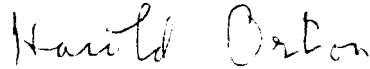


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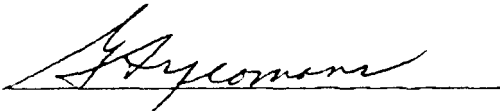
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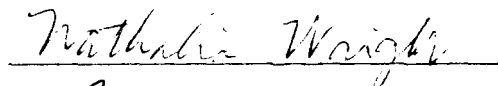
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by M. Jean Jones entitled "The Regional English of the Former Inhabitants of Cades Cove in the Great Smoky Mountains." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

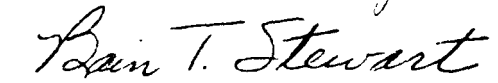


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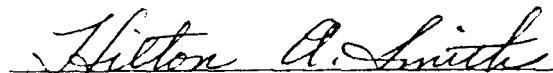
We have read this dissertation
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Accepted for the Council:



Vice Chancellor for
Graduate Studies and Research

THE REGIONAL ENGLISH OF THE FORMER INHABITANTS OF
CADES COVE IN THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
The University of Tennessee

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
M. Jean Jones
August 1973

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ABSTRACT

Cades Cove is the largest pastoral region in the Great Smoky Mountains. Surrounded on all sides by formidable ridges, the Cove remained isolated from the outside world for over a century. Inhabited by a rugged group of settlers who came from farther north in the early nineteenth century, the Cove was home for a thriving and homogeneous culture until the 1940's, when the last residents were forced to leave in order that the National Park be established.

Two significant factors influenced the undertaking of this investigation of Cades Cove Regional English: first, the absence of comprehensive, accurate, and comparable linguistic data for the South, especially the Southern mountains; second, the fact that Cades Cove speakers, untutored and isolated during a period in which this country witnessed tremendous growth and industrialization, represent many survival forms of the English language. Furthermore, the timely and carefully-wrought formulation of "Questionnaire for the Investigation of American Regional English: Based on the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada" by Harold Orton and Nathalia Wright allows for uniform elicitations and collation of mountain dialect, comparable with other regional surveys based on the LAUSC.

Cades Cove Regional English is characterized by a fairly persistent pattern of vowel fluctuation--front vowels tending primarily to be raised; back vowels tending primarily to be lowered; both front and back vowels tending to be centralized--and by the diphthonging of short vowels, particularly under stress. The

dialect is further characterized by survival forms of grammar and vocabulary.

The present investigation was designed and completed as preliminary methodology and research for further investigation of Southern Mountain speech based on the Orton-Wright Questionnaire. It is, furthermore, a sampling investigation of Tennessee Regional English comparable with completed and current surveys based on the Work Sheets for other regions of the country.

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INTRODUCTION

Geographical Description

The Great Smoky Mountains of Eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina provide a grand climax to the entire Appalachian chain, which extends all the way from New England to northern Georgia. Not nearly so imposing geologically as the much younger Rockies, the "old" Smokies are, nonetheless, a formidable mountain mass, which includes the highest peaks in the eastern United States.¹ Whatever the Smokies may lack in the sheer massiveness and grandeur that overawes people who see the Rockies or the Alps they more than compensate for in botanical diversity and anthropological interest.

Although this study is devoted to the latter--more specifically, a phonetic description of the speech of those members of a unique mountain culture, unfortunately now obsolescent--a brief sketch of the mountains' physical characteristics, along with a history of settlement, is an integral part of such a description of patterns of speech. As Raven McDavid has pointed out, "Tennessee is the oldest English-speaking area in the United States as yet unsurveyed for a regional linguistic atlas,"² and the speakers selected for this

¹Clingman's Dome, highest point within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, rises to an altitude of 6,643 feet, whereas Mt. Mitchell, immediately outside the Park in North Carolina, is forty-one feet higher. "U.S. Geological Survey and Guide Map: Great Smoky Mountains National Park" (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1939).

²Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "What Happens in Tennessee?" in Dialectology: Problems and Perspectives, ed. Lorraine Hall Burghardt (Knoxville, 1971), p. 119.

investigation of Cades Cove Regional English represent some of the oldest speech patterns in the country.

Joseph Hall points out in a study of Smoky Mountain speech³ that, although the mountains--with many peaks over 6,000 feet and places where none is under 5,000 feet--could have been an impervious barrier to white settlement, they were not.⁴ In fact, one characteristic feature of the Smokies is the relatively flat area between rugged ridges. These coves, as they are called, are broad meadows made extraordinarily fertile by their proximity to rivers and mountain streams. With an area of approximately ten square miles, the largest of these coves is Cades Cove, located in Blount County, Tennessee, just within the present Park boundaries (see Figure 1).

Settlement

Until the early nineteenth century, the mountains were the domain of the Cherokee Indians. White settlement in the heart of predominantly Cherokee land was made possible by Calhoun's Treaty (John C. Calhoun was then Secretary of War) of 1819, which forced dispersal of the Indians.⁵ W. O. Whittle's study of population movement out of the mountains lists, with no attempt at further comment or analysis, the states contributing most to original white

³Joseph S. Hall, Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech (New York, 1942).

⁴Hall, p. 7.

⁵A. Randolph Shields, "Cades Cove," in More Landmarks of Tennessee History, ed. Robert M. McBride (Nashville, 1969), p. 34.

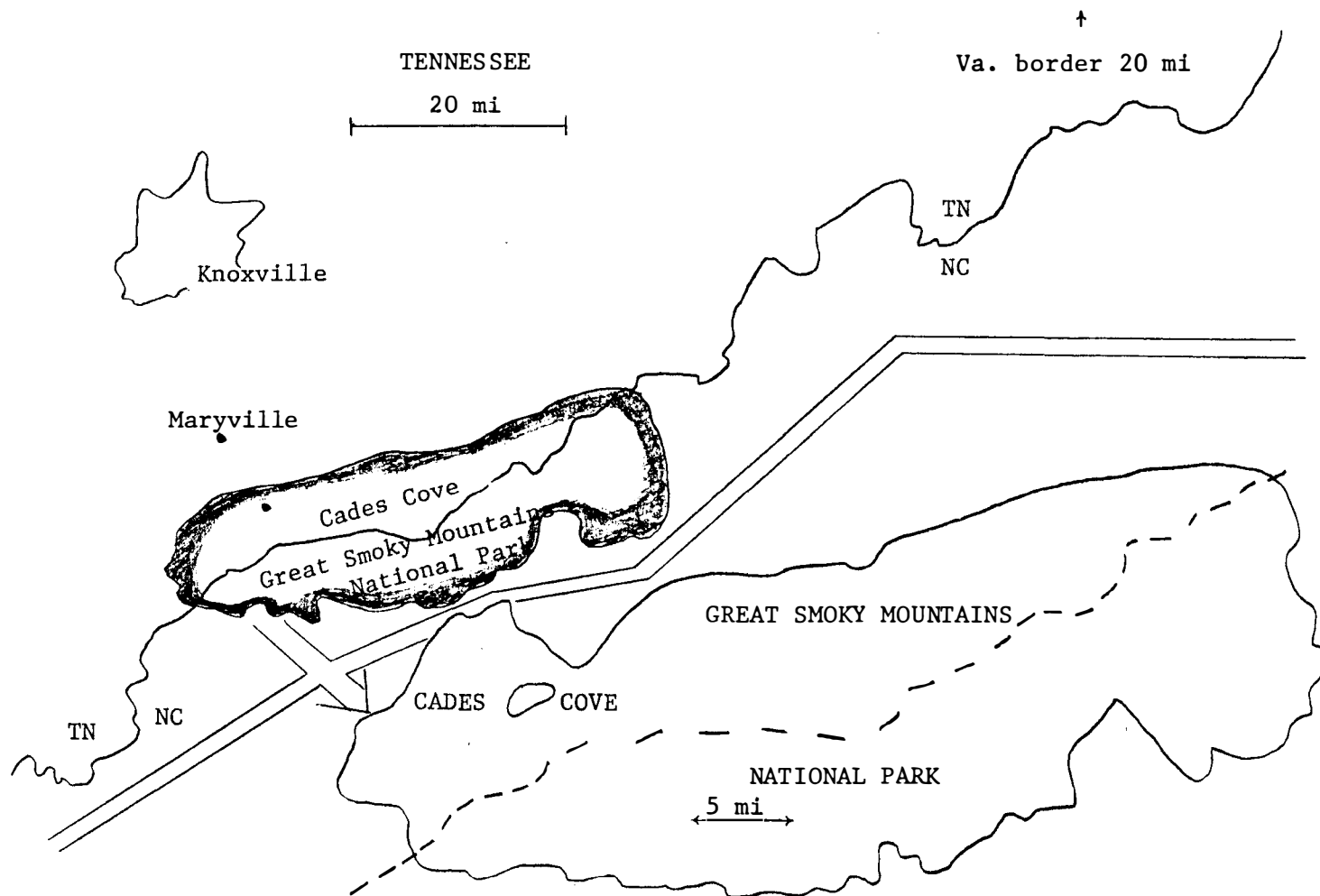


Figure 1. Map Showing Cades Cove in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

settlement as North Carolina (62%), South Carolina (26%), and Virginia (5%).⁶ A. Randolph Shields, himself a Cades Cove native and descendant of one of its earliest settlers, seems to support this theory.⁷ Linguistic studies, however, trace settlement patterns to Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Virginia Tidewater area, with the three states bordering the mountain regions of East Tennessee serving only as temporary settlements for those who ultimately moved on into the Smokies. Hall believes that the three major routes of migration led through the Valley of Virginia, Swannanoa and Hickory Nut Gap in North Carolina, and the Virginia Piedmont.⁸ Raven McDavid traces migration "ultimately from Pennsylvania,"⁹ through the Watauga Valley from Western North Carolina, overland from the Shenandoah, and southward from Georgia and South Carolina.¹⁰ Little is known about European ancestry for the Smokies by the Cades Cove informants. Further, they do not seem to know what Europe is and were hesitant about what a person from Italy, for instance, would be called (O-W 65.9). Whittle's survey shows 61% of the Smoky Mountain settlers claiming Scotch-Irish heritage (at the time of dispersal beginning in 1930); the survey further shows 18% derived from England; and the rest were a scattering of Dutch, German, or part-Indian.¹¹

⁶W. O. Whittle, "Movement of Population from the Great Smoky Mountain Area," University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, 1934, Table 4.

⁷Shields, p. 33.

⁸Hall, p. 12.

⁹McDavid, p. 126.

¹⁰McDavid, pp. 126-127.

¹¹Whittle, p. 5.

The first permanent settler in Cades Cove, according to all sources, was John W. Oliver, who Hall believes came from New Jersey.¹² Arriving sometime in 1817 or 1818, he was followed by Robert Shields in the mid-1820's.¹³ A base for settlement was then established by the many families who followed, and it was not long before Cades Cove was a thriving mountain culture.

The physical isolation of the Cove, where there were no roads until 1850,¹⁴ is most significant. It took an ambitious group of people to get there in the first place. And as demonstrated by the perseverance of more than 100 families for over a hundred years,¹⁵ the culture of Cades Cove seemed to thrive on its independence from the outside world.

Sites along the eleven-mile Cades Cove Loop attest to the industriousness of the Cove inhabitants. With high mountains on all sides isolating them from the more urban world (Knoxville is approximately forty miles from the Smokies), these people developed a progressive culture apart from the surrounding communities, apart even from other mountain inhabitants. By the mid-1800's there was little need for any of them ever to leave the Cove, and, as evidenced by the grave markers at the Primitive Baptist Church (the Cove's oldest church), many inhabitants were born in Cades Cove and died there without ever having left it.

¹²Hall, p. 11. ¹³Shields, p. 35. ¹⁴Hall, p. 7.

¹⁵A historical marker near the entrance to the Cades Cove Loop mentions the more than 100 families who lived there at the height of cultural activity. Shields (p. 43) puts the maximum population at 90

Strongly religious, the people of Cades Cove built four churches, which satisfied not only their spiritual needs but also helped maintain strong social unity among members of different religious persuasions. My oldest informant, M.M., tells of the "good churches."¹⁶ Although each denomination had its own Sunday school every week, each one did not have, as they say, preaching. After Sunday school everybody would flock to the same church, a different one each Sunday, perhaps to the Missionary Baptist to listen to the same man they had heard preach in the Northern Methodist Church the week before.

Farming shaped the socio-economic structure of Cades Cove, but other enterprises developed also, some of them in fact now more closely allied to the commercial, stereotyped, traditional mountain-culture image. The original flour-mill still stands, as do the beehives at the Peter Cable cabin, one of the Cove's oldest structures. Extremely skillful with their hands, many of the Cove women produced magnificently crocheted bedspreads and table-cloths, at the same time as they were helping their husbands in the building of their log dwellings. The Whitehead daughters, for example, built their father's cabin, which stands to this day as a work of exemplary craftsmanship.

families in 1918. Whittle (p. 2) notes that the population of the Smokies included some 700 families in the early twentieth century. Cades Cove would have represented about one-seventh of the total mountain population.

¹⁶ A Baptist church was established in 1827, but split into Primitive and Missionary groups in 1838. The Methodist church, established in 1830, split into Northern and Southern groups towards the end of the Civil War--thus creating a total of four churches in Cades Cove. Cf. Inez Burns, History of Blount County from War Trail to Landing Strip: 1795-1955 (Nashville, 1957), p. 76.

Perhaps an even stronger indication of the intelligence and resourcefulness developed from their isolation is the record of their success after the Park Service forced them out of both the Cove and the way of life to which they had adapted so well. Choosing the Smokies foothills in and around Blount County as the place where they could most satisfactorily begin life again,¹⁷ most of them built their own homes themselves or remodeled and improved the already existing ones they moved into. Advancing age and a rapidly growing, industrialized, depersonalized society have not left them out of touch with reality. They are highly self-sufficient, close-knit, and keenly alert to their present environment and the mountain heritage which made them what they are.

Shields, therefore, seems quite justified in theorizing that the inhabitants of Cades Cove had to be of above-average intelligence and abilities to survive the odds,¹⁸ and he suggests as supporting evidence the fact that, although Cades Cove was a civil district of Blount County, people handled affairs and settled disputes themselves.¹⁹ And in 1833 Cades Cove established its own post office, which lasted until 1947.²⁰

¹⁷Whittle (p. 6) found that 89% of those Smoky Mountain inhabitants who had lived in Blount County before the Park was created remained in Blount County after they were forced to leave the mountains. He also points out that this percentage is much higher than for the other two mountain counties--Sevier and Cocke--which lost many of their native mountain inhabitants after dispersal.

¹⁸Shields, p. 44.

¹⁹Shields, p. 38.

²⁰Burns, p. 76.

Dispersal of Inhabitants

Thus, perseverance and a determination to settle--settle, that is, as opposed to fortune hunting--made for a group of people whom Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called ". . . the secret of America's great strength . . . the kindest, most thoughtful, most generous people . . . [with] warm heart and bright conscience."²¹ The Great Smoky Mountains National Park was established by an Act of Congress in 1926, and the Park was created in 1930. Faced with the loss of independence from a rigid set of farming and residency regulations²² if they chose to remain in Cades Cove or the alternative--dispersal--all but a few chose the latter.²³

Previous Studies

Although linguistic studies have been made in every region of the continental United States, very little has been accomplished in the South, especially of an organized nature, with the exception of the currently underway Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS). The prototype for all American linguistic atlases was set with the

²¹William O. Douglas, "The People of Cades Cove, Tennessee," National Geographic, 122 (1962), 95.

²²One of my informants, O.S., tells of the attempted return to Cades Cove of her sister, who had left shortly before the Park was created. Deciding to live with her family and teach school in the mountains, O.S.'s sister, one of the few college-educated Cove natives of her generation, was faced with the newly instituted residency regulations. Irritated that she could not return to her home without what seemed to her like a passport, she chose to live instead in nearby Maryville.

²³Shields, p. 45.

publication of The Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE, 1939-43), the first publication of The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (LAUSC), by Hans Kurath and his associates. LANE combined all of the best methods of fieldwork and demonstrated thorough and systematic investigation of both phonology and lexicography.

Basing their later work on the methods of LANE, other linguists pursued surveys of regional English.²⁴ Subsequent work was begun in 1933 with The Linguistic Atlas of the Middle Atlantic and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) project. At present Raven I. McDavid and A. L. Davis of Chicago are editing these materials. The Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States (LANCS) was begun under the direction of Albert H. Marckwardt and includes Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and parts of Ontario bordering the United States. Harold B. Allen is currently overseeing the well-organized Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest (LAUM), which has actually been in progress since 1947, and is now being published. The Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast (LAPC) is being directed by David Reed and Carroll Reed, and The Linguistic Atlas of the Rocky Mountain States (LARMS) has been in progress since 1950, but is yet to be compiled and published.

Under the direction of Lee Pederson of Emory University, The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS) has been conceived to survey the as yet uninvestigated Southern, Gulf States. Tennessee

²⁴For the most recent discussion of atlas progress, see Lee Pederson's comments in A Manual for Dialect Research in the Southern States (Atlanta, 1972), pp. 10-13.

is to be included in this project, although Tennessee is not a Gulf State. Tennessee is thus an excellent place for the undertaking of a state-wide survey, separate from LAUSC and other large projects. With the uniformity of the O-W Questionnaire and the Work Sheets such a study can be complementary to and correlative with LAUSC.

The South has not been completely neglected by linguists. Gordon R. Wood began a checklist investigation of eight southern states including Tennessee in 1957 when he proposed to the American Dialect Society the use of printed mail questionnaires as a first step in extending the Linguistic Atlas surveyed to unexplored areas in the South.²⁵ His book analyzes the responses of a thousand or so persons to a printed vocabulary questionnaire. Chapter 6 he devotes entirely to an examination word by word of the relative importance of synonyms as they are reported in each state of the eight under study. The presentation reflects social changes from pioneer, agricultural vocabularies to urban words introduced into American English. Computer processes are involved in the sorting and tabulation of his interpretations.

