tense may be used with any person or number in the present tense, as I makes, I wants, and they wants (although the white speakers also tend to do this: they begins, etc.); the /z/ of the plural may be omitted, as in forty seben year, or added unnecessarily, as in womans or womens and gemplemans (but also gentlemen). Mingo uses bin as an auxiliary in such constructions as people bin use for make; and he makes one part of speech serve as another, as in mus' dead (die).

The white speakers sometimes use large words which they cannot pronounce correctly, as obstropolous and provoke, but their meaning is exact. Mingo, however, is given to malapropisms. Simms apparently meant this partly as an individual and partly as a class characteristic, and he made the characteristic distinctive in "Caloya" by having Mingo mis-use a great number of words: deportance for importance, reprove for approve, asperse for disperse, extricate for exercise, resistance for assistance, redulges for indulges, exposed for disposed, resist for assist, exservation for observation, redolent for indolent, expen' for depend, desider for consider, composition for opposition, rackrobates for reprobates, exceed for proceed, infections and defections for affections
(but also affections), detention for attention, intended to for tended to, outgivings for outgoings, and mismanagement for management.

5. Features not indicated. Simms does not attempt to indicate many of the Southern features of pronunciation: the phonetic form of the phonemes /ai/ and /au/, the use of /ju/ after dentals, the use of /u/ in words like coop, the diphthongization of "short" vowels, the confusion of /i/ and /e/ before nasals, the addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/ and before /a/, or the use of /o/ before r in such words as more and story. Some of the features he does indicate belong to the Charleston area but not to all the South, as has been noted above. He fails, however, to note the Charlestonian loss of /h/ in the initial /hw/ of words like whare, whedder, and wha'.

II. Southern and Midwestern Features

1. Use of /æ/ in half, grass, dance. Mingo apparently uses the coastal /ɑ/ in arter and mossa, but he also uses after; the form mossa, which is used in direct address and immediately before a proper name, is an anomalous retention of an old pronunciation, for Mingo also uses master. The white speakers use a form maussa, indicating an /ɔ/ vowel. The Southern and Midwestern /æ/ is indicated in the white speakers' use of atter and ater for after (but arter also occurs), and in their use of hafe
and rather (since rether also occurs). Most of the words of this class Simms does not re-spell.

2. Features not indicated. Simms does not indicate the Southern and Midwestern use of /a/ in words like hot and rock or the substitution of /ɔ/ for /ʌ/ before intervocalic /r/.

III. Southern and Eastern Features

1. Features not indicated. Simms does not indicate any of the distinctive Southern and Eastern features: the use of an r-vowel without retroflexion, the substitution of /ə/ for /ɔ/ in unstressed syllables, or the use of /ɪ/ in unaccented syllables before dentals. He does not attempt a pattern to show the obscuration of postvocalic r although Mingo does use day and what for there and where.
1. **Vowels before tautosyllabic r.** As is pointed out in Chapter II, the Charleston area, unlike other parts of the South, uses an /e/ vowel before the tautosyllabic /r/ of words like chair and scarce; this /e/ occurs in both colloquial and low colloquial speech. Words such as here, ear, and beard, which elsewhere in the South have /i r/ in colloquial and /i q/ or /j3/ in low colloquial, in Charleston have /e r/ or /i r/ in colloquial and /e r/ in low colloquial. Words like there and anywhere may occur with [e ə] or [ɛ ə]. In the low colloquial speech of Charleston, in other words, /e r/ may serve for the accepted colloquial /i r/, /ɛ r/, or /ɑ r/ of other areas.

Words which elsewhere have an accepted /i r/, such as here and afraid, are not often re-spelled by Simms, but Mingo sometimes uses yer for here and y'er for hear, probably indicating in both instances the pronunciation [jɪ ə], since Mingo also uses the Gullah form yerry which we know to have an /ɛ/ vowel, but Simms's intentions are not clear. As I have noted earlier in this chapter, Mingo uses the Gullah obrershaw for overseer, in which the /i r/ apparently became /j3/, the /s/ and /j/ became /ʃ/, and the /ʒ/ became /ɑ r/; parallels of all of these changes were noted in Chapter I. The Sword and the Distaff speakers substitute /ɑ/ for /i/ in cl'ar and nary, but clear also occurs.
An accepted Southern /æ ə/ may be /e ə/ in Charleston, as noted above. Words with /æ ə/ may, however, change the vowel to /ɑ ə/ in low colloquial, as Simms indicates in having the white speakers use whar' (but also where), anywhar, swar', thar or thar', and onawar's, and in having Mingo use scar' (scare); inconsistently the white speakers also use onawares, there, scary, and that are. The low colloquial use of /ɜ/ is indicated in dursn't.

Simms does not re-spell words in which ar occurs and the vowel is /ɑ/, as in bark and smart; he does, however, have Mingo use fur for far, indicating an /ɜ/ vowel, but Mingo also uses ferther. Neither does Simms distinguish between or as /o ə/ and or as /ɔ ə/, for he uses before, afore, more, order, horn, horse, and sort without indicating any difference in pronunciation; horse, of course, has a low colloquial form without r, but Simms does not note it. The author seems to indicate the loss of r and possibly the use of an /o/ in the white speakers' vor're (you're), but Mingo also uses your, your',n, and sure, and the white speakers use yours and your'n.

2. The phoneme /ɜ/. Simms notes the low colloquial substitution of /ʌ/ for /ɜ/ in cuss (to use profanity) and pussan and of /æ/ for /ɜ/ in gal and massy (Lor' ha' massy). The shift of /ɜ/ to /ʌ/ he often notes: Mingo uses sartain (but also certain), consarns, desarbins, d'zarb, sarmint, sarpent, wa'nt, and warnn't; the white speakers use sartain or sartin, consarn, sarcumvent,
diversion, desarts, desarves, 'tarna\n(\ but also eternal),
impartent, l'arning, marcy, marcell, sargeant, sarpent,
s'arch, sarved, service, tarns, vatue, warmits or varmints,
wa'n\t, wurn\t, and warnt. The white speakers also use an
air in airth, airmings, airns, gairth, vairb, and pairch,
apparently indicating the substitution of /e\^2/ for /3/;
none of these words or any words like them occurs in Mingo's
speech, and since the Atlas records do not include any such
substitutions, it may well be that Simms was indicating a
Scotch influence in the language of the lower class whites.
Pert does occur in one of the Charleston records with /e\^2/,
but pert in low colloquial adheres to the pattern of /i\^2/
words.

3. The phoneme /i/. The use of /i/ for accepted /1/
is indicated in niggers (also negroes) and critters, which
occur in both white and colored speech; the form cre'tur'
also occurs in The Sword and the Distaff, but it seemingly
indicates the same pronunciation as critter. Mingo apparen-
tly substitutes an /\^\ for /1/ in nother for neither,
a pronunciation recorded in the Atlas materials. The forms
really (with the first e italicized) and raal indicate the
/e/ vowel often heard in these words, but whether Simms
means /e/ by reasonable (with the e italicized) is not appar-
et, for he also uses reasonable and unreasonable.

4. The phoneme /1/. The low colloquial substitution
of /i/ for /1/ is leettle, leetler, and leetlest, but little
also occurs. An /ɛ/ before intervocalic r is indicated in merracles and sperrit; other substitutions of /ɛ/ for /I/ occur in hender, hending, ef, resk, sence, 'tell, and ontell, but if, risk, till, and until are also inconsistently used. The substitution of /ɔ/ in onpossible, by analogy with words beginning with un-, may have occurred, but impartinent is also used. The old-fashioned omission of the /I/ in it is noted in 'tain, 'twon't, and 'twas.

5. The phoneme /ə/. Mingo's use of bre'k, mak', and tak' indicates an /ɛ/ vowel in place of the usual /ə/, but he also uses the forms break, take, and make. The alternate forms ain't, a'n't and kain't, kaain't apparently indicate lapses in the execution of the re-spelling system of the author, for the vowel indicated by all four forms seems to be the same. An /i/ is substituted for /ə/ in dreamed.

6. The phoneme /ɛ/. Mingo substitutes /ɪ/ for /ɛ/ in agin, dibble, and git, but he also uses agen and yet, in which /ɛ/ is apparently retained. The white speakers substitute /ɪ/ in agin or ag'in, aginst or ag'inst, inimy, forgetting, sitting, git, ginneral, riconn'itre, rigimentals, ricollect, vit, and yisterday; the pattern of such substitutions is warranted by the records of the Atlas. An /i/ replaces /ɛ/ in catables, end (also end), and we'pons, and an /æ/ replaces /ɛ/ in kag, kags, and yallow. The verb fetch, with a preterite fotcht, is used.
7. The phoneme /æ/. An /i/ replaces /æ/ in the form kin, as often occurs in low colloquial speech. An /i/ in the unstressed syllable before dentals should have been used in as, but Simms indicates an /ɛ/ by the spelling es. The substitution of /ɛ/ for /æ/ is made in the forms rather and hav', but rather and hav' also appear. Plaister for plaster apparently indicates the use of an /ɔ/ vowel.

8. The phoneme /ɔ/. The white speakers use darter for daughter, indicating an /a/ vowel, but Mingo uses daughter.

9. The phoneme /o/. The word going appears as guine in The Sword and the Distaff, but as gwine and going in "Caloya"; again Simms seems to have neglected momentarily his system of re-spelling. The past tense of to drive is druv, a form recorded frequently in the Atlas records.

10. The phoneme /u/. The word took appears as tuk in both the works considered; the use of /ʌ/ in took is recorded in the Atlas field records.

11. The phoneme /u/. An /ɔ/ replaces /u/ in chaw and chawed. The past of to know appears in the regularized form know'd.

12. The phoneme /ʌ/. Mingo uses the low colloquial /i/ in jis' or jist and sich, but not the low colloquial /ɛ/ in brush, shut, and touch. The white speakers use /i/ in kiver, jist, sich, and inyons and /ɛ/ in hesh,
jes' or jest, judge, and shet, but cover and shut are also used. Mingo and the white speakers substitute on- for un-, as in understanding, onbecoming, unreasonale, onless, ontil, onawares, and other words, and thus indicate an /a/ or /ɔ/ vowel, but Mingo uses under and one of the white speakers uses hungry, both of which should also have /a/ or /ɔ/. Mingo's lub and lubly are "eye dialect" so far as the vowel is concerned; Simms also has Mingo use lob.

13. The phoneme /ə/. Acceedint and idee may reveal a shift of stress, for acceedint with a stressed second syllable would have an /i/ in that syllable and idee with stress on the first syllable often loses its final /ə/. Idee, however, may only indicate the loss of final /ə/, and acceedint may only indicate the substitution of /i/ for /ə/. Acceedint and sarmint indicate the substitution of /i/ for /ə/ before dentals, but Simms does not maintain such a pattern, for serpent, pullet, blanket, and many other words do not show such a substitution. In both white and Negro speech the partitive a- is added to verb forms in -ing, as in a-packing, a-hunting, a-doing, and a-putting.

14. The diphthongal phonemes. Mingo uses mout or mought for might, an oft-recurring substitution of /au/ for /ai/ in low colloquial. His pow'rful is probably an indication that /au/ is approaching monophthongal /a/.

The substitution of /ai/ for /ɔi/ is noted in bile, biled, br'iled, k'ining, h'ist, eyester, p'inted, riconn'itre,
spile, stiling, and similar words.

15. The phonemes /t/ and /d/. The spelling attacked is meaningless phonetically unless it indicates an extra syllable, for attacked ends with /t/ in colloquial speech; the Atlas records do not indicate such an addition. Cappin and cap'in indicate the loss of /t/; captain is usually recorded without /t/ in the Atlas records studied. Mingo sometimes substitutes an /mp/ for the /nt/ in gemplemans, but he also uses gentlemen. His what without a final /t/ is recorded in the Atlas materials and le' me is general low colloquial. Mingo adds /t/ excrescently in varmint and sarmint; the addition of /t/ in the latter might be questioned because he often omits /t/ final after /n/.

One of the white speakers uses ondescend for undecent, apparently indicating a change of final /t/ to /d/, but Mingo uses decent.

Ingins, Injins, and jubous indicate the substitution of /j/ for /dj/, a substitution occasionally made by the Atlas informants; inconsistently, Mingo uses both Injins and Indians. To see and to know form their past tense by adding /d/: seed, know'd.

16. The phoneme /p/. Mingo adds a /p/ excrescently after homorganic /m/ in Sampson (Samson).

17. The phoneme /f/. The old-fashioned form of after without /f/ is written arter, atter, and a'ter by Simms, but after and afterwards also appear in the speech
of the same speakers. Mingo omits /f/ in breakkus, but he also uses breakfast.

18. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. Mingo's omission of initial /s/ in 'trong and 'tan (stand) may best be classified as a Gullah characteristic; although the Atlas records consulted give no basis for such an omission, Turner points out that Gullah speakers often avoid consonant clusters by omitting one of them or using a vowel between them (SVG, 22). Since in the Gullah dialect an inflectional /s/ or /z/ may be omitted or occur where it is not warranted, Mingo's seek for sex may be his form of the singular.

19. The phoneme /h/. Simms has his low colloquial speakers distinguish between ain't, ain't and haint, ha'n't as forms of to be and to have. He usually writes the unstressed form of have as ha', thus indicating that the /h/ is retained, but 'a for unstressed have does sometimes occur. Here's and here may be written with /h/, but /h/ is omitted in the form yer; the verb hear also occurs without /h/: y'er.

20. The phoneme /ŋ/. Simms usually does not note the common substitution of /n/ for /ŋ/ in -ing words, as in nothing, someting, br'il:ing, axing, a-hunting, a-doing, and words of that kind, but Mingo does once omit the g in sayin'. The use of /n/ instead of /ŋ/ is also indicated in guine and gwine (going) after the word has been re-spelled to show the low colloquial syllabic.
21. The phoneme /l/. Simms indicates the low colloquial omission of /l/ in a'most, a'ready, and sodgers (also soldier), but not in help, you'self, or myself. The omission of /l/ indicated in writing half as hafe is "eye dialect," for colloquial speakers do not use /l/ in half.

22. The phoneme /j/. Simms often indicates an unpalatalized /u/ in unstressed syllables, as in critters, gennywine, edication, figger, nater or natur', naturally, scripter, trivilation, ventur', and valley (value). He inconsistently also uses naturally and Scripture. His vallyables for valuables is "eye dialect," for either [jə] or [juə] is acceptable in that word. A /j/ is added initially in yairb. Mingo's addition of /j/ in Philistian for Philistine probably results in low colloquial by analogy with Indian, Christian, and words of that type.

23. The phoneme /w/. The forms fora'id and young un illustrate omissions of /w/ which occur frequently in low colloquial. The addition of /w/ is indicated in guine or gwine (going).

