THE PHONETICS OF
GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAIN
SPEECH

JOSEPH SARGENT HALL

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PREFATORY NOTE

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the kind assistance of many people who contributed time and energy to this study.

I am indebted primarily to Professor Harry Morgan Ayres who enlisted his warm human interests in the project, and whose thorough knowledge of English speech and profound understanding of the processes of language gave me inspiration and guidance. I wish to thank Professor Cabell Greet for his helpful suggestions and criticism, as well as for stimulation and encouragement. My thanks are also extended to Dr. E. V. K. Dobbie for his sound and constructive suggestions. The support of Professor E. H. Wright, Executive Officer of the Department of English, Columbia University, has been most generous.

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J. S. H.
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INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose and Methods.

It is the purpose of this study to describe the sounds of one of America’s most interesting vernaculars—English as it is spoken in the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee and North Carolina. The description of this speech has at this time a particular significance, for most of the area in 1926 became a national park. Those native families who lived within its bounds, having sold their lands to the two States, moved away to find homes elsewhere or were allowed to remain on temporary leases. The park is therefore steadily losing its original population. Of a thousand families, only about four hundred remained when this study was first undertaken in 1937, and when it was resumed two years later, there were only about eighty. The older people who were given life-time leases are gradually dying out. This study has, too, another significance. Ever since this area was opened up to visitors, the mountain people, both within and without the park boundaries, have been made increasingly conscious of the regional peculiarities in their speech and are gradually bringing their language into conformity with standards recognized elsewhere.

Ten months, altogether, were spent in the field investigation—three during the summer of 1937, when the writer served in the National Park Service and Civilian Conservation Corps as Historian Student Technician, and seven during the summer, fall, and winter of 1938–40. He knew the mountain people under a wide variety of circumstances. Much of that time he lived with them in their homes; and most of the remaining time, when he lodged at the CCC camps, he was still with them, for with the exception

1. The Guide Map, Great Smoky Mountains National Park (United States Department of the Interior, 1939) says: ‘Establishment of the park was authorized by act of Congress approved May 22, 1936. . . Since 1926 the land for the park has been gradually acquired by the States of Tennessee and North Carolina, with some Federal aid, in addition to a contribution by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in tribute to his mother.’ The movement to establish the park was begun as early as 1893, according to the Asheville Times, Sept. 1, 1929 (report of an address by Charles A. Webb, member of the North Carolina Park Commission).

2. This statement calls to mind a bit of characteristic mountain humor. An elderly woman of Deep Creek, in the park, said: ‘They told me I could stay as long as I lived. I told ‘em that would be as long as I wanted to stay.’

3. Continuance of the research during the year 1939–40 was made possible by a University Fellowship granted by Columbia University and an appointment as Collaborator in the National Park Service. The author here gratefully acknowledges his debt both to the University and to the Service. The Service provided one of the phonographic recorders, discs, accessories, a truck for the transportation of equipment, and a travelling allowance.
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of the Army staff and a few Service officials, the camps are manned and directed by local men. The CCC camps and the homes, however, were merely stopping points; most of the day-time was spent in going from house to house to interview the people of the immediate area.

Smokies people are proud and sensitive, and one sore point with them is their speech, although they have no reason to be ashamed of an idiom so vigorous, colorful, and expressive. So long, however, have their picturesque life and surroundings attracted attention that they have become a little self-conscious, and interest in their dialect has made them feel that they speak in an 'awkward' manner. They can become very tight-lipped if they suspect that someone is going to 'make light of them.' The writer early became aware of this attitude through the advice of newly-made mountain friends and the embarrassment caused by some of the questions which he asked his informants in the first stages of the survey. Consequently, it was necessary to devise a method of investigation which would put the informants at ease and induce them to talk freely. When treated considerately, Smokies people are kind-hearted and sociable, and they speak without restraint, provided the listener is sympathetic and the conversation does not touch on subjects which cause them discomfort. The older men like to talk about hunting, fishing, adventures in the woods, farming, politics, and old tragedies; and the older women are disposed to tell of old-fashioned ways of doing things in the home—cooking, making cloth, brewing the wine, and the like. One senses readily that these people look back wistfully to the time when the mountains were their own and the woods were full of game, and that their imaginings are fired by the glory of the past. Such considerations as these suggested the method to be used—getting the subjects to talk on their favorite topics, with no hint that their speech was being observed. Phonetic transcriptions could be made under the pretext of gathering historical information.

During the survey of 1939-40 the primary method of collecting linguistic data was phonographic recording, although much transcription of actual speech was also done. Here again the emphasis in conversing with the people was upon their history and folklore, and no reference was made to speech except to the writer's friends and Service officials. Owing to limited funds, no discs had been made during the summer of 1937, and the desirability of making them before the last of the original residents of the park left or died out necessitated a return to the Smokies in 1939. During the field study of this year, and after it was completed in January, 1940, the records were played, some of them many times, for pertinent details of pronunciation and to ensure accuracy of transcription. These speech-records, 78 in all, have value both as a representative linguistic picture of Smokies speech as it is now spoken by people of all ages and circumstances, and for their social and historical content. They include twenty recordings

of Arthur the Rat, read mostly by CCC enrollees of the Smokies or neighboring areas.

Two recording machines were used—a Garwick, which operated from a six-volt storage battery, and a Presto, powered by regular electric current. The latter was kindly furnished, with all necessary equipment, by the National Park Service.

The author also collected data on morphology, syntax, and vocabulary which it is not possible to include in the present study.

Although the limitations of time did not permit the extensive examination of local documents, two profitable weeks were nevertheless spent in a careful combing of Horace Kephart's unpublished notes on Great Smokies life and speech, included here and there in his twenty large loose-leaf note-books, the genealogy of the Conner family (in manuscript), written by the late E. C. Conner, a descendant of two of the earliest settlers of the Oconaluftee River, and several volumes of early deeds in the court-houses of Haywood and Buncombe Counties, North Carolina. This material, which is frequently cited in the treatment to follow, is indicative of the possibilities to be realized by the further use of local documents, as well as corroborative of rare pronunciations and word-forms. Some use of the dialect writers was made in the early stages of the study in a hope, which was in some respects well fulfilled, that they would suggest pronunciations and dialectal forms to listen for. Incidentally, it must be confessed that, despite her skill as a novelist, Miss Mary N. Murfree ('Charles Egbert Craddock') was not entirely successful in representing the speech of the Smoky mountaineer. With allowance for the fifty-five years which have passed since she wrote The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains and the changes which a dialect may undergo in that length of time, it is still difficult to believe that the people of the Smokies ever spoke quite as she makes them speak. Kephart, too, the author of Our Southern Highlanders, is at times disappointing, despite his manifest absorption in the speech of

4. The total collection of records comprises 60 double-faced aluminum discs (10" and 12") and 43 double-faced acetate discs (12′). The aluminum discs (60 of speech and 20 of ballads, square-dances, and religious music) will be deposited in the phonographic archives of the Columbia University Library. The acetate records (chiefly of ballads and other music) will be turned over to the National Park Service.

For convenience, the numbers of phonograph records referred to in this study have been omitted in all citations of material from them (except in the introduction). With the collection of aluminum discs, however, there will be filed a master copy of the dissertation giving citations, by record number, of all phonographic evidence used.

5. These were temporarily deposited in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Library, but are now in the possession of their owner, Mr. I. K. Stearns of Bryson City, N. C.