Much work in the South, however, has been very scattered, unorganized, or not on a comparable basis with the linguistic atlas data gathered for other parts of the country. Accurately commenting on the field as it now is, James B. McMillan states in the "Introduction" to his Annotated Bibliography of Southern American English, the most

²⁵ Gordon Wood, Vocabulary Change: A Study of Variation in Regional Words in Eight of the Southern States (Carbondale, 1971).

complete bibliography to date: "This bibliography will seem to some users to embrace a great many inconsequential items, some of them tendentious, nit-picking, or simply ignorant."²⁶

Although the speech of the Southern Mountains has intrigued many linguists, professional and untrained alike, little thorough research has been carried through. Too often researchers have made value judgments about the dialects they surveyed. Lester Berrey's article is a prime example of over-generalization, of the judgments levied against Southern speech and the often accompanying attempts at determining causal relationships, e.g., "Abnormal preterites abound,"²⁷ "The mountain dweller has the Southern penchant for inverted compounds,"²⁸ and "Parts of speech are promiscuously interchanged."²⁹ Berrey is here attempting a thorough survey of speech patterns but in a poorly defined geographical area of the mountains. Although he discusses vowel and consonant forms, he does not present an in-depth systematic analysis.

Other fairly significant but brief studies of the mountainous region are those by Charles Carpenter³⁰ and Josiah Combs,³¹ neither

²⁶James B. McMillan, Annotated Bibliography of Southern American Speech (Miami, 1971), p. 8.

²⁷Lester V. Berrey, "Southern Mountain Dialect," American Speech, 15 (1940), 51.

²⁸Berrey, p. 53.

²⁹Berrey, p. 52.

³⁰Charles Carpenter, "Variation in the Southern Mountain Dialect," American Speech, 8 (1933), 22-25.

³¹Josiah Combs, "The Language of the Southern Highlander," PMLA, 46 (1931), 1302-1322.

of which purports to be a thorough analysis of speech. Combs' article, the most thorough, is primarily a discussion of names and lexical idioms. As McMillan's Annotated Bibliography clearly shows, much of the work in Tennessee has emphasized lexicography and minimized phonology.

By far the most exhaustive study of Southern Mountain speech is Joseph S. Hall's The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech. Although comprehensive, Hall's study is not systematic. He spent ten months in field investigation and attempted to cover the entire Smoky Mountain region,³² using records or discs to validate his findings. Because Hall did his study in the infancy of American linguistic research, his methodology does not allow for a comparable basis of later surveys, despite the fact that Hall's 73 speech-records "have value both as a representative linguistic picture of Smokies speech as it is now spoken [late thirties] by people of all ages and circumstances, and for their social and historical content."³³ Specifically, Hall does not explain his method of questioning, the type of instrument used, nor does he distinguish between old and young, educated or uneducated informants.

A portion of Hall's work is devoted to the criticism of others who have characterized regional mountain speech, especially as represented in the fiction of Mary Noailles Murfree. Another of his targets is Horace Kephart, author of Our Southern Highlanders:

³²Hall includes Blount, Sevier, and Cocke Counties, the counties in which Cades Cove inhabitants resettled.

³³Joseph Sargent Hall, The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech (New York, 1942), p. 2.

"He [Kephart] seems to have been impressed particularly by what would look like good dialect on paper, and his notes and published writings scarcely do justice to the speech which he seeks to represent."³⁴

More satisfying portraits of mountain speech, Hall believes, are to be found in Olive Tilford Dargan's Highland Annals and Frances Goodrich's Mountain Homespun, both of which "betray less weakness for 'eye-dialect' and more fidelity to characteristic expressions, and sentence constructions. Rebecca Cushman's Swing Your Mountain Gal, a series of sketches in free verse, conveys the spirit of the dialect without contorting conventional spelling."³⁵

Hall undertook his study of mountain speech convinced that a people so long isolated from the main currents of American culture would speak a dialect characterized by vestiges of earlier stages in the growth of the English language.³⁶ His findings, however, of these vestiges are few. He feels that his primary accomplishment "was the finding of a sound system which reflects and illustrates so well the phonology of early modern English, and which helps to clarify the history of modern standard pronunciation."³⁷ Hall was further impressed by the lack of what he called the schoolmaster's influence in the speech, but he adds that there is no sharp cleavage from the speech of most of America and that there are close affinities with the rest of the South.³⁸

Although there are significant aims, Hall's failure to explain

³⁴Hall, p. 4.

³⁵Hall, p. 4.

³⁶Hall, p. 4.

³⁷Hall, p. 4.

³⁸Hall, pp. 4-5.

his methodology and to use informant type delineations such as those used by Kurath weakens the validity of his analysis. Hall also makes prejudicial judgments of the particular pronunciations. Maintaining a consistent comparison between the speech under analysis and General American Speech, he further falls into the trap of assuming that all phonologists are in agreement as to what constitutes "standard" English.

CHAPTER I

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF PRESENT INVESTIGATION

Aims

The present investigation was undertaken in order to make permanent records on tape of a variety of American English that will soon be lost forever. This type of speech is the vernacular of the former residents of Cades Cove in the Great Smoky Mountains, which until thirty years ago was a close-knit, undisturbed area. Former Cades Cove residents who were born in the Cove and lived all of most of their lives there are now 65 years of age or more.

The present study is an analysis of a sampling investigation, preliminary to a proposed state-wide survey, and thus is as much a study in methodology for phonological research as it is an attempt at drawing conclusions about the speech patterns of the speakers recorded. The analysis is based on one integral part of phonological description that has been virtually overlooked by American dialectologists: the cardinal vowels (see Chapter III).

Following the Hans Kurath grouping,¹ I have classified my Cades Cove informants as Type I (residents with little formal education and restricted social contacts), Group A (aged and/or regarded by the fieldworker as old-fashioned). The tape recordings of these elderly natives constitute a corpus of valuable information

¹Hans Kurath, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Washington, 1939), p. 44.

Because industrialization, urbanization, and mass education exert a continuing influence on language change, it is urgent that this vestige of early American speech be preserved. It is hoped that the tape recordings of these elderly speakers can be filed in a University of Tennessee institute, for the recordings are valuable both for the preservation of the older speech patterns and for the authentication of folk culture.

Methodology

The Questionnaire

The instrument used to elicit the informants' speech is a 106-section questionnaire averaging ten questions per section. There are items of phonological, morphological, and lexical interest. The questionnaire is linguistically comprehensive, and every question is framed in full so as to elicit valid comparable data. This particular questionnaire was compiled by Dr. Harold Orton, Visiting Professor in the English Department at The University of Tennessee, and Dr. Nathalia Wright, with the assistance of the present writer who drew up almost a third of the questions in the first draft.² The questionnaire follows a pattern and order set down in the original Work Sheets compiled for The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (ed. Hans Kurath, et al.). The Work Sheets contain only notions and possible responses and make occasional suggestions for elicitation. On the other hand, the O-W Questionnaire endeavors to obtain the

² Hereafter referred to as the O-W Questionnaire.

requisite information by specific questions. Thus, one section from the Work Sheets³ is as follows:

35

ewe /other words for sheep?/ pet lamb / raised on a bottle?
 orphan? stunted?/*cosset, cade, pence, pinco
wool
 boar *boar hog, male hog, hog, seed hog, breeding hog, stock hog
 /special words used by farmers? by women? in presence of women?
barrow *barrow hog, stag, rig
pig /how old?/ *suckling pig
 shote /weaned pig? how old?/ *yearling, feeding hog
hogs /male and female? old and young?/
bristles
 tusks *tushes
trough: troughs

The corresponding section in the O-W Questionnaire is as follows:

35

1. (What do you call) the female sheep? EWE⁴
 What other words do you have for sheep?
2. . . . a lamb that has lost its mother and been brought
 up in the house? PET LAMB
3. What do we get from sheep? WOOL
4. . . . the animal that gives up pork? PIG
 Ascertain whether the term varies with age.
5. And when it's beginning to feed on solids? SHOAT
 Ascertain until what age.
6. And the male kept for producing offspring? BOAR
 Ascertain whether the inf uses any special terms in
 the presence of women.
7. . . . the castrated male? BARROW
8. . . . all these animals together when fully grown? HOGS
9. . . . the stiff hair on a hog's neck? BRISTLES

Sometimes a picture was shown to the informant when the question was asked. Although these questions were minimal--a clock for telling

³Alva L. Davis, et al., eds., A Compilation of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada and Associated Projects (Chicago, 1969).

⁴In the O-W Questionnaire, a response that is underlined is intended as a phonological item, one for which the fieldworker tries to elicit the specific indicated response. Other items are lexical and morphological.

time, a wagon to label its various parts--the use of pictures can be effective in eliciting responses for items that can be otherwise described only laboriously: tools, types of trees and shrubs, fruits and vegetables. The items in the Questionnaire are, so far as concerns the continental United States, universal notions: the dwelling, the farm, vessels and utensils, vehicles, roads, clothing and bedding, domestic and wild animals, food, cooking, mealtime, fruits, vegetables, trees, berries, and family and social life. Additional information from the incidental material and "free" conversations was collected from each informant and was valuable in confirming, correcting, supplementing, and amplifying responses.

Critique of the Questionnaire. The questionnaire consisting of framed or set questions has obvious advantages over work sheets of key expressions, and it does not give away the response to particular notions as do the lexical questionnaires that have often been used in the United States.⁵ A response elicited from an informant who has four or five multiple choice answers in front of him is simply not as valid lexically as is that elicited by spontaneous conversation recorded on tape or that produced by conditioned questions asked in a direct interview with a trained fieldworker. These postal questionnaires certainly have no phonological value, and--as is to be determined further on in this paper--it is the phonological characteristics of dialect that are more indicative of Regional English characteristics.

⁵See specifically Roger W. Shuy, "Checklist of Regional Expressions," Discovering American Dialects (Champaign, Illinois, 1967).

The O-W Questionnaire, the principle method of organizing the investigation in its early stages, has several good points, especially the carefully worded questions which unambiguously place the notion in the mind of the informant. These framed questions demand skill and patience on the part of the fieldworker, but they, in contrast to only work sheets, simplify interviewing by relieving the fieldworker of the burden of composing questions on the spot. Moreover, the set questions make the elicited data more validly comparable.

There are, however, several problems or drawbacks to be considered in using the O-W Questionnaire for the investigation of mountain speech and for the investigation of Tennessee Regional English on a state-wide basis. In noting these problem areas, one should be reminded that Dr. Orton and Dr. Wright in the framing of the questions were restricted by the type of notions set forth in the original Work Sheets, and in order to elicit comparable data they were further limited by the order as set forth also in the original Work Sheets.

Length, perhaps, is the greatest hindrance to effective interviewing, as a thoroughly completed interview takes approximately five to eight hours, and more if free conversations are also included. With elderly informants particularly, as are all of those used in this study, there is, as a consequence of the length, the problem of keeping the informants from getting overly tired. The Questionnaire, obviously, can be shortened, but in order to obtain comprehensive data, the full 106-section Questionnaire should be used. Another

problem that exists mainly with the use of Type IA informants (i.e., those who are not educated and have read little) is the fact that some words, especially adjectives, are simply not known by the informants, e.g., (O-W Questionnaire 89.5) "Sometimes, when astonished, you might use that name [God] as a sort of mild oath and exclaim:" In this question the term astonished is important, but it is one which the informants did not understand. In question 78.1 the expression dumdum bullet seems to befuddle the informant. As well, often an informant seemed uncertain of the meaning of opposite. In this case, of course, the good fieldworker will simply use another word for opposite or will explain the meaning without giving away the desired results.

More serious problems with the Questionnaire concern items which are designed to elicit highly significant responses but are not framed in a manner understandable to the informant. Although these questions are few, here are several:

15.1. What do you call the place where you actually keep your milk and butter? DAIRY (Invariably the response to this question was REFRIGERATOR.)

19.2. When there's no water in the container you usually drink water from, then you'd say it is an . . . EMPTY GLASS
(To elicit the word EMPTY in this case in my investigation, I simply rephrased the question to read "If you fill a glass full with water, then pour the water out, you have in your hand then an . . . EMPTY GLASS

Other troublesome questions include 23.7, 32.3, 32.4, 55A.7, 57.4,

61.9, 64.7, 66.1, 71.2, 71.3, 71.4, 73.6, 90.4, 92.4, 92.5, 101.4, 105.1.

One can easily see from these examples the difficulty involved in framing a question understandably, unambiguously, and without giving away the key response in the phrasing. Invariably grammatical and morphological items were more difficult to elicit in this investigation than the lexical and most of the phonological items.

Despite the drawbacks, however, the O-W Questionnaire is far superior to the postal questionnaires in eliciting valid data. And it is an improvement over the Work Sheets in that it allows the field-worker more time to relax with the informant, thereby making him feel at ease. The various questions used by American linguists to elicit the term SEESAW will show how a variety of notions as opposed to clearly framed questions will lead to confusion:

22.5. seesaw *teetering board, *teeter-totter, *dandle, *tilts, *ridy-horse, *hickey-horse, *cock-horse, *teeter-horse, *see-horse, *tiltamo / record distinctions/

B: A plank laid over a trestle for children to play on.

L: What do children have in a park or a school yard where one sits on each end of a board and they go up and down?

M: What do you call the playground equipment that children play on--one child balancing the other going up and down? What would you say they are doing?

These suggestions are from Pederson.⁶ The O-W Questionnaire asks:

22.7. . . . a plank balanced at the middle which goes up and down when children are seated at opposite ends? SEESAW

The important point here and with all questions asked is that the

⁶Pederson, p. 123. B, L, and M represent names of the fieldworkers asking the question.

informant understand the notion immediately and that the fieldworker not clutter his mind with too many suggestions, as in the last example here. The trained fieldworker can overcome the problems in the Questionnaire as it is now framed.

The Selection of Informants

In order to elicit the Cades Cove vernacular, several informants were selected, interviewed, and their speech recorded. The original plan was to include twelve informants representative of Blount County. The study of Blount County was to be the first in a county by county, state-wide survey of Tennessee, directed by The University of Tennessee. Slowness in the launching of this project, however, and time pressures changed the original plan to include only the homogeneous Cades Cove section of the Great Smoky Mountains (also a part of Blount County).

To be selected as representative informants, former residents must have lived originally in Cades Cove (each of the five finally selected was born in Cades Cove). They must have been life-long residents of East Tennessee and have traveled out of the state little or not at all. Furthermore, each Type IA informant must have been at least 60 years old at the time of interviewing, must have been raised in Cades Cove, and must have had little formal education. I located my informants by visiting the rural areas outlying Maryville and Sevierville and inquiring of local residents whether they knew any former inhabitants of Cades Cove. Usually they did.

Although I found more than a dozen potential informants, not all could be used for many reasons, namely illness, uncooperativeness,

and difficult daily schedules. My final choices were good informants--representative, co-operative, alert, knowledgeable, and communicative--in addition to being Type IA.

The Fieldwork and Tape Recordings

Having selected satisfactory informants, I began with the O-W Questionnaire and interviewed and recorded five informants--three men and two women, all white (there were no blacks in Cades Cove). Each interview was conducted in the informant's home in a relaxed and casual atmosphere and tape-recorded throughout; some of the informants' responses were transcribed phonetically at the time, if, for example, the informant walked away during free conversations and said something of phonological interest. An initial "get-acquainted" session preceded each first interview. The average time taken to complete the entire questionnaire was about six hours plus an hour more for "free" conversation. The interview--because of the advanced age of most of my informants--was usually completed in four or five sittings.

Critique of the tape-recorder method. Before tape-recorders became so convenient and reproduced sound so reliably, fieldworkers transcribed responses phonetically as the informant talked. This method is known as impressionistic recording and is not the method used here.

For the actual gathering of data I used a convenient, portable cassette recorder with a built-in microphone so as to minimize

intimidation of the informant. After the informant became more at ease, I attached a microphone to the recorder so that I could get a microphone closer to the informant's mouth; this procedure, with a good tape-recorder, eliminates the interference of passing traffic or, as was the case during one of my interviews, the crowing of roosters outside the window. After each informant had been interviewed, I listened to the tapes and, using the International Phonetic Alphabet, transcribed them into a workable format by listing each item, followed by each informant's response.

This method is made even more effective by the fact that the tapes can be reviewed at the fieldworker's leisure, in an atmosphere conducive to the fieldworker's accurate transcription of material. The major disadvantage of this method is the possible distortion of sound present with many tape-recorders. The same distortion occurs if tapes are reproduced; thus, if one makes duplicate copies of tapes, they are not as valid a means of determining nuances of sound as are the originals. I found that it was best to transcribe only after listening to the same word many times and on very fine equipment. Many recorders tend to make it difficult for the phonetician to distinguish certain sounds such as p, b, k, g, f, v, s, θ. Repeated playing of sections of tape makes transcriptions more accurate, as I discovered when I invested in a "loop" recorder--one which has a feature whereby one pushes a button and the same six-second segment of tape plays over and over again, thus allowing one to hear a word repeated fifteen or twenty times with no interruption. There were certain words the pronunciations of which were extremely difficult

to determine. For instance, for informant #2 the pronunciation of screech owl was [skɾatʃəʊl, sɾi.tʃəʊl]. The sounds became amplified and clearly understood when the tape was played on a component system, one of a quality that reproduces sound as accurately as any machine can.

CHAPTER II

THE INFORMANTS

My informants represent a cross-section of Cades Cove inhabitants. All are Type IA informants, all were born in Cades Cove, and all had been in limited contact with people outside the Cove. All had little formal education.

In the history of this region in particular, the same family names appear over and over again. One need only visit graveyards and historical markers within the Cove to determine the impact of such families as the Myerses, Sparkses, Cables, Olivers, Shieldses, and Caughrons, to mention a few, which dominated all Cove activity for over a hundred years. All of my informants were born into these families, and whatever family names might not have been a part of their primary lineage seem to emerge in the ancestry of their spouses.

Although each informant had his or her own peculiar way of responding to my questions, all demonstrated a fear of not knowing the "right" answers, despite the fact that I repeatedly stressed that there were no correct or incorrect responses. One potential informant even refused to be questioned on the grounds that she would not be able to offer any additional information to that which I had obtained from her friend, M.M., my first informant. Perhaps it was best that they held tenaciously to their preconceived suspicions, for they all eventually spoke quite naturally and freely without attempting to use a different level of pronunciation, apparently unaware that I was intently collecting speech sounds and usages.