24. Metathesis. Ax and axing show the historically older unmetathesized form of ask and asking, and the metathesis of /r/ results in purty; the form niggers is an alternate form from French nègre. The change of /3/ to /ri/ indicated by prehaps, preticklar (but also par- and per-), and preticklarly seems unlikely because the pattern is toward /3/ or /ə/ rather than away from it; such a shift may, however, be an over-correction such as is often heard in the low colloquial pronunciation of
perspiration with /prɛ-/.

25. "Eye dialect." Simms does not often re-spell words that do not indicate a regional or low colloquial pronunciation, but he occasionally resorts to "eye dialect": bin (but usually been), as (usually as), buzzum, deal (deal), minnit (but also minute), sh'll or shill (unstressed shall), and vallyables. Once he is forced to start re-spelling in order to indicate a dialectal pronunciation, he may be forced to continue the process; after /v/ is changed to /b/ in lob (love), he sometimes changes the vowel to u, probably to prevent the reader from confusing lob (love) with lob (to toss slowly); possibly to indicate an /æ/ vowel in half, he uses haf, which omits the /l/, but the /l/ is omitted in colloquial speech.

SUMMARY

William Gilmore Simms indicates four of the twelve Southern peculiarities of pronunciation, including the Negro substitutions, and he notes one of the two shifts of consonant phonemes in Charleston speech. He also indicates slightly one of the Southern-Midwestern features, but not the other two of them. He does not indicate any of the Southern-Eastern features. Most of the dialectal flavor of the white speech comes from the use of low colloquial pronunciations, along with the use of low colloquial morphology and syntax. An analysis of 251
words on page 86 of *The Sword and the Distaff* reveals 232 words not re-spelled to show pronunciation, 18 re-spelled to show low colloquial pronunciation, and 1 "eye dialect" word. There is a much greater dialectal flavor to the Negro speech, for there is a much greater amount of re-spelling to show pronunciation, and the morphology and syntax show far greater variation from standard English than low colloquial morphology and syntax do. Of the first 260 words of Mingo's speech on page 387 of "Galoya," 202 words are not re-spelled, 30 show Negro substitutions, 19 show regional features, and 9 show low colloquial pronunciation.
CHAPTER VI
THE SPEECH OF THE SMOKY MOUNTAINS AS REPRESENTED BY
MARY NOAILLES MURFREE

For a study of the representation of the phonology of mountain speech in the works of Mary Noailles Murfree, late nineteenth-century author of many stories and novels using the mountain dialect, I have used the first 138 pages of The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains.\(^\text{1}\) The speech of all the mountain characters who appear in the selection was used in the analysis.

The general locale of the story is given in the title, of course. Further evidence of the setting is given in a description of the sun setting behind Chilhowee Mountain,\(^\text{2}\) which is located in Blount County, Tennessee.

\(^\text{1}\) (New York, Houghton Miflin, 1885).

\(^\text{2}\) Page 30.

Since the county east of Blount (and Chilhowee) is Sevier County, of which Sevierville is the county seat, it is likely that Sevierville is the Shaftesville of the story, for Shaftesville is also a county seat.\(^\text{3}\)

\(^\text{3}\) Pages 28 and 32.
The closest *Atlas* informants to the area in which Miss Murfree's story is set were from Scotland and Cumberland Counties in North Carolina; these counties are in the same general area, but are on the North Carolina rather than the Tennessee side of the Smoky Mountains.
REGIONAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

1. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. The omission of unstressed syllables, a characteristic of low colloquial speech in all areas, but extensive in Southern low colloquial, is indicated by Mary N. Murfree often. An initial unstressed vowel is omitted in 'low, 'lowed, 'pears, 'bou[t (but also about), 'bou[t'n, 'crost, feared (but also afeard), 'mongst, round or 'roun', 'cor[di'n, 'tention, 'bleeged (but also obleeged ), 'Lijah, 'Lisha, 'lected, 'lection, and 'lectioneer. Another, agreed, alive, along, and enough, however, retain the initial unstressed vowel. The completeness of the loss of the initial vowel in some words is shown by a form like re'lected, in which the vowel does not re-appear with the addition of a prefix. Initial syllables are lost from the forms 'speriunce, 'stiddier (instead), 'Cajah (but also Micajah), 'thout, 'kase (but also bekase), and 'twixt. Before may appear as 'fore or before, but it may also appear with only the /b/ omitted, as in afore and aforehand.

The /ɔ/ of an initial /bɔl/ sequence suffers syncope in b'long, b'longs, and b'lieves as does the /ɔ/ of an initial /sɔp/ sequence in s'pose, s'prised, s'prisin', and 'spicion. The unstressed vowel after intervocalic
/r/ is omitted in *cornsider'ble, Jer'miah, quar'l, quar'lin', bar'l, toler'ble, sher'ff, and sher'ffs, but cornsiderin' perhaps wrongly retains the unaccented vowel after /r/. Both the vowel and /r/ are omitted in *ev'y for *every. Cur'ious, from which an unaccented /r/ is omitted, is an old-fashioned form. Syncope of an unstressed medial syllable of polysyllabic words often occurs: *chit'lings, *dep' ty, *fambly, *gov'nor, *gov'nor's, *mem'ry, *off'cer, *pertic'lar, and *reg'lar. This pattern is not followed, however, in *Old Hickory, *misery, *prisoner, *revenue, *scandalous, *travelin', and other words. *M'liciously probably indicates only the weakening of the unstressed vowel, not the elimination of it, for an initial /ml/ is an unpermitted cluster in English. *Pen'tiary for *penitentiary seems extremely doubtful, for it has not been reported in dialect studies of the area.

The use of *differ for *difference is reported by Smith (OS, XVII, 45).

2. Omission of final stops. A /d/ final after /n/ is omitted in *an' (usually, but also and), *'roun', *frien', *gran', *thousan', *lan', *spen', *stan', and *onderstan'. The /d/ of *friend does not reappear in *frien'ly or *frien'lies; *frien's, of course, is acceptable colloquial pronunciation. The same speaker inconsistently uses both *gran'child and *grandchild. The pattern of omitting /d/ after /n/ is not followed in *ground, *bound, *hand-cuffed, *aforehand, and other
words. Only in word' and tole is /d/ omitted after /l/; elsewhere this /d/ remains, as in grandchild and old. The lack of /d/ in Lor' a'mighty seems to result from the preservation of an old form of an exclamation, for /d/ appears in Lord shows.

A /t/ final is occasionally omitted after /s/, as in jes', las', los', mos'ly, nex', resis', and frien'lies', but it is often retained, as in frien'liest, fust (first), grist, etc. A /t/ final after /k/ is omitted in edzac'ly, fac', deestric', and respect', but edzactly also occurs. A /t/ may also be omitted after /p/, as in kep', or after /f/, as in lef', but /t/ is not omitted after /n/, as in ain't. The low colloquial form agin (against) shows a loss of /st/. The loss of final /t/ in lemme and dunno is a general low colloquial form, and does not result from the occurrence of /t/ in a cluster.

The Atlas records show that final /t/ is not lost consistently in the mountain area; in fact, the mountain pattern seems to be to add /t/ excrecently about as often as it is omitted. Miss Murfree notes this addition of /t/ in 'crost (across), wunst, suddint, and wisht (wish). Varmints, of course, is a general low colloquial form of vermin. The form whenst for when is open to question, particularly since when also occurs; whiles might add /t/ and become whilst, as the author indicates, but /hwëns/ would make when a homophone of whence.
3. The addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/. Miss Murfree notes the addition of /j/ after /g/ and /k/ and before /a2/ only in kyerds (cards), in which the re-spelling indicates that the vowel has also shifted to /ʒ/.

4. Features not indicated. Miss Murfree does not indicate the majority of the Southern features of pronunciation: the phonetic form of /aɪ/, the phonetic form of /au/, the use of /ju/ after dentals, the use of /ɛ/ before tautosyllabic r, the use of /u/ in words like coop, the diphthongization of "short" vowels, the confusion of /ɛ/ and /ɛ/ before nasals, the use of /o/ in words like more and story, or the use of any of the miscellaneous Southern features.

II. Southern and Midwestern Features

1. Features not indicated. Miss Murfree does not indicate any of the Southern and Midwestern features of pronunciation: the use of /a/ in words like hot and rock, the use of /ɛ/ in words like grass, or the use of /ʒ/ for /ʌ/ before /-r-/.

III. Southern and Eastern Features

1. Use of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables before dentals. The spellings ornamint, disturbamint (but also disturbament) settlemint, judgmint, Presidint, and wondermint probably indicate unusual stress on the final syllable, for three of the words have the -mint italicized and Doctor Lowman notes such a stress and writes [ɛ] twice as the vowel of
last syllable of government. With this change of stress, the vowel seems also to have been changed to /i/ before /-nt/. Miss Murfree does not always follow such a pattern, as in consent. The use of /i/ before final tautosyllabic dentoals of unstressed syllables is indicated in idjit (idiot), pardin, and wagin, but not in chickens; the use of /ə/ or the syllabic nasal after /k/ is noted by the failure to re-spell bacon and reckon; the Atlas informants use /I/ in wagon and kitchen, but /ə/ in bacon.

2. Features not indicated. Since the mountains have retroflexion in both the r-vowel and postvocalic r, the other two features of Southern and Eastern speech do not apply to the dialect which Miss Murfree is representing.
1. **Vowels before tautosyllabic r.** The forms *ears, feared, afraid, fear, hear, hearn, year*, and this *here* seem to indicate the use of */iəʁ/ in these words in Smoky Moutain speech, but all three of the *Atlas* informants use */jɔr/ for both *ear* and *year* and do not use */iər/ in any of the accepted */iər/ words: *here, heard, cleared,* or *neared.* Miss Murfree usually writes *here* (but not *hear*) as *hyar,* indicating the substitution of */aɹər/; but *here* appears only as */hjɔr/ or */jɔr/ in the *Atlas* records studied, and Hall does not record */hjəɹər/ in his study (*SMS*, 16). The substitution of */aɹər/ for accepted */iər/ indicated by *cl̩r* or *clar* for *clear* is not directly substantiated by the *Atlas* records, which show an */ɜ̄r/ vowel in all three records of *cleared,* but the use of */aɹər/ in *queer, chair,* and *sermon* indirectly supports its use in *clear* since *clear* might follow the */iər/ pattern in *queer* and *chair* or the */ɜ̄r/ pattern of *sermon.*

The use of */əɹər/ is indicated by *spare* and *stared,* but these words may be the result of the author's oversight, for most */əɹər/ words show some shift. The substitution of */aɹər/ is indicated in *bears (bears), bar'1,* *somewhar,* *thar* (their or there), and *whar*; the pattern of this substitution is vindicated by the *Atlas* records of */aɹər/ in *stairsteps, chair,* and *there* although in the
Atlas records an /3/ occurs more frequently in chair and an /ɛ 3/ more frequently in stairsteps and stressed there. The substitution of /i 3/ or /j 3/ is suggested by keered, cheer (chair), and skeered; careless and scared appear consistently in the Atlas records with /j 3/ and chair is pronounced with /3/ by all three informants, although one informant also uses /a 3/ in it. Dassent preserves /ɛ/, although the /3/ remains omitted.

Kyerds for cards indicates the use of an /3/ vowel, but the Atlas records do not show any pattern of a shift of /a 3/ to /3/. The forms pa'tridge and passel lost r in early modern English when the vowel was still /ɛ/, as Hall points out (SMS, 30). Pa'son may well be an anomalous form borrowed from the coastal areas, but /a 3/ words normally do not lose r in the mountains. Air for are, indicating /ɛ 3/, is supported by the usage of the Atlas informants.

Miss Murfree signifies the loss of postvocalic r in fo'th (forth), but such a loss is unlikely in mountain speech, and even she retains r in fourteen and fower. The form fower probably indicates drawling pronunciation, for there is a diphthongal quality to all accepted American pronunciations of four, but she may have meant disyllabic /fo-w3/. The author also uses horse, although the common low colloquial pronunciation of that word is without r.
Pore for poor indicates the substitution of /o:\//, but the pattern is not followed in other words: surely and yourn. Sure, and yourn have /o:\/ in all three of the Atlas mountain records studied. The form yours itself for yourself in unemphatic position is "eye dialect," for yourself in that position has /3/ in general colloquial speech; similarly, yer for unstressed your is "eye dialect."

2. The phoneme /3/. An /3/ vowel sometimes appears in stressed syllables, as in word and her, but many substitutions for /3/ are indicated by Miss Murfree. The substitution of \( /A/ \) is indicated in bust, wuth, rust, and wusser, but not in furder; the use of /\( A/ \) in all of these words is recorded by Hall (SMS, 42). The substitution of /a:\/ indicated by consarn or consarns, servd, l'arn or l'arned, war (were) or warn't, and varmint follows the pattern of the Atlas informants in using /a:\/ in it wasn't (/twə\( \text{\`a}\)nt/), learned, and varmint. The use of /æ/ indicated in gal is a general low colloquialism. The /æ/ in Laws-a-massy is used only in the preserved form of the exclamatory remark. Miss Murfree apparently indicates the use of /i:\/ in peart and peartes', but the Atlas informants use /j3/ in pert.

Miss Murfree usually indicates the retention of accepted Midwestern colloquial /3/ in unaccented syllables, as in yander, platter, preacher, and other words, but she notes the low colloquial use of /I/ for /3/ in yestiddy; one of the three Atlas mountain records consulted has an /I/ in the second syllable of this word
and another omits the syllable.

Miss Murfree's chillen for children does not conform to the usage of the Atlas informants, who consistently have /dʒn/ in the final syllable, the postconsonantal r of an unstressed syllable having been metathesized. Her hundred (hundred), aggervatin', percise, percisely, purtended and purtendin', however, do show the metathesis.

3. The phoneme /i/. Miss Murfree indicates the substitution of /I/ for /i/ in critter, /ʌ/ for /i/ in muther (neither), and /I/ for accepted /i/ in drempt; all of these pronunciations occur frequently in the Atlas records.

4. The phoneme /I/. The substitution of /i/ for /I/ is obviously indicated in deestrict', heejus (hideous), leetle (but usually little), and peeg; an /i/ occurs in little in one of the Atlas field records and is reported as occasional in little and district by Hall (SMS, 15); Greet's report of the occurrence of /i/ in the Williamsburg pronunciation of big (PEW, 168) and the occurrence of /i/ in idiot in the Atlas records would seem to substantiate Miss Murfree's transcription in the other words although her idjit does not indicate an /i/ in idiot. The substitution of /ɛ/ in hender, sence, sperits, resk, and ef is justified directly by the Atlas records except for hender, which is in the same class as sence. Whether Miss Murfree means to substitute /ɛ/ or /i/ in destructin'
(first syllable italicized) is not clear, but if the italics indicate stress on the first syllable, the word should follow the pattern of deestric'. The author does not re-spell till, which has /ɛ/ in all of the three Atlas records studied. The addition of a syllable in Juny-bug is open to question, partly because it sounds like baby talk, and partly because it has been reported only by Payne (EA, 326), who lists it and zoorn-bug as alternates of the usual June-bug. The obvious connection of the name of the bug and the month of June should prevent a shift in pronunciation.