6. There is a typewritten copy of the original (hand-written) in the park library, with photographic copies of some pages of the original.
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Appalachians in general is an interesting question, but one which surpasses the limits of the present paper and the knowledge of the writer. It is suggested that the number of linguistic features common to this vast area is considerable, but that the differences, although small, would form the subject of a most interesting study—one which would provide comment upon the differing circumstances of settlement and subsequent history. One could not fail to expect differences in a region so large as the Southern Appalachians, which cover an area almost as great as New York and New England combined, extending from Maryland and West Virginia to northern Georgia and Alabama.

II. The Geographical Setting.

The Southern Appalachian Mountains consist of three parallel chains which run northeast and southwest from Pennsylvania to the interior of Georgia and Alabama. The Great Smoky Mountains are a portion of the middle chain, which for most of its distance through Tennessee and North Carolina forms the boundary line between these two states. This middle chain is known at other points on the state-line by the names Unicoi Mountains, Unaka Mountains, Bald Mountains, Stone Mountains. It is flanked by the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Cumberland Mountains on the west. Between the middle chain and the Cumberland Mountains is the wide Tennessee Valley, an extension of the Valley of Virginia, which was one of the chief avenues of early migration into the South and West. The region between the middle range and the Blue Ridge is intersected by a number of transverse connecting ridges, between which are high valleys and basins, the sources of rivers which flow westward through deep gorges in the middle chain to the Tennessee River. This high intramontane country is rugged and precipitous, except for certain spacious bottom-lands, as on the French Broad River and the forks of the Pigeon. Access to it from the Piedmont was possible through low depressions in the Blue Ridge, as, for example, at Swannanoa Gap (east of Asheville), Hickory Nut Gap, and Cashiers Valley. The first white settlement in the present North

10. Ibid., note 7, p. 263.
11. Ibid., pp. 276, 281.
12. Guyot, ibid., p. 268: 'Owing to that general depression, it is this vast portion of the chain which offers the most easy access, from the low country on the east. Five or six gaps, with roads, show an elevation only varying from 2,000 to 2,400

the hillsman and the abundant linguistic observations contained in his note-books. He 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. More satisfying portraits of mountain speech, the author believes, are found in Olive Tilford Dorgan's Highland Emblems and Louise Goodrich's Mountain Home-spun, both of which betray less weakness for 'eye-dialect' and more fidelity to characteristic expressions, and sentence constructions. Rebecca Cushman's Song Your Mountain Gid, a series of sketches in free verse, conveys the spirit of the dialect without conforming to conventional spelling.

Another reason for undertaking the study was the belief that in this speech, which has so long been removed from the main currents of American culture, there would remain vestiges of earlier stages in the growth of the English language. The work of Cecil Sharp and Olive Dame Campbell in recording many specimens of old British songs, which have survived in the Southern Appalachians, inspired the hope that the people of this region might also have preserved out-moded features of speech. It was of course suspected that such must be the case, in view of all that has been written upon the survival of 'Anglo-Saxon,' 'Chaucerian,' and 'Elizabethan' speech in the Southern Mountains. Such dialectal remnants as speak (express) one's opinion, singe for sing, and use for dwell may still be heard, and also numerous other sixteenth and seventeenth century expressions, some of which appear in the following pages. More important, however, 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.

It was significant, too, to find a speech which does not show the deep impress of the schoolmaster's influence. Here is a vernacular which grew, for a part of its life at least, outside of his control, and which shows how a language may develop when removed from the conservative forces which restrict its growth. It is characteristic of such a language that the marks of the schoolmaster's influence often become manifest in the wrong places, as illustrated by the many instances of hyper-correction, where his insistence on correctness has been misapplied.

The relation of Great Smokies speech to general American and general Southern speech is partly indicated in the present work. More complete data awaits other regional studies of Southern speech and the appearance of the Linguistic Atlas for the Southern and Western states. It will be seen, however, that there is no sharp cleavage from the speech of most of America, and that there are some very close affinities with the speech of the rest of the South. The relation of Smokies speech to that of the Southern

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Carolina west of the Blue Ridge was made on the Swannanoa River by families from the Piedmont. That the North Carolina side of the Smokies was occupied by people or the descendants of people who had come through these gaps in the Blue Ridge is abundantly attested by tradition. The instances of settlers who entered these valleys from the Tennessee Valley seem to be comparatively few. The middle range is higher and more formidable than the eastern one, and the gaps, except for the river gorges, are of considerable elevation.

The Great Smokies, bounded on the northeast by the Pigeon River and on the southwest by the Little Tennessee, have been described as the greatest mountain mass east of the Black Hills of South Dakota. Sixteen of its peaks are more than 6,000 feet high, and for thirty-six miles along its summit there is no point below 5,000 feet. This imposing array of mountains, however, was never an effective barrier between the neighboring populations on both sides. By 1850 there was a road through Indian Gap (at an elevation of 5,200 feet), and there were numerous trails across the top at various points. People of both sides herd their cattle on the ridge, and hunting went on over the whole area unimpeded. The rugged character of the country, and the endurance required in farming, herding, and hunting therein no doubt assisted greatly in developing a hardy set of people.

Although there are fertile river valleys and high bottom lands on the

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North Carolina side, these are found in greater measure on the Tennessee side, where, between the ridges, there are broad meadows and coves. Some of these have an air of serene pastoral beauty. Access to the more open portions of the Valley of the Tennessee was, however, not as easy as might be thought, for such coves and bottoms, being situated at a greater elevation, are at some points separated from the open country by narrow, winding river gorges, which hindered the development of good roads. Many people of Gatlinburg say that in the early days the trip to Knoxville and back required six days. In previous times (1800-1850) there was no road at all, and the trip had to be made on foot or horseback. Similar conditions existed at Cades Cove and Emerts Cove. Cosby, however, has convenient access to Newport down a more or less smooth valley.

The valleys and coves of the North Carolina side were even more isolated. The Big Creek area, between Mt. Sterling and White Rock, was connected by a road with Newport, Tennessee and Waynesville, North Carolina, but it was narrow, and in the winter time muddy and almost impassable. About 1800, a logging railroad was built, connecting it with Newport. Cataloochee, a narrow, deep valley, is separated from the open country around Waynesville by a steep ridge, which is crossed at Cove Creek Gap, at an elevation of 4,062 feet. It is also reached by the road which connects Waynesville and Newport. The settlements on the Oconaluftee River (which drains the country above the Qualla Indian Reservation) were remote from any North Carolina town and were reached chiefly by the tortuous road from Knoxville, Sevierville, and Gatlinburg over Indian fact. That is they are very little more elevated than the average of the inside basin, and only show an abrupt side on the east toward the lowlands. Also, p. 278: 'The generally mild character and moderate elevation of the Blue Ridge around the headwaters of the French Broad renders this basin more accessible from the eastern low country, than any other. In fact, the Blue Ridge can be crossed anywhere—from the upper waters of the Catawba, the Broad River, the Saluda, and the Savannah rivers—by gaps seldom exceeding 2,000 ft."


14. The present highway crosses a short distance away at Newfound Gap, elevation 5,002. Charles Lummis, writing in 1914, mentions this road; see his Letters from the Allegheny Mountains (New York, 1894), p. 82. But Jennette S. Greer, The Story of Gatlinburg (Strasburg, Virginia, 1933), p. 106, believes that this road was not passable for wheeled vehicles.

Guyot regards the Smokies as an 'almost impervious barrier between Tennessee and the inside basins of North Carolina.' 'Only one tolerable road, or rather mulch-path, in this whole distance is found to cross from the great valley of Tennessee into the interior basins of North Carolina,' he says. This road was used as a military highway during the War between the States.