M.M., Informant #1

Born in the Cove of local parents in 1885, M.M. is the oldest informant, 87 at the time of her interview in the spring of 1972. She did not move out of the Cove until nearly the end of dispersal in the late 1940's. Her formal education consists of only a few years at the elementary level. She had no other occupation outside of helping with work on the farm and managing the home and raising her children. She married another Cades Cove native when she was 20, and, except for a brief trip to Oklahoma to visit her married daughter, she has not traveled elsewhere. She and her husband built their home after dispersal, and M.M. still tends the vegetable garden behind the house, three miles above Maryville. Since her husband's death in 1957, she has lived alone, relying only on neighbors to take her to the doctor and the grocery store.

Extraordinarily alert and still of perfect hearing, although her eyesight is failing, M.M. demonstrates virtually all the qualities of industriousness and independence characteristic of the people of the Cove. A woman with an ever-present sense of humor, she enjoys reminiscing. Yet she is still acutely aware of the world around her and discusses local affairs with avid enthusiasm, frequently threatening to take drastic action if the cost of living rises higher (recently, she threatened to go back to using a lantern and an old coal-stove if her electricity bill increased). She learns about the news from television, because she can no longer see to read the newspaper, and she does not like "that dopey music" one has to endure on the radio. Although she has read very little imaginative literature, she does

remember having read Huckleberry Finn in school, but she remembers few details about the novel. For the most part, her energies were devoted to helping her father and later her husband with their farming, although she found time to crochet many magnificent bedspreads and tablecloths, several of which she made at her husband's bedside shortly before he died.

She remains in close contact with other former Cades Cove people and was, in fact, the one who referred me to my other informants and gave me perfect (even though she had not visited them in their homes recently) directions for finding them. She was the best of the informants, demonstrating amazing patience. Almost completely uninhibited in her responses, she is probably the purest remaining example of Cades Cove speech.

H.W., Informant #2

Born in Cades Cove of local parents, H.W. was 81 at the time of his interview in April, 1972. Like M.M., he did not leave Cades Cove permanently until the end of dispersal in the forties. Until that time he had traveled out of the Cove only as far as Knoxville and Maryville on infrequent trips with his father and brothers. Although farming provided his family's main source of subsistence, his father also made molasses, which he marketed outside of Cades Cove, and it was with him that H.W. went to Knoxville and Maryville.

A man with common sense and a keen knowledge of the land, H.W. had very little formal education, probably the equivalent of a sixth grade education. He responded to the question (83.5) "If a

boy instead of going to school one day went fishing instead, we'd say he . . ." with laid out, then added that he laid out more than he had gone to school. His memory for what he did learn in school is bad, whereas he can easily recall the things that to him were far more practical and enjoyable: farming, hunting, and cooking.

H.W. has lived in Blount County all of his life--except for one week when he made a trip to California and worked as a ranch hand, a sort of experiment to see if he could adapt to some other occupation after dispersal. Aside from that abortive venture, he has been a farmer all his life. His wife also was a Cades Cove native and had no occupation outside the home. She died several years ago, and H.W. and his son, also a widower, live together in the house that H.W. built himself after he and his wife left the Cove permanently. A few miles above Maryville, his home is on several acres of farmland, which H.W. still tends with great care. His son drives a truck from Knoxville to Newport daily, and H.W. does all the household chores and prides himself on his cooking. He maintains the farm, does all of the grocery shopping, and makes frequent trips back to the Cove to help his friends who are still farming and keeping the stables there.

As an informant, H.W. was co-operative and interested in helping me obtain necessary information. His responses to the agrarian questions gave me valuable information, and he often lost his tape-recorder shyness on these questions and offered such information as the differences in certain mountain-shrubs, the various names given to particular farming implements, and the recipes for some of his

favorite dishes. Although he was not the best informant, he represented pure, untutored, Cades Cove speech.

O.S., Informant #3

The youngest informant, O.S., was 60 at the time of her interview in the winter of 1973. Also a native of Cades Cove, she was born into one of the oldest--and perhaps the largest--families there. Her ancestors came to the Cove in 1833 and later were instrumental in establishing its first post office.¹ Her father, a farmer, was the youngest of twelve boys of that family, and her mother was a member of another of Cades Cove's earliest families.

O.S. had little formal education, perhaps the equivalent of a seventh or eighth grade student of today. She married young, and her husband, also a Cades Cove native, was the great grandson of another of the Cove's earliest settlers. With her first husband she lived in West Virginia for a few years, where his occupation was as a railroad worker in the coal mines. After he died there, she returned to Cades Cove to live with her parents and sister. Shortly before dispersal, in the thirties, she married a farmer who had lived all his life in one of the small coves near Cades Cove in the Smokies. Together they moved to a small house near Maryville, in Blount County, and completely remodeled it themselves. She has had no occupation outside the home, and her childhood years were spent helping with household chores and nursing her seriously ill mother

¹Inez Burns, History of Blount County from War Trail to Landing Strip: 1795-1955 (Nashville, 1957), p. 75.

rather than learning to farm. Her formal education was, of necessity, curtailed at this time, and her reading has been limited, although she now reads popular magazines and newspapers.

Her second husband died several years ago, and she now lives alone. She has traveled to New York, Washington, D.C., and South Carolina in order to visit her married children, but aside from these brief trips, she has remained in Tennessee, confining most of her travels to Cades Cove and other parts of Blount County. Her entire family, including all the living descendants of the original settlers, unite late every summer for a reunion in Cades Cove.

As an informant O.S. was excellent, although slightly self-conscious if she thought her responses to a particular question might label her "old-fashioned."

G.G., Informant #4

A Cades Cove native, G.G. was 64 at the time of being interviewed in May of 1972. His father was a direct descendant of one of Cades Cove's earliest settlers and also the man for whom a nearby "bald" was named.

His family devoted itself to farming, and that has been G.G.'s chief occupation all his life. His parents, in fact, never left their farm in Cades Cove except for one or two brief trips to the North Carolina side of the mountains.

A man of very little formal education, G.G. is nonetheless more worldly than the other informants in that he has read more--most of his reading being in the area of current events--and is

more interested in the world outside of Blount County. He has, however, traveled little and has never been out of Tennessee for any extended period of time. As a young man he did leave the Cove for a brief period and went to Kansas in search of a job. Unsuccessful, he returned and, as many young Cades Cove men did, worked for a few years at the aluminum works factory at Alcoa. He and his wife presently live on and actively maintain a twenty-three acre farm in the Smokies foothills.

As an informant, G.G. was excellent. A most alert and perceptive man, he responded readily and enthusiastically to all the questions and frequently offered valuable information of lexical interest, such as giving the older name for an implement or explaining what particular terms meant.

C.M., Informant #5

Born in Cades Cove, C.M. is the great-grandson of John W. Oliver, the Cove's first permanent settler. He was 81 at the time of his interview in the spring of 1972.

The informant who lived in Cades Cove the longest, C.M. was one of the few who chose to remain there on a restricted basis when the Park Service forced dispersal. He did not leave permanently until the 1960's, and his son still operates his own (under National Park regulations) horse stables there.

First and foremost a farmer, C.M., like H.W., shunned his formal education in favor of fishing and helping his parents operate their farm in the Cove. He has read little and, in fact, seems to

harbor suspicions about the values of formal education, perhaps because he feels that many of the college and university affiliated people with whom he has been in contact simply have no common sense. He has been interviewed before for another project--one which he will elaborate on no further than to express his hostility--and was embarrassed by the comments made about him, for he felt that the Cades Cove way of life was being ridiculed. C.M. was also the object of an attempt to describe Cades Cove dialect. In an article prepared for the National Geographic Society, Justice William O. Douglas interviewed and photographed C.M. and referred to him as one of the Cove's typical, God-fearing people.² Unfortunately, Douglas, an untrained phonetician, also made an attempt to describe orthographically the speech of C.M. and other Cades Cove inhabitants. The result was a kind of mimicked dialect of the variety used in comic strips such as "Snuffy Smith" or "L'il Abner."

After leaving the Cove, C.M. and his wife built their own home, a modern brick structure, on the New Walland Highway in the Smokies foothills immediately outside Walland. His wife, who had no occupation other than helping him farm and keep house, died in 1970. C.M. now lives alone and has turned his attention from farming to maintaining a large vineyard behind his home. Although he has no desire to travel or meet people, he does enjoy driving his American-made sports car around Blount County or up into the Cove where he helps his son maintain the stables.

²William O. Douglas, "The People of Cades Cove, Tennessee," National Geographic, 122 (1962), 95.

Despite his potential as an excellent informant (i.e., he has traveled the least of any informants, he lived in the Cove the longest, he has the least amount of formal education, and he is intelligent and alert), C.M. was not the best. He relaxed and talked freely with me only as long as we were walking around his vineyard or we were discussing his flowers. The tape-recorder and the conditioned responses of the questionnaire inhibited him, apparently because he was afraid that I, too, should ridicule his speech or find his way of life old-fashioned.

CHAPTER III

THE VOWEL SYSTEM AND THE CONSONANTS

Having studied Cades Cove, its history, and the speech of its native inhabitants carefully for some time, I have not observed a significant amount of variation among the speakers. I have, therefore, chosen to describe their regional English as one homogeneous unit rather than as a series of idiolects. When, however, any marked variation does occur among the informants' responses, it is so indicated in the "Pronouncing Index." For example, the adjective deaf (Item 77.3 in the O-W Questionnaire) was pronounced [dɛəf] by three informants and [dɪ:f] by two informants, #2 and 5. Thus, this variation is indicated in the "Pronouncing Index" as deaf (77.3) dɛəf, dɪ:f^{2,5}. Other important points of variation are discussed in the text.

This chapter is a discussion of the Cades Cove speakers' vowel system and the consonants in phonetic (not phonemic) terms. The vowels are emphasized because they are much more variable than the consonants and, therefore, more highly indicative of dialectal differences. Furthermore, sounds, especially vowel sounds, move about far less and much more slowly than do individual words. A word elicited by a lexical question, dragon-fly (O-W Qr. 60A.3) for example, may be significant of dialect variation if one group of speakers uses dragon-fly and another group uses snake-feeder. But words such as these move about and are easily and rapidly assimilated from one culture to another or are adapted by a speaker

who moves out of the area of his native dialect into another region. Sound changes, however, are generally evolutionary, and the speaker who might feasibly adopt new words would not change his own vowel system. Consequently, this investigation of Cades Cove speech is concerned far more with phonetics and pronunciations than vocabulary.

The following model figure, Figure 2, outlining the primary cardinal vowels is used to locate each individual vowel sound, its relation to a cardinal vowel, and its particular fluctuations within the speech being described.

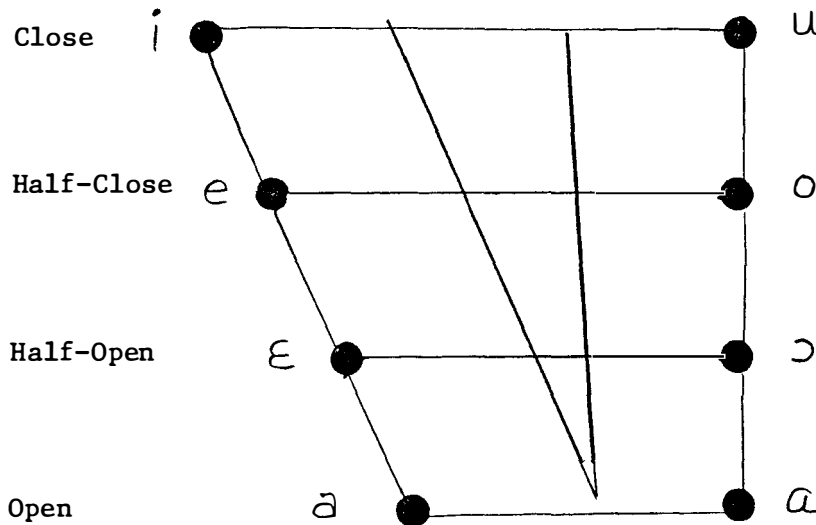


Figure 2. The Primary Cardinal Vowels^a

^aSee Daniel Jones's chapter on the "Classification of Vowels," in An Outline of English Phonetics (Cambridge, 1918, 1960), pp. 29-41.

Besides being characterized according to their sound, vowels are characterized by articulatory position during their formation, by rounding and unrounding, by duration, and as some believe¹ by tenseness

¹Daniel Jones, p. 39.

or laxness. These characteristics as they apply to Cades Cove speech and when they are significant are shown in this dissertation by the phonetic symbols and diacritics approved in 1951 by the International Phonetic Association. The words used in the vowel classifications are primarily those designated as phonological in the O-W Questionnaire. (See Figure 3 for classification of the present-day Cades Cove vowel system.) And although this dissertation is not a comparative study the use of this particular group of words makes for valid comparisons with any dialect study using the Work Sheets for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada.

Short Vowels	I	ɪ	ɛ	æ	ɒ	ʌ	ʊ		
Long Vowels	ɪː	Iː	ɛː	ɑː	ɑː	ɔː	ʌː	ʊː	ɜː
	Iə	ɛə	æə	ɑə	ʌə	ʊə			
Diphthongs	eɪ	aɪ	ɔɪ	æʊ	ɔʊ	oʊ			
	Iəʊ	ɛəʊ	ɑəʊ	ɔəʊ	oəʊ	ʊəʊ			

Figure 3. Classification of the Present-Day Cades Cove Vowel System

The Short Vowels in Stressed Syllables

The same vowel is longer when stressed than when unstressed and in general longer before voiced consonants than before voiceless ones. In the transcriptions [ː] indicates full duration; [ˑ] indicates a half-long vowel, and short vowels are not marked. The positions of the Cades Cove short vowels are indicated in Figure 4.

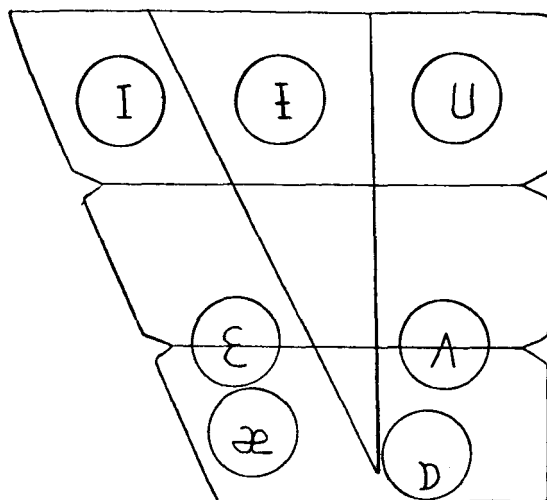


Figure 4. The Positions of the Short Vowels

[ɪ]

[ɪ] is a close-front, fairly lax vowel, lowered from Cardinal #1. In Cades Cove speech it varies from [ɪ] to [ɪ̞] and is sometimes retracted to the close-central, lax lowered [ɪ̞].

[ɪ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic i in the stem:

Bill, Billy, chimney, Civil (War), Christmas, diphtheria,
drizzle, fifth, fist, fists, give, minute, miss, Mrs., rinses, six,
sixth, widow, William, with, without.

Orthographic e:

appendicitis, empty, general, gentleman, genuine, kettle,
Negro, ten, Tennessee, tenth, twenty, Wednesday.

Other:

again, really, sycamore.

In emphatic monosyllables plus a pause, [I] is diphthongized to [Iə], [I·ə], or [İ·ə], e.g., in "The cat and the dog fit," fit appears as [fɪ̇·ət̪]. Other emphatic monosyllables diphthonging in like manner are Bill, fifth, fists, miss, pick, since, six, sixth, ten, tenth, and whip. But this conditioned diphthonging does not occur in polysyllables with stressed [I] Billy ['bɪlɪ], Gregory [gɹɪgəɹɪ]. Monosyllabic words elicited in single-word responses exemplify the diphthonging.

The sound [I] is regularly short in words centrally in the same group, e.g., in the sentence "The drizzle lasted all day," the [I] in drizzle is short, but in certain prosodic circumstances (i.e., at the end of a breath group), [I] becomes [I:], e.g., in "It came a slow drizzle," the word is pronounced ['drɪzɪz̩]. This lengthening is usual in open syllables (i.e., those followed by a single phonetic consonant) in stressed words before a pause, e.g., Item 63.3, "If your sister's husband has died, she is now a . . . WIDOW." The response here is pronounced ['wɪɹ:də].

In words beginning with en, em, ex orthography, the initial vowel sound is [I] or [ɪ] as in empty. [I] plus nasals in medial position becomes [ĩ] or [ẽ], e.g., [dʒĩnɹə] general, [dʒĩnt̪mən] gentleman, [twẽnt̪ɪ] twenty. Ten and tin, and pen and pin, respectively, are usually homonyms. There is, however, a tendency in the speech for words with in orthography to have [I] or [i].

[ɨ]

[I] is occasionally centralized to [ɨ] in stressed syllables,

especially before [s] and [ʃ], e.g., [ˈbrɪstl̩z] bristles, [ˈkɪsɪŋ] kissing, [wɪʃ] wish.

[ɛ]

The short vowel [ɛ] is a half-open front vowel, retracted slightly from Cardinal #3. It is represented in the Cades Cove speech by [ɛ], although it is unstable and fluctuates to higher, lower, or central positions.

[ɛ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic e:

chest, devil, education, eleven, elm, February, jelly, Nellie,
nephew, pepper, recognize, reverend, second, secretary, September,
seven, seventh, seventy, twelve, west, yellow, yesterday.

Orthographic i:

rinses, sit.

Other:

cattle, deaf, head, radishes.

The tendency toward raising is frequent in the pronunciation of September, yesterday, and chest, e.g., [ˈsɛptɪmbə, jɛstə-dɪ, tʃɛst].

The word rinse may be pronounced with [ɪ], [I], [ɛ], [ɛ], [ɛ], or it may be raised and diphthongized to [ɛɪ]. It is possible that the word may be confused with wrench, since rinse is regularly pronounced with [tʃ] no matter which vowel is used. Sit regularly fluctuates between [ɛ], [ɛ], or [ɛ].