5. The phoneme /ɛ/. The author's substitution of /i/ in Jeems is verified by Hall (SMS, 18), and her mebbe, if not acceptable colloquial, is close to being (see PDAE). The Atlas records do not support her apparent /ɛ/ in kem (came), for come is normally used in the past tense.

6. The phoneme /ɛ/. The substitution of /i/ for /ɛ/ indicated by send or e-end is recorded once in the Atlas materials. The general low colloquial substitution of /i/ for /ɛ/ is indicated in agin (usual, but also again), git, gittin', and yit, and the general low colloquial pronunciation of wrestling is indicated in a-wrestlin'. The substitution of /ɛ/ before /g/ is noted in aig, a pronunciation occurring in two of the mountain records made for the Atlas, but legs is not re-spelled; agged (egged) apparently has an /æ/ vowel, as keg does in the Atlas records. Both the substitution of /æ/ for /ɛ/ in waal (well) and of
/ʒ/ for /ɛ/ in turrible conform to general low colloquial usage (see ADD). An /e/ is apparently indicated in fraish (fresh); Hall notes the occasional use of /e/ in fresh (SMS, 20).

7. The phoneme /ə/. Miss Murfree apparently intends to represent the substitution of /ɑ/ for /ə/ in arter and afterward, but the Atlas informants consistently use an /ə/. The substitution of /ʌ/ for /ə/ in ruther is also made by all the Atlas mountain informants, and the substitution of /ɛ/ in ketch is made by two of the three informants. Hɛv and hɛd, usually unstressed, are apparently only "eye dialect" re-spellings of /hɔv/ and /hɔd/.

An apparent substitution of /ɛ/ is indicated in kerried (carried); the use of the word seems unlikely since only one Atlas moutain informant uses carry and the others use tote. Miss Murfree apparently intends some distinction between kerried and toted, for she writes: "Folks ez kerried rifles in them days did n't tote 'em fur --fur-- a ornimint." The apparent substitution of /e/ in gaynder (gender) is not reported by any scientific phonological authority, but it follows the pattern of /e/ in answer and panther reported by Hall (SMS, 23). Miss Murfree's use of dragged, though a matter of morphology instead of phonology, is probably an oversight, for the past tense of to drag is regularly drug in low colloquial speech. Pompereed for pampered has been reported in Smoky Mountain speech by Hall (SMS, 26).
8. The phoneme /a/. The use of /æ/ for accepted /a/ in cramped, drag, vander, and draped is justified by the consistent knowledge or use of /æ/ in crop and yonder by the Atlas informants.

9. The phoneme /o/. Now for the no of an elliptical construction also occurs in the Atlas records. The morphological forms druy and rid for drove and rode are also supported by the usage of the Atlas informants.

10. The phoneme /ɔ/. An /e/ in bekase or 'kase does not occur in the Atlas mountain records, but an /e/ is used by some of the older informants in other areas of the South. The substitution of /a/ for /ɔ/ indicated in darter is not supported by the Atlas materials, for /ɔ/ and /æ/ occur in the Southern records of daughter, but /a/ does not. Jouring, which C. F. Smith lists as a Southernism meaning persistent quarreling or scolding (OS, XIV, 51), and Payne spells jower and defines as to quarrel or talk in a loud, scolding tone (EA, 325), appears in The Prophet as jowin'; Miss Murfree uses jow and jowin' in the sense of jaw and jowin': "...jowin' an' jowin' back an' fo' th..." and "...hear him jow 'bout'n Old Hickory...." Cotched as the past tense of to catch agrees with the usage of the Atlas informants.

11. The phoneme /u/. The substitution of /ʌ/ for /u/ indicated by tuk and shuck (shock) is justified by the consistent use of /ʌ/ in took by the Atlas informants.
12. The phoneme /u/. The e of ye, the unstressed form of you, may be Miss Murfree's pattern of re-spelling /ə/, but she probably means /i/, which is the usual low colloquial vowel in unstressed you in the mountain area.

13. The phoneme /ʌ/. The substitution of /ɛ/ for /ʌ/ is often noted: bresh, kentry, jes', jestice, jedge, jedgmint, sech, shet, shettin', tech, teched, treated, and unjest. The /ʌ/, however, remains in studyin'. An /ʌ/ before a nasal may be replaced by /a/ or /ɔ/, as Miss Murfree indicates in onderstan', undertake (but also undertake), oneasy, onregenerate, onsartin, onsettled, and onwillin', but she does not follow her pattern in under and unjest.

14. The phoneme /ə/. Since no phonetic report has been made of a shift in the pronunciation of the first syllable of consent and considerable, Miss Murfree's cornsent and cornsider'ble must represent only an extraordinarily long /ə/. The shift of /ə/ to /ɔ/ indicated in hollered, winder (usual, but also window), and shadder is justified by the Atlas records; the author also notes a tendency toward dissimilation which causes the /ə/ to be retained after /-r-/ as in sorrowin' and sparrow's, but that an /ə/ in this position is not always retained is shown by the use of /ɔ/ in all three transcriptions of harrow in the Atlas materials. Her use of innercent for innocent probably does not indicate the substitution of
/3/ for /ə/, but the use of an /ə/, as in her ter for to; thus innercent is "eye dialect."

The use of [i], phonemically /i/, is indicated in Dimmycrat; this /i/ in an open syllable corresponds to the /i/ final in china.

A partitive /ə/ is usually added to verb forms ending in -ing, as in a-scoutin', a-huntin', a-doin', a-goin', but not before words beginning with vowels or words of being, as in ailin', aidin', and bein', and sometimes it is not used before consonants, as in goin' and bouncin'.

15. The phoneme /aɪ/. The use of /i/ indicated by the form obleeged is recorded in obliged by Doctor Lowman, as is also the /au/ indicated in mought (might). An /æ/ in Squair (Squire) is an old-fashioned general low colloquial pronunciation (see ADD).

16. The phoneme /au/. Miss Murfree's fow-el or fowel (foul) and owels (els italicized) apparently indicates a well-rounded /u/ which, before /l/, tends to make the words disyllabic. The Atlas records sometimes show towel as disyllabic. The author does not, however, show the same tendency before r, as in our, ourn, and powerful. The form fund for found seems doubtful.

17. The phoneme /ɔɪ/. The old-fashioned use of /aɪ/ for accepted /ɔɪ/ in a number of words is noted in biled, enjye, h'ist, p'int, and p'inted.

18. The phoneme /b/. The addition of /b/ in fambly
(family) is noted occasionally in the Atlas records of Southern low colloquial speech.


20. The phoneme /v/. The disappearance of /v/ in the general low colloquial pronunciation of give me is noted in gimme; the /v/ of of is often omitted intervocally, as in o' our and o' ourn, but is sometimes retained, as in of 'em. The /ə/ remaining after the loss of /v/ in unstressed position is sometimes spelled er as in outer. The old on form of of remains after off and out (off'n and out'n) and occurs once in knows on; but out of may also appear as outer, as noted previously. Gin, usually appearing in dialect stories and phonetic reports as the past or past participle of to give, appears as such in The Prophet, but it is also used for the present.

21. The phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/. The use of painters for panthers is common low colloquial. T'other, although a short form of the other, may appear also as the t'other, indicating that t'other may mean only other.

22. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. The declensional /s/ or /z/ of the plural may be omitted, as in four month and three year, and it could also be omitted from ten miles. Beast occurs with the form beastis in the singular, beastis and beastises in the plural, and beastis' in the plural possessive; such a representation of the declension of beast is questionable. Mis' for Mistress might better
be written Miz', for Southern pronunciation normally uses /z/ in that word, as is noted by Kurath (AP, 294) and by Dr. Lowman in the records for the Atlas. Satisfied is an obsolete form of satisfied. Gallus (gallows) shows the substitution of /s/ for accepted /z/.

23. The phoneme /ʃ/. Measure for measure indicates the use of /ʃ/ in place of the usual /ʒ/, making measure homonymous with major. Such a substitution is unreported in the phonetic studies of mountain speech and seems unlikely even though /ʃ/ is often used for accepted /ʒ/ in a word like garage.

24. The phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/. Miss Murfree's pattern is to show the use of /n/, not /ŋ/, in -ing endings by writing -in', as in a-tilin', a-scoutin', a-doin', a-join', and many other words, but she deserts the pattern in addling, aging, breaking, and chit'lings. The use of /n/ for accepted /ŋ/ in strength is a general colloquial feature. Mounting for mountain is an over-correction.

A syllabic [ŋ] is indicated once in meetin'-house, but meetin'-house also occurs. An may not replace a before a vowel in the next work, as in a ignorant, a independent, and a ornament. Relic forms of the possessive with /n/ remain in his'n and ours.

25. The phoneme /m/. Suthin' for something must have been obsolescent at the time Miss Murfree wrote, for all three of the mountain informants of the Atlas have an
26. The phoneme /l/. The omission of /l/ in Lor' Almighty gives an indication of the stress on the phrase; A'- in such a phrase would be /ɔ/. Miss Murfree omits /l/ in haffen (half) and hisse'f, but not in himself, myself, and folks. Haffen for half has been reported in none of the phonetic studies of mountain speech and has been used by no other dialect writer; hence it is a very questionable form despite its use by Chaucer (see C. F. Smith, OS, XIV, 39).

27. The phoneme /j/. As noted in the first section of this chapter, a /j/ is added in kyerds (cards). A /j/ also appears before initial / / in yearn (earn), yearned, and yearth; the addition of this /j/ before /ɔ/ is noted by Hall in earth, herb, and other words (SMS, 42). A /j/ should also be added to ears, for the Atlas records show ear and year as homonyms. The one occurrence of favor must be the result of a mistake in proofreading, for favor and a-favor'in' also occur. Miss Murfree indicates the substitution of /j/ for /dʒ/ in heajus, idjit, and Injun (or Injun'). The old-fashioned pronunciation of unstressed u without /j/ is indicated in critter and natur', but the omission of /j/ might also be indicated in circulation.

28. The phoneme /h/. The distinction between ain't, as a form of to be, and hain't, as a form of to have, is
maintained. This here should show the omission of /h/.

29. The phoneme /w/. The absence of /w/ in awk'ard, back'ard, and skal is common in low colloquial; Doctor Lowman's Atlas field records show the absence of /w/ in awkward, forward, and other words. Miss Murfree writes 'thout for without, indicating the loss of the first syllable, but in two of the Atlas mountain records only the /w/ is omitted.

30. Metathesis. The historically unmetathesized ax and axed are used for ask and asked. A number of examples of the metathesis of postconsonantal r in unstressed syllables have been noted in the previous discussion of /ʒ/.

31. Malapropisms. One of the characters in The Prophet once uses insurance for assurance.

32. "Eye dialect." A large number of the re-spelled words in The Prophet are "eye dialect": ez, enny, ennything, crost (crossed), kin (can), quirin' (choiring), dunno, fur (usually, but also for), furgits, furgot (usually, but also forgot), hev, hed, laff, laffed, laffter, laffin', mimit (but also minute), muthin', shell (unstressed shall), sez, spry'r'n, vittles, verself, and yer (unstressed you). Miss Murfree's use of ter to indicate unstressed to, as in inter, oughter, outer, ter, ter-day, and ter-gether, is an "eye dialect" representation of /tə/, an accepted colloquial
pronunciation of unstressed to; Hall points out that [ə] is the most frequently used vowel in the first syllable of tobacco, together, tomorrow, and towards, but that tomorrow may sometimes have an obscured [u] or [ʊ] (SMS, 56-7). Innocent for innocent apparently involves the same re-spelling pattern. Such re-spellings as that of the final syllable of 'sperience are also "eye dialect."

SUMMARY

Mary Noailles Murfree notes only four regional characteristics of pronunciation in The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains: the omission of unstressed syllables, the omission of final stops, the addition of /j/ after /g/ and /k/, and the use of /l/ before tautosyllabic dentals in unstressed syllables. Since the first two of these characteristics are not exclusively Southern, but are merely more prevalent there, and since she indicates the addition of /j/ in only one word, the author cannot be credited with indicating much of the regional phonology. Most of the re-spellings in The Prophet result from low colloquial usage and her use of "eye dialect." Of 260 words beginning at the top of page 88 and omitting proper nouns, 156 are not re-spelled; of the re-spelled words, 43 are "eye dialect," 42 show low colloquial pronunciation, and only 19 show regional pronunciation.
CHAPTER VII

THE LOW COLLOQUIAL SPEECH OF GEORGIA AS REPRESENTED BY

AUGUSTUS BALDWIN LONGSTREET

The earliest well-known representation of the low
colloquial speech of the poor whites of Georgia is that of
Augustus Baldwin Longstreet in *Georgia Scenes*, a series of
sketches published serially in the Milledgeville, Georgia,
Southern Recorder and Augusta, Georgia, State Rights Sentinel.
The first collected edition of these sketches, published
at Augusta in 1835, was given such wide acclaim that a
"second" edition was published in New York by Harper's in
1840 and was followed by numerous other "second" editions
thereafter.

For this study of Longstreet's representation of the
phonology of Georgia low colloquial speech, all of the low
colloquial dialect in *Georgia Scenes*¹ was used. Most of the

¹(New York, Harper's, 1859).

sketches seem to be set in middle Georgia, the area in which
Longstreet lived. Although the author often gives only a
general indication of the setting of a sketch, such as that
"The Shooting-Match" occurred in "one of our northeastern
counties," he sometimes mentions a county, such as Richmond County in "The Fight," Lincoln County in "Georgia Theatrics," or nearby towns, as Augusta, Springfield, Harrisburg, and Campbellton in "The Gander Pulling."
I. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. The low
colloquial speakers of Georgia Scenes often omit an initial
/ə/, as in 'cordin', 'bout (usual, but also about), 'long,
'mount, mazin', 'bundance, 'way, 'pon, and bleage (but also
obliged), but an initial unstressed /i/ or /ə/ may be re-
tained, as in another, enough, and eternally. The initial
/bə-/ is usually omitted in 'fore for before, but before,
between, and behind also occur. Tobacco and potato occur
as 'bacco and tatur, but potato is also used. Almost ap-
ppears as 'most or most.