15. Guyot, p. 265, says: 'All this portion of the Smoky Mts., from Forney Ridge (to Gregory Bald) is used by the Tennesseans for grazing cattle. Numerous paths, therefore, run up the western slopes. But the eastern slope is still a wilderness, little frequented.' The situation was changed, however, after Guyot wrote (1856-60) and when the eastern slope became settled; informants of Hazel Creek state that they too herded cattle on the ridge (testimony on phonograph record 66A).

There is testimony of bear-hunting from one side of the range to the other on several of the phonograph records (61, 'OBE, 77-80). The famed Quill Rose (see Rebecca Cushman, Swing Your Mountain Gal, Boston and New York, 1934, pp. 30-34) used to make frequent trips on his jackass between his home on Eagle Creek, N. C., and Cades Cove, Tenn., across the ridge (dies 78A).

16. National Park Service officials say: 'Today this area is one of the most accessible in the Park, but as late as 1918 conditions were very different. It was reached from Sevierville by wagon or buggy, over a road that was little more than a trail. There were no bridges; the river and many creeks had to be forced through water so deep that it came almost into the bed of the wagon, and sometimes was too deep to be crossed. If high water, a broken axle, or some other accident caused no delay, the round trip to Knoxville could be made in six days.' This is quoted from Report on the Proposed Mountain Culture Program for Great Smoky Mountains National Park, in typescript, by H. C. Wilburn, C. S. Grossman, A. Stepp, 1933 (copy in the park library). See also dies 65A.

17. See Greer, The Story of Gatlinburg, p. 16.

18. Although the diary (1821) of William Davenport, surveyor for North Carolina of the N. C.-Tenn. state line, mentions a 'Cataloochee turnpike road,' Mr. H. C. Wilburn of the National Park Service believes this was only a wide trail, and that a real road was not built until much later (1850); see his Historical Paper, no. 3 (typescript), National Park Service, 1939.
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The wild country on the creeks draining into the Little Tennessee between Borne Creek and Deal's Gap has always been sparsely inhabited; it was in communication, difficult at best, with Maryville, Tennessee, before the road was built connecting it with Bryson City, North Carolina. The round trip to Maryville by wagon is said to have taken eight or ten days.

The first real influence from the outside world (except for an occasional schoolmaster or preacher) came with the turmoil of the War between the States, which reached even into the hills. Later, exploitation of the abundant timber resources brought in many people from beyond the mountains. From about 1800 until the establishment of the park, logging companies operated on Hazel Creek, Little River, at Gatlinburg, on Big Creek, and the Oconaluftee River.

In the meantime, writers found an untamed field for stories and articles of intermingled adventure, romance, and scenery (the combination of picturesque mountain people, bear-hunting, and the illicit distilling of liquor in a setting of wild, romantic beauty is indeed a happy one), and spread the fame of the Smokies. Horace Kephart, the author of Our Southern Highlanders and numerous magazine articles, is conceded much credit for popularizing the region and giving impetus to the movement to create a national park.

III. Smokies History.

The history of the white settlement of the Smokies is but imperfectly known. It is concerned in part with the long series of treaties with the Cherokee Indians, by which their boundary lines were moved farther and farther south, until their claims were finally abrogated; and in part with the constant encroachments by white settlers on Indian lands.

19. According to Grove, op. cit., p. 70, a weekly mail route from Sevierville to Gatlinburg, Lufly, N. C., and Cashiers Valley was established sometime before 1850. This route was covered on horseback and required seven days for the round trip.

20. Testimony of an informer on Hazel Creek, W. B. Ziegler and B. S. Grosscup, Western North Carolina, or the Heart of the Alleghanies (Raleigh, 1883), p. 130: 'Hazel and Engle Creeks empty into the Little Tennessee in a still more lonely and less inhabited section...'; by Bryson City, previously known as Bears Town, later as Charleston, does not appear to have been much of a center before about 1871, when it became the seat of the newly-formed Swain County.


22. Mt. Kephart, at the headwaters of the Oconaluftee and the Little Pigeon, was named in his honor; also Kephart Prong, a tributary of the Oconaluftee, draining from the mountain.

Indians were living in the Smokies when the first white settlers arrived about the end of the 18th century. In 1763 George III proclaimed that the boundary between the white settlements and the Indian lands should be that range of mountains which divides the streams running east from those running west. This range was the Blue Ridge Mountains, lying to the west of the Piedmont plateau and to the east of the Smokies. But the movement of colonial population into the western watershed was not to be deterred by law or treaty. In 1773, the Watauga Association was formed on the rivers of upper East Tennessee by settlers, many of whom came from Virginia and the Piedmont districts of North Carolina. In 1777, a tract of land, mostly mountainous, in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee was surrendered by the Cherokees. In 1785, the Federal government concluded its first Indian treaty, an instrument which defined the boundaries of the Cherokees and made available for white settlement an area of 550 square miles on the French Broad River in North Carolina. It was in this district that the town of Asheville soon came into existence. In 1783, the colonial assembly of North Carolina, in extending the boundaries of the state westward to the Mississippi, reserved for the Cherokees a tract comprised between the headwaters of the Big Pigeon River and the point where the Tennessee River first crosses the southern boundary of the state. This large area includes the Great Smokies. But no boundary line lasted many years, and in 1791, after the Holston treaty, a line was run from the junction of the Holston and the Clinch Rivers (below Knoxville) to a point on the Great Smoky Mountains, and thence in the same direction until it reached the treaty line made in 1785 (which, in the main, was a north-south line west of the Blue Ridge). This treaty ceded a large area including, in Tennessee, the present limits of Sevier and Cocke Counties, a portion of Blount county, and, in North Carolina, a tract lying mostly west of the French Broad River. This treaty is significant, for it is the first legalizing settlement in the Smokies. It opened up, however, only the northeastern section. Another section of the Smokies was made available by the treaty of Tellico in 1798, which moved further south the Indian boundary line in North Carolina. It was not until 1819 that the Cherokee claims in the
southeastern portion of the Smokies were annulled. The districts not open
to lawful settlement until that time included Cades Cove, Deep Creek, and
all creeks to the west of it on the North Carolina side of the mountains.29

This recital of the steady, forced withdrawal of Indian claims gives some
notion of the strong pressure exerted by the advancing white population,
and the rapidity with which the settlement of western North Carolina and
eastern Tennessee was effected.

Evidence as to the date of the first white settlements in the Smokies
proper is scant. According to H. C. Wilburn, National Park Service, after
the treaty of 1791, 'land speculators, most of whom had been soldiers of
the Revolutionary War, began to take up the choice lands along the
Oconaluftee from the neighborhood of the present Ravensford to Smoke-
mont. By about 1810 most of these lands had been occupied and thriving
communities developed. These settlers consisted mainly, of families who
had pushed westward across the Blue Ridge, and were immigrants, or
immediate descendants of immigrants.30 The Smokies genealogist, E. C.
Conner, a native of the Oconaluftee, states that his great-grandparents
(Mingus) came from Saxony, Germany in 1792 [?], and were 'the first white
settlers to claim a possession on the waters of the upper Oconoluftee river.'31

In 1795, [Wilburn continues] Felix Walker obtained a grant for four
square miles of land in the vicinity of Mingus Creek... A number of
the earliest settlers in this area derived title to their lands through the
Walker grant... It is quite evident that prior to the year 1800, a num-
ber of families had become well established in this area, and in the next
few years numerous settlements were made along the Oconaluftee and
Ravens Fork, influenced, no doubt, by the old trails and abandoned
Indian clearings.32