In emphatic monosyllables plus a pause, [ɛ], like the short vowel [I], is usually diphthongized. It becomes the falling diphthong

[ɛə], e.g., [dɛəf] deaf, or the closing diphthong [ɛɪ], e.g., [gɛɪt] get (usually [gɪt]), [jɛɪs] yes. [ɛ] is sometimes diphthongized and raised to [ɛɪ], e.g., [ɛɪg] egg, [hɛɪd] head, [kɛɪg] keg, [lɛɪg] leg, especially in stressed monosyllables before [b, g, d]. [ɛ] also becomes [ɛɪ] before [s] and [ʃ], e.g., [fɛɪʃ] flesh, [frɛɪʃ] fresh, [θrɛɪʃt] threshed.

[ɛ] is regularly short in words centrally in the same group, e.g., "The devil will tempt you," in which devil is pronounced [ˈdɛvəl], but in certain prosodic circumstances, in open syllables (i.e., those followed by a single phonetic consonant), the sound may be lengthened to [ɛ:], e.g., "Don't be tempted by the devil," in which devil is pronounced [ˈdɛ:vəl].

The sound [ɛ] in stressed position initially whether in monosyllables or polysyllables is rare, as this sound is usually some form of [ɪ]. It occurs in [ˌɛdʒɪˈkeɪʃən] education and [ˈɛlɪm] elm, but not in words with an en, em, or ex orthography.

[æ]

[æ] is an open, front short vowel, raised and retracted from Cardinal #4.

[æ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:
Orthographic a:

actor, Alabama, backlog, backwards, bag, Baptist, calf,
captain, canal, can, Daniel, half, hammer, Happy (New Year), Italian,
January, mass, Matthew, molasses, raspberries, salad, sample, Saturday,
value, wrapped.

Orthographic e:

keg, threshed.

Before [s, f, ʃ], the sound is raised and diphthongized to [eɪ], e.g., [eɪʃɪz] ashes, [bɛɪskɪt] basket, [kɛɪf] calf, [fɛɪst] fast, [gɛɪs] gas, [grɛɪs] grass, [hɛɪʃ] hash, [pɛɪs] pass, [pɛɪst] past, [pɛɪst(ʃ)] pasture, [pɛɪθ] path. The first element in this diphthong is usually the lowered [e].

Also before nasals [æ] may become [eɪ], e.g., [ˈeɪnsə] answer, [tʃeɪns] chance, [deɪns] dance, [eɪnt] aunt, [keɪnt] can't. Before some nasals, however, [æ] is pronounced [æ], e.g., [ˈdʒænjʊæːɪ] January, [ræmps] ramps. Yonder is usually pronounced [ˈjændə].

Before the voiced plosives [æ] frequently is raised and diphthongized to [eɪ], e.g., [beɪɡ] bag, but before [p, t, k] the sound is usually [æ], e.g., [ˈæktə] actor, [ˈæpəl] apple, [bæk] back, [ˈrætəl] rattler, [ˈtækəl] tackle, [ˈtætəl] tattle-tale, [ræpt] wrapped.

In emphatic monosyllables before a pause, the sound appears as the falling diphthong [æə], sometimes [æɪ], e.g., [bæɪɡ] (in a) bag, [kæɪn] (yes, I) can, [mæɪd] (was he) mad, [θæɪt] (something like) that.

Usually short, in disyllabic words before a pause in open syllables the sound is lengthened to [æ:], e.g., [dæːnjəl] Daniel, [hæːmər] hammer, [sæːlɪd] salad.

Before [r], [æ] is marked by heavy r-coloring, lengthening, and considerable retraction of the tongue, e.g., [əˈmæːrəkən] American, [bæːl] barrel, [hæː] hair, [pæː] pair, [pæː] pear, [pæːnts]

parents, [ʌpæɹ:] (up) there. Thus, pairs such as hair, hare; pair, pear are homonyms and are pronounced [hæɹ:, pæɹ:]. The verb are, the pronoun our, and the noun air are also homonyms with the vowel sound [æɹ].

[ɔ]

The short [ɔ] is a rounded back vowel, advanced and raised from Cardinal #5.

[ɔ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic o:

crop, fox, foxes, god, hospital, Knoxville.

Orthographic a:

wash, Washington, watch, water.

Orthographic au:

jaundice.

In emphatic monosyllables plus a pause, [ɔ] is diphthongized to [ɔə], e.g., [kɹɔəp] crop, [gɔəɔd] God, [fɔəks] fox.

[ʊ]

The short vowel [ʊ] is a close back short vowel, lowered and slightly under-rounded in Cades Cove speech.

[ʊ] appears in words in the following orthologic divisions:

Orthographic u:

bull, butcher, pull, push, put.

Orthographic oo:

coop, good, hoops.

Other:

whip, wish.

[ʊ] has very little variance, but sometimes fluctuates to [ü], e.g., ['büşɪ] bushy, [bütʃə] butcher, [püt] put (it on).

When occurring in emphatic monosyllables before a pause, [ʊ] is usually diphthongized to [ʊə] before both voiced and voiceless consonants, e.g., [bʊə] (mad as a) bull, [hʊəp] (get out the) whip, [fʊə] (that's my) foot.

In open syllables in disyllabic words in emphatic positions plus a pause [ʊ] may be lengthened to [ʊː].

Coop is pronounced both [Kʊp] and [Kʊːp], but the significant regional variant soot in Cades Cove speech is always [sʌt̚].

[ʌ]

[ʌ] in Cades Cove speech is a half-open unrounded, short back vowel, advanced from Cardinal #6.

[ʌ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic u:

bulge, bulk, bush, gums, hundred, judge, pumpkin, shut, such, Sunday.

Orthographic oo:

hoot (owl), soot.

Orthographic ou:

touch.

Orthographic o:

nothing, one, onions, something.

Other:

screech (owl), was

Before [s, ʃ, t, t̃] the sound [ʌ] is frequently very much advanced, sometimes becoming [ɛ], e.g., [bʏɛʃ] brush, [ʃɛt̃] shut, [sɛt̃ʃ] such, [t̃ɛt̃ʃ] touch.

In emphatic monosyllables [ʌ] tends to diphthongize to [ʌð] before a pause or at the end of a sense group, e.g., in "What is that bulge?" bulge is pronounced ['bʌðldʒ]. Other words in which diphthonging occurs are gums, judge, one, soot, sun. [ʌ] does not, however, diphthongize as readily as the short front vowels.

In open syllables in disyllabic words in emphatic positions plus a pause [ʌ] is lengthened to [ʌ:], e.g., [Kʌ:p̃|z] couples.

The Long Vowels in Stressed Syllables

See Figure 5 for positions of the Cades Cove long vowels.

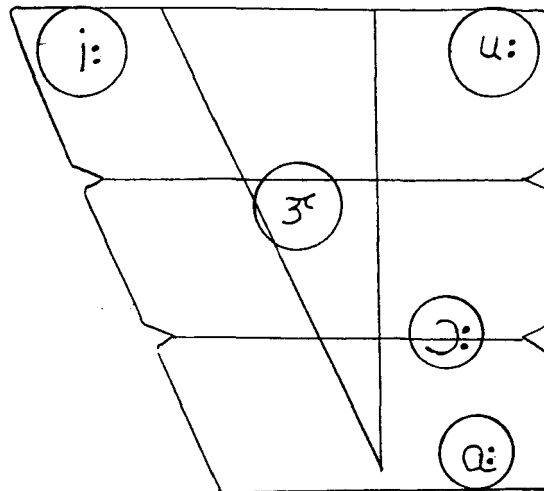


Figure 5. The Positions of Cades Cove Long Vowels

[i:]

[i:] in Cades Cove speech is the closest of the front vowels. It is nearest Cardinal Vowel #1 with a tendency to be slightly lowered.

[i:] appears in the words from the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic e or ee:

creek, December, diphtheria, lever, Negro, teeth, wheelbarrow.

Orthographic ea:

deaf, east, grease, greasy, idea, real, yeast.

Orthographic ei:

either, neither.

Orthographic ai:

drain.

Orthographic i:

cigar, iodine.

In the words of the above list [i:] occurs in [ˈdi:sɪmbə] December, as Cades Cove speakers accent the first syllable in all the names of the months. As well, words beginning with orthographic re are also accented on the first syllable and pronounced [vi:] as in remember. Cigar is also accented on the first syllable. Drain is pronounced [dri:n] by all five informants. Creek is always [kri:k]. Negro was pronounced [ˈni:grə] by only one informant. Deaf was pronounced [di:f] by two informants, and iodine was pronounced [iəˈdi:n] by two informants.

[i:] may sometimes become the falling diphthong [i.ə] or [i:ə], in some stressed monosyllables, especially before laterals,

e.g., [mi:əl] meal, [sti:əl] steel, [hwi:əl] wheel. In other monosyllables [i:] frequently becomes the rising diphthong [i:], e.g., [tri:θ] teeth. This rising diphthong does not occur in continuous speech except with heavy stress in emphatic words.

Under stress the frequently used adjectives [bɪg] big and [ˈlɪtəl] little become [bi:g] and [ˈli:təl]. The expression sic him (to a dog) is [si:k ɪm].

[ɑ:]

[ɑ:] is an open back unrounded vowel, much advanced from Cardinal #5.

[ɑ:] appears in the words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic a:

calm, father, palm, psalm.

Orthographic o:

John, notch.

Orthographic au:

launch, laundry.

[ɔ:]

[ɔ:] is advanced from Cardinal #6. It is a half-open rounded back vowel. It fluctuates between [ɔ:] and [ɔ̃:] but is more often [ɔ̃:] with slight under-rounding.

[ɔ:] appears in words in the following orthographical divisions:

Orthographic o:

coffee, cog, costs, dog, fog, hog, log, October, off, office, often.

Orthographic ou:

cough, trough, troughs.

Orthographic au:

August, daughter, haunted, sausage.

Orthographic a:

tassle, walnut, wasps.

Orthographic aw:

law, straw.

Tassle, which is pronounced [¹təs|] in some other types of American speech, is invariably [¹təs|] in Cades Cove. Haunted is not often ['hɔ:ntɪd]; more frequently it is ['hɛɪntɪd] or ['hɔ:ntɪd].

In stressed monosyllables [ɔ:] becomes the diphthong [ɔ:ʊ], especially before plosives and fricatives, e.g., [dɔ:ʊg] dog, [fɔ:ʊg] fog, [bɔ:ʊt] bought, [krɔ:ʊs] cross, [kɔ:ʊf] cough, [frɔ:ʊst] frost, [mɔ:ʊθ] moth.

The past tense of fight occurs in Cades Cove speech as [fɪt] fit or [fɔ:ʊt] faut.

[u:]

[u:] is the closest of the back vowels. It is rounded and much advanced from Cardinal #8.

[u:] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic u:

humor, July, sumach, sure.

Orthographic oo:

broom, coop, hoof, roof, roots, spoon, tooth.

Orthographic ou:

tourist, wound.

Other:

shoes, suit, two.

[u:] is always preceded by [j] in new, tube, Tuesday, student, used, funeral, music, beautiful, due, dues, you, and sometimes humor.

The falling diphthong [u:ə] in stressed monosyllables occurs primarily before [l] as in [fju:əl] fuel.

In monosyllables with heavy stress [u:] becomes the rising diphthong [ʊ:], e.g., [brʊu:m] broom, [ruu:f] roof, [ruu:ts] roots, [spuun] spoon. This rising diphthong does not occur in continuous speech unless in positions with heavy stress. It was very common in the conditioned responses of the set questions.

[ɜː]

[ɜː] is much retracted from Cardinal #3. It is a half-open raised r-colored vowel, which in Cades Cove speech is very stable. [ɜ:] without r-coloring is rare in Cades Cove speech. It was recorded only in the speech of informant #2 in [bɜ:d] bird, but he also pronounced [bɜːd].

[ɜː] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic a plus r:

care, careless, far, Mary, Sarah, scarce.

Orthographic ea plus r:

heard, year.

Orthographic e plus r:

berries, cherry, fertile, sermon.

Orthographic i plus r:

first, girl, stirrup, third, thirteen, thirty.

Orthographic u plus r:

curse, furrows, furniture, nurse, purse, Thursday.

Orthographic o plus r:

worry.

Other:

colonel, pretty, queer, syrup, tusk, tusks.

Among the above words [j] is frequent before the vowel in care, careless, heard, year, scarce, especially in the speech of informants 1, 2, and 5.

The Diphthongs

[eɪ]

The diphthong [eɪ] in Cades Cove speech is the half-close slightly lowered [e] plus the close-front retracted [ɪ]. The first element is usually slightly lowered but fluctuates towards a slightly raised [e̞]. The second element is sometimes lost with compensatory lengthening of the [e̞] to [e̞:], thus [e̞ɪ] alternates with [e̞:]. Figure 6 indicates the position of [eɪ].

The diphthong [eɪ] occurs in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic a:

answer, April, apron, bracelet, calf, can't, chance, class, dance, glass, granary, molasses, pasture, sumach, tomatoes.

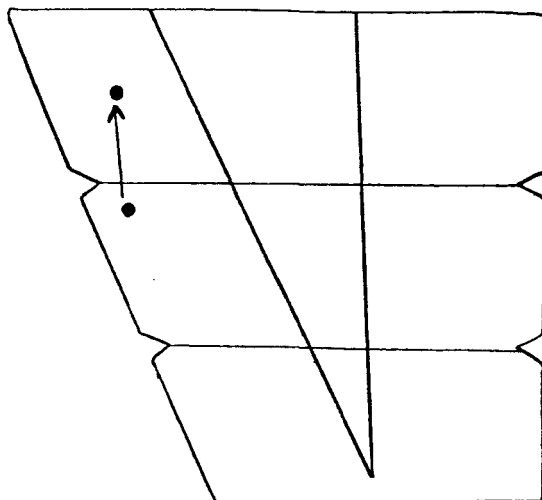


Figure 6. The Position of the Diphthong [eɪ]

Orthographic ai (ay), ei:

always, eight, eighth, hay, strain.

Orthographic e:

eggs, keg, threshed.

Other:

aunt, haunted, rinses.

[eɪ] appears in pasture, calf, threshed, glass, molasses, can't, class, chance, answer, ashes, or in words in which [eɪ] precedes [s, ʃ, f] or a nasal. Words in this group are usually pronounced with [æ] in other types of American English.

[æʊ]

The diphthong [æʊ] alternates with [ɛʊ]. Sometimes it is realized as [æ·ʊ], i.e., with half long [æ] and a corresponding shorter second element. Figure 7 shows the position of the diphthong.

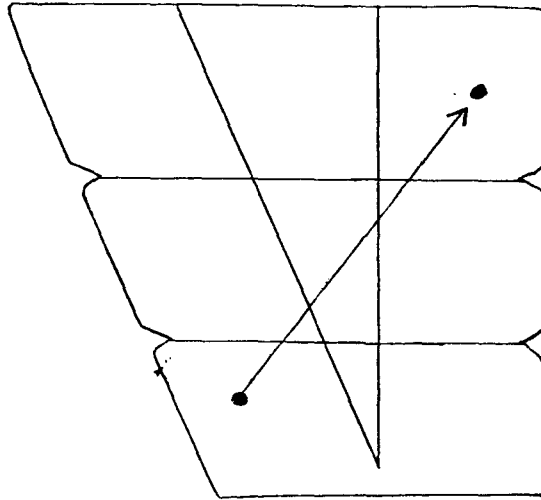


Figure 7. The Position of the Diphthong [æʊ]

[æʊ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic ou:

clouds, house, houses, mountain, mouth, proud, thousand,
without.

Orthographic ow:

Brown, cow, owl, plow, towel.

An [ɪ] glide or [j] occurs when [æʊ] follows [k], e.g.,

[k^ɪæʊ] cow, [k^ɪæʊntɪz] counties.

[aɪ]

The diphthong [aɪ] has been noted in Cades Cove speech only rarely. It is usually realized as the monophthong [a:] which fluctuates from a slightly raised [ä:] to a retracted [ɑ:]. Figure 8 indicates the position of [aɪ].

[aɪ] or [a:] appears in words from the following orthographic divisions:

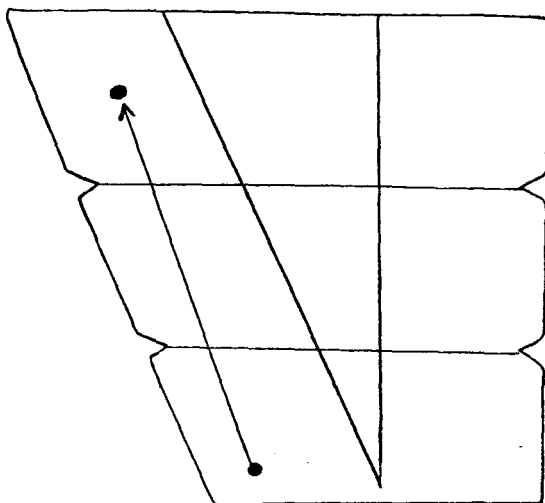


Figure 8. The Position of the Diphthong [aɪ]

Orthographic i and y:

appendicitis, bye, Carolina, china, digest, five, Friday, genuine,
grindstone, iodine, Italian, quinine, nine, ninth, recognize, rice,
twice, why.

Sometimes [aɪ] appears as [a·ɪ] or [a:ɪ], especially in stressed monosyllables, e.g., [vɑ:ɪs] rice, [fɑ:ɪv] five. The second element of the diphthong is usually very short.

Some writers on dialect have suggested that the South is abundant in homonymns.² Such pairs as blind, blond, and rat, right are not homophones in the Cades Cove speech. Blind has the monophthong [a:] whereas blond is pronounced with a lowered, under-rounded [ɔ:] or a raised and slightly fronted [ʊ:], or [ɔ:] may sometimes

²See Raven McDavid's discussion in "Needed Research in Southern Dialects," in Perspectives on the South, ed. Edgar T. Thompson (Durham, 1967), pp. 119-124.

be diphthongized under stress. Rat and right are also dissimilar, namely [ʁæɪ] rat and [ʁaɪ] right.

There is a tendency for [a:] to be very much retracted especially before [l] as to be almost [ɑ:] and to diphthongize to [ɑ:ə], e.g., [ma:ə] mile, [hwa:ə] while.

The vowel [ɑ:] is the vowel of the pronoun I.

[ɔɪ]

As is true with the other diphthongs, there is a tendency to lengthen the first element and consequently to shorten the second element. The first element of this diphthong is slightly lowered from Cardinal #6 and slightly under-rounded with a tendency for the second element to be very much lowered from Cardinal #1 and to be centralized and lax. Figure 9 indicates the position of [ɔɪ].