The /ə/ of the first syllable of believe is usually
omitted, but not always. An initial unstressed /sə-/ or
/səs-/ may omit the vowel and the /s/ join a succeeding
/p/ of the stressed syllable, as in 'spect and s'pose or
or 'spose. Unstressed vowels before or after /r/ may
suffer syncope, as in Car'line and na'trally [sic], but
naturally indicates that two syllables are omitted; different
and every, often re-spelled by other dialect writers of the
area, occur in their usual spelling in Georgia Scenes.
Medial syllables of some other polysyllables are omitted:
pertic'lar, reg'lar, and Meth'dist.

Omission of a final syllable occurs in Miss or Mis'
for mistress and Mas' for master.
2. **Omission of final stops.** Longstreet does not indicate the omission of /t/ final after /n, s, k, p/, as in sint, best, spect, kept, except in pointblank and track (tract), and he indicates the omission of /d/ final only in work and once when it is assimilated to a following /t/ in bleege to.

3. **Features not indicated.** Since Longstreet does not fully indicate the loss of unstressed syllables or of final stops, that part of his dialect representation might well belong to any low colloquial dialect, for these features are Southern only in the extent and frequency of their use. He does not indicate any of the other features of Southern phonology: the phonetic form of /a1/ and /aw/, the use of /ju/ after dentals, the use of /u/ in words like coop, the retention of /o/ in words like more and glory, the diphthongization of short vowels, the confusion of /i/ and /ɛ/ before nasals, the addition of /j/ after /g/ or /k/ and before /a/, or the other miscellaneous features. Thus it may well be said that Longstreet does not indicate any purely Southern characteristics of pronunciation.

II. **Southern and Midwestern Features.**

1. **Features not indicated.** Longstreet does not in Georgia Scenes re-spell to show any of the Southern and Midwestern features of pronunciation: the use of /a/ in words like hot and rock, the use of /æ/ in words like half, grass, and dance, or the use of /ʒ/ before intervocalic /r/.
III. Southern and Eastern Features.

1. Treatment of postvocalic \( r \). Longstreet sometimes omits postvocalic \( r \), but only in words which have \( r \)-less forms in low colloquial: Lo'd (in Lo'd o' messy, but Lord otherwise), pa'cel or passel (but also parcel), and hose (but as frequently horse). Thus his omission of \( r \) does not show a regional feature of pronunciation.

2. Features not indicated. None of the other Southern and Eastern features of pronunciation are indicated in Georgia Scenes either: the lack of retroflexion of the vocalic \( r \) of stressed syllables, the use of \( /ə/ \), not \( /ɔ/ \), in unstressed syllables, or the use of \( /i/ \), not \( /ə/ \), before tautosyllabic dentals of unstressed syllables.
LOW COLLOQUIAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

1. **Vowels before tautosyllabic r.** Longstreet gives little indication of the Southern low colloquial shift of vowels before tautosyllabic r. He does sometimes use *thar, there,* and *are* (unstressed, as in *them are*) for *there,* indicating the use of /a³/, but the usual form of the word is *there.* The forms *cartridge* and *pa'cel* or *passel* are relic pronunciations of words which in early modern English lost *r* when the vowel was still /æ/. Other than in these instances, Longstreet does not indicate anything but the accepted pronunciation of vowels before tautosyllabic r: *clear, ears,* and *here* indicate an /i³/; *care,* *scariest,* *where,* and *there* apparently have the accepted Southern /æ³/; *cart* and *dark* indicate an /a³/; *for,* *Lord,* *sort,* and *short* indicate an /ɔ³/; *Courthouse* and *before* (or *'fore*) indicate an /o²/; and *sure, your,* and *you're* indicate an /u²/.

2. **The phoneme /ɔ/.** Longstreet notes the low colloquial use of /a³/ for accepted /ɔ/ in *eternally,* *serment,* *universal,* *varment,* and *warn't,* but he does not show this use in other words, as in *learn* and *served.* His *heard,* *hearn,* *yearnest,* and *yerbs* do not show a shift of vowel, but *yeath* (earth) does. *Gal* (girl) and *messy* (mercy, as in *la messy*) show the use of /æ/ and /ɛ/ respectively; both uses are reported in the *Atlas* field
records. The shift in spelling in the first syllable of particular is an "eye dialect" re-spelling.

3. The phoneme /i/. Longstreet notes the low colloquial use of /e/, not /i/, in real, reyly, and r'ally (but also really); real appears with /e/ in all four of the Atlas Georgia records studied. A similar use of /e/ where accepted colloquial uses /i/ is indicated in concoit, a word which James Fenimore Cooper also indicates as having an /e/ vowel (see Wentworth, ADD). The use of /ʌ/ in neither, indicated by nother or n'other, is borne out by the pronunciation of three of the Atlas informants. Neither also occurs in Georgia Scenes, as does also nither (with ni- italicized), but whether Longstreet means /i/ or /a1/ to be pronounced in the latter form is not clear. The form nigger for negro, of course, is a general low colloquial preservation of a form from French nègre. Eat, used for the past participle of to eat, probably indicates /it/, not /ɛt/, for all of the Atlas Georgia informants use /it/ as past and past participle.

4. The phoneme /I/. Longstreet usually shows the low colloquial use of /i/ in leetle, but little and littlest also occur. He does not, as do most dialect writers, indicate an /ɛ/ in if, an /u/ in whipped, or the omission of /I/ in curious.

5. The phoneme /e/. Longstreet demonstrates his lack of system in spelling vowel sounds by his use of the three forms aint, a'nt, and eint.
6. The phoneme /ɛ/. The low colloquial use of /ɪ/ for accepted /ɛ/ is indicated in Georgia Scenes in agin (but also again), agin (against), git (usual, but also get), gitt'n or gittin, and riddy, but the author does not indicate an /ɪ/ in forgetful and yet. The low colloquial pronunciation of end, phlegm, and deaf with /ɪ/ is indicated by the forms eend (but also end), phleet, and deaf, and the use of /æ/ is indicated in yallow for yellow.

7. The phoneme /æ/. Longstreet does not, like most dialect writers, indicate the low colloquial use of /ɛ/ in catch and caught or of /ʌ/ in rather. Both can and kin occur; the latter is "eye dialect."

8. The phoneme /ɑ/. Gaub for gob indicates an /ɔ/, not an /ɑ/, in that word. By warter Longstreet apparently means to indicate an excrescent /ɔ/; this, if found in the speech of middle Georgia, must have come down from the mountains, for among the Atlas speakers only the mountain informants add an /ɔ/ in wash. Longstreet does not indicate the use of an /æ/ in yonder.

9. The phoneme /ɔ/. The old-fashioned pronunciation of daughter with an /æ/ vowel is indicated in da'ter; an /æ/ is also preserved in sassy (saucy), meaning impudent. The form corn-stock for corn-stalk apparently indicates the use of /ɑ/ in stalk. Fout, indicating an /ɑʊ/ in the past tense of to fight, is a form frequently recorded in the Atlas materials.
10. The phoneme /o/. The form tatur for potato may indicate the use of /ɔ/ for the final unaccented /o/ or /ə/, but Longstreet's pattern is to leave words of this type in their usual spelling: potato, halloo, and 'bacco.

11. The phoneme /u/. Chawin' for chewing indicates a general low colloquial pronunciation. The preservation of the old unpalatalized form of /u/ is indicated in ager, nater, and na'trally or nat'ly.

12. The phoneme /ʌ/. Some words with accepted colloquial /ʌ/ have /i/ in low colloquial, as Longstreet indicates in list (usual, but also jest and just), Ingons, and sich (but also such), and some have /ɛ/ in low colloquial, as he notes in jest, shet, and shetting. He does not, however, re-spell touchy, as most dialect writers do.

13. The phoneme /ə/. That Longstreet does not record the use of /i/ before tautosyllabic dentals in unstressed syllables is evident from such words as blanket, Bullet, serment, and wagon and by his change of i to e in one form of pulling: pulled (but also pullin). He shows the general low colloquial use of /i/ final in Georgy for Georgia. He often, but not consistently, adds a partitive /ə/ to verb forms in -ing, as in a suckin', a crooking, a going, and a swine.

14. The diphthongal phonemes. The use of /i/ for accepted /ai/ is indicated in bleege (but also obliged) and teeny. Mout or mought for might, indicating /au/, is
a form often recorded in the Atlas materials. The use of /ər/ for accepted /ɔI/ is indicated in pennyroyal, but not in poin'tblank.

15. Treatment of consonantal /r/. Longstreet shows the preservation of an old pronunciation in nigger and a loss of postconsonantal /r/ in thum (from) [parentheses the author's]. He does not indicate metathesis in pretty or loss in monstrous, as do later writers of the Georgia dialect. Intervocalic /r/ is never omitted.

16. The phoneme /ʒ/. In Georgia Scenes the low colloquial form t'other, showing the use of a /t/ for accepted /ʃ/, appears, but otherwise th- for either /ʃ/ or /θ/ is not re-spelled.

17. The phonemes /f/ and /v/. The substitution of /θ/ for /f/ in Longstreet's thum for from is not supported by any modern phonetic evidence and must only be his way of signifying a lack of stress. Lief occurs as both li'f and le've; Hall notes the use of /f/ in leave (SMS, 98) and /v/ in lief (SMS, 97), indicating a merging of the two words in low colloquial speech. Morphologically, gin' or gin may be used for the past and past participle of to give, but give is used for the present. The /v/ final of unstressed of and have may be omitted and written ə' and 'ə' or o' (I'd o' took), even intervocally, as in sort o' in.

18. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. The declensional /z/ is often omitted from the plural of mile.
19. The phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/. The change of /n/ to /m/ by assimilation to a following /b/ is noted in by'm'by. Most of the time -ing endings are changed to -in', indicating the use of /n/ for accepted /ŋ/, as in 'cordin', mazin' or mazin, bein', comin' (usual, but also coming), killin', and various other words, but frequently the ending is not re-spelled, as in a crooking, agoing, chitterling, corn-shucking, failings, trading, drinking, joking, killing, nothing (but also nothin'), resting, and shetting. Longstreet seems to recognize the presence of a syllabic /ŋ/ after /t/, for he uses cutt'n, gitt'n (but also gittin), putt'n', and shoot'n'-match and uses -'n or -'n' for -ing after no other consonant.

20. The phoneme /w/. Longstreet does not omit /w/ in backward although later writers usually do.

21. The phoneme /j/. The phoneme /j/, as noted above, is added excrecently before /ɔ/ in yearn'est, y'eat'h, and yerbs, and is not used before /u/ in unstressed syllables, as in ager and nater.

22. The phoneme /h/. Longstreet preserves the distinction between ha'nt or han't, as a part of to have, and a'nt, aint, or eint, as a part of to be.

23. The phoneme /l/. The /l/ is omitted in unstressed a'ready and a'mighty (Lord a'mighty). The /l/ is preserved, however, in gentleman or gentlemen, words which in the stories of later writers usually show the omission of /l/.
24. **Metathesis.** The historically unmetathesized form **ax** occurs in *Georgia Scenes* for **ask**.

**SUMMARY**

Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's writing of dialect in *Georgia Scenes* can hardly be said to show any regional features of pronunciation, for his indications of the omission of unstressed syllables and of final stops occur too infrequently to be classed as characteristically Southern. Hence the dialect he represents is low colloquial as distinct from the accepted colloquial speech of the area in which the sketches are set---middle Georgia. That Longstreet is using his re-spellings only for dialectal flavor and is not trying to write phonetically accurate low colloquial speech can be assumed from his failure to re-spell many words which we know have distinctive low colloquial pronunciations, from his use of very little "eye dialect," and from the low proportion of re-spelled words to those not re-spelled. Of 178 words of low colloquial dialogue on page 24, 164 are not re-spelled, and the other 14 show low colloquial features of pronunciation.
CHAPTER VIII

THE LOW COLLOQUIAL SPEECH OF GEORGIA AS REPRESENTED BY

RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON


For a study of Johnston's representation of the phonology of middle Georgia speech, I have used all of the conversation of Mr. Bill Williams in the story "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively."\(^1\) In the preface

\(^1\)Dukesborough Tales; The Chronicles of Mr. Bill Williams (New York, D. Appleton, 1892), pp. 75-141.
to the Dukesborough Tales, the author identifies the scene of the stories: "In Dukesborough the author has preserved his memoirs of Powelton, a small village in Hancock County, Georgia, near which is his birthplace."² His biographer says of Johnston's representation of the speech of middle Georgia: "He preserves with clearness and accuracy the forceful dialect of the people whom he knew."³ That John-


ston is attempting to portray the dialect accurately we can assume from his own statement:

As for the dialect, I do not see how I could make a mistake, accustomed as I was to both hearing and speaking it when in familiar intercourse with persons of all degrees of culture. Educated persons, including eminent lawyers and divines, loved it well, and spoke it often even in the society of themselves alone, except when in serious discourse. There are things in one's thoughts sometimes, particularly upon humorous themes, that can not be put with near as much aptness and poignancy in entirely grammatical, rhetorical phrases. Even is this were possible, the characters that I have tried to illustrate spoke the language that I put into their mouths.⁴

REGIONAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION

I. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. Johnston occasionally omits an initial unstressed vowel, as in 'long, 'pear, 'tending, 'specially or specially, and nuff, but of these words, appear and enough also occur with the initial vowel; many other words of this type, such as about, account, accordin', and another, always retain initial /ə/. Initial syllables are omitted also from 'plain, 'spect (but also expect), 'spected, 'spectin', 'minded, and 'member, but be- is never omitted in befo' and between, although afore, from which only the /b/ is omitted, does occur.

A medial syllable may be omitted when an unstressed vowel follows a stop and precedes /l/, as in b'lieve, but it may be retained, as in belong. When an initial /sə-/ precedes a stressed syllable beginning with /p/, the vowel may be omitted and /s/ form an initial cluster with /p/, as in s'pose, s'pose, and s'posen, but Johnston does not indicate a similar omission in suspicious. Suppose also occurs, apparently to indicate markedly slow discourse. A medial syllable may also be omitted when /r/ occurs between two unstressed vowels, as in Calliner (Carolina), toler'ble, ginerl, ginerly, ginilly, and in-trust (but interestin'), but not if the second unstressed vowel is an open syllable in final word position, as in
every and hickory; these last two words may have been
ersights on the part of the author. Difference does not
follow the pattern of unstressed vowels separated by /r/.
Determined for determined apparently shows syncope of the
vowel by the assimilation of the two nasal consonants
into one. Other medial syllables in polysyllabic words
are omitted in calc'lation, prop'ty, partickler, and
bizness (but also business), but omission is not indicated
in uncomfortable. An unstressed vowel not separated by
a consonant from another vowel bearing primary or secondary
stress may be omitted, as in vilence, serous, varus, and
curis, but serious and various also occur.