The first white child was born in the Gatlinburg area in 1802.33

The dates of settlement of other areas in the Smokies are also uncertain.
Early Tennessee laws which create or alter county lines provide a little
information. One of 1797, by which Cooke County was erected, mentions
the 'uppermost house on Cowak's Creek.'34 In 1811, the line of Cooke
County was changed so as to 'include all the inhabitants on the waters of
Cowie's Creek.' One of 1809 mentions both Wears Valley and Tuckaloochee
Cove; the Blount County line is to run by 'William Davis's in Wears Cove,

29. See the map in Haycock.
31. Conner MSS. GSMNP Library.
33. Jeanette S. Grove, 'The Traditions of Gatlinburg,' East Tennessee Historical

35. Ibid., pp. 717-718.
37. Ibid., p. 31.
42. See p. 81, and note 12.
43. Op. cit., p. 201. Cashiers Valley is only 10 miles from the South Carolina line,
and access from that state to western North Carolina up the Keowee River would
seem to have been easy.
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nana Gap and Hickory Nut Gap, east and south of Asheville, respectively, from the Carolina Piedmont; (3) Cashiers Valley, from South Carolina. Some of the migrants from the North appear to have followed a more roundabout route, down the Valley of Virginia to the Valley of the Yadkin and the Piedmont plateau (where, in some cases, they settled for a time), and then west through the gaps in the Blue Ridge. In many instances, it is to be suspected, North and South Carolina were merely temporary stopping places for the settlers; the migration into the Smokies, in the main, was part of that larger movement down from the North, particularly Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the Virginia Tidewater. There seems also to have been a lesser movement from Charleston, South Carolina, to the Piedmont, from which the Smokies population probably drew. 44

45. Ibid., p. 87.

1.

THE VOWEL SOUNDS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

1. (i).

This sound, which is derived from Middle English long close e or open e, shows no important variation from general American usage either as to length or quality. There is, of course, a tendency to prolong it in sentence positions which are subject to the characteristic drawl of Smokey Mountain speech, especially at the end of a clause or a sentence; but all vowels and diphthongs are likely to be so affected.

[i] appears in such words as the following:

Boad, bean, beast, bee, believe, between, cheek, creek, deal, deep, dream, edge, evening, feed, feel, feet, fever, field, flee, grieve, he, heap, jeans, least ('smallest'), leave, meal, meet, people, read, reason, season, seed, sheep, steel, steel, tetch, teeth, three, tree, we, weak, week.

Lengthening of the vowel may be illustrated by a sentence transcribed from one of the phonograph records: [wi 'drənt 'hæv 'mæks' 'tɪm], 'We didn’t have much of a (baseball) team.' (There is a rising and then falling inflection in team, which is prolonged as though by compensation, for the other words of the sentence are spoken rather fast.) Diphthongization ordinarily occurs only before l, as in feal [fæl], steel [stæl].

The historical variation [i]/[e], as in sleek/slick, is reflected in breeches, hef, negro, which have [i] in the Great Smokies. So also swamy (ameness of the shoulder in animals) in its two occurrences was [swæmi]. Creek, however, is always [krik], never [krik].

[e] or [e] may appear in place of standard English [i] in a few words with Middle English open e. In the language of older people, real and really are often [reel] and [reli]. On a disc, jeans (a home-woven cloth formerly used in men’s clothes) is pronounced [dʒɛɑns] by an old-fashioned woman of Cosby; this form is said to be used by many old people. 5

1. The OED says: ‘Swamy (swemı̆) U. S. Also swinemy (probably f. G. dial. schwarmı̆ “emaciation,” “atrophy”).’ The Supplement (1953) gives the earliest example of its use, dated 1829-32, and antedates Thornton’s examples. The Century Dictionary states that the origin is obscure.
2. Charles Carpenter, In ‘Variation on Southern Mountain Dialect,’ American Speech, vol. 8 (1933), no. 1, p. 24, says that the vowel of this word may vary [i], [ii], [e] from one mountain district to another. This is not true of the five counties studied (Cecil, Bluer, Blount Co., Tenn.; Haywood, Swain Co., N. C.).
3. Cf. the spelling in an early Toc Valley (N. C.) record quoted in Muriel Earley Shepard, Georgia in the Laurel (University of North Carolina Press, 1952), p. 47: ‘...Four suits of clothes, two of which should be good “James” and two of everyday stuff.’
THE VOWEL SOUNDS

OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

Under much the same circumstances, diphthongization may be present, with or without raising, in monosyllables before i, as in kill [kɪl], kill [kɪl], build [bɪld]. In polysyllables, however, [i] is ordinarily unaffected, as in chilly [ˈkɪlɪ], children [ˈkɪldən].

There is a tendency in some speakers to use a tense, slightly raised [i], as in big, fifty, live, ridge, stick, villain [ˈvɪlɪn], and [v] in fish, stick, little, stick,wick. A raised [i], approaching [i], is not infrequent in big, especially when the speaker is excited or enthusiastic; for example: [bɪz] to [bɪz-ˈg] [ˈtɪl] in [ˈtɪl] [ˈkæntɪ]. The time-honored [lit] for little is heard occasionally in such expressions as [ˈdɪstrɪt ə [ˈlɪt] just a little, [ˈlɪt] [bɪt] a little bit,'[ˈlɪt] [ˈfɜrd] a little further.' District was [ˈdɪstrɪkt] in all instances noted, but this pronunciation is probably limited to old-timers.4

Laxer and lowered varieties of [i], often reaching [e], may frequently be heard in [rɪd, rɪd, rɪsk, tɪl, tɪl, and the third syllable of whistle-pig 'groundhog': [ˈkwɪtənt], [lɪrd], [red], ...[ˈkwɪnt], [ˈlɪrd], [red]] for sit is probably a case of contamination with the cognate transitive verb.5

Both raising and lowering are very common before nasals. All degrees between [i] and [e] are represented, although the variations ordinarily remain close to [i], as in [ˈkwɪnt], [ˈlɪrd], [red], or [ˈkwɪnt] [ˈlɪrd], [red].


Such spellings as blow, stick, steeped 'steck, tickled 'sticked in the Gabriel Harvey Letters, and leetle 'little, reaver 'river in the Verany Meany, and many others cited by H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 3rd ed. (London, 1938), p. 290, show that pronunciations with [i] for [e] were formerly numerous and widespread. Harold Whitehall, The Historical Status of Modern English [i], Language, vol. 16 (1940), pp. 120-121, says: 'If lexicographers and orthoepists are to be trusted, one important status of [mæt] [i] in the 18th century period was the higher-front [i].'

See p. 22, note 28, chap. 21, for [i] in unstressed syllables.

may sometimes be heard in chinck, in, Indian [1.1d1d], ring, pinch, sinkhole, thing, and occasionally in the -ing ending (especially in singing). On the other hand, [a] or [o] often occurs in drunk, finger, Finger (family-name), hinder, ink, Lincoln, Mingo, rinse-[rent], since, spring, string, thing (also in anything [mæn, 'mæn]), using. In Emarts Cove, string, thing were transcribed [stenj], [tenj]. Ring is usually [ron]. Been, usually [bun] in the Smokies as generally in America, is sometimes [ben]. Pin and pen may be homophones.

The [i] which appears in general American speech before r is represented by diverse developments in the Smokies. The normal sound may, of course, be heard and is the usual one in most words of this type, but there are some variants which are interesting in the light of historical phonology. In the following words, only [ir] or [er] was heard: aired (obsolescent for 'afraid'), bear, appear, dear, deer, dreary, severe (as in 'We had two pretty severe dogs'), Sevierville [so'vi:rvl].