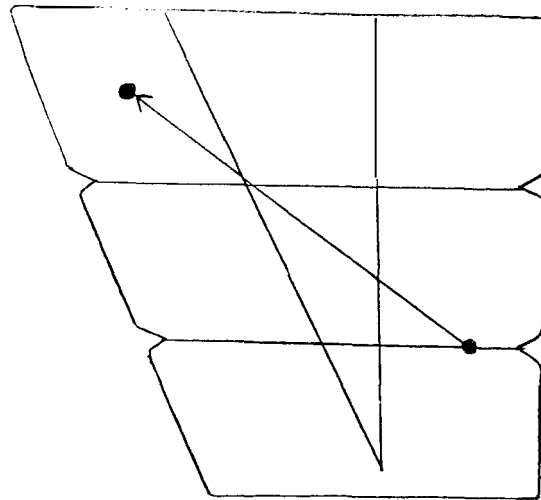


Figure 9. The Position of the Diphthong [ɔɪ]

[ɔɪ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic oi and oy:

boil, boiled, hoist, joined, joint, oil, oysters, poison(ous),
spoiled, toy.

The pairs oil, all; boiled, bald may on first hearing sound like homonyms. But the sound in oil and boiled is the diphthong [ɔ̟ɪ], with the first element slightly lowered, under-rounded and lengthened. The second element, especially before laterals, is centralized to [ɪ̟] or [ə̟] and is very short. The vowel in all and bald, however, is [ɔ̟ɜ̟].

Words in which the second element of the diphthong is pronounced fully are those in which [ɔ̟ɪ] is closest to Cardinal #6, perhaps even a little raised toward [O:], e.g., hoist, joined, joint, poison, oysters.

[Oʊ]

The first element of the diphthong [Oʊ] in Cades Cove speech is long, under-rounded, and lowered from Cardinal #7 with the second element [ʊ], lowered from Cardinal #8 and advanced. Figure 10 below indicates the position.

[Oʊ] appears in words in the following orthographic divisions:

Orthographic o:

ago, grindstone, hotel, locusts, November, post, posts,
threw (threw), whole.

Orthographic oa:

coat, loam.

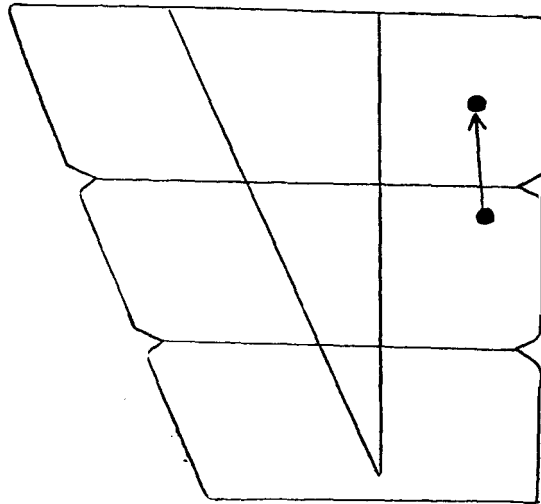


Figure 10. The Position of the Diphthong [ou]

Orthographic ou:

shoulders.

Orthographic a:

stamp.

November and hotel are accented on the first syllable in Cades

Cove speech. Stamp invariably rhymes with romp.

Diphthongs with [r]

[Iɔ̃]

In monosyllables [I] plus [r] usually diphthongizes to [Iɔ̃], e.g., [bɪɔ̃d] beard, [ɪɔ̃] ear, [fɪɔ̃] fear, [kwɪɔ̃] queer. The vowel in these words is a raised [I], sometimes [i], but this group of words is very varied in the patterns of pronunciation even within an individual speaker, e.g., queer was pronounced [kwɪɔ̃] and [kwɜ̃:] by informant #1, [kwaɔ̃] and [kwɜ̃:] by informant #2, [kwæɔ̃] by informant #3, [kwɪɔ̃] by informant #4 and [kwaɔ̃] and [kwɜ̃:] by informant #5 (see the Pronouncing Index, Appendix).

In polysyllables [ɪ] plus [r] usually does not diphthongize, e.g.,
[ˈdɪpθɪrɪ] diphtheria.

[ɛɔ]

[ɛ] plus [r] in monosyllables usually diphthongizes to [ɛɔ],
e.g., [tʃɛɔ] chair, although chair is also pronounced [tʃɜː],
[tʃɪɔ]. In polysyllables [ɛ] plus [r] usually does not diphthongize,
although the pronunciation [bɛɔɪ] berry was recorded for informant #3.
The usual pronunciation for berry is [bɜːɪ].

[aɔ]

[a] plus [r] in monosyllables usually diphthongizes to [aɔ],
e.g., [maːɔtʃ] March, [haːɔθ] hearth, but [aː] plus [r] in poly-
syllables usually does not diphthongize, e.g., [maːrθi] Martha.

[aː] before [r] becomes [aːɔ] and diphthongizes to [aːɔɪ]
[aːɔɪn] iron, [ɔɪs] iris, [maːɔɪ] Myers, [tɔːɔɪ] tire, [faːɔɪ] fire.

[ɔɔ]

[ɔː] plus [r] in monosyllables usually diphthongizes to [ɔɔ],
e.g., [hɔɔs] horse. In polysyllables [ɔː] plus [r] usually does not
diphthongize, e.g., [hɔːrsɪz] horses, [ˈfɔːrtɪ] forty, [ˈmɔːrɪnɪŋ]
morning, [ˈmɔːrɪnɪŋ] mourning, [kwɔːrtɔɔ] quarter, [ˈɔːrfən] orphan.

[oː] plus [r] usually diphthongizes to [oɔ] in monosyllables,
e.g., [fɔːɔ] four, [boːɔ] boar, [hɔːɔs] hoarse. In polysyllables
[oː] plus [r] usually does not diphthongize, e.g., [fɔːrtiːn]
fourteen, [ˈfɔːrɪhɛɪd] forehead.

[uɜ]

[u:] plus [r] usually diphthongizes to [uɜ] in monosyllables, e.g., [ʃuɜ] sure, [kjɜ] cure. More frequently, however, these words have [o:ɜ] so as to rhyme with floor or more. [u:] plus [r] does not seem to be a very common sound in Cades Cove speech. It does occur in [tʰu:vɪst] tourist.

The Vowels in Unstressed Syllables

The most prevalent vowels of unstressed syllables in Cades Cove speech are [ɪ], [ə], and [ɜ].

[ɪ]

[ɪ] appears in the unstressed syllables in words ending in orthographic -ed, -es, -est, -ist, -y, and occasionally -ow, e.g., [ˈha:vɪs] harness, [ˈheɪntɪd] haunted, [ˈredɪʃɪs] radishes, [ˈtu:vɪst] tourist [ʌnˈru:lɪ] unruly, [ˈba:vɪ] borrow. The suffix ment as in government, president is frequently given secondary accent in Cades Cove speech, and pronounced [mɪnt], not [mənt].

[ɪ] sometimes occurs for [ə] in final syllables, e.g., magnolia [ˈmæɡnɒlɪ], diphtheria [ˈdɪpθi:vɪ]. This tendency toward the raising and slightly tensing of [ɪ] in final position is very common in Cades Cove speakers' pronunciations of proper names, frequently becoming [i], e.g., [mɑ:vθi] Martha, [ˈsɜ:tɪ] Sarah, [flɔ:vdi] Florida, [dʒɔ:vdi] Georgia.

Words with orthographic -ery or -ary often drop the expected [ɪ] entirely, e.g., [ˈdʒænjwəri] January, [ˈsekɪtəri:] secretary.

[ə]

[ə] is usual in words ending in unstressed -ow, e.g., [tə'mɑ:rə] tomorrow, ['hɑ:rə] harrow, ['wɪ:də] widow, ['swɑ:lə] swallow. Initially [ə] occurs in about, enough, American; however, there is a tendency in the speech to omit [ə] in initial position of unstressed syllables, e.g., ['pɪnəsə:dəs] appendicitis. [ə] represents orthographic i in ville, e.g., ['nɒksvəl] Knoxville, ['mɜ:vəl] Maryville. The pronunciation [vɪ]] was not recorded. [ə] is common as an unstressed final syllable, e.g., ['sɒfə] sofa, ['ʌmbɹɛlə] umbrella, [tə'meɪtə] tomato, [kə'lɑ:nə] Carolina, although in some polysyllabic words, the final [ə] is omitted, e.g., ['ʌmbɹɛl] umbrella.

[ɜ]

Words ending in -ar, -er, -ir, -or, -ur orthography are usually pronounced with the schwa and strong r-coloring, e.g., [ɜ] as in actor, answer, daughter, father, flowers, humor, oyster. Sometimes [ɜ] occurs, presumably analogically, in words ending in -ow, e.g., ['hɑ:lɜ] hollow, ['jɛlɜ] yellow. [ɜ] also occurs as the final syllable of a few words ending in orthographic ture, e.g., ['fɜ:nətɜ] furniture.

The Consonants

It is impractical here to consider each Cades Cove consonant individually. They are considered as they appear in the categories of the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Figure 11).

	Bi-labial	Labio-Dental	Dental and Alveolor	Retroflex	Palato-Alveolor	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p b	t d		t d		k g	ʔ
Nasals	m		n	ɳ			
Laterals			l				
Fricatives		f v	θ ð s z r		ʃ		h
Frictionless Continuants and Semi-Vowels	w				j		

Figure 11. Consonants of Cades Cove Speech

Plosives

The plosive consonants are formed by closing the air passage, then compressing the air and suddenly opening the air passage so that the air escapes, thereby making a plosive sound, such as [p, t, k], the voiceless plosives, and [b, d, g], the voiced plosives. In Cades Cove speech the plosive is strongly aspirated in initial positions, such as in [ˈpʰɔ:p|ə] poplar, but the sound is unaspirated or emitted very weakly in final position, e.g., [stɒp̚], stop.

Nasal plosion is usual when plosives are followed by a nasal, e.g., [mæʊntɪŋ] mountain, [ˈga:ɹdɪŋ] garden. The pronunciation [ˈmæʊntɪn] or [ˈga:ɹdɪn] was not recorded in any of the incidental material or free conversation.

In words with orthographic tl or dl the explosion of the [t] is lateral (tip of the tongue does not leave teeth ridge, as in pronouncing [l]), e.g., [ˈlɪt̬l̩] little, [ˈbrɪst̬l̩z] bristles. The explosion occurs when the air suddenly escapes through the nose as the soft palate is lowered for forming the nasal consonant.

The voiceless [t] is frequently voiced in medial position, e.g., [ˈbju:tɪfɪl̩] beautiful. Words which in the singular end with the plosive [k] or [t], the plosive is rarely aspirated, e.g., [fɪst̬] fist. The plural of this word drops the plosive entirely, e.g., [ˈfɪsts] fists. Some disyllabic words, e.g., locust, are pronounced with the [t] omitted. In the singular locust is [ˈləʊkəs], but [ˈləʊkəsɪz] in the plural.

In pumpkin the second [p] is a glide between [m] and [k]. Here the [m] becomes the corresponding velar nasal before the velar consonant [k], e.g., [ˈpʌŋkɪn].

Nasals

The three nasal consonants are represented phonetically by [m], [n], and [ŋ]. Vowels preceding these nasal consonants are always nasalized.

[ŋ] occurs in thing, ring, sing, hang, but in unstressed syllables orthographic -ing, as in present participles, is pronounced [ɪŋ], e.g., [ˈdeɪnsɪŋ] dancing, [ˈsɪŋɪŋ] singing, [ˈfɔːlɪŋ] falling.

In strength and length the e is raised to [ɪ] and [ŋ] becomes [ŋ] with the voiced velar nasal becoming dentalized, e.g., [ˈstrɪŋθ] strength, [ˈlɪŋθ] length.

Laterals

The lateral consonant [l] is either clear or dark. Clear [l] is used initially and medially adjacent to front vowels, but is [ɫ] finally, e.g., [ˈnɛlɪ] Nellie, [ˈbɪlɪ] Billy, [ˈbreɪsɪt] bracelet, but [nɛɫ] Nell, [bɪɫ] Bill, [fɔːɫ] fall.

Occasionally [l] is omitted, e.g., [ˈvæjʊ:] value. It may also be replaced by [ʊ] or [ə] in self, himself, milk, bulge, bulk, and sometimes help, although this last word is more often pronounced [hɔːp] and is a survival form of the Old English verb helpan, the past participle holpen.

Fricatives

Voiceless fricatives are represented phonetically by [f, s, θ, ʃ] and voiced fricatives by [v, z, ð, ʒ]. Words, especially monosyllables, which end in [f] or [t] in the singular have [vz] in the plural, e.g., [ˈtrʌːəft] trough, [ˈtrʌːəvz] troughs. As well, those words which have [θ] in the singular have the voiced [ð] in the plural

generally, e.g., [mɔ:θ] moth, [mɔ:ðz] moths. [ð] seems to be more frequent if it is followed by a vowel, e.g., [wɪθ] with sugar, but [wɪðæʊt] without sugar.

Initial shr is pronounced [sr] in shrink, shrank, shrivel. But s in sumach is regularly [ʃ], thus [ʃu:meɪk].

[r]³ is the sound made with the tip of the tongue curved upward toward the teeth ridge. The Cades Cove speech is strong in r-coloring, normally retaining [r] in initial, medial, and final positions as well as occasionally intruding [r].⁴

Intrusive [r]. Intrusive [r] occurs in a number of words, although they do not occur consistently in the speech of the informants. Intrusive [r] occurs in [bæləd] ballad, [mʊ:ʃ] mush, [mʊ:ʃru:m] mushroom, [pɔ:ɹtʃt] poached, [ɔ:rt] ought, [skwɔ:ʃ] squash, [tʃ:ʃ], tusk, [tʃ:ʃɪz] tusks, [wɔ:ʃ] wash, [wɔ:ʃɪntən] Washington, [mɪzrɪz] Mrs.

[r] replaces orthographic ow in hollow, fellow, widow, swallow, and yellow. Wasp and wasps are pronounced rather consistently [wɔ:spɔ:] and [wɔ:spɔ:z]. None of the informants, however, said [təmeɪtə] tomato or [pəteɪtə] potato.

There are a few instances of dropped [r], e.g., Carolina. generally, library. Cartridge is pronounced [kɑ:rtɹɪdʒ, kɑ:tɪdʒ], Burst is usually [bɹst].

³ [r] replaces [ɹ] as the symbol for the fricative consonant.

⁴ Raven I. McDavid in "Needed Research in Southern Dialects," notes ". . . the strong postvocalic [-r] associated with the Middle West is heard in the South most often from mountaineers, from textile workers, and from marginal farmers in the sand hills and pine barrens," p. 124. Hilda Jaffe in her study of Carteret County, N.C., also concludes that the primary characteristic of the speech is the retention of post-vocalic [r].

Metathesis involving [r]. [r] plus vowel is frequently reversed in [eɪpæɾn] apron, [hʌndæɾd] hundred, [ɪntæ'du:s] introduce, [pɹɪ:tɪ] pretty, [sekɹɪ'tæ:] secretary, [tʃɪldæɾn] children.

[ʒ] is not a common sound among these elderly speakers of mountain dialect. In fact [ʒ] was not recorded. Measure was [mɛzæ, 'meɪzæ].

The initial voiceless glottal fricative [h] is regularly retained in Cades Cove pronunciation, e.g., half, house, hammer, harness, heavy, harrow, happy, haunted. The pronoun it when stressed is [hɪt] or [hɪət]. [heɪnt] occurs for haven't. Humor was pronounced [u:mæ] by three informants and [hju:mæ] by two.

Orthographic wh is pronounced [hw] in stressed words, e.g., [hwɪəl] wheel, but in where, what, while, when why, the sound is [w] unless the word is stressed.

The affricates (made up of a plosive and a fricative) are represented phonetically by [tʃ] and [dʒ]. There is a tendency in Cades Cove speakers to use [tʃ] rather than [ʃ] or [s], e.g., [tʃɪkɑ:gəʊ] Chicago, [ɪntʃɪn] rinses. [tʃ] is also pronounced in chair, church, porch, chimney, touch, launch. [tʃ] in orthographic ture is seldom [tʃ], e.g., [fɜ:nætæ] furniture, [pɛɪstæ] pasture. But nature is always [neɪtʃə].

Semi-Vowels

The two semi-vowels in English are represented phonetically by [j] and [w].

The [j] is very frequent in Cades Cove speech, occurring initially and medially. Ewe was pronounced [jʊə] by all five informants;

yeast was [i:sɪ] and [ji:sɪ]. Informant #2 consistently pronounced ear as [jɜ:]. [j] is inserted in [hjɜ:] hear, [hjɜ:] here, [njɜ:] near, [kjɔɹ] cure, [dju:] due, [dju:z] dues, and it occurs regularly in [mjɜ:zɪk] music, [fju:nrəl] funeral, [stju:dnt] student.

[w] occurs initially in walnut, war, wash, watch, water, weather, Wednesday, widow, whip, wool. The nature of the vowel following [w] determines the degree of lip-rounding and the height of the tongue, e.g., the degree of lip-rounding and height of tongue is greater before the rounded vowels as in wool, wound than before the unrounded vowels in wash, widow, weather. [w] may be added between a syllable ending in [o], [u], or [ʊ], e.g., [f|ɔʊ-wɹ] flower. This pronunciation is not common in Cades Cove speech.

Diversity in the Informants' Speech

I have found the five informants used for this study to be reasonably homogeneous in their pronunciation, i.e., in their individual tendencies to raise or lower vowels, to advance or retract vowels. Variety does exist in an individual speaker, who may, for instance, pronounce keg as [kæ^ɪg] and [keɪg], but this variety is found just as often in all Cades Cove speakers.

Other differences do exist. For instance, informant #1 pronounced back vowels with the greatest degree of consistency of rounding. Informant #2 responded with the least tutored and probably oldest pronunciation and vocabulary. Informant #3 is the only informant who pronounced the vowel in cog, fog, hog, log as both [ɔ:] and [ɑ:], although it was clear that [ɔ:] was the more natural response.