The final /i/ of carry is omitted in k'vars, to car',
and carrin's on; that this omission applies only to the
word carry and not to other words of the type is indicated
by every.

2. Omission of final stops. Johnston notes the
omission of final /d/ after /n/ only in understand' and
bran' new, but understand also occurs. The /d/ he omits
before to, as in have promise to and use to (but usually
used to) is not pronounced in accepted colloquial but is
assimilated to the following /t/. He omits the /d/ in
oblege ef, but uses it needlessly in obleeged to.

Final /t/ is omitted after /s/ in jes (just), but
jest is used almost as often, and /t/ is preserved in other
/-st/ sequences, as in last, mostly, and next. Syllabic
final /t/ is omitted after /k/ in perfectly, but not in
other words, such as exactly, fact, and spect. A /t/ final after /f/ is omitted in only one word: druffs (draughts).

3. Retention of /o/ before r. Johnston gives some indication of the retention of /o/ before r by omitting postvocalic r only after /o/, as in befo', cose (usual, but also course), cote, cotin', coted, flo', and sto' (usual, but also store). He is not consistent in omitting r after /o/, however, for such forms as afore, door, forth, and more occur.

4. Addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/. Johnston notes the addition of a /j/ after /k/ and before /a/ in k'yars for carries, but carrin's on and to car' do not indicate its use.

5. Features not indicated. Many of the Southern features of pronunciation are not indicated in "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively": the phonetic form of the phonemes /a1/ and /au/; the use of /ju/ after dentals; the use of /u/ in words like hoop and coop; the diphthongization of "short" vowels; the confusion of /i/ and /e/ before nasals; and the miscellaneous features.

II. Southern and Midwestern Features

1. Use of /ɑ/ in half, grass, dance, etc. Johnston indicates the coastal /ɑ/ in arfter, arfterward, and tobarker, not the Midwestern and inland Southern /ɑ/. He does not, however, re-spell rather to indicate /ɑ/;
it occurs usually as ruther, indicating the low colloquial use of /ʌ/.

2. Features not indicated. There are no indications in "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively" of the Southern and Midwestern use of /a/ in words like hot and rock or the use of /ɔ/ before intervocalic /r/.

III. Southern and Eastern Features

1. Treatment of postvocalic r. Johnston shows the omission of postvocalic r or the coastal use of /ɹ/ for postvocalic r only when r occurs after /o/, as in befo' (but also afore), cose (usual, but also course), cot, cotin', coted, flo', and sto'(usual, but also store). Even an r after /o/ is not omitted consistently, for it always appears in more and door.

2. Use of /ɪ/ before tautosyllabic dentals of unstressed syllables. Johnston gives an indication of the use of /ɪ/ for Midwestern /ɔ/ in unstressed syllables before tautosyllabic dentals by writing curis, sarmint, and mistiss, but many other words, such as bizness, bargain, intrust (interest), and pallet, do not follow such a pattern.

3. Features not indicated. The Southern and Eastern lack of retroflexion in the /ʒ/ of stressed syllables and substitution of /ɔ/ for /ʒ/ in unstressed syllables are not indicated by Johnston.
1. Vowels before tautosyllabic r. Johnston's use of forms like afeard or afeerd, 'pear, here, hear, and heerd apparently indicates the use of /iə/; but he indicates the low colloquial use of /3/ in cler and of /a/ in rear (rear). The pattern of /3/, used in cler, extends to the first group of words in the Atlas records.

The low colloquial use of /aə/ for accepted Southern /æə/ is indicated in ar (air), anywhar, far (fair), farly, har, squarly, thar (there or their, but their also occurs once), thar's, and whar; the form a-tarin' for a-tearin' shows the preservation of /a/ after a suffix has been added and the r has become intervocalic. The pattern of using /aə/ is neglected, however, in downstairs, declared, and wheresomever. The low colloquial use of /iə/ or /j3/ for accepted /æə/ after /k/ or /ɔ/ is indicated in keer, keers, keered, cheer, and cheers (chairs).

Johnston's use of ar for are may be "eye dialect," but it may possible be his method of representing the low colloquial use of /æə/ for accepted /aə/, for he also uses fair for far, indicating such a shift; ar is his usual form, but are also occurs. He also indicates the use of /3/ in far by writing it fur.

As has been noted previously in this chapter, Johnston may omit r after /o/, as in befo' and cote; he does not,
however, indicate such a loss after /ɔ/, as in born, nor does he show the colloquial pronunciation of unstressed or and nor by re-spelling them.

The low colloquial use of /o ə/ in words with accepted /u ə/ is indicated by shore and shore's, but not in other words of the same pattern, such as poor, your, and yourself. His yur for unstressed your is an "eye dialect" spelling, for it apparently indicates /3/, an accepted pronunciation.

2. The phoneme /3/. The low colloquial use of /A ə/ for accepted /3/ is indicated by Johnston in sarmints, war (were), and wa'n't, and the use of /i ə/ or /j 3/ is indicated in heern, heerd, peert, Pearch (Perch), and skeerts. Certinly and circumstance indicate the retention of /3/, but other writers show the use of /A ə/ in these words. Cussin' is a low colloquial form of cursing and is limited in meaning to profanity; that Johnston does not intend to indicate a pattern of using /A/ for accepted /3/ regularly can be assumed from such forms as curtin, circumstance, and worth. The substitution of /ə/ for /3/ in unstressed syllables is not indicated, but if this /ə/ then becomes /i/ before a succeeding nasal, it is re-spelled, as in yistiday.

3. The phoneme /i/. The use of /I/ for accepted /i/ is indicated in nigger, and the use of /ɛ/ for /i/ in freckwent. Consate for conceit, representing the use of /e/ instead of /i/ also occurs in the work of Long-street (see Chapter VII) and James Fenimore Cooper (see
ADD). Crop, an obsolete form of creep, is used for crept.

4. The phoneme /I/. Johnston indicates the low colloquial use of /ɛ/ instead of accepted /I/ in of, sence or sense, ontell, and low-sperited, words in which /ɛ/ occurs in the Atlas records studied. His impossible for impossible, which also occurs in the works of other dialect writers, apparently results by analogy with words having /ɑn-/ or /ɔn-/ as a negative prefix, such as oncivill and onesay. Pe-szer for piazza apparently shows a shift of stress to the first syllable; since the vowel of the first syllable is in accepted pronunciation an [I] in an open syllable, it is phonemically /I/. De-ficulty may also indicate stress on the first syllable, but it appears also to indicate an /I/ vowel and the change of syllabication. The use of /I/ indicated in leetle conforms to the pronunciation of some of the Atlas informants, but Johnston inconsistently also uses little and littlest. Whether Johnston means /ər/ or /u/ in the stressed syllable of nary (ne'er a) is not clear, but he obviously means [I ], phonemically /I/, in the final unstressed syllable. Wish, which is often re-spelled by other authors, appears in its normal spelling in "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively."

5. The phoneme /ɛ/. Johnston shows the low colloquial use of /I/ in a number of words with accepted
colloquial /ɛ/: agin (against), forgit, git, ginerly, ginerl, ginilly, hilt (held), yit, and yistidy, but not in again. Bedstids for bedsteads in "eye dialect," and instid for instead, again indicating /ɪ/, approaches accepted usage (see ADD). The use of /ə/ in yaller (yellow) is also noted.

6. The phoneme /ə/. Since Johnston uses k'yars, to car', and carrin's on, he must be indicating not only that the final syllable is omitted, but also that the vowel is /a/, not the accepted /ə/ before the intervocalic /r/ of carry. He indicates the low colloquial use of /ʌ/ for accepted /ə/ in ruther, but he does not re-spell catch to show the usual low colloquial /ɛ/ in it.

7. The phoneme /a/. An old-fashioned use of /ə/ for /a/ is indicated in drap for drop.

8. The phoneme /ɔ/. The old low colloquial /e/ is indicated in becase for because.

9. The phoneme /ɔ/. Johnston's -er for final -ow in caliker, feller (but also fellar and fellow), follered, holler (hollow), widders, winder, and yaller is "eye dialect" since /ɔ/ is an accepted pronunciation of the final syllable of these words and the middle Georgia area does not substitute /ɔ/ for final /ə/. A-follerin', is not necessarily "eye dialect," for many of the coastal informants for the Atlas use /r/ in swallowing, a comparable phonetic sequence. Johnston does not re-spell goin' to
show the use of /əl/, as do most dialect writers.

10. The phoneme /u/. The low colloquial use of /ʌ/ for accepted /u/ is indicated in tuk or tuck, but took is also used.

11. The phoneme /u/. Johnston does not re-spell to when it occurs in its usual unstressed form, but he does use too for stressed to, thus indicating that /u/, not /ə/, is the vowel used. Kercomber for cucumber apparently indicates an /ə/ in place of the accepted /ju/. Cooped does not indicate whether /u/ or /U/ is meant.

12. The phoneme /ʌ/. A number of words in "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively" indicate the use of /ɔ/ or /ə/ instead of accepted /ʌ/ before nasals: hongry, oncomfortable, ontimely, ontimeliest, oncivil, onlock, onexpected, oneasy, and ontell; understand and unpleasant, however, do not follow the pattern. The use of /ɛ/ for accepted /ʌ/ is indicated in bresh-heap, shets, and jes', jes, or jest. The use of /I/ is noted in kiver (cover) and sich.

13. The phoneme /ə/. A partitive /ə/ is often added to verb forms ending in -ing, as in a inquirin', a-livin', a-dyin', and a-follerin'. The low colloquial use of /I/ for syllabically final /ə/ is indicated in accommodation, Augusty, convision, Geory, Firginny, and nary, but an /ə/ is apparently retained in Calliner, pe-azer, and tobarker. A final /ə/ is lost in idee after
the stress is placed on the first syllable (see Chapter II).

14. The diphthongal phonemes. The use of /ai/ for accepted /ɔi/ is noted in jintly and pined. The accepted /ai/ of obliged is replaced in low colloquial by /i/ in obleege and obleegeed, and the accepted /ai/ of might is /au/ in mout. Provoses for provises seems to be a half humorous pronunciation, for although there is a pattern for changing /v/ to /w/, there is none for changing /ai/ to /o/.

15. Treatment of /r/. The loss of postconsonantal /r/ is indicated in monstrous, mistiss, and theo (but usually through and sometimes throo), but not in from. The metathesis of postconsonantal /r/ is noted in perliminary, but not in hundred; nigger preserves an old pronunciation from French negre. In k'yars (carries) and to car' Johnston indicates that intervocalic /r/ has become postvocalic by the loss of the succeeding syllable. Calliner for Carolina apparently results from the loss of the unstressed vowel after /r/ and then the loss of an /r/ that has thus become postvocalic. Johnston does not show the loss of intervocalic /r/ in curis (curious).

16. The phonemes /t/ and /d/. A /t/ is added ex-
crescently in sarminta, that is, after /n/, but a /t/ does not appear after /s/, as in once, twice, and chance. Circ-
sumstance apparently indicates the loss of /t/, but there is no scientific evidence to support such an omission.
The voicing of /t/ in pardner is general low colloquial. Both corner and cornder are used by Mr. Bill Williams; an excrescent /d/ may well appear after /n/, but it should appear in all forms if it appears in one. The unvoicing of /d/ in hilt (held) is general low colloquial.

17. The phoneme /b/. An initial /b/ is usually retained in before, written befo', but the form afore also appears.

18. The phoneme /v/. The substitution of /f/ for /v/ is noted in leaf (leave) and Firginny; such a substitution in the latter is recorded in Doctor Lowman's records for the Atlas and Hall notes the use of /f/ in the former (SMS, '98). Of may appear as of, o', or in the relic form on, as in outen. Unstressed have is written as a. The usual low colloquial shift of /v/ to /b/ in even is not noted. The use of a bilabial fricative for /v/ and /w/ may cause such substitutions as are indicated in various, sitovation, and provosoes (provisoes); two of these words, however, occur in other forms: varus and sitocation.

19. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. Mr. Bill Williams's substitution of /s/ for /z/, as in conshequenches, non-plushed, and responsibility, does not follow any pattern reported by phoneticians and may well represent only an individual speech defect. His skene (scene) and skenes obviously represent reading pronunciations. The declensional /z/ is omitted from the plural of year.
20. The phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/. The /n/ of the usual sandhi form of the indefinite article before a vowel in the succeeding word may not be used as in a example. Johnston does not indicate the change of /n/ to /m/ by assimilation to an adjoining /b/ in byn-bye and even. The addition of /n/ in immejantly is not supported by the Atlas records and is listed in Wentworth (ADD) only from Nebraska. Solemest is a consistent formation from solemn, which has no /n/ in accepted colloquial. Morphologically, an /n/ occurs in fitten, hisn, and heern (but also heerd).

Johnston's pattern is to change -ing to in', as in astin', accordin', a-dyin', a-livin', cussin', cotin', evenin', mornin', sprusen', palin's, and numerous other words, but he does not follow the pattern in 'tending and meddling and in one occurrence of saying. Mr. Bill Williams's attempt to use /ŋ/ leads to the over-corrections indicated in certing, ofting, wimming, and woming.

21. The phoneme /ɡ/. An unstressed initial ex-followed by a vowel (/ɡz-/) may omit /ɡ/, as is indicated in exactly, Ezecheter, example.

22. The phoneme /j/. Johnston indicates the /dj/ following the stressed syllable but preceding an unstressed syllable may become /j/, as in immejantly and tremenjus, but the /dj/ preceding a stressed syllabic does not become /j/, as is evidenced by Dukesborough. Similarly, /tj/ may become /ç/ in general colloquial when it follows the
stressed syllabic and precedes an unstressed syllabic, as
the author indicates in natchelly, but since he also indi-
cates an unpalatalized /u/ in furnitoor, Ezecketer, picter,
and sitooation, it seems inconsistent that a /tʃ/ occurs
in naturally and thus to follow the pattern it might better
be written naterally.

Continued is "eye dialect" for continued, for /-ʃəd/
appears in that word in the accepted pronunciation of it
in all American dialects. The addition of /ʃ/ in k'yar
(carries) follows a Southern pattern of adding /ʃ/ after
/g/ or /k/ and before /ɑ/. Convenant for convenient,
which shows a loss of /ʃ/, has been reported only from
Georgia (see ADD).

23. The phoneme /h/. Johnston shows the loss of /h/
in the unstressed form of have, which he writes as a, but
he does not show the omission of /h/ in other unstressed
forms, such as this here.

24. The phoneme /l/. Johnston does not show the loss
of /l/ indicated by many writers in such words as gentleman,
hisself, and myself.

25. Metathesis. Johnston regularly uses the historically
unmetathesized form of to ask: ast, asts, astin', astes;
the presence of both asts and astes for the third person
singular present in the speech of the same person seems
unlikely.