But the vowel in hear, here, near, nearly is often preceded by a palatal glide, and such variations as [hor], [hiz], [hiz], [hi], [nir], [nir], etc., are current. Here as [hiz] has apparently passed out of use. For hear, [hiz] is said to be very common. Clear and year very [klar], [klar], [klar], etc. 9. 'Mirkid' [mirkəl] in the older speech, is now usually [mirkəl]. Queer, rear v., sheer are [kwaer] [kwaer], [kaera], [fer] [fer] [tə] on one disc. Irritate was pronounced [araget] by a CCCorman of Cades Cove (Blount Co., Tenn.), [araget] by older speakers of the White Oak (Haywood Co., N. C.). Ear is [iar], [iar], [iar], [iar].


8. The Smoky Mountain genealogist, Edward C. Cowen, in his MSs. (see bibliography), writes false, [fois], lyre, sale, in, 'Mountain Speech,' vol. 9 (1933), p. 149 f., says that in Williamson here is [klik], [hik], or [hi]. Stanley, p. 5, says that [o] is occasional in clear, hear, here, near, etc.

9. According to a White Oak informant, 'most people say [klar]; very few say [klar], [dæl].' When I ventured to inquire as to the frequency of the form [fer] on Cosby Creek, a lady replied that she knew it was wrong, but that 'just lots of people around here speak it that way.' Cf. twenty yr's [fær] in W. B. Ziegler, B. S. Gossman, Western North Carolina (Raleigh, 1933), p. 55.

10. For [e] in words of this type, cf. yore 'yore,' Mountain Speech, p. 22; cheerfully 'cheerfully,' Cowen, p. 5.

11. Words which do not fit into any of the groups discussed above are pretty, usually [prət], sometimes [prət], rarely [prət], [prət]; vigorous 'fierce,' 'violent' [vərgəz], and whip [hwp], [hwp]; wish [wiz] (once).

3. [e]

This vowel differs from general American [e] only in being more susceptible to diphthongisation.

It appears in such words as:

Aching, acro, age, amen, awake, bake, break, broomage, Cable, Chambers (Creek), daylight, face, favor v. ('resemble'), game, grain, graveyard, graze, hate v. ('be sorry'), late, main, make, range, Ragan, snake, state, stay, straight, Swain (Co., N. C.), tale, taste, trail, Waynesville.

The diphthong [ei] nearly always appears for [e], and it is more convenient to suggest a few circumstances when it need not occur than to define all of the conditions of its presence.

The pure vowel may appear in the current of rapid speech, as in the sentences: 'So we went up the face [fes] of the mountain, 'She done her baking in an oven' [xi 'dæn hə 'bekin in à 'ovn]. It may occur in polysyllables without especial emphasis, as in dangerous, Grady, Haywood County, lawbreaking, nature, neighbor, potato. Also in syllables with secondary stress, as in aggregate, Desolation (place-name), separated, serendipity.

Emphasis or drawl always produces diphthongisation, whether in monosyllables, polysyllables, or syllables with secondary stress; for example, in the sentences:

I'll see you all later. [al 'sə jol 'letə]

That's on the far Winter Range. [ðæts ɔn 'for 'wintə rəʊnd]

I would rather have that than any place in Sessor County.

[ə drəs 'hæv ðæts ən 'nəri 'pəlz ən so'vər 'kərnt]

Such as that's what gives Cosby a bad name.

[θæts ə ðæts wot 'givz 'kəsb i ə 'bæd nəm]

Sometimes there is a pinched off-glide, as in the sentence: 'We'd sit around the fire-place' [wid 'set 'sərən ə 'fo:pli:s]. Diphthongisation is usually very noticeable in highway ['ha, 'we], and daylight ['dæl, 'læt] or ['dæl, 'læt], with rising inflection on the second syllable.

An off-glide [o] (approaching [ə]) always appears before final l or 1 followed by a consonant, as in rail, railroad, trail, fire-trail; [rəl] etc. A few speakers, given to slow, drawled utterances, use such forms as ['rejol]. The simple vowel may occur in open syllables, as in Caylor (family-name), cold-trailer (a hunting dog which can follow a 'cold trail'), paintings ['peinəs], etc.
Twice on the phonograph records [e] appears as the more open sound [ɛ]; 'He was making ['mekən] for the creek'; 'We'd stay [sti:] up there.' Nailed as ['næld'], of course, is usual.15

Some words which have [e] in the standard pronunciation have, or may have, other vowels in the Smokies. Drain is generally [drin], not often [dren].14 Flake was [flık] in the sentence, 'They fleeked out and left the church.'15 James is occasionally [dʒɑ:mz]. Skins, the metal covering of the axe, is apparently always [skinz]. Staple (a kind of nail) is [stipl]. For ate, the archaic [ɛt] is universal (except as 'corrected' to [æt] in a few individual cases). A grater is called a [grætə], possibly through the influence of grits (a food prepared from grated corn). Ancient, plague, plait v. ('weave') were heard only with [æ] : [ˈmantʃant], etc.17

4. [ɛ].

This vowel, which is normally the development of Middle English ə or of an early modern shortening of Middle English [e] (in the latter case often spelled ə), is represented by a variety of developments in the Great Smokies. In some cases it remains unchanged; in others, under especial stress or drawl, it may become a diphthong [ɛι], [ɛι], or [ɛi]; it may also become [ɛ] or [æ], especially in combination with a nasal; or, it may become [ɛ], particularly before [ɡ] and the palatal spirants; before ɾ, it may be retracted to [ɛ]. Besides these developments, there are a few words in which [ɛ] is substituted for [æ], and some dialectal survivals of [i] for MB [ɛ].

The usual American [e] appears in the following words:

Attention, bond, breath, clever ('hospitality'), commence, deading n. ('a place cleared of trees by girdling'), coath, devil, dreed, edge, Enloe,


15. The OED states that fręek(e)(q.v.) is an obsolete or dialectal form of flake. Of the latter, it says (v. s. flake, etc.): 'Of difficult etymology: possibly several distinct words have conflated.' Cf. a flake ('slice') of ham meat, recorded in Kentucky. American Speech, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 59.

16. [ɛ] was noted in Kentucky, although [ɛ] appears in Frances Goodrich, Mountain Homespun (Yale University Press, 1931), p. 59, etc. The past participle also is [ɛ] in the Smokies.

17. Amen and angel with [ɛ] must have been common in the United States in the early part of the last century. According to C. P. Krapp, The English Language in America (New York, 1929), vol. 2, p. 128, Webster in his Compendious Dictionary (1806) rejected the British pronunciation of these words with [ɛ], maintaining that 'there is no shadow of reason why a in angel, ancient should have a different sound from that in angelic, angle, anguish.'

Diphthongization, as usual, is associated with stress, rising and falling inflection, and prolonged utterance. Illustrative sentences are: 'There came a spell of snow,...' [kə 'kæm o 'speil o 'snəʊ; 'kæd hærdli get ma 'bræt, e]]. Asked his name, an adolescent replied: ['bi:ɛl] 'Bell.' One woman of Catawshahe, who speaks slowly and with a constantly changing pitch, pronounces pen [prɛn] on one of the records.

The combinative influence of nasals is well exemplified in the following list of words, in which [ɛ] is often raised to or toward [i]: again(st) prep., conj., again adv., anyway, attend, Benson, end, enter, excuse, fore(e)n(ɡ) prep. ('opposite, facing'), friend, generally, genuine, Glen, Henry, hon, Jenkins, many, men, meny, pension, ten, Tennessee.