Informant #3 was also the most alert and quickest with responses, laughing readily when the fieldworker confused "ground hogmeat" with "groundhog meat." Informant #4 was the most knowledgeable in all respects and able to supply old and recent forms of pronunciations and lexical items. Informant #5, although knowledgeable and able to supply old forms of words, was the slowest and most hesitant speaker.

The five speakers may then be divided into two groups: informants #1, 2, and 5 and informants #3, 4. Informants #1, 2, and 5 were the oldest and undoubtedly used the more untutored forms, but these informants were unable to comment on any of the contemporary items (these are few) or on the questions dealing with the sea or with beach areas; they also knew less about states and cities. Informants #3 and 4, although past 60 years of age, were alert to change in usage. Both pointed out, for example, that to freshen is an older expression for to calve. Furthermore, both informants commented on this usage voluntarily without any pressure from the fieldworker. Informant #3 further commented that to freshen was used in front of children.

Although none of the informants seemed given to profanity, informant #4 readily supplied a list of exclamations used by his father. He noted that blasted was an antiquated expression. Informant #4 referred to exclamations and curses as "by-words." He also noted that most parents in Cades Cove were very strict about the use of God in exclamations, but he pointed out that his own father would say Good God in times of anger or frustration. He was also of the opinion that whore is an older term, one used by speakers when he

was a child, and that prostitute established itself in the language later and that it has less severe connotations. His mother, however, he stated used the term old strumpet.

Whereas informants #3 and 4 appeared best informed, they were both more self-conscious in their speech than were the others and tried frequently to supply "what was wanted," an attempt which often resulted in their correcting themselves. For example, Item 56.6 in the O-W Questionnaire is "What do you call that large orange-colored vegetable out of which you can make lanterns for Halloween parties?" All informants readily responded with [ˈpʰɪŋkɪn], including #3, but then she also pronounced [ˈpʰɪmpkɪn] when she thought her first response incorrect. For Item 104.3 "Your dog and cat did not get along together today; in fact, they . . . FOUGHT all the time," informant #3 first pronounced [fɪəʔ], then said "I should have said fought." Since #3 responded to items more quickly than any other informant, I believe her most natural responses were always recorded and occasionally followed by her corrections.

Although self-consciousness was not a problem in the interviews, informant #2 proved the least self-conscious and probably spoke the least-tutored speech, closely followed by informants #1 and 5. As already pointed out, these speakers are reluctant to talk about blacks, but it may be that their isolated, homogeneous culture rendered them ignorant of blacks. Informant #2, however, was the only informant who responded without hesitation to Item 69.7 "An American of African origin is a . . ." with nigger. He also supplied nigger toes as the response to a kind of nut. He was the only speaker to pronounce

['pə:zɪn] for poison, and he and informant #5 were the only ones to pronounce queer [kwa:ʒ].

Words with the greatest diversity of pronunciations are the following:

chair tʃʒ:, tʃɛʒ, tʃɪʒ, tʃɪr
dairy dʒ:ɪ, 'dɛɪɪ, dɛʒɪ
heard hʒ:d, hʒ:d, hi:ʒd

Other words showing considerable variation include:

bag bæəg, bæɪg, ba:ɪg, bɛɪg
haunted 'hɛɪntɪd, 'hɛɪntɪd, hæntɪd, hɛ:ntɪd
yellow 'jɛ.lə, jæ.lə, jɛ.ləʊ

The group backwards, forwards, towards varies in each informant's pronunciation as well as among the different speakers. Other striking pronunciations include ['jɔ:ʊ] ewe, ['ha:ʒ] harrow, ['sʒ:p] syrup, ['stʒ:ps] stirrups, ['sɪkɪmɛ:ʒ] sycamore, ['jændʒ] yonder, ['tɔ:sɪ] tassle, ['ɪ:st] yeast, ['tɛ:rɪn] terrapin, ['tʒ:ʒ] tusk.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CADES COVE SPEECH

Phonology

Vowels

1. The Cades Cove vowels are rather unstable. This is especially true of the short front vowels.

2. Both front and back vowels tend to be centralized, especially [I] and [U].

3. There is a persistent tendency for short vowels in monosyllables to diphthongize in emphatic words and before a pause. This diphthonging occurs before both voiced and voiceless consonants. The short vowels most frequently diphthongizing are [I, ɛ, æ, ɒ]; less frequently [ʊ, ʌ].

4. Short vowels in disyllabic words tend to lengthen in open syllables (i.e., those followed by a single phonetic consonant) in emphatic words before a pause.

5. In final syllables the vowel [I] is usually raised to [i], especially in proper names, e.g., [ˈmaɪθi] Martha.

6. [I] frequently is raised to [i] in medial position, e.g., [bjuːtɪfʌ] beautiful, [pɪtɪfʌ] pitiful.

7. Under stress the long vowels [ɪː] and [uː] become the rising diphthongs [ɪː] and [ʊuː].

8. The first element of diphthongs is usually rather long, e.g., [heːɪ] hay.

9. The diphthong [aɪ] usually becomes [ɑ:] which before [r] becomes [ɑ:], e.g., [fa:'ɹ] fire, [a:'ɹn] iron, [a:'ɹs] iris, [ma:'ɹz] Myers, [ta:'ɹ] tire.

10. [aɪ] followed by [l] becomes [ɑ:] , e.g., [ma:'əl] mile, [hwa:'əl] while.

11. The vowel element in cure, pure, sure is usually [o:'ɹ].

12. The vowel element in clear, hear, near is frequently [ɜ:'ɹ].

13. The vowel in dog, fog, hog, log is [ɔ:] or [ɔ:ʊ] usually lowered with under-rounding.

14. After [k] the front glide [ɪ] often appears before a front vowel, e.g., [k^ɪæʊ] cow, [k^ɪæʊntɪz] counties.

Consonants

1. Final stops are frequently unreleased, e.g., [stɒp̚] stop.

2. Excrescent [t] appears in [kɪft] cliff, [wɒnst] once, [ɔ:'rɒnt] orphan, [twaɪst] twice, [trɔ:ʊft] trough.

3. The present participle -ing is usually [ɪn] or [n], e.g., [kɪsɪn] kissing.

4. Nasal plosion is usual when plosives are followed by a nasal, e.g., [mæʊntɪŋ] mountain.

5. Laterals are primarily clear, but dark laterals occur following [ə], e.g., [bɪəɫ] Bill.

6. [ʃ] is reduced to [s] in shr orthography, e.g., [ʃrɪ:vəl] shrivel.

7. [ʒ] was not recorded in Cades Cove speech. Measure is [mɛzɹ, 'mɛɪzɹ].

8. Cades Cove speech is heavily r-colored, including initial, medial, and final [r].
9. Initial [h] is retained, e.g., haint, humor, hammer.
10. [hw] appears in stressed wh words, e.g., [hwɛp, hwʊp] whip.
11. [j] rather than [ɪ] is common in words such as new, dues, tube.

Morphology

1. Dropped syllables are common, e.g., arouse, appendicitis, Carolina, general, generally, suspenders.
2. Added syllables producing euphony occur rather frequently, e.g., [kæstəɪt] castrate, [ɑːθəˈraɪtəs] arthritis, [mʌʃəru:m] mushroom, [ɛləm] elm, [wɔːspə] wasp.
3. Cades Cove speech contains survival forms of words, e.g., hain't, faut (fought), oft, the neuter Old English pronoun hit, and the verb form holp from Old English past participle holpen.
4. Plurals frequently are formed without [s] especially when numerals are used, e.g., two bushel, three year old.
5. You-uns is a common plural for you.
6. Pronouns with -self are hissself, theirsself or theirselves.
7. Adverbs seldom have -ly, e.g., "He's been coming regular."
8. Compounds are occasionally inverted, e.g., woodpecker is pecker wood; unless becomes less un as in "I won't go less un you go."
9. For the forms of some strong verbs, see Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE LEXICON

Although it has been pointed out in Chapter III that vocabulary, i.e., lexical, items are less indicative of dialectal differences than are phonological ones, these items are nonetheless highly significant, broadly speaking, in determining dialectal regions and should therefore not be overlooked. Even though an individual speaker may change a word in his dialect--e.g., he may call "that flying insect that shines at night" a firefly, but if he moves to another part of the country he may adopt the local term lightning bug--it is indicative of dialectal differences that he ever said firefly in the first place. And in this particular study it is noteworthy that these informants have not moved about, that their speech is untutored, that their social contacts have been for the most part limited to members of their own immediate region, and that, therefore, lexical items are more significant dialectal determinants than they would be if the English being investigated were of a variety spoken by younger, more mobile, better educated speakers.

Following is a list of those questions designated as lexical items in the O-W Questionnaire, together with the the responses elicited. Some of the questions have been omitted, namely those items which were unsuccessful in eliciting responses from older, untraveled mountain inhabitants, such as questions pertaining to the ocean or large bodies of water, peculiarly urban items, or

questions about social customs which Cades Cove informants did not understand. Many of these lexical questions elicited responses that differed from those recorded for other regions of the Eastern United States.¹ Thus these items, together with the phonological data, provide a valuable survey of Tennessee Regional English spoken by the former inhabitants of Cades Cove. The lexical responses of these speakers are given orthographically in capital letters (as is the method in the O-W Questionnaire). Occasionally explanatory notations are included.

- 2.3. . . . the part of the day before supper? EVENING
- 2.5. . . . part of the day after supper? NIGHT
- 3.2. If you start work before it begins to get light in the morning, you say you start before . . . DAYLIGHT
(Used by all informants instead of sunrise, sunup.)
- 3.4. You usually work until after it begins to get dark, so you can say you in fact work until . . . SUN DOWN.
- 3.6. . . . if he came seven days before last Sunday, you'd say he came . . . A WEEK AGO LAST SUNDAY.
- 3.7. And is he was coming again seven days after next Sunday, you'd say he was coming . . . A WEEK FROM SUNDAY.
- 5.3. When the sun is shining and the weather is good, you could say, quite simply: It's a . . . BEAUTIFUL DAY.

¹See maps of The Linguistic Atlas of New England, 3 vols., Hans Kurath, et al. (Providence, 1939), for correlations.

- 5.4. But when the sun is not out and the weather is dark and overcast, you say it's a . . . DREARY DAY.
- 5.5. When it's stopped raining and the sun is beginning to come out, you'd say: The weather's . . . CLEARING OFF, MODERATING.
- 6.1. When the water comes down in sheets but only for a short time, you call it a . . . DOWNPOUR.
- 6.2. . . . rain together with a lot of loud rumbling noise and flashing light? ELECTRIC STORM.
- 6.10. But if it (rain) is slight but short, it's only a . . . SHOWER.
- 6.11. And when it's raining like that, you can say it's . . . DRIZZLING.
- 7.1. When there's been little or no rain for a long time, you'd call that a . . . DRY SPELL. And if it's been for only a short time? DRY SPELL.
- 7.2. When the wind is increasing, what do you say it's doing? GETTING HARDER, RAISING.
- 7.4. In early fall or late spring when the weather has got a little chilly overnight, you would say: This morning it's (g) . . . CHILLY.
- 7.7. . . . the place in your house where you entertain people who come to see you? LIVING ROOM.
- 8.3. . . . the metal supports for pieces of wood you burn in the fireplace? DOG-IRONS.

- 8.4. . . . the flat piece of wood or stone over the fireplace,
on which you put ornaments or a time-piece? MANTLE
(always over a fireplace)
- 8.6. . . . thin pieces of wood you start your fire with?
KINDLING.
- 9.1. . . . a similar (to a chair) piece of furniture on which
several persons can sit? DEVENETTE
- 9.2. . . . the piece of furniture in a bedroom in which you keep
articles of clothing laid flat? CHEST OF DRAWERS.
- 9.3. . . . a piece of furniture which has drawers and a mirror
on top? DRESSER.
- 9.4. . . . the place where you sleep? BEDROOM. . . . a recess
where you sleep in a bedroom? (CC speakers have never heard
of a bed alcove or anything similar to one.)
- 9.7. . . . the movable piece of furniture in which you keep your
clothes on hangers? WARDROBE.
- 9.8. . . . the room directly under the roof? ATTIC.
- 9.9. . . . the room where you cook? KITCHEN (CC informants knew
of no such rooms as summer kitchen or winter kitchen.)
- 10.11. . . . a large open area at the front of a house under the
same roof? PORCH. . . . and the same sort of area at the
back? PORCH.
- 11.3. . . . those overlapping, horizontal thin planks on the
outside of the house? WEATHERBOARDING.
- 11.6. . . . the things that carry rainwater off the roof? GUTTERS.

- 11.7. . . . the place where two roof slopes meet and carry away water? GUTTERS. (Informant #4 used the term comb for this; he said the term derived from the name given to a rooster's comb.)
- 11.8. . . . a small wooden structure for storing wood, tools, and the like, quite separate from the house? SHED, WOODHOUSE. (CC speakers did not know the word lean-to to describe a similar structure built on to the house.)
- 12.1. . . . the old-fashioned small building outside where there were one or two seats and a pit? TOILET, PRIVY.
- 14.6. . . . the store room immediately below the roof of the barn? BARN-LOFT.
- 14.7. How do you store the dried forage made from grass that your stock feeds on if it's kept outside? HAY-STACK. (CC speakers did not know hay-mow for a similar thing indoors.)
- 14.9. At haying time you put some of the hay into small heaps; what do you call one of them? SHOCK.
- 17.3. . . . a large, open metal vessel for carrying things in? BUCKET.
- 19.4. . . . a large wooden container for storing meal or flour? MEAL-CHEST.
- 20.5. Another name for a harmonica is . . . FRENCH HORN.
- 21.3. . . . this for equalizing the pull of horses? TRACE CHAINS.
- 28.11. If it (a pillow) goes all the way across the bed, you could say, in another way, it goes . . . PLUM ACROSS.

- 29.4. Crops grow well on that kind of land, so you say it is very . . . RICH. (CC speakers do not know fertile, but they did pronounce it under pressure.)
- 33.10. If a cow is showing signs of giving birth very soon, you say she is going . . . TO FRESHEN. (CC speakers do not use any special terms in front of women.)
- 36.3. What sound do cows or calves make at feeding-time in the cow-barn? They . . . BAWL.
- 36.4. And horses at feeding-time? NICKER.
- 36.7. . . . the female that has stopped laying eggs for you and instead wants to warm up some eggs? SETTING HEN.
- 37.1. . . . the forked bone of a roasted fowl? PULLEY-BONE
- 37.2. . . . the insides of a pig or calf you eat when cooked? (Informants, except #4, listed individual parts. Inf #4 said chitlins.)
- 37.4. . . . the insides of a fowl from which you make gravy? GUTS.
- 37.6. When calling cows in from the field, what do you shout? SOO-COW, SOO-CALF.
- 37.7. When calling calves in what do you shout? SOO-CALF.
- 37.8. How used you to call draft oxen to make them go left in plowing? HAW. And go right? GEE.
- 37.9. How do you call to mules or horses to make them turn left in plowing? HAW. And turn right? GEE.
- 38.3. How do you call your pigs in to feed them? PIGGY.

- 38.5. And to call the hens in? CHICKY.
- 41.5. When you let the grass or clover grow again in order to cut it again, you call it . . . SECOND CUTTING.
- 41.6. . . . a bundle of wheat or corn which has been cut and bound together? BUNDLE.
- 44.6. . . . the food made from meal in large cakes? CORN BREAD.
- 45.1. . . . the bread you don't make at home but get at a grocery or some such place? LIGHT BREAD.
- 46.5. . . . the hog meat which has been cured or made brown over a wood fire? SMOKED MEAT. (Pork was not used in this context.)
- 50.1. You speak of food that has been cooked and served a second time as being . . . WARMED OVER.
- 50.7. . . . the place where vegetables are grown? GARDEN.
- 51.4. Your wife says: This stuff is not at all an imitation of maple syrup: it's absolutely . . . THE THING. (CC speakers did not seem to know the term genuine, but pronounced it with pressure.)
- 52.3. And if they're much farther off, you'd say: Look at those boys . . . OVER YONDER.
- 57.5. When you don't feel indebted to anyone for anything, you can say: I'm not OBLIGED.
- 59.8. . . . the same (as the gray squirrel) kind of animal but brighter in color? FOX SQUIRREL.
- 60.6. . . . one of the small, long, thin wriggling creatures which

- live in the soil and are often used by anglers; birds like them? RED WORM.
- 60.7. And the large one (see above) which doesn't come out during the day? NIGHT CRAWLER.
- 59.9. . . . the similar (see 59.8 squirrel), smaller animal with stripes on its back, not the one which lives in trees? GROUND SQUIRREL.
- 60.8. . . . the creature with its body inside a hard shell and which moves slowly; it lives mostly in water? MUD TURTLE.
- 60.9. . . . another kind (see above), which lives mostly on land? TERRAPIN.
- 60A.3. . . . that insect that flies around and yet can alight on water? SNAKE FEEDER.
- 61.6. . . . that big, fine tree that is affected by a Dutch disease and has got to be felled and burnt? (Despite the variety of flora in the Great Smoky Mountains, CC informants were unfamiliar with any tree that would match this description.)
- 65.3. When a boy's face has about the same appearance as his father's, you might say: He . . . LOOKS LIKE, IS TURNED LIKE his father.
- 66.5. When you refer to a woman's parents and sisters and uncles and aunts and cousins all together, you are talking about all . . . HER PEOPLE.
- 73.3. Of a person whose limbs seem out of proportion and who flops

about as he walks, you might say: He's so . . . FEEBLE.

(CC speakers used this term regardless of the person's age.)

- 74.3. If someone asked you to do something dangerous and you felt that you might get hurt doing it, he might say rather bluntly that you were . . . AFRAID to. (Afeared was not recorded.)
- 74.9. If your wife keeps on arguing with you and won't agree with you, you might say: Don't be so . . . MEAN.
- 75.2. If last night at a party a person turned red in the face, swore, and shook his fist, you'd no doubt think that he had got awfully . . . MAD.
- 75.4. A person who looked keyed up with expectation about something, you'd say was . . . ALL NERVOUS.
- 75.7. If you work till you can work no more, you will probably be feeling a bit . . . WORE TO A FRAZZLE.
- 76.5. If she started coughing and sneezing a week ago, then you can assume that she . . . HAS A COLD.
- 80.4. If a man's sickness puts him right off his food, we might say that he is feeling sick (p) . . . AT HIS STOMACH.
(This is a significant lexical item frequently used in lexical isoglosses, other regional responses being on his stomach, to his stomach.)
- 81.3. If you see your boy misbehaving outside, you might say to your wife irritably: Why don't you . . . CORRECT HIM.