26. "Eye dialect" in "Investigations Concerning Mr.
Jonas Lively." Johnston resorts to the use of "eye dialect"
in the forms anser, ansered (but answerin'), ar (are), bedstids, bizness (but also business), continyed, certin (but as often certing), certinly, curtin, kin (but also can), clime (climb), muf (but also enough), purl, le's, minnit, have promise to, sumthin' (but more often somethin'), transhent, and throo (but usually through and sometimes thoo). His yur for unstressed your is also "eye dialect" (see PDAE), but yourself, you're, and you'r also occur.

Since the dialect of middle Georgia does not substitute /ɔ/ for final /ə/, Johnston's -er for final -ow must represent only the accepted /ə/ and is thus "eye dialect" in caliker, feller, follered, holler, widders, winder, and yaller.

SUMMARY

Richard Malcolm Johnston represents partially four of the twelve characteristics of Southern pronunciation, to a slight degree one of the three Southern and Midwestern features, and to some extent two of the three Southern and Eastern features. Because his representation of these regional characteristics is partial, only a small percentage of his re-spellings indicate regional variants. The dialectal flavor of "Investigations Concerning Mr. Jonas Lively" comes very largely from the use of low colloquial pronunciation, morphology, and syntax. Out of 204 words of dialogue beginning at the top of page 90 and excluding proper names and titles, 170 words are not re-spelled. Of the 34 re-spelled words, 29 show low colloquial and 4 show regional pronunciations; 1 word is "eye dialect."
CHAPTER IX

THE LOW COLLOQUIAL SPEECH OF GEORGIA AS REPRESENTED BY

JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS

Joel Chandler Harris is best known for the Negro dialect stories of Uncle Remus, but he also wrote many stories dealing with the poor whites of Georgia. Since the present Atlas field records do not include any transcriptions of Negro speech from inland Georgia, I have limited the study of Harris to his representation of the phonology of low colloquial white speech, for which adequate field records are available. As a basis of the study, I have selected Harris's "Trouble on Lost Mountain,"\(^1\) and have used all the speech of Tuck Peevy and the members of the Hightower family.

Since Kenesaw Mountain, which is in Cobb County, Georgia, can be seen from the Hightower home,\(^2\) the action of the story must have occurred in the mountains immediately to the northwest of Atlanta. Although Harris was born in

\(^1\)In Free Joe and Other Georgian Sketches (New York, Scribner's, 1899), pp. 99-137.

\(^2\)Page 131.
middle Georgia and spent his early years there, he learned
the mountain region during the vacations he spent at Lithia
Springs after he had begun work for the Atlanta Constitution.
Harris nowhere makes specific claims about his representa-
tion of white speech, but since he does say that the
speech of his Negro characters is "phonetically genuine,"

3Unle Remus, his Songs and Sayings (New York, D.
Appleton, 1886), p. 4.

we can assume that he also tried to be phonetically accurate
in writing the speech of the poor whites.
I. Southern Features

1. Omission of unstressed syllables. Harris often has his low colloquial speakers omit an initial /ə/, as in 'bout, 'lowed, 'nother, 'count, 'lone, 'лектed, and 'casion, but about, amount, along, accordin', and account also occur; the variant forms of about and account may well be the result of differences in intonation pattern, as the forms no 'count and on account illustrate. The /ə/ of about does not reappear when a prefix is added, as in wharbouts. The form 'tall for at all shows the loss of initial /ə/ after the /t/ has become a part of the succeeding syllable.

Initial syllables are also lost in 'fore, 'twixt (but also betwixt), and 'thout, but the initial /bə-/ is always retained in bekaze.

Unstressed medial syllables are also frequently omitted, particularly when /r/ occurs between two unstressed vowels or after a stressed vowel and before /-əl/, as in giner'1, giner'illy, natchally, squir'1, tollerbul, diffunt, and a-quollin' (quarreling). This may also explain ever 'thing and ever'whar and by analogy ever', although Harris shows his indecision about every by spelling it ever ', ev'ry, and every. Harris does not indicate the loss of a syllable in sheriff. B'lieve for believe shows the syncope
of /ə/ between a stop and /l/, but believe occurs more frequently. Other polysyllabic words also omit unstressed medial syllables; comp'ny (but also company), Gov'ner, and might'ly. The form née'nt, which also appears as needn't to, shows the assimilation of /d/ and the consequent loss of a syllable, but the form s'I for say I probably indicates only the weakening of the vowel of say.

The addition of a medial syllable in dumperlin's and famerly seems unlikely because of the pattern of omitting medial syllables and because the /-mpl-/ and /-m/-/ clusters are permitted in the dialect. Famerly is "eye dialect" since [fæməl] is an accepted pronunciation.

2. Omission of final stops. Harris often has his poor white speakers omit final /d/ after /n/, as in arcun' or 'roun', an' or 'n', goun', boun', foun', min', (but also mind), and stan', but they retain /d/ in find and grandsir. The /d/ does not reappear before a vowel, as in understan'lin'. The omission of /d/ in frien's and han's is "eye dialect," for either /nz/ or /ndz/ is acceptable pronunciation in these words in all dialects. Harris might well have omitted the /d/ of an /ndl/ combination, as in kindled, for, as is noted in Chapter II, low colloquial speech may omit this /d/. A final /d/ after /l/ is omitted in ole (usual, but also old), tol', and wall'.

Harris is not entirely consistent in his treatment of final /t/. Usually he does not omit final /t/ after
/n/, as in don't and didn't, but he does omit it in the forms duner and dunno, but don't know also appears. If /t/ is omitted in don't know, it should also be omitted in other /ntn/ combinations, as in wouldn't never. The /t/ of an /nt/ followed by a stop is omitted in pine-blank, but not in other forms, such as didn't come. He indicates the use of only one /t/ in writing such phrases as nee'nter, oughter, wanter, and oughtn' to, but inconsis-tently uses other forms where both t's occur, as in oughtn't to, needn't to, and didn't tetch. A final /t/ after /s/ is omitted in one occurrence of las' and always in thes (just), but jest, an apparently more stressed form of just, retains the /t/, as do most words. The opposite tendency is indicated in the excrecent /t/ ap- pearing in twice-t. A final /t/ after /k/ is omitted in thereckly or therreckly (directly), projick, nex', and a final /t/ after /p/ is omitted in kep'. Excepting as 'cep-pin' may show the loss of /t/ final in except and the later addition of a suffix, or it may show an analogy with captain, which reduces the final syllable to /ŋ/ or /n/.

3. Addition of a palatal glide after /g/ and /k/.
Harris indicates the addition of a glide /j/ after /g/ or /k/ in only one word: kyars for cars.

4. Miscellaneous features. The substitution of /d/ for /ð/, ordinarily considered a characteristic of Negro speech, is indicated by Harris in furder for farther.
Payne reports this pronunciation common among white speakers (EA, 278).

5. **Features not indicated.** Most of the Southern features of pronunciation Harris does not indicate: the phonetic form of /aɪ/, the phonetic form of /au/, the use of /ju/ after dentals, the use of /æ/ before tautosyllabic r, the use of /u/ in words like coop, the use of /o/ in words like more and glory, the diphthongization of short vowels, or the confusion of /i/ and /ɛ/ before nasals.

II. **Southern and Midwestern Features**

1. **Features not indicated.** Harris does not indicate any of the features common to the South and Midwest: the use of /ɑ/ in words like hot and rock, the use of /æ/ in words like half and grass, or the use of /ɔ/ before intervocalic /r/.

III. **Southern and Eastern Features**

1. **Treatment of the r-vowel.** Harris indicates the substitution of /ʌ/ for /ɔ/ in wuss, fuss, wuth, and cussid, but these are low colloquial pronunciations, not regional, as is evident from the Atlas records and from Hall's report of first, burst, and worst with /ʌ/ in Smoky Mountain speech (SMS, 106). Words like a-burnin', certain, eary, work, and word indicate that the r-vowel retains retroflexion.
2. Treatment of postvocalic r. Harris does not show the loss of postvocalic r or its loss of retroflexion except in a few instances of words with /o ɹ/, as in mo' (but usually more) and sto' (but also store). After other vowels he gives no indication of the substitution of /ɹ/ for /ɹ/.  

3. Use of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables before dentals. Harris gives a slight indication of the use of /ɪ/ instead of /ə/ before tautosyllabic dentals in cussid, is (has), and pleggéd, but it is not a consistent pattern, for such words as bucket, chicken, and reckon are not re-spelled.
1. Vowels before tautosyllabic r. The forms this yer or thish yer and cle'rr seem to indicate the low colloquial use of /3/ in these words, a use vindicated by the Atlas records, but Harris does not maintain such a pattern in these here, hear, and afeared. Quare for queer, indicating the use of /æə/, is supported by the pronunciation of that word by Atlas informant 729, a resident of middle Georgia.

The accepted /ɛr/ or /æɹ/ of there, where, and whereabouts may be /ɑr/ in low colloquial, as Harris indicates in thar, ar (there), whar, and wharbouts. Although thar or ar occurs for there usually, ther and they also occur; ther indicates the use of /3/, as does the the'r representing their, usually a homonym of there; they indicates the use of /ɛ/ and the loss of r. The form cheer indicates the use of /iə/ where accepted colloquial uses /æɹ/; as was noted in Chapter II, an /3/ is usual in this word in low colloquial speech, but /iə/ also occurs. Skacely for scarcely is an old colloquial relic without r.

Far and farther are pronounced with /3/, as Harris indicates in fur and furder. His use of er to indicate unstressed are, as in you er and they er is "eye dialect" for you're and they're; Harris also inconsistently uses
they'er and they're. Passel is another relic form without r.

Forms such as sort, snort, and mornin' indicate the use of /ɔɾ/ in the dialect which Harris is representing; hoss and hoss- lot merely represent low colloquial preservation of a form of horse without r. The use of fer and ner for unstressed for and nor is "eye dialect."

The use of /o/ before tautosyllabic r is indicated by mo', more and sto', store. Harris recognizes the low colloquial use of /oɾ/ for accepted /uɾ/ in shore and shorely for sure and surely, but he does not adhere to that pattern in your and yourn.

2. The phoneme /ɔ/. As mentioned above in the discussion of Southern and Eastern features, Harris's forms wuss, wuth, fust, and cussid are low colloquial forms without r, not regional forms. The use of /ɑɾ/ is indicated in s'arch and wa'nit, both of which conform to the pattern of low colloquial usage. Peart and peartest apparently indicate an /iɾ/, although pert occurs more frequently with /jɾ/ than /iɾ/ in the Atlas records. The addition of /j/ before initial /ɔ/ is noted in yeth (earth) but not in early; the addition of /j/ before initial /ɔ/ has been noted among others, by Hall (SMS, 42) and Smith (OS, 14:56). Gals for girls is general low colloquial. What Harris means by writing wer' for were is not clear.
3. The phoneme /i/. The low colloquial use of /ʌ/ in nuther (neither) is justified by the Atlas records. The form tooby for to be apparently indicates only that the stress is placed on to. E'it for eaten, although a morphological form, serves to indicate that Harris uses a to represent /ɛ/.

4. The phoneme /ɪ/. The use of /ɛ/ for accepted /ɪ/ in ef, sence, and tell (till) is recorded in the records of low colloquial speech made by Doctor Lowman; hether for hither follows the same pattern. Little is the usual spelling of the word in "Trouble on Lost Mountain," but leettle, indicating an /i/ vowel, also occurs in the story and in the Atlas records. The form arry for e'er a is justified by the Atlas informants' pronunciation of ne'er a. Harris's bin for been and minnit for minute are "eye dialect."

5. The phoneme /ɛ/. Plegged for plagued indicates the use of /ɛ/ in the stressed syllable, a usage frequently reported (see ADD).

6. The phoneme /ɛ/. The low colloquial use of /ɪ/ for accepted colloquial /ɛ/ is indicated in yit, ingines, giner'l, giner'llly, git, and projick and conforms to the pattern of pronunciation of the Atlas informants. Sez for says is "eye dialect."

7. The phoneme /æ/. The use of /ɛ/ is indicated in ketch and the use of /ʌ/ is indicated in druther; both uses conform to the pronunciation of the Atlas informants.
Kin and ez must be classed as "eye dialect." An unstressed has may be written is, as in "...Tuck Peevy is got a mighty bad eye"; this form is distinct in length from the has of a form such as he's and conforms to the pattern of using /I/ before dentals. Weakly stressed have usually occurs as 'a', but er is also used; the latter form must be classed as a useless re-spelling.

8. The phoneme /a/. Harris notes the low colloquial use of /æ/ for accepted /a/ in crap, drap, and yan, but yon also appears. Unstressed of is spelled er, which indicates no more than o' would. Wuz for was is "eye dialect."

9. The phoneme /ɔ/. The low colloquial /æ/ for accepted /ɔ/ is indicated in bekaze and a-sa'nterin'.

10. The phoneme /o/. The use of u for o in dunner or dunno for don't know is unnecessary, since an unstressed /o/ may be /ə/. The spellings feller, foller, holler (halloo or hollow), and to-morrer must be classed as "eye dialect," for /ə/ does not occur in words of that type in the Atlas records of inland Georgia speech, and thus Harris must use -er to represent /ə/, as he does in ter for to; /ə/ in the last syllable of fellow, follow, hollow, and tomorrow is acceptable pronunciation. The use of /ai/ indicated in gwine, a-gwine, and gwines-on is a feature of general low colloquial.

11. The phoneme /ʌ/. The low colloquial use of /ɛ/ in words which have /ʌ/ in accepted colloquial is
noted by Harris in bresh, jest or thes (just), shet, sech, tetch, and tetchy. The low colloquial pronunciation of /ʌ/ as /a/ or /ɔ/ before a nasal is noted in ongodly and on-tangle, but not in understan'in'. Soople for supple indicates an /u/ vowel, which is a general colloquial pronunciation. Other appears with its usual spelling in t'other; when it appears without t before it, a /j/ is added initially and the vowel is re-spelled (yuther), but the re-spelling apparently does not indicate a change in the vowel.

12. The phoneme /ə/. A partitive /ə/ is usually added to verb forms ending in -ing, as in a-tryin', a-cuttin', a-comin', a-gittin', and a-gwine, but sometimes -ing forms occur without this /ə/, as in sp'ilin' and gwine. The low colloquial use of /i/ for accepted colloquial /ə/ in open syllables is noted in Atlanty and dockyment; the accepted /ju/ or /jə/ of document is an unpalatalized /ə/ or /i/ in low colloquial.

13. The diphthongal phonemes. The low colloquial use of /ai/ in words which have /ɔi/ in accepted colloquial is indicated in double-j'inted, sp'ilin', pine-blank, and riled; the last word, of course, approaches accepted colloquial pronunciation. The use of /i/ indicated in obleeged and ableedze for obliged is noted in the Atlas records, as is the use of /au/ in mought (might).