The movement of [ɛ] toward [i] before nasals is very noticeable in children and adolescents, although it is present to a degree in the speech of everyone. A middle-aged man of Mt. Sterling, questioned by a local authority as to a theft, declared: [hɛt 'ɛt 'dʒinəmæt în mi ta 'stif].

The raising of [ɛ] to [i] was observed also in: crevice ['krɛvi], Edna ['ɛdnə], Evans, get, Gregory, kettle, melon, recollect ['rikəlɛkt] and ['rikəlɛkt], regiment ['rɪdʒɪm] (once), yesterday, yet.

Duetting (-house) occurred once with a high [ɛ], and jetsh on one of the dews shows a raised vowel, [æ] or [ɛ] (Gregory) in Cades Cove, where the family has been numerous.19 Overlooking the cove is an imposing mountain known as Gregory Bald.

The opposite tendency to lower [ɛ] to or toward [æ] is also frequent before nasals. It was observed in: bench, bench-legged, cleansed, genuine (usually with [i]), ginseng ('usually [ɛnsɛŋ], hem v. (as in, 'One of the dogs [hænd] the bear in'), ham-pin ('hæmpli'), memory ('memri'), men, men-folks, mention, trench, Tréntham.

Bench-legged often occurs in the expression ['bɛnʃlɛd] (arse), a dog of mixed breed, much used in hunting. Men clearly had the lowered vowel


in the statement of a former resident of Barnes Valley, now dead: [for was window], 'przeit, 'oord, [mean].

[oa] is common also in lay, key, lay (also bench-legged, royal-blue), peg, regular, beef, flesh, freshwater, measure, pleasure, mellow, yellow.

Other words which may participate in this change are eligible, [a], [oon], well, Gregory ['gres] (heard with this vowel at the white oak, Heywood Co., N. C.), Meigs ['migz] (as in Meigs Mountain). The local spelling of the given name Lewislym indicates the pronunciation: Leshellon. Threat and wrestle are uniformly pronounced with [a], as everywhere in American colloquial speech.

Sometimes, too, [a] moves toward or becomes [e]. In the latter case it may be diphthongized to [ei] (with a pinched off-gliding) or [e]. The shift toward [a] and its variants is common in egg [egg], egg, egg (sometimes [ial]), and occasional in edge, fresh, [frist], measure, pleasure. Isolated examples of the same tendency are: Bed [bed], dead [dead], Thunderhead (the highest mountain at the southwest end of the Smokies) [thud], death [ deaf], Beek [bik], again [geon] (twice), Bell [bell], bench [bent], Melling [meling], Kepher [kafer]. Perhaps to be included here also are brouneddy ['bruneddy], Kentucky ['kan'taki] (the latter used only by a few old people). Evidence that diphthongization exerts some influence upon narrowing the vowel is possibly to be seen in such forms as: Bell [bel], again [geon], bed [bed], dead [dead], death [deaf]. I'm wantin' to go to bed' whined a putlant Wayneseul child, keep up after bedtime: 'farm wantin' to go to bed.'

Very often [a] replaces [e] in steady v. (e.g., [hi statl his es of gm or zeplun], wrestle [welz], whether [hwahe], and it usually appears in聘请 [tresn], [transition]. Fresh is sometimes heard with this vowel, as in the statement of a local fire-warden: The tracks of a bear was just [frist] across.


It is interesting and significant that Professor H. M. Ayres, American Speech, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 7, finds [oa] for [e] in Bermuda in such words as ten, measure, left, many, benefit, whether, end. Professor Ayres points out that Bermuda was first settled in the 17th century by a stranded detachment of the Virginia Company, and that its speech shows a remarkable similarity to that of the Virginian and Carolinian coast.

5. [a].

This vowel, a development of Middle English a, occurs with its usual American quality before most consonant sounds. It is heard in such words as the following:

Addle, aide, Alice, apple, at, axe, back, bad, ballad, banjo, bob-cat, cabin, captain, catnap, cattle, cracklings, daddy, family, fan, gap, gnat, grab, hammer, hand, Hannah, happen, has, have, land, latch, Mack (given-name), manage, pupil, patch, rabbit, racket, rat, sad, sal, Sam, sapling, scantly, scatter, shallow, stand, straddle, taxes, that, tobacco, track, trap.

As in the case of other vowels, there is a tendency to lengthen [a] with or without diphthongization, in stressed or sustained positions. It is difficult to make general statements as to the length of any Great Smokies vowel because of the variations among individual speakers. Some people prolong or diphthongize all vowels as the tempo, rhythm, and inflection seem to require; others who speak with a more normal cadence lengthen few. But since the disposition to protract words in emphatic or end-clause position is rather general, an example or two may be given: 'We never was scared so bad!' (we 'never was a skared so bad'); 'So they went back to where we was camped.' (te 'how we was a kamped').

Apart from these phenomena, however, there are some important groups of exceptions to the normal treatment with [a]. These, in brief, concern the vowel as it appears (1) before [g], [u]; (2) before the fricatives [f], [v], [θ], [s], [z]; (3) before certain nasal combinations, especially [mp], [ŋt], [ŋŋ], [ŋtʃ]; (4) before [r].

Before [g], [u], the vowel is a shade higher than the sound in the words above-mentioned, i.e., [aː]; or it may have a faint off-glide ['æ]. These sounds may be heard in bag, brag, drag, swag (a low place on a ridge), wagon; angry, anxious, sprangled (spread out,' as of the branches of a tree), strange. Swag was in one instance clearly [swæg], which illustrates the tendency toward a raised vowel before [ə]. (Compare lay [leɪ], etc.) On the phonograph records, angry is sometimes ['æŋgr].

Before the fricatives [f], [v], [θ], [s], and in one instance before [s], [z], is very often diphthongized, with or without lengthening, to [aː]. The effect produced by this breaking is frequently suggestive of [æː] but careful analysis reveals that the sound usually begins as a lax low-front vowel ending in a tense mid-front glide. Sometimes the off-glide slightly raises the tongue position of the first element, so that the sound is [æː] or [æː]. The resultant effects of these developments are not without a certain pleasing, musical quality; and it is believed that in these sounds lies much of the colorful, distinctive quality of Great Smokies speech. They appear in such words as the following:

After ['kæf], calf, half, laugh, Malt's ('mælt's), rafter, scaffold ('skaefəl); salve ('sæv); path; ass, gas, glass, pass; fast, last, mast ('mæst); chestnut, etc.; past, pasture; Asheville, crush, flash, wash.

Sometimes a diphthong of the [æː] variety is unmistakable in calf ['kæf], half ['hæf], gas [ɡæs], and occasionally other words.\(^{26}\)

The tendency to diphthongize and raise this vowel is suppressed in a number of polysyllables and compounds. Only simple [æ] was noted in cast-boat, cast-mill, casket, casten, Chasten (Creek) [ˌkæstən], sassafras, Mathis, rutables. Yet even basket-ball, life-everlasting (an herb), molasses appear on the phonograph records with the diphthong: ['bæsketˌbɔːl, 'lɪfˌəvəˈləstɪŋ, 'mɔləˈses].

The treatment with [æː] is extended occasionally to words which, in the local speech, ordinarily have simple [æ] or some other vowel; for example, rag [ræg], thrush (an infection of the mouth in children). Other anomalous developments are ask [æks] (also [æks], [æsk]); axe [æks] (also [æks]); after ['etə] (also ['etə], ['etə]); Meggie [mæɡˈjeɪ] (usually [mæɡˈjeɪ]).