- 81.5. When a young man sees a girl regularly, we may assume that he is . . . COURTING HIM.
- 82.1. A young man may speak of the young woman he has just got engaged to as . . . HIS GIRL FRIEND. (CC informants were unfamiliar with fiancé(e).)
- 82.6. . . . that noisy celebration with an accompaniment of pans and kettles for a newly married couple? SERANADE. (Inf #1 also added that "some say chivaree." Inf #3 said that seranade also applied to a housewarming ceremony in Cades Cove.)
- 83.5. If a boy instead of going to school one day went fishing, we'd say he . . . LAID OUT.
- 84.8. . . . the place where you catch a train? DEPOT.
- 85.3. What do you say you do when you walk across an intersection or a lot? I walk . . . STRAIGHT. (CC speakers were unfamiliar with diagonally.)
- 85.4. If you place a chest of drawers at an angle to the wall, you might say, in another way, it is placed . . . ACROSS THE CORNER. (CC speakers were unfamiliar with kitty- or catty-cornered.)
- 85.9. . . . the famous series of battles between 1861 and 1865 in which blue- and gray-uniformed soldiers fought about slavery? (CC speakers knew little about the Civil War and could not respond to this question, even though they could supply accurate information about the War of 1812, the Spanish-American War, and World War I. When pressured, they

vaguely remembered the Civil War, as opposed to the War Between the States, the term commonly used by followers of the Confederacy.)

- 89.7. What does the minister deliver in church on a Sunday morning? MESSAGE.
- 90.2. . . . those mysterious things that some people claim to have seen on dark nights? HAINTS.
- 90.3. If a person's house was thought to be frequented by these things, you'd probably say that the house was a . . . HAUNTED HOUSE.
- 93.4. What do you say to a friend on meeting him on December 25th? MERRY CHRISTMAS.
- 95.6. . . . for a flip in the air or on the ground? SOMERSET.
- 96.4. A cat, when about to pounce upon a bird, will usually (g) . . . HUNKER DOWN.
- 101.1. If you showed a little boy how to do a puzzle and he could then do it perfectly, his mother might say: Well, you have certainly . . . LEARNT him to do it.
- 101.2. If asked if you had got tickets for the next ball game, you'd say: No, not yet, but we certainly . . . AIM TO.
- 101.6. What do children call someone who tells on other children? TATTLE-TALE.
- 103.7. My daughter is always dropping cups and saucers on the floor; in fact, I believe she does it . . . PURPOSE.
- 103.5. To get a vain young man to do something for her, an artful young girl would try to . . . PERSUADE HIM.

103.4. A person who offends all the laws of the Christian
Church is very . . . (IS A) HYPOCRITE.

CHAPTER VI

VERB FORMS

Following is a list of the forms of strong verbs elicited by the framed questions in the O-W Questionnaire. All forms were not elicited by the Questionnaire. The verb is here given first in its infinitive, followed by a reference to the O-W Questionnaire, then discussed in all forms heard either through patterned questioning of the informant or in free conversation.

BE (25 and 30)

Forms of the verb to be elicited were those determining number and concord. Cades Cove speakers used is for the third person plural present indicative. For the third person plural past tense they used was. I am and I was were the recorded forms of the first person.

BEGIN (102.2)

The past tense he began was recorded for all informants in the context "He . . . to talk."

BLOW (6.4)

The past tense recorded for informant #1 was blowed, elicited in the context "The wind . . . last night." All other informants used blew in this context.

BRING (27.4)

The present perfect was elicited in the context "Many times I have . . . it." All informants used brung.

CLIMB (96.3)

The past tense was recorded as [k|ɪm] by all five informants in the context "I . . . the tree yesterday." In this context, informant #1 also used clumb [k|ʌm]. In the context "I have . . . many times" all five informants used clumb.

COME (102.4)

The past tense was elicited in the context "If your neighbor felt like having a cup of coffee with you at your house, she never bothered to telephone you, she simply . . ." All informants used come in this context.

CATCH (98.8/9)

The past tense was elicited in the context "In yesterday's ball game John hit the ball, but his friend Bob . . . it." All informants used caught. In the context "I have never . . . it," all informants used caught as the present perfect form.

DIVE (95.8)

The past tense was elicited in the context "Today he was diving in the water, and yesterday, too . . ." All informants responded with he div.

DRAG (21.5)

The present perfect was elicited in the context "If you got a log from one place to another by moving it along the ground by yourself, you would have . . . it." All informants used drug in this context.

DRINK (49.1)

The past tense was elicited in the context "If you had taken a lot of coffee at breakfast time, you might say, in another way: "I . . . a lot of it." Informant #1 used drank in this context, but she also used drunk interchangeably with drank in free conversation. In this context, all other informants used drunk.

DRIVE (11.4)

The past tense was elicited in the context "Yesterday I wanted to fasten one piece of wood to another, so I used a hammer and . . . a nail into them." All informants used drove in this context. The present perfect was elicited in the contexts "For pieces of wood to be fastened together, nails have to be . . . into them" and "I have . . . nails into them." In both contexts all informants except #4 used drove. Informant #4 used driven.

EAT (48.4)

In the context "Have you . . . ?" informants #1 and 2 used et [ɛt]. Informants #3, 4, and 5 used eaten. The past tense was

elicited in the context "this morning I . . . a good breakfast." Again, informants #1, 2, and 5 used et, while the others used ate.

FIGHT (104.3)

The past tense was elicited in the context "they (dog and cat) . . . all day." All informants used fit in this context, although informants #3 and 4 seemed somewhat self-conscious and repeated the sentence with faut [fæʊt] as the past tense.

FREEZE (7.6)

The past tense was recorded in the context "If a lake got covered with ice during the night, you'd say it . . ." All informants used froze over in this context.

GIVE (102.1)

The past tense was recorded in the context "The child put his hand out towards the biscuits, and so his mother . . . him one." Informant #2 used give in this context. All other informants used gave.

GROW (65.7/8)

The past tense was recorded in the context "If your little boy is much bigger now than he was twelve months ago, then you could say: Last year he . . . a lot." Only informant #4 used grew in this context. Informants #2 and 3 used grewed. Informants #1 and 5 used

did grow. The present perfect was elicited in the context "My! how you have . . ." Informant #2 used grewed. All other informants used grown.

HANG (85.11/12)

In the context "In the old days a murderer was sometimes sentenced to be . . .," informants #1 and 3 used hanged, while informants #2, 4, and 5 used hung. In the context "If a man committed suicide by doing this himself, you'd say he . . . himself." All informants used hung in this context.

KNOW (101.9)

The past tense was elicited in the context "I . . . it!" as an exclamation. All informants used knowed in this context.

LIE (96.6)

The past tense was elicited in the context "If you're going to take a nap after dinner, you might tell your wife, I'm just going to . . . down." All informants used lay in this context.

RIDE (34.5)

The present perfect was elicited in the context "I've never . . . a horse." All informants used rode in this context.

SEE (102.5)

The past tense was elicited in the context "I haven't caught a glimpse of John all day, but yesterday I often . . . him." All

informants used saw in this context. In free conversation saw was also used by all informants for the present perfect.

SET (49.6)

The past tense was elicited in the context "I . . . down at the table." All informants used set in this context.

SWIM (95.7)

The past tense was elicited in the context "Yesterday I . . . across (the river.)" All informants used swum in this context.

TEACH (101.1)

The past tense was elicited in the context "You certainly . . . him well." Cades Cove speakers did not, either under pressure or in free conversation, use taught. In this context, all informants used learnt.

WRITE (89.1)

The present perfect was elicited in the context "I have just . . . a letter to him." All informants used wrote in this context.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An examination of the available research on dialect studies in the United States, and particularly Tennessee, suggests the pressing need for further investigations in Tennessee linguistic geography or dialectology.¹ Southern speech, especially Southern mountain speech, has long been subject to myth and prejudice. Lester V. Berrey, for example, comments on mountain speech: "Often at a loss for the right word, and in his difficulty in distinguishing two or more ideas occurring simultaneously, the highlander is given to blending them into one word."² To counteract myth and prejudice, the facts about phonology and vocabulary must be made more accessible by detailed investigations.³ Some work in the Southern states is in progress. Gordon Wood⁴ has investigated Tennessee speech, but primarily with a postal questionnaire, so that little data were collected on phonology. In Georgia, Lee Pederson of Emory University is currently

¹See James B. McMillan's Annotated Bibliography of Southern American Speech (Miami, 1971) and Raven I. McDavid's "What Happens in Tennessee?" in Dialectology: Problems and Perspectives, ed. Lorraine Hall Burghardt (Knoxville, 1971), pp. 119-129.

²Lester V. Berrey, "Southern Mountain Dialect," American Speech, 15 (1940), 45-54.

³On the points of prejudice, see Raven McDavid's "Needed Research in Southern Dialects," in Perspectives on the South: Agenda for Research, ed. Edgar T. Thompson (Durham, 1967), pp. 113-124.

⁴Gordon Wood, Vocabulary Change: A Study of Variation in Regional Words in Eight of the Southern States (Carbondale, Illinois, 1971).

engaged in The Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS) project in which Tennessee is included, but LAGS is a large, long-range project which will be part of The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. To gain satisfactory knowledge about Tennessee Regional English and to make that knowledge more accessible, intensive studies should be undertaken at once for this state independent from broader projects. At least one such state-wide atlas is now nearing completion, that of Oklahoma by William R. Van Riper.⁵

~~For comprehensive state and area-wide studies the O-W~~ Questionnaire used in this investigation of Cades Cove speech is a workable instrument with which a good field-worker can collect a corpus of regional language data. Certain changes in and additions to the Questionnaire as mentioned in Chapter I no doubt should be made; yet it is clear that set or framed questions are a definite advantage to the fieldworker, who has a difficult enough task keeping the informant relaxed and interested and in controlling the tape-recorder without having also to frame questions on the spot. Furthermore, taped interviews allow for more accurate transcriptions, because of the faithful reproduction of sound and the fact that the fieldworker does not have to transcribe impressionistically on the spot. Recorded interviews using the framed questions of the O-W Questionnaire would complement research in progress in the Southern states. As is pointed

⁵ See Lee Pederson, A Manual for Dialect Research in the Southern States (Atlanta, 1972), p. 12, for the most recent discussion of state atlases.

out in the "Introduction" to A Compilation of the Work Sheets,⁶ "a person basing his investigation on the work sheets can be sure that his data will be comparable with that obtained in other regions, so that he will have the means for ascertaining the relationship of any region to other forms of American English."⁷

It is clear from the findings of this present investigation that the mountain speech of the former inhabitants of Cades Cove is a reasonably homogeneous speech, characterized by fairly persistent patterns of vowel fluctuation⁸--front vowels primarily tending to be raised and back vowels tending primarily to be lowered--by under-rounding of back vowels, by the diphthonging of short vowels in words under stress, and by the continued use of survival forms (older forms of vocabulary and grammar). The specific characteristics of Cades Cove speech are compiled in Chapter IV.

It is evident that studies are called for which will encompass more geographical area, thus allowing for the comparisons of Southern and Southern mountain dialects with one another. In both phonology and vocabulary, similar work with younger informants in the mountain area would reveal processes of selection and change operative in the Blount, Sevier, and Cocke County areas. A similar study conducted

⁶ Alva L. Davis, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia G. McDavid, A Compilation of the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada (Chicago, 1969).

⁷ Davis, et al., A Compilation of the Work Sheets, p. ix.

⁸ On the matter of vowel fluctuation, Daniel Jones states: "The speech of many (or perhaps most) Americans does not exhibit consistent relationships between vowel length and quality such as are found in some types of British English," Outline of English Phonetics, 9th ed. (Cambridge, 1960), p. 356.

with black informants would ascertain the differences, if any, between Type IA black informants and Type IA white informants in the mountain area. Further investigation is needed to determine the cultural influences operating in the speech of Type III informants and those former mountain inhabitants who emigrated to the urban centers--Knoxville, Maryville, Alcoa, Newport. There is ample room for a variety of comparative studies of both a regional and a social nature.

In the particular investigation under discussion, further analysis should be made of the incidental material and free recordings.⁹ Time has not permitted adequate attention to be given to analyses of syntax, grammar, and intonational patterns--all of which the corpus of information yields.¹⁰ Further, there is need for analysis of folk culture for the area. The tape-recordings collected for this study include a runaway horse story, several snake stories, animal stories, descriptions of church services and Sunday events, distinctions between Missionary and Primitive Baptist groups, description of a one-room schoolhouse and school activities, courtship and celebration customs, and discussion of metaphors, specifically those used to indicate that a person has died.¹¹

⁹ Joseph Hall does not manage such collation of syntax, grammar, or emphasis. See the "Introduction" to The Phonetics of Great Smoky Mountain Speech (New York, 1942), p. 3.

¹⁰ For a practical approach to the use of this kind of language data, see Charles E. Billiard, "Linguistic Geography and the Classroom Teacher," in Pederson, Manual, pp. 77-78.

¹¹ See Charles W. Foster's "Folklore and the LAGS Fieldworker," in Pederson, Manual, pp. 61-69.

Finally, because the amount of time required to compile collected samplings and correlate the results of a complete and thorough linguistic atlas is considerable, it is essential that more attempts be made to utilize modern science--sound spectrography and certainly computer science, which has the capability of rapidly and accurately producing patterns and isoglosses--thus freeing the linguist from some of the more tedious aspects of data compilation while at the same time creating a valid means of comparing Regional English dialects.¹²

¹²Computer science is currently contributing to the rapid compilation of regional language data at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago. In an unpublished progress report on the use of computers in linguistics, Mary Al-Azzawi of Illinois Institute of Technology pointed out that all tabulations and word patterns at IIT were compiled by computer. Ms. Al-Azzawi's speech on computers was delivered at the International Linguistic Conference at Prince Edward Island in July of 1972. Ms. Al-Azzawi is working with Raven McDavid of the University of Chicago and Alva Davis and Larry Davis of Illinois Institute of Technology.

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APPENDIX

PRONOUNCING INDEX

Introduction

The following pronouncing index lists alphabetically all phonological items specifically elicited by the O-W Questionnaire, followed by the pronunciations of the five Cades Cove informants. The pronunciations from incidental material and free conversations are not included in the list.

Where there was no diversity in pronunciation, only one pronunciation is given. Where there was diversity, each pronunciation is given, followed by a reference to the informant using that particular pronunciation.

PRONOUNCING INDEX*

- actress (69.3) 'æktɹɪs
- again (93.2) ə'ɡɪən, ə'ɡɪn^{2,4}
- ago (3.6, 5.2) ə'ɡoʊ: ʔ
- Alabama (86.1) ælə'bæmə, ælə'bæm¹
- almonds (55.1) ʔɜ:lmənz, 'ɑ:mənz³
- always (103.5) ʔɜ:weɪz, 'ʔɜ:weɪz^{2,5}
- American (69.4) 'mæ:ɪkən, ə'mæ:ɪkən⁴
- answer (100.8) 'ɛɪnsə
- appendicitis (80.1) pɪnə'sa:dəs, pɪndə'sa:dəs^{2,3,4}
- April (1A.8) 'eɪprəl, 'eɪprəl⁵
- apron (26.6) 'eɪpərən, ɛɪpərən³
- ashes (8.9) 'ɛɪʃɪz, ɛʃɪz^{4,5}
- Asheville (87.1) 'eɪʃvəl, ɛʃvəl^{4,5}
- August (1A.8) 'ʔɜ:gəst, 'ʔɜ:gəs^{2,5}
- aunt (67.15, 68.1) ɛɪnt, ənt⁴

*[r] replaces [ɹ] for the fricative consonant.

backlog (8.5) bæk'loʒ:ɹg

backwards (40.3) 'bækwæd, 'bækædz², 'bækwædz⁴

bag (19.10/11) bɛ:ɪg, bæ^əg,^{2,4} bā:^əg³

Baptist (89.2) 'bæbdəs

barn (14.3) ba:ɹn

barrel (19.4) bæ:ɹl, bæ:əl³

barrow (pig) (49.7) ba:ɹ, bæ:ɹə¹

bath-towel (18.6) bɛɪθ-tæʊl

beard (71.7) bɪæd, bɪjɹ:d³

beautiful (89.10) 'bjü:tɪfʏl

Billy (67.5) 'bɪlɪ

boar (35.6) bɔ:^əɹ

boil (77.7) bɔ:^əʊl

boiled (46.1) bɔ:^əʊld

borrow (95.1) 'ba:ɹɪ

Boston (87.1) 'bɔ:^əstən, 'bɒstən^{1,5}

bracelet (28.3) breɪslɪt

bristles (35.9) 'brɛstlɪz

broom (10.4) bru:m

Brown (67.10/11) bræun

brush (22.4) brʌʃ, brɛʃ^{1,2,5}

bulge (27.7) $b\wedge l d_3$, $b\wedge \partial d_3^1$; $b u : d_3^3$

bulk (51.5) bak, buk, ^{1,2,3}

bull (33.6) buyat

butcher (46.9) 'bʌtʃə, 'bʊtʃə³

calf (33.8/9) k̡əf kɛɪf ^{1,3,4,5}

calm (75.5) ka:am

can (43.2, 91.3) k_{aen} , $k_{\text{aen}}^{1,3}$

can't (57.7) Keint

canal (30.2) kə'næl

captain (68.6) 'Kæptɪn

car (23.6) Ka: 8

careless (74.7) 'kʲɜːlɪs, kærɪlɪs⁴

cartridge (22.6) 'ka:rtʌdz, 'kɒtɪdz, 'kɒtrɪdz,^{2,5}
'ka:rtɪdz⁴

cattle (36.5) 'Kɛt|, kæt|⁴

chair (8.10) $\{ \mathcal{E} \}, \{ \mathcal{E} \alpha^{3,4} \} \{ \mathcal{I} \alpha^2 \}$

chance (99.3) tʃe:ns

Charleston (87.1) 'tʃa:rlstən

cherry (62.1) tʃɜ:ɪ, tʃɛʁɪ³

chest (of body) (72.4) tʃɛst, tʃɪəs²

Chicago (87.1) ʃɪ'ka:gə, 'tʃɪkəgəʊ^{1,2,5}

chimney (8.1) 'tʃɪ.mɪ

china (17.1) 'tʃa:nə

Christmas (93.4) (see Merry Christmas)

cigarettes (57.3) 'sɪgəreɪts, 'sɪgəreɪts^{1,3}

cigars (57.3) 'si:gɑ:ɾz

Cincinnati (87.1) ,sɪnsə'næti, ,sɪnsə'næta³

Civil War (85.9) 'sɪ.vəl

class (83.7) klɛɪs, klæɪs^{1,3,4,5}

coat (27.1) kəʊ:ɪt kəʊ:ɪt²

coffee (48.5) kəʊ:fi.