14. Treatment of consonantal /r/. A postconsonantal
/r/ may be omitted by Harris, as in fum and monst'us, but it is frequently metathesized, as in Aberham, purty, and purtier. Kuse for curious apparently indicates the loss of an intervocalic /r/, although intervocalic /r/ is retained in such words as arry and hurry; Hall gives the usual low colloquial mountain pronunciation of curious as [kjûrəs] (SMS, 65) and most dialect writers use cur'ous.

15. The phonemes /t/ and /d/. The re-spelling of the consonants in natchally is "eye dialect," for /œ/, not /tj/, is accepted pronunciation in this word; the occurrence of natchally, however, can be questioned in a dialect which uses natur', for there would be no /tj/ to lead to the development of /œ/. Lemme for let me is general low colloquial, and less for let's is "eye dialect." Directly may have occurred as thereckly or therreckly, using a /ʒ/ for the accepted /d/, but the Atlas records show only a substitution of /t/ in this word.

16. The phoneme /b/. Harris's two forms plump and plum are used in analogous situations and there seems to be no reason for the variation in form: "plump tell now" and "plum tell day after to-morrer."

17. The phonemes /θ/ and /ʃ/. The omission of /θ/ indicated in somep'ın and somep'ın occurs also in the Atlas records. Harris uses /d/ for accepted /ʃ/ only in the word furder; otherwise, as in nuther, wuther, and thar, /ʃ/ is not re-spelled. The weakening of /ʃ/ to /t/ indicated in t'other and its loss in phrases like "that ar"
and "wi' 'er" have been recorded often.

18. The phoneme /k/. The use of ast for the present, as well as the past, tense of to ask probably arises from the adoption of the past form, in which an /skt/ cluster is often reduced to /st/, even in colloquial speech. The older unmetathesized axed also occurs.

19. The phonemes /f/ and /v/. Atter for after shows an omission of /f/ recorded a number of times in the Atlas records. The retention of on for accepted of in out'n is shown in the Atlas records also, but the retention of this form in afeard un seems doubtful. The omission of /v/ in gimme, e'en, e'namost, and the weakly stressed forms of have and of is warranted by the Atlas transcriptions.

20. The phonemes /s/ and /z/. In a sequence like this here, the /h/ may be omitted and the /s/ may become /ʃ/ by assimilation to the succeeding /j/; Harris indicates this assimilation in thish yer, but he also uses this yer and these here. The declensional /z/ of the plural is omitted in three year.

21. The phoneme /ʃ/. Harris's thes for just is his usual form of the word; at first glance thes would seem to indicate the substitution of /ʃ/ for /ʃ/, but since the form jest also occurs, it seems reasonable that thes indicated a weaker form of the word, not a substitution of a phoneme; this assumption is supported by his use of a
final /t/ in jest, but not in these. The form a-ferkin' for jerkin' must have been doubtful to Harris himself, for he also uses jerked. The appearance of obleeged and ableedze for obliged leads us to assume that the re-spelling of /j/ in the second form is meaningless.

22. The phonemes /γ/ and /n/. Harris almost always writes final -ing as in', indicating the use of /-i n/, as in fetchin', dumplin's, a-tryin', a-ridin', and numerous other words, but he neglects his pattern when he uses a-making, a-hanging, and nothing. Every'thing, of course, is pronounced with /γ/ in low colloquial. Somep'n for something indicates a recognition of the use of syllabic /ŋ/ in this word, but somepin' also occurs. Mounting for mountain is an overcorrection by speakers who want to use /γ/ correctly. The form sev'm for seven again shows Harris's recognition of a syllabic nasal, but seb'm would have been a better transcription, for almost all of the Atlas low colloquial informants pronounce that word as /sə bəm/.

23. The phoneme /j/. The glide /j/ or /l/ added excrecently in yeth (earth) has been noted, among others, by Hall (SMS, 42) and C. S. Smith (OS, 14:56); Harris does not show the addition of such a glide before the /j/ of early. The addition of a /j/ in yuther (other) has been reported in Georgia by Payne (EA, 391). Harris's yer for here shows his recognition of the use of /j/ in this word, a use frequently recorded in Doctor Lowman's field records.
The preservation of the old unpalatalized /u/ is indicated in creetur, dockyment, and natur', but natchally indicates a palatalized /u/.

24. The phoneme /h/. The loss of /h/ in unstressed her is shown in 'er, and a like loss of /h/ is shown in unstressed here as yer.

25. The phoneme /l/. The /l/ of the unstressed medial syllable is lost in genteman. Hisself occurs once, but himself and myself are the usual forms. Since Harris uses /l/ in already, the loss of /l/ in God A'mighty indicates a difference in intonation pattern.

26. The phoneme /w/. The lack of /w/ in some un's and outerds is supported by the Atlas records, as is the lack of /w/ in 'oman (woman). The lack of /hw/ indicated in some'rs is a general low colloquial feature.

27. "Eye Dialect" in "Trouble on Lost Mountain."

Harris uses a large amount of "eye dialect" along with his representation of distinctive regional or social pronunciations: er (unstressed are), ez (but usually as), bin, kin, clo'es, cubberd, dunner (but also dunno and don't know), speshually, famerly, feller, foller, fer (but also for), er (but unstressed have is usually 'a'), holler (halloo or hollow), less (let's), minnit, ner (nor), er (of, usual form, but also on and un), oughter, sez, ter, wanter, useter, vittles, wuz, wer', 'u'd (would), frien's, han's. That Harris intends er, as in ter (to), to represent /ə/, which is an accepted pronunciation, can be assumed from his use
of both \textit{er} and '\textit{a}' for unstressed have and from the \textit{Atlas} Georgia records of unstressed \textit{to}.

SUMMARY

Joel Chandler Harris indicates four of the twelve features of Southern pronunciation in "Trouble on Lost Mountain," but other than in two words, \textit{kyars} and \textit{fudder}, he indicates only the omission of unstressed syllables and final stops and these two features, although they occur more frequently in the South, appear to some extent in other areas. He does not represent any of the Southern and Midwestern features and only partially represents two of the Southern and Eastern features. His principal reason for re-spelling is to show low colloquial pronunciation. Of 224 words of dialect beginning on page 106, 180 are not re-spelled; of the remaining 44, 21 are re-spelled to show low colloquial pronunciation and 11 to show regional features; 12 are "eye dialect."
CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RE-SPELLING IN SOUTHERN FICTION

When the analyses of dialectal sound representation made in the preceding chapters are considered in chronological perspective, they show the gradual development of a system of representing phonetic variation. The use of the literary device of re-spelling to indicate variation in pronunciation begins in Southern fiction with the work of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, who re-spells few words; succeeding authors, however, introduce new methods of representation, either on their own initiative or because of the influence of authors outside the area of this study, and thus increase the amount of re-spelling until the development reaches its culmination in the extensive and complicated systems of Joel Chandler Harris and especially of Thomas Nelson Page.

Longstreet, whose Georgia Scenes was published in 1835, gained literary prominence by his realistic stories depicting the characters, incidents, and language of lower-class life. His stories depend for their dialectal flavor much more upon low colloquial syntax and morphology than upon pronunciation. Because he uses re-spelling to indicate only the more obvious differences between low colloquial...
and colloquial pronunciation, he re-spells only about eight percent of the words in the dialogue of his characters and does not show any regional features or use "eye dialect" to any extent.

William Gilmore Simms, a contemporary of Longstreet, seems to have had a much greater influence upon the sound representation of later writers. Longstreet was renowned for the realism of *Georgia Scenes*, and even for the dialect, but his representation of sounds is limited in comparison to Simms's.\(^1\) The latter, acknowledged in his time as the greatest romancer of the Southern states, was a prolific writer, many of whose stories and romances contain Negro and "poor white" characters and dialogue. Although Simms re-spells no greater number of words than Longstreet in portraying the speech of the "poor whites," he does not indicate the use of /-in/ in *-ing* words, an indication which accounts for many of Longstreet's re-spellings. Simms's representation of the sounds of Negro speech, however, is much more detailed than his representation of white pronunciation; he re-spells more than twenty-two percent of Mingo Gillison's speech in "Caloya" (see Chapter V) and
sets the pattern for most of the consonant substitutions used by later writers in representing Negro pronunciation: /d/ for /ɔ/, /t/ for /θ/, and /b/ for /v/. In The Forayers, or The Raid of the Dog-Days, a story written much later

than "Caloya," Simms increases the amount of re-spelling in his representation of Negro pronunciation to thirty-six percent, as is shown by an analysis of 206 words on page 17.

Simms's greater proportion of re-spelled words is gained, not only by representing more low colloquial features, but by using "eye dialect" and representing some regional features of pronunciation. In the passage from page 17 of The Forayers, "eye dialect" accounts for more than six percent of the re-spelled words. The omission of unstressed syllables and final stops--omissions which are characteristic of Southern low colloquial--also accounts for many of his re-spellings. In addition to his indication of the Negro substitution of phonemes and the low colloquial omission of unstressed syllables and final stops, he gives some indication of the coastal use of /ɔ/ in words like after and the Charleston use of /æ/ in words like there.

In his portrayal of regional features, then, Simms indicates everything that any of the later writers do except the use of /o/ in words like more and glory, the use of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables before tautosyllabic dentals,
the use of /j/ after /g/ and /k/ and before /a/, the use of a non-retroflex /ɔ/ in words like bird, and the use of an /ɔ/ in the unstressed syllable of words like father. Simms's representation of low colloquial phonemic substitutions is also fairly complete in pattern.

Soon after the Civil War, a collected edition of dialect stories by Richard Malcolm Johnston was given wide circulation in the South. Johnston was under the influence of his fellow Georgian, Longstreet, and serves, as Pattee says, as the "link between Longstreet and the younger Georgia writers," but there are evidences that Simms's


work also had an effect upon his representation of the phonetics of low colloquial speech. For example, Johnston and Simms represent a number of sounds which Longstreet does not: /ɔ/ in such words as after, /ɔ/ or /ɔ/ in such words as understand and impossible, /ɛ/ in words like if, since, and spirit, /ʌ/ in took, /w/ for the /v/ of words like various, and the fairly consistent omission of /t/ and /d/ in final clusters. Longstreet's influence upon Johnston is particularly discernible in the similarity of scene and incident and his influence probably led to Johnston's representation of such features as the changing of -ing to -in'.

Johnston's representation of dialectal sounds, how-
ever, is not just a combination of the systems of Longstreet and Simms, for he introduces some new patterns of representation. Most important, probably, is that he usually, but not always, indicates the loss of r after the phoneme /o/ and its retention after /ɔ/, thus making possible a distinction between or as /ɔr/ and or as /oɔ/. Page later uses this method with greater consistency, and hence with greater meaning. Johnston also notes the addition of a palatal glide after /k/ and before /a/ in the form k'yar's for carries. He is the first to note the Southern use of /ɔ/ instead of /o/ for postvocalic r, as in cote for court. After /o/, he omits r, as in befo', but he retains it after other vowels. Johnston occasionally indicates the use of /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables before tautosyllabic dentals, as in mistiss and curiss (curious), but he does not do so consistently. His representation of sound variants in the low colloquial speech of white characters is much more extensive than that of any Southern writer who preceded him, but he may well have taken some of his phonetic details from the work of authors who were depicting other dialects, as, for example, from the Biglow Papers of James Russell Lowell, or from the humorists of the period. Whatever the source of his method, in the short passage analyzed previously (see Chapter VIII), he re-spells more than sixteen percent of the words in the speech of Mr. Bill Williams.

Joel Chandler Harris began writing dialect in 1879 with his stories in the Negro dialect of Uncle Remus, but
he later turned to writing stories of "poor whites" in the immediate tradition of his fellow Georgians, Longstreet and Johnston. His representation of white speech follows fundamentally the same pattern as Johnston's. He does, however, extend Johnston's method of using er to represent /ə/, a re-spelling form which Johnston uses only for final -ow or -o in polysyllables. They are both able to use such a spelling because -er, as in father, represents /ə/ in the dialect they are representing. Unfortunately, however, such a method encourages the writing of "eye dialect," for it leads to the re-spelling of /ə/ when it is accepted colloquial pronunciation, as in ter-night for to-night. Precise speakers may pronounce an unstressed /ə/ in fellow, although an /ə/ is acceptable in the final syllable, but even a precise speaker uses /ə/ in to-night. Although Harris re-spells approximately fourteen percent of the words in his "poor white" dialogue, more than one-fourth of his re-spellings indicate nothing more than accepted pronunciation. In his representation of Negro speech, which has not been considered in detail in this study, Harris re-spells approximately one-half of the words, as an analysis of a short selection from Uncle Remus, his Songs and Sayings shows, and one-fourth of these re-


spellings are "eye dialect."
The systematization of dialectal re-spelling reaches its highest form in the work of Thomas Nelson Page, who came after the other writers considered in this study and could thus weld their representations into a cogent whole. Page indicates every regional variation which is indicated by any other writer, but his importance lies rather in the system by which he made these representations. His consistent method of treating /ɔ/ and /ɔ/ is an important contribution. He shows the loss of postvocalic r after all vowels except /a/ and /ɔ/, but he retains r after a, as in stars, to distinguish /a/ from /æ/, and after o, as in forty, to show /ɔ/; thus he can make distinctions which would not be possible if he omitted all r's. By not re-spelling unstressed -er, as in father, to indicate /ə/, he can use or to indicate /ɔ/ in other words which he re-spells. The omission of r after vowels other than /a/ and /ɔ/ and the re-spelling of the /ɔ/ of stressed syllables, as in bird, affords the reader sufficient indication that the author is representing an "r-less" dialect. Page is the only author studied who uses rr for medial /ɔ/ and final /ə/, as in brother, indicating [-ɔə]. He re-spells slightly less than one-half the words, and less than ten percent of these are "eye dialect."

The dialect stories and novels of Charles Waddell Chesmuts do not properly belong in a study of the development of the representation of Southern speech, for Chesmutt
adds nothing to the technique of his predecessors. Ches-
nutt, like Murfree, is under a handicap because he is writing
a non-native dialect, but even this handicap does not ex-
cuse his lack of consistency. When he is writing his most
descriptive dialect, he re-spells about forty percent of
the words, but approximately one-fifth of these words
are "eye dialect."