Before the nasal combinations [mp], [ŋt], [ŋ], [ŋθ], and sometimes before [ŋ], the treatment of [æː] is in all respects similar to that before fricatives, except that nasalization of the vowel is always present in some degree. In the following words, a diphthong varying [æː], [æː], [æː] often appears:

Camp, damp, stamp (postage); Anthony (with [æ] rather than [ə]), haunt, v., m., panther (with [t]), plant, scantling ('skæntnln); chance, dance; Blanche, branch; banjo ['bænnɔ]; bank, gang: ['kæmp], [ˈdæmp], etc.

The vowel sound in these words is certainly not the same as that suggested by the transcription [kæmp], etc., although [æ] alone appears not infrequently in answer, Anthony, and panther.\(^{26}\) This sound, which is so

26. Such a rhyme as past—waste in Shakespeare's sonnet 'When to the sessions of sweet silent thought' would almost be invalid in the Smokies. Using this rhyme in his discussion of the development of [æː] before [f], [s], [θ], Wyld, p. 204, says that it is 'intelligible if we assume that the vowels in both words were long—[pæst—wɛst]—but hardly so if we are to suppose [pæst—wæst] or even [wɛst]. In fact, the rhyme is even more intelligible if we assume that the early modern [æː] before [f], [s], [θ] had something of the quality of its Great Smokies descendant.

27. [æː] after, which is fairly common in the speech of old-timers, poses an interesting question. The form without [æː] is no doubt very old, there being 15th and 17th century rhymes which suggest its existence at that period. Was [æː] raised to [æː] before the loss of [f], or was [æː] substituted after the loss through the influence of parallel forms with [f] in which [æː] developed from [æː]?

28. A salve reflection of the pronunciation of Anthony with [æː] was noted on a sign posted over a store near Walland (Blewet Co.), Tennessee; it bore the inscription

'W. L. Anthony.'
characteristic of the local variety of hill speech, is produced essentially by a diphthong of the type described above. The tendency to prolong and diphthongize the sound is, to be sure, greatly enhanced when the word containing it is in an emphatic position, as for example in the sentences: 'I haven't had a chance.' [ɪ hænt hæd ð ɪ'heɪnt] 'Did you (plural) go to the dance?' [dɪd j'juəz ɪ'gau ðu ðo 'dæns]. Often the diphthong is less exaggerated, as in camped [kæmpəd].

Even words which in normal English belong to a different vowel group may participate in this change. Bench, which, as observed above, sometimes has [æ], is [bænt] on one of the phonograph records. Gineese is frequently [sɛkɛp] (also [sqɛp]). Haunt v. n., never pronounced with [o] in the Smokies, is [hænt] or [haɪnt]; and daunt is reported to have been [dænt] in former times.

Diphthongization may be suppressed in polysyllables. Fancy, Nancy, and plaintext were heard only with simple [æ].

Aunt, on the phonograph records, is usually [ænt], once [ænt], but also [ænt]. Has't, hasn't are [ænt], [hænt], and can't is generally [kænt].

Before r, normal American [æ] is represented by a variety of developments.

[æ] occurs in:

Air, barely, bear n., careless, Carolina, carry, Clara, fair, fare, hair, heir v. ("herit"), Maryville, pair, parent, scared, scrutinize ("to make incisions in the skin," for drawing blood), square, stair, swear, tear v., there, Wears (Valley), where.

The vowel of these words is an interesting one and is very characteristic of the area. It is often a decidedly open sound, verging somewhat toward [a], and seems to be formed in many cases by widening the mouth aperture as though in the pronunciation of [æ], but by holding the tongue in the position for [æ]. It may, in a given utterance, suggest both [æ] and [a], and it is no doubt often misinterpreted as [æ]. Old timers of a former day may have said [bær] for bear n., but I have never heard it. It is perhaps the sound above-mentioned which some dialect writers seek to represent by the spelling bær. Sometimes a normal [æ] and an 'open' [æ] occur in proximity, as in the following questions heard at a card game: 'Got them 'pare or? got any pair;' ['hænt got 'neɪr pærər] 'Haven't got any pair?' Yet a distinct [o] does appear. A number of old people, and a few others, still say [fær] there, a form which is preserved as a kind of fossil in over there [ʌver,ər], heard on Cosby Creek. This sound, moreover, is frequent in one group of words: arrow, harrow, narrow, narrow, sparrow, wheelbarrow. Usage of [a] and [æ] appears to be about evenly divided in these words. [æ] was observed also in Arizona, embarrassed, guarantee, repaired, Wears (Valley), where.

A tendency to use a centralized and raised [æ] was noticed in air, hair: [eər] or [eə], [eiə], which also appear with the more open variety of [æ].

In a third group of words, some of which are included above in the first group, [æ] frequently occurs: care, Carolina, chair, fair, hair, January, their, themselves (for themselves), [sɛkəs]selves, unfair.

The vowel often tends to be retracted, as in care [kær], fair [fær], hair [heər]. Most people make a distinction between the sounds in care and carry: [kær]—[kær]. Carolina is sometimes [kəˈlənɪə].

By less well educated speakers, care and chair are pronounced with [i], which may also appear in scarce, scare: [skær], etc. The expression 'to run like a [skiəd hænt]', i.e., a frightened ghost, is symbolic of great speed. This vowel, too, tends to be centralized, as in chair [kær].

In the speech of most people, the retroflex central vowels [ɛ], [æ], [ə], [u] (unstressed) are by far more common than any others in where, anywhere, everywhere, nowhere, somewhere. [æ] or [a] is also very frequent in: Carolina [kəˈlənɪə], chair, Sarah [sərə], scarce, their, there (as an expletive).

31. The much used any and nary, which are avoided by the better educated, stand for ə(ə)r and n(e)ther. For literary use of these expressions, cf. Ben Jonson, Every Man in His Humour: 'Uncle, afore I go in, can you tell me, and he have o'er a book of the sciences of sawning and hunting. . . .' (Act 1, Sc. 1): 'Nether a one to be found now!' (Act III, Sc. 6).

32. Local informants say, however, that [æ] is much more frequent than [ æ].

33. He added that oar was formerly pronounced in such a way as to be confused with star. A White Oak boy sounded warehouse [wsəˈhuːs]. For [æ], cf. the dialect spellings of Ziegler and Crossnap: 'fær' 'fair' (p. 90), 'hær haɪr', 'wær' (p. 121), 'hær' 'square', 'bær' 'bear', 'thrær' (p. 150). Kephart, p. 502, has similar forms: bar, dar, declar, war, your 'war', mean, soar.

34. For scarce, Kephart finds scæce (scæce) (p. 503). This pronunciation still persists in a few speakers, it is said.

35. Cf. scarce, Ziegler and Crossnap (p. 149) 'kær' 'carried': Murfree (p. 85).

Also Brown's spellings, which plainly indicate a centralized vowel: delawar 'Delaware' (p. 305), 'wei'her' (p. 232), oppert 'apparel' (p. 303), ther 'their' (p. 307), thare 'there' (p. 311).

According to Grant, 'Delmarva Speech', American Speech, vol. 8 (1933), no. 4, p. 60, [r] or [r] in where, there, pair, fair, Delaware is one of the most marked charac-
THE VOWEL SOUNDS

Illustrative examples are: [əvərˈwɜːtɪŋ] 'Wherabouts?'; [ˈdɹəv ə uˈdɜr ˈhɑːv-us əp lən ˈdəʊnt ˈnɒdət ˈlɪv in It] 'There's an old house up here, but nobody lives in it.'