cog-wheel (22.3) kəʊ:ʊg kə:əg³

college (83.8) 'kɒlɪdʒ

colonel (68.5) 'kɜ:nəl

- coop (36.8) kup, ku:p¹
- Cooper (67.8) 'ku:pæ, 'kupæ³
- costs (94.9) kɔ̃:ust kɔ̃:s⁴
- cough (76.7) kɔ̃:uf, kɔ̃:f^{1,2}
- cow (33.7) k^ɪæu
- creek (30.3) kri:k
- crop (41.3) kɾɒp, kɾɒp²
- curse (92.6) kɜ:s, kɜs^{2,4,5}
- dairy (15.5) 'dʒ:ɪ, 'deɪɪ,³ 'deɪɪ⁴
- dance (83.1) dɛ̃:ɪns
- Daniel (67.7) 'dæ̃:njəl
- daughter (64.8) 'dɔ̃:dæ
- deaf (77.3) dɛəf, di:f^{2,5}
- December (1A.8) 'di:sɪmbæ
- devil (90.1) 'devəl, 'de:vəl^{1,3}
- digest (50.3) 'da:dʒɛɪst
- diphtheria (50.3) 'dɪpθi:ri
- dog (33.1) dɔ̃:ug

draining (30.1) 'dri:nɪn, 'dreɪnɪŋ⁴

dress (30.1) drɛɪs

drizzle (6.9) 'drɪzl, 'drɪ:zl^{1,3,4}

due (94.10) dju:

dues (94.11) dju:z

ear (71.6) ɪ:ə, jɜ:,^{2,5} jɪə¹

education (83.6) ɛdʒə'keɪʃən, ɛdʒju'keɪʃən³

eight (1.4) eɪt

eighth (1A.3) eɪθ

either (71.2, 71.4) i:ðə

eleven (1.6, 4.5) ɪ:vn, 'ɪ:vnən^{3,4}

elm (61.6) 'ɛləm

empty (19.2) 'ɪmtɪ

enough (91.10) ə'nʌf

ewe (35.1) jʊə:u

far (adj.) (70.3) fɜ:

far-off (70.3) fɜ: ɔ:f

father (53.7, 63.4) fa: ðə

February (1A.8) ¹fɛbjʊ:wæɹ:ɪ ²fɛb'wæɹ: ³fɛbəwæɹ:ɪ
⁴fɛbjʊ:wæɹ: ⁵fɛbəwæɹ:

fertile (29.4) ¹fɜ:tɪ

fifth (1A.3) fɪəθ

first (1A.3, 83.9) fɜ:st

fists (72.2) fɪəst, fɪst,³ fɪəs^{2,5}

five (1.3, 33.11) fa:v

Florida (86.1) flɔ:rdə, flɔ:rdi

flowers (101.7) flæɹz, ¹flæwæɹz,³

fog (6.12) fɔ:ʊg

foggy (6.12) fɔ:gi

forehead (71.5) fo:rhɛɪd, fa:ɹd^{2,5}

forty (1A.1) ¹fɔ:rtɪ

forwards (40.4) ¹fa:rwɜd, fa:ɹdz^{2,5}

four (1.2) fɔ:ɹ

fourteen (1.7) ¹fɔ:ɹti:n

fourth (1A.3) fɔ:ɹθ

fox (59.4) fɒks, fɒks³

foxes (59.4) ¹fɒksɪz

Friday (2.1) 'fra:di

funeral (79.2) 'fju:nrəl, 'fju:nəl^{4,5}

furniture (9.3) 'fɜ:nətʃu:ə, 'fɜ:nətə³

furrows (41.2) 'fɜ:ɪz, 'fɜ:rəz⁴, 'fɜ:z¹

garden (50.7) 'gɑ:rdn

general (68.4) 'dʒɪnrət

gentleman (67.1) 'dʒɪntlmən

genuine (51.4) 'dʒɪnjʊ'wa:n, 'dʒɪnjə'wa:n³

Georgia (86.1) 'dʒɔ:rdʒə, 'dʒɔ:rdʒi³

girl (64.9) gɜ:əl

glass (19.2, 48.6) glɛɪs

God (89.4/5) gɒd

good-bye (93.1) gud-ba:ɪ

government (85.8) 'gʌvəmənt, 'gʌvəmənt⁴

granary (14.5) 'grɛɪnrɪ

grease (23.8) grɪɪ:z

greasy (23.9) 'grɪ:zɪ

grindstone (23.5) 'grɑ:nstəʊn

guardian (66.4) 'gɑ:rdɪən, 'gɑ:rdɪn^{2,5}

gums (71.10) ɡʌmz

hammer (20.6) 'hæmə

harness (38.6) 'hɑ:rnɪs

harrow (21.7) 'ha:ə

haunted (adj.) (90.3) 'hɔ:ntɪd, 'heɪntɪd,^{2,4} 'həʊntɪd³

hay (14.8) heɪ

heard (12.3) hɜ:ɹd, hɜ:ɹd,⁴ hi:əd²

hearth (8.2) ha:əθ

hoarse (76.6) hɔ:əs

hog (15.4) hɔ:ʊg

hogs (35.8) hɔ:ʊgz

hoist (104.5) hɔɪst

hoof (34.9) hu:f

hoops (20.3) huəp, hup^{3,4}

hoot-owl (59.2) 'hu:təʊt

horse (34.3) hɔ:ɹs

horses (34.4) 'hɔ:ɹsɪz

horseshoes (34.8) 'hɔ:rsʃu:z

hospital (84.6) 'hɒspɪtl

hotel (84.3) 'həʊtel

house (84.5, 90.3, 97.5) hæʊs

houses (14.2) 'hæʊzɪz, 'hæʊzəz⁴

humor (99.4) u:mə, hju:mə^{4,5}

hundred (1A.2) hʌndəd

idea (92.4) aɪˈdɪə

Illinois (86.1) ɪlənɔɪ, ɪlənɔɪz^{1,2,3,5}

iodine (78.3) aɪˈədaɪn, aɪˈədi:n¹

Italian (69.5) aɪˈtæliən, ɪtliən²

January (1A.8) ˈdʒænʊwəri, ˈdʒænjəwəri,^{1,2} ˈdʒænjuwəri⁴

jaundice (79.9) ˈdʒʌndəs, ˈdʒændəs^{2,5}

jelly (51.6) ˈdʒɛli

John (68.3) dʒɒn

joined (89.3) dʒɔɪn

joint (72.3) dʒɔɪnt

judge (n) (68.7) dʒʌdʒ

July (1A.8) dʒu:lɑ:

just (79.4, 89.1) dʒʌs

keep (75.6) ki:p

keg (20.2) kɛɪg, kæəg^{1,4}

Kentucky (86.1) 'kɛɪntʌki, kɪn'tʌkɪ⁴

kettle (17.7) 'kɪtl

kissing (81.8) 'kɛsɪŋ

launch (24.5) lɑ:ntʃ

laundry (10.7) 'lɑ:ndrɪ

law (85.10) lɔ:ɹ

lever (22.1) li:və

library (84.1) 'la:bæɹɪ 'la:brɜ:ɪ^{1,2} 'la:bræɹɪ⁴

loam (29.8) ləʊm

locusts (61.1) 'ləʊkəs, 'ləʊkəsɪz^{1,2,5}

loss (94.8) lɔ:ɹɪs

March (1A.8) mɑ:xtʃ

married (82.3) mærd, mæ:ɪd^{2,3,4} mɜ:ɪd¹

Martha (67.3) 'mɑ:rθi

Mary (67.2) mɜːI, mæɪ²

mass (89.6) mæɪs, mæɪs³

Matthew (67.6) 'mæθju: 'mæθu:¹

Merry Christmas (93.4) 'mæɪ 'krɪsməs, 'mæ:ɪ 'krɪsməs⁴

miss you (100.4) mɪs ju:

molasses (15.2) mə'leɪsɪz

morning (2.2) 'mɔ:ɾnɪn

moth (60A.1) mɔ:ʊθ, mɔ:θ,³ mɔ:ð²

moths (60A.1) mɔ:ðz

mountain (31.1) 'mæʊntɪn

mourning (79.3) 'mɔ:ɾnɪn, 'mɔ:ɾnɪŋ⁴

mouth (71.8) mæʊθ

Mrs. Cooper (67.8) 'mɪsɪz 'ku:pə, 'mɪzɪz 'ku:pə, 'kʊpə²

music (89.9) 'mju:zɪk

Negro (69.7) 'ni:grəʊ, 'nɪgrə⁴, 'nɪgə²

neither (71.3) 'ni:ðə

Nelly (67.4) 'nelɪ

nephew (66.2) 'nefju:

new suit (27.6) nju: su:t

New Year (93.5) nju: jɪr,² jɜ:³

nine (1.5) na:n

ninth (1A.3) na:nθ

northeast (6.8) nɔ̃: rθi:st

northwest (6.7) nɔ̃: rθwɛɪst

notch (31.2) na:tʃ

nothing (103.1) 'nʌθɪn

November (1A.8) 'nɔ̃:vɪmbə

nurse (84.7) nɜ:s

October (1A.8) ɔ̃: ktoubə

often (71.1) ɔ̃: ftən, ɔ̃: fən,^{2,4} ɔ̃: ft¹

oil (24.1) ɔ̃: ɪl, ɔ̃: əl²

one (1.1) wʌn

one hundred (1A.2) wʌn 'hʌndrəd

one thousand (1A.2) wʌn 'θæʊzən

onion (55.8) 'ɒnjən, 'ɒnjɪn¹

oranges (55.2) 'ɒrɪndʒɪz

orphan (66.3) ɔːrfənt, ɔːrfən⁴

oysters (60.2) ɔɪstəz, ɔɪstʃəz⁴

palm (72.1) paɪm, pæm²

parents (63.7) 'pæːnts, 'pærənts⁴

pasture (15.7) 'pɛɪstʃə, 'pɛɪstə²

pepper (51.7) 'pɛpə

plow (21.6) pləʊ, plaːə³

poisonous (62.7) 'pɔɪzən, 'paːzən²

post office (84.2) pəʊst ɔːfɪs

post (16.6) pəʊst, pəʊst^{2,3}

posts (16.6) pəʊsts, pəʊs^{4,5}

pretty dress (26.4) 'pɜːtɪ, 'pɜrtɪ^{1,3}

proud flesh (78.2) præʊd fleɪʃ, fleɪʃ⁴

psalm (89.8) paɪm, paɪəm^{3,4}

pull (97.8) puəl

pumpkin (56.5) 'pʌmpkɪn, 'pʌmpkɪn³

purse (28.2) pɜːs

push (97.9) pʊʃ, pʊʃː¹

put (102.7) pʊt, pʊtː³, pʌt²

quarter of eleven (4.5) 'kwɔːrtə

queer (74.8) kwɪə, kwa:ə^{2,5}, kwɜː¹

quinine (78.4) kwa:'na:n

radishes (55.4) 'redɪʃ ɪz

raspberries (62.6) 'ræzbɛrɪz, 'ræzbɜːɪ^{1,5}, 'ræzbʌrɪ⁴

rather (7.4/90.4) 'rʌðə

real (91.12) ri:əl

really (91.11) 'ri:li

recognize (100.3) 'rekəna:z

reverend (67.12) 'revrən, 'revrənt^{1,2}

rice (50.12) ra:ɪs

right ear (71.6) ra:t i:ə, jɜː^{2,5}

rinses (18.2) 'reɪntʃɪz, 'rɛntʃɪz,³ 'rɪnsɪz⁴

roof (11.5) ru:ɪf

roots (61.5) ru:ɪts

salad (50.5) 'sælɪd, 'sælɪd^{3,4}

salt (51.7) sɔːlt

sample (26.3) 'sæmpəl

Sarah (68.1) 'sɜːrə

Saturday (2.1) 'sætədɪ

sausage (46.9) 'sɔːsɪdʒ

scarce (95.3) skɜːs, skærɪs⁴, skeɪs³

screech owl (59.1) skriːtʃ əʊl, skriːtʃ əʊl⁴

second (1A.3) 'sekən, 'sekənt⁴

secretary (68.9) sekə'tæːrɪ, sekə'tæːrɪ

September (1A.8) 'septɪmbə, 'sɪptɪmbə^{2,3}

sermon (89.7) 'sɜːmən, 'sɜːmɪnt²

seven (1.4) 'sevən

seventh (1A.3) 'sevənθ

seventy (1A.2) sevntɪ

shoulders (72.5) 'ʃouldəz

shut (11.1) ʃʌt, ʃet^{1,2,5}

since (101.3) sɪns

six (1.3) sɪks

sixth (1A.3) sɪkst, sɪksθ⁴

sofa (9.1) 'sɒfə, 'sɒfi³

something (103.2) 'sʌmpθɪn

soot (8.8) sʌt

spoiled (46.10) spɔɪːld, spɔɪːlt²

spoon (17.9) spuːn

squash (56.6) skwɔːʃ, skwaːʃ¹

stamp (97.6) stʌmp, stæmp¹

stirrups (39.3) stɜːps

strain (47.10) streɪn

strawberries (62.4) 'strɔːbɜːɪz, 'strɔːberɪz³

strop (22.5) strɒp

student (68.8) 'stjuːdnt

such (103.3) sʌts, setʃ^{1,2,5}

sumach (62.2) 'suːmeɪk

Sunday (2.1) 'sʌndɪ

sure (91.3) ʃuːə, ʃɜːə^{1,2,5}

swallow (57.2) 'swaːlə, 'swɔːlə^{2,4}, 'swaːlə^{1,3}

sycamore (61.9) 'sɪki.mə:ʁ

syrup (51.3) sʒ: p

tassel (56.3) tʒ: s!

teeth (71.9) tɪi: θ

ten (1.5) tɪən

tenth (1A.3) tɪən θ

terrapin (60.9) 'tə: r pɪn

theater (84.4) 'θi: ɛɪ tʁ

third (1A.3) θʒ: d

thirteen (1.7) 'θʒ: ti: n

thirty (1A.1) θʒ: tɪ

this year (4.7) θɪs jɪə, jʒ: ²

three (1.2) θri:

threshed (42.1) θræʃt, θrɛɪʃt ^{1,3}

threw (32.1) θrəʊd

Thursday (2.1) 'θʒ: zdi

tired (75.7) tə: ɛd

tomatoes (55.5) tə'meɪdəz, tə'meɪdiz ²

- tomorrow (4.1) tə'ma:rɒu, tə'ma:r³, tə'ma:ɾə⁴
- tooth (71.9) tu:θ, tʊ:θ²
- touch (98.2) tʌtʃ, tɛtʃ^{1,2,5}
- tourist (69.2) 'tu:rɪst, 'tu:rɪs, 'tju:rɪst
- towards (32.6) tɔ:əd, tə'wɔ:rd¹, tə'wɔ:rdz²
- towel (18.6) tæʊl
- toy (101.8) tɔɪ
- trough (35.11) trɔ:ʊft
- troughs (35.11) trɔ:ʊvz
- tube (24.3) tjʊ:b
- Tuesday (2.1) 'tju:zdi
- tusk (35.10) tʊ:ʃ tʌsk⁴
- tusks (35.10) 'tʊ:ʃɪz, 'tʌʃɪz³, tʌsk⁴
- twelve (1.6) twɛəv
- twenty (1.8) 'twɪni
- twice (1A.7) twa:ɪs, twa:st³, twa:s^{4,5}
- two (1.1) tu:, tʊ:²
- umbrella (28.7) 'ʌmbərel, 'ʌmbreɪl², 'ʌmbərelə³, 'ʌmbrelə⁴

- uneasy (74.2) ʌn'i:ZI
- unwrapped (94.5) ʌn'ræpt
- used to be (74.4) 'ju:stəbi:
- value (95.2) 'væljə, 'væju:⁴
- walnut (55.9) 'wɔ:tnət
- war (85.9) wɔ:ɾ
- wash (18.1) wɑ:ʃ, wɔʃ^{2,3}
- wasps (60A.5) 'wɔ:spə, wɔsp⁴
- watch (4.3) wɒtʃ
- water (48.6) 'wɔ:ɾ, 'wɒɾ^{1,5}
- Wednesday (2.1) wɪnzdi
- wheelbarrow (23.3) 'hwi:əlba:ʃ
- whip (19.7) hwɪp, hwʊp², hwuəp⁵
- whole (103.4) hɔ:ul
- widow (63.3) 'wɪ:də, 'wɪ:də²
- William (68.2) 'wɪljəm, 'wɪjəm^{2,3,4}
- with (32.4) wɪθ
- without (32.3) wɪðəʊt

wool (35.3) wʊəl

worry (79.5) wɜːɪ

wound (78.1) wʊʊ:nd, wu:nd²

wrapped (94.4) ræpt

yeast (45.6) ji:st, i:st^{2,5}

year (5.2) jɪə, ji:ə⁵ jɜː^{1,2}

yes (91.2) jɛɪs

yesterday (3.5) 'jɛstədi

your (aunt) (67.14) jo:ð

VITA

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Jones, was born July 1, 1940, in the small Southern Alabama community of Glenwood. She attended public schools in Luverne and Troy, Alabama, and was graduated from Troy High School (now Charles Henderson High School) in 1958. After working for the State of Alabama Department of Industrial Relations and later for the Division of Mental Hygiene, she returned to Troy State University, where she received the Bachelor of Arts degree and graduated cum laude in 1963. She received the Master of Arts degree in English from the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa in 1965. After serving on the staff of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville as a Teaching Assistant, she received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in English in 1973.

She is currently Assistant Professor and Head of the Department of English at Columbia State Community College, Columbia, Tennessee.