The dialect representation of Mary Noailles Murfree
must also be considered separately, for she portrays a
dialect different in regional characteristics from that
of the other writers considered. Her emphasis, however,
is not upon regional features, but almost wholly upon the
reproduction of low colloquial forms. Often she seems to
portray the unusual, not the usual, locution or pronuncia-
tion in order to make the language seem more different
from accepted usage. She is so minute and consistent in
representing sound variants that she re-spells forty per-
cent of the words in mountain speech (almost as many as
Harris and Page do in representing Negro speech), but
about two-fifths of her re-spellings are "eye dialect"
and add nothing significant to the description of the
character's speech.
CHAPTER XI

THE REPRESENTATION OF DIALECTAL SOUNDS IN LITERATURE

A dialect writer may desire to make the dialogue of his characters phonetically accurate, but he must not let this desire obscure the fact that the accurate representation of dialect is a realistic device and that as a serious artist his first problem is to present a character or a story in language that will keep the reader interested. If an author attempts too close a representation of dialectal sounds, he may become so unintelligible that the reader will quit reading or will neglect the story to concentrate on working out the language. To the realist, language is a means of communication and should not call so much attention to itself that it, not the story or the characters, seems to be the purpose of writing.

Because such a writer needs to be readily intelligible in order to retain the reader's interest and to concentrate that interest on the characterization and the plot, he is thereby limited in his representation of sounds to the use of the letters of the English alphabet. Adequate systems of representation, such as a phonetic alphabet or a system of diacritics, could be used and phonetic accuracy could thus be attained, but the use of such elaborate means of
sound representation would obviously force the reader to concentrate upon the language rather than the story. The English alphabet, on the other hand, is known by all readers, and thus no new system would distract his attention. The difficulty in using the English alphabet is, of course, that it is a non-phonemic alphabet and does not have adequate symbols to indicate the phonemes of the language. There are, for example, eight ways in English to spell /u/, six ways to spell /o/, and ten ways to spell /ai/, as Sir William A. Craigie points out (PE, 9-11). What is even more significant, there are thirty-nine phonemes in Southern American English and only twenty-six letters with which to represent them; the eighteen vowel phonemes show the problem even more starkly, for they must be represented by six letters of the alphabet. This necessarily means that some phonemes cannot be indicated adequately with the letters of the alphabet, even though the re-spelling of the vowels is done with single letters and letter-combinations and is varied according to phonetic surroundings.

A study of the possible methods of representing regional features will show the difficulty of representing every sound heard in a dialect. None of the writers of Southern dialect attempts to show the Southern phonetic variant [æu] in the /æu/ phoneme, much less attempting to show both [æu] and [əu] in different phonetic surroundings. James Russell Lowell does attempt to indicate a
New England pronunciation similar to this by using *eu*, as in *heouse* (house), but this might well be taken to represent a triphthong with an /ɛ/ as the first member; Lowell himself admits that the sound can be represented only orally (BP, 38). No other combination of English letters will serve any better, however, in representing this phonetic variation within the phoneme.

The "slow" and "fast" phonetic forms of the diphthong /aɪ/ are sometimes contrasted by writing the "slow" form, in which the first member is more prominent, with an *ʌ*, as in *rad* for *ride*, but such a form is misleading, for it indicates that *rad* and *rod* are homonyms in those areas where *rod* is pronounced with /ʌ/, which is not the case. There seems to be no adequate way to represent the different phonetic forms of /aɪ/ with alphabetic letters.

The use of /ju/ or /u/ after dentals, as in *new* and *Tuesday*, may be represented by using *oo* for /u/ and *yoo* or *yu* for /ju/, thus *noo*, *nyoo*, or *nyu* and *Toosday*, *Tyoosday*, or *Tyusday*. The representation of a contrast between /u/ and /ju/ is not too difficult because there is a difference in the phonemes, not just a variation in the phonetic form of the phoneme. On the other hand, the difference in the use of /u/ or /ʊ/ in words like *coop* and *hoop* may not be represented with the letters of the alphabet; traditionally *oo* represents /u/, but *oo* may also be /ʊ/. 
There exists no method of indicating the difference between \( /\varepsilon/ \) and \( /\xi/ \) before tautosyllabic \( r \), as in hair. This inability to indicate contrast is caused by the fact that all dialects have fewer phonemic contrasts before tautosyllabic \( r \) than in other positions; \textit{ken} and \textit{can} show a contrast between \( /\varepsilon/ \) and \( /\varepsilon/ \), for instance, but in the Southern dialect, no contrast exists between \( /\varepsilon/ \) and \( /\varepsilon/ \) before tautosyllabic \( r \). Other dialects of American English usually do not make this distinction either; Midwestern speakers, for example, usually have an \( /\varepsilon/ \) vowel, but not an \( /\varepsilon/ \), before \( /\varepsilon/ \). Thus we can say that only one phoneme for \( /\varepsilon/ \) and \( /\varepsilon/ \) exists before \( /\varepsilon/ \) and Midwestern \( /\varepsilon/ \) and Southern \( /\varepsilon/ \) are phonetic variants within this phoneme.

The distinction between \( /o/ \) and \( /\partial/ \) in words like \textit{door} is difficult to make. The use of \( /\partial/ \) could be represented by \textit{aw}, as in \textit{dawr}, but such a system might well lead to a great amount of needless re-spelling, as in the stressed forms of \textit{nor}, \textit{or}, and \textit{for}. In contrast to \textit{dawr}, the writer might use \textit{dore}, indicating an \( /o/ \), but Page's system of omitting the \( r \) to show \( /o/ \), as in \textit{do}' \textit{t}, and retaining \( r \) after \( /\partial/ \), as in \textit{mornin}' \textit{t}, is followed by other dialect writers. The contrast of \( /o/ \) and \( /\partial/ \) before intervocalic \( /r/ \), as in \textit{glory}, could be indicated by \textit{glawry} and \textit{glory}, since the syllabication of the latter would make \( o \) represent \( /o/ \); none of the dialect works used in this study used such a system, however.
None of the dialectal fiction used for this study shows any indication of the lengthening or diphthongization of short vowels. Such forms as Page's baid and aidge represent phonetically [ɛˈɹ̆] or [ɛˈɹ̆], either of which is phonemically /e/, and so a free /e/ is indicated as replacing the accepted checked vowel /ɛ/. The checked vowels, if diphthongal, form a diphthong by adding [ə], as in [bɛɹ̆d].

The low colloquial characteristic of weakening or omitting final stops in clusters, as in hand and last, is indicated to some extent by all the dialect writers whose work was analyzed in this study. The literary indication, of course, always shows a complete omission, but since the consonant does sometimes completely disappear, such an indication, though in general it overstates the loss, is not too inaccurate. The omission of unstressed syllables may also be represented by showing them as completely omitted.

The confusion of /I/ and /ɛ/ before nasals is difficult to represent without appearing inconsistent. A writer could change in to en and en to in, as in gren and twinty, but if, as Voelker avers, /I/ and /ɛ/ before nasals are the same phoneme (PAP), such a system would be misleading, for it would not show that pin, pen and ten, tin are homonyms.

The use in certain dialects of consonant phonemes different from those of accepted colloquial may usually be
represented. The Negro use of /d/ for /ð/, as in the and that, and /t/ or /f/ for /θ/, as in think and mouth, can be represented adequately with _d_, _t_, and _f_. The use of /z/ in grease and greasy can be shown by the substitution of _z_ for _s_; the use of /s/, not /ʃ/, in words like shrub can be shown by replacing _h_ with an apostrophe; and the use of /w/, not /hw/ for the wh- of words like when and which, can be shown by replacing _h_ with an apostrophe.

The use of a [β], phonemically /β/, for /w/ and /v/, is noted in Chapter II as a characteristic of the phonemic structure of Gullah (see also Turner SVG, 21) and to a lesser extent of the pattern of older Charleston speech; a /β/ is impossible to represent adequately, for such a phoneme does not exist in the other dialects of American English and no letter of the alphabet will represent it. _w_ and _v_ might be interchanged and some idea would be given the reader, but neither _w_ or _v_ represents the sound of [β] and their interchange would not indicate that they are members of one phoneme in the dialect. Simms, as noted in Chapter V, transcribes Gullah [β] for /v/ with a _b_, but [β] for the /v/ of white speech he transcribes with a _w_; he also sometimes uses _b_ to represent _w_ in his Gullah dialogue.

The Southern and Midwestern characteristics of /ʌ/ in words like hot and rock, of /æ/ in words like dance and grass, and of /ɔ/ before intervocalic /r/, as in courage, are not shown in Southern dialect fiction and
cannot be adequately represented. The coastal use of /a/ in the second group of words, however, can be represented by such spellings as Page's *graahs* for *grass*.

The Southern and Eastern /ɔ/ of stressed syllables cannot be represented adequately, for it is not a new phoneme, but a phonetic variant of Midwestern /ɔ/. Such forms as *bud* and *tun* for *bird* and *turn* are misleading, for *bird*, *bud* and *turn*, *ton* are never homonyms in Southern speech. The replacing of *r* by an apostrophe, as in *tu'n* and *bi'd*, is another possibility, but forms like *bi'd* would likely be misleading because the reader would not readily assume that i' represents a non-retroflex *r*-vowel. The use of /ɔ/ for the Midwestern /ɔ/ of unstressed syllables can be represented by changing the usual -er to -uh, as it often is in words like *lettuh* (letter).

The coastal use of non-syllabic /ɔ/ for postvocalic *r* can, in most instances, be shown by replacing *r* with an apostrophe. The apostrophe is important, for it will act to prevent the reader from assuming that *mo', mow* and *co't, coat* are homonyms. It would seem wise to follow Page's pattern of not replacing *r* with an apostrophe after an o which represents /ɔ/, as in *morning*. Since o' would indicate /o/ to the usual reader, an *or* could be used to represent /ɔɔ/, as Page uses it, and thus the writer could prevent the appearance of homonymy in pairs like *morning* and *mourning*. If this is not done, some spelling like *aw*, as in *mawning*, would have to be used to represent
/ɔ 2/; such a spelling would become awkward in some words, as in the stressed forms of such monosyllabic words as or, nor, and for. The coastal use of /I/, not /ɔ/, in un-stressed syllables before tautosyllabic dentals may well be represented by using ɪ, as in buckɪt (bucket).

Most low colloquial characteristics of pronunciation, unlike the regional characteristics, result from a difference in the occurrence of phonemes, not from a difference of phonetic form within the phoneme. Most low colloquial features, consequently, are not difficult to represent with the letters of the alphabet. An exception is the representation of vowels before tautosyllabic r. If we disregard the phonemic distinction of non-syllabic /ɔ/, however, the problem is less difficult, for /1 ɔ / can be represented by eər or eəuh, /a ɔ / by ar or ah, /æ ɔ / by are or air, /o ɔ / by ore or o', /ɔ 2/ by or or aw, and /u ɔ / by oʊuh or ure. The use of /3/ or /j3/ for an accepted vowel plus /ɔ/ can be shown by -er, -uh or -yer, -yuh.

The impracticality of representing regional features of pronunciation may be one reason that none of the writers used as a basis of this study attempts to show any phonological difference between accepted Southern speech and the accepted colloquial speech of any other area. Always the re-spellings occur in the conversation of people of the lower classes. The re-spellings, in other words, are used primarily to show a contrast between Southern low
colloquial and Southern colloquial pronunciation, not to show a contrast between the speech of the South and the speech of New England or the Midwest. The author's purpose in showing regional characteristics of pronunciation seems to be, therefore, to increase the amount of re-spelling and thus make the illiterate speaker's language seem even more different from the accepted speech of the area than it is. The re-spellings are for social, not regional, differentiation.

The same type of reasoning leads to the use of "eye dialect." Every speaker, whether an illiterate or a highly educated man, pronounces /f/ as the final phoneme of laugh, but the dialect writer's laff, although it indicates no more than accepted pronunciation, makes the speaker seem the sort who would spell laff if he were writing; the use of "eye dialect" is not, of course, confined to these writers alone. To the extent, then, that a writer of dialect fiction uses "eye dialect" or portrays regional features in the speech of his illiterate characters, but not in the speech of the educated characters, he is over-stating the difference between low colloquial and colloquial speech.

Not only are educated speakers distinguished from the uneducated by re-spelling the dialogue of the latter, but differences in the amount of re-spelling may be used to indicate differences in character on the level of the lower classes. For example, the Atlas records show very
little difference in the speech of illiterate Negros and whites, other than in the substitution of consonant phonemes and yet in fiction, an author like Simms re-spells Negro dialogue much more extensively than white dialogue, even after the peculiar Negro substitutions of consonant phonemes are made.

The representation of the dialectal sounds of low colloquial speech, even if not entirely accurate, consistent, or complete, serves a purpose in "local color" fiction. Re-spelling to show pronunciation does not, of course, give as good an indication of the differences in social dialect as does the representation of syntactical, morphological, and lexical features, and the use of homely proverbs and proverbial comparisons. When used in combination with a representation of these other features, however, pseudo-phonetic re-spellings add much to the dialectal flavor of the conversation.

It is not the intention of the present study to make a critical estimate of the work of any author or to decide whether the representation of dialectal sounds in any story adds to or detracts from the artistic value of the composition. That properly belongs to the province of the literary critic. This study does, however, give careful estimates of the phonetic accuracy of the dialect representation of seven Southern writers and provides a method for determining the accuracy of other writers. These estimates of the accuracy of representation of dialectal
pronunciation are also necessarily indications of the artistic integrity of each author, for consciously or unconsciously an author reveals his attitude toward the people in his representation of their speech sounds. Miss Murfree, for instance, reveals her sentimentality by attempting to make the speech of the mountaineers appear more different from accepted speech than it is. The present writer hopes that this study will also be of benefit to the literary historian by furnishing him with a detailed study of the development of dialect re-spelling in the South.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

(ADD): See Wentworth (ADD).


(PDAE): See Kenyon and Knott (PDAE).


Walsh (TSW): Walsh, Chad, "Transcription from Southwest Virginia," American Speech, XII (1936), 83.


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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, James Nathan Tidwell, was born in Miles, Texas, February 24, 1911. I received my secondary school education at Howard Payne Academy, Brownwood, Texas, and Simmons Academy, Abilene, Texas; my undergraduate education at Simmons University, from which I obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1929. I later attended the University of Oklahoma, from which I obtained the degree of Master of Arts in 1933. In 1937 and 1939 I attended summer sessions at the University of Texas, and in 1940 I was named a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies to the Linguistic Institute. In 1941 I received from The Ohio State University an appointment as University Fellow, a position I resigned upon entering military service in 1942.

My teaching experience has been as follows: 1928-9, Stanton (Texas) High School; 1929-31, Anadarko (Oklahoma) High School; 1932-3, Extension Division, University of Oklahoma; 1933-4, Schulter (Oklahoma) High School; 1934-5, Poteau (Oklahoma) Junior College; 1935-6, Okmulgee (Oklahoma) Junior College; 1936-41, Westminster College; 1939-40, 1946-7, The Ohio State University. During the years 1942 to 1946 I was on active duty with the United States Naval Reserve.