There often appears as [ʊs] in such uses as, [ˈdɹəv ə ˈhɑːv-us əp lən ˈdəʊnt ˈnɒdət ˈlɪv in It] 'There's been a lady here'; [ˈdɹəv ə ˈhɑːv-us əp lən ˈdəʊnt ˈnɒdət ˈlɪv in It] 'There came a snow that day.'

Several miscellaneous forms deserve brief notice. In the speech of a few old people, January is ['dɹəvəni, ərɪ] or ['dɹəvə nu, ərɪ]. The diphthong [əu] replaces [ə] in lack and raffle (as in, 'They're going to [ræfol] it off').
Substitution of [ə] or [ə] is usual in jamb, pamper, nimb, stamp (with the foot), wrap, rare in sat, Valentine. Stamp may also be heard with [ə], although most of the younger speakers on the phonograph records say [stæmp] or [stæmp]. For catch, [kɛtʃ] is usual, [kætʃ] rare; and rather is ['rɛdər] or ['ɹædər].

6. [ə], [ʊ].

These sounds are considered together, for as in standard American they are in the same phoneme in Great Smokies speech. As generally in America, there is much instability and variation in the low-back vowel group, the unrounded sounds tending to become rounded and the rounded tending to become unrounded. In the Smokies, [ə] or a rounded variant is the development of Middle English a before all consonants except [g], certain fricatives, and [r], and of Middle English a followed by [r] or preceded by [w]. [ʊ] comprises most of the exceptions to the foregoing statement and will be discussed in the following section.

[ə] or [ʊ] usually appears in such words as the following:

Beyond, body, bother, copper, copy, crop, doctor, drop, fodder, follow, fox, gobbler, God, got, hoopla (as in day-hoopla, a plant name), hallow, holy, hot, job, John, knob, knock, lot, Molly, not, officer, Oliver, Polly, pot, rock, rosin, rotten, shot, stop, swallow, Thomas, tolerable, Tom, tanto, top, swallow, want, water, won, yonder.

Of the two sounds, [ə] is much more frequent than [ʊ], which appeared to be rare in some of them like body, doctor, fodder, knock, shot. Positive

characteristics of Delmarva speech. He says (p. 57): 'If we can establish a general speech type for the Peninsula from Accomac, Virginia, to Wilmington, it is of this Southern mountain kind.'

33. Kephart, vol. 2470, p. 755, writes that 'raffles are called rizing of.' L. R. Dingus recorded rafe 'raffle' in southwestern Virginia in 1918 ('A Word-List from Virginia,' Dialect Notes, vol. 4, p. 188). See the OED under raffle, n. 1.
34. Cf. 'I . . . I not still all the time . . .,' Brown (p. 303), pampered, Murfree (p. 712), scorp, quills, Goodrich (p. 75).
35. Other instances of the raising of [ə]: Brown, Divisport (p. 259), Divisport (p. 310), skip' [ə skeptic] (p. 311); Conner, selry'es 'salaryes' (p. 52); Kephart, had 'haid', skelp 'sclap' (p. 503); Coombs, beck 'back', hev 'have' (p. 1318).

OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

Statements, however, cannot be made, for there is considerable variation between individual speakers as to which vowel is used. Since the quality of the vowel, whether it be [ə] or [ʊ], contributes much to the local color of this regional speech, a brief discussion is necessary.

[ə] seems often to be somewhat 'darker' or more retracted sound than the normal American variety; certainly there are many border-line cases which, in transcription, make the choice between [ə] and [ʊ] difficult.
Furthermore, there are all degrees of rounding—from a low and faintly rounded [ə] to a high and over-rounded [ʊ] which approaches [o]. The more strongly rounded forms of the vowel (as in promise ['prəmiz], lot ['lɔt]) apparently belong, on the whole, to a few older speakers, but they appear occasionally in younger people who have had little formal education. Such pronunciations seem to be avoided by the better educated or those who have had broader contacts.

The transcriptions at hand do not permit definite conclusions as to the comparative frequency of [ə] and [ʊ] in forms with general American [ə]: all of the materials on the phonograph records must be analyzed before the status is more fully known. In the data under examination, there are 113 occurrences of [ə] and 101 of [ʊ] (including a few cases of [ʊ] for words with general American [ə], as described by Kenyon.)

But these figures are probably no fair indication of the frequency of the sounds. A natural tendency on the part of the investigator is to transcribe, from actual speech or the discs, a greater percentage of pronunciations which depart from the norm than those which are usual (under ordinary field conditions, it is by no means possible to transcribe every utterance, and the material on the discs is far too abundant to permit intensive analysis at present). For example, rock appears in the field notes and in the transcriptions of the discs more often as [ræk] than as [rak]; yet the writer has slight doubt that [rak] is at least as common as, if not more common than, [ræk] in the Smokies.

Nevertheless, a few generalizations are offered concerning the distribution of [ə] and [ʊ] in the Smokies, although more accurate statements must await further study.

39. Cf. the remarks of R. I. David, Jr., 'Low-Back Vowels in the South Carolina Piedmont,' American Speech, vol. 15 (1940), p. 144: 'The probability of such fluctuation [between [ə] and [ʊ], that is] is increased by the fact that Piedmont [ə] is further back than its Central-Western counterparts. . . .'
40. See American Pronunciation, 6th ed. (Ann Arbor, 1932), pp. 182-185; and A Guide to Pronunciation (in Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1934), §§182-185. In the former work, p. 170 f., he says: 'The status of [ʊ] in America is hard to describe, for it is not fully known. . . . The [ʊ] sound, or at any rate a sound intermediate between [ə] and [ʊ], is used sporadically by many individuals in GA territory, especially in words with ω (want) and with ρ (sorry). But it cannot be considered a stable and well-recognized phoneme in GA.'
(1) [ə] prevails in most words in which ME ə precedes [p] or [b]; but [o] is frequent in the transcriptions in crop, Hopkins, top, job.  
(2) [ə] is usual in bottom, motto, not, Otto, pot, Platt, body, cod, caddied, God; but [ə] is frequent, especially in the speech of old-timers, in pot, hot, lot, not, shot. Water varies [ə], [o], [u] (probable order of frequency); [watə] is very common, but [waːtə] is said to be fairly rare. Several old men have been heard to employ the 'by word' Ayge God [at god]; and si-godding [siˈɡɒdɪŋ] ("cutter-cornered?") was reported; younger speakers always say [gud].  
(3) The transcriptions show a preference for [o] in rock, but [ə] is probably more common. In clock, doctor, knoxville, pocket, [ə] is occasional. It apparently never occurs in Coosce (County), and barely in knock: [kɒk], [kɒk]. Stock and mock always have [ə]. Notable also are document ([dɒkjʊˈment] (once), hemlock ([ˈhɛmlɒk] (twice), [ˈhɛmlɒk] (once), stockings with [o] (twice).  
(4) The field notes and the discs indicate a high frequency of [o] in follow, hollow, 'heller,' teafall, swallow (there are a few instances of [o] in the last two forms); if [ə] is used, it is often very 'dark' (retracted). In doll, holy, Molly, Polly, [ə] is usual, [o] occasional; Polly is once [poʊ].  
(5) Before nasals, [ə] is usual, as in dominicker (chicken or gnat), John, mamma, Tom, want, fond (when not [fænd]); but many speakers say [dəmən], [təm], [wənt]. Cf. also ['pəmɪs] promise (twice), [ˈkɒnfɪdənt] confident (once). From varies [ə], [o], [a], and on is generally [ən], sometimes [ən].  
(6) Before most fricatives, [ə] and its tense or diphthongal variants (see sec. 7) are usual; but the following forms, generally pronounced with [ə] in American speech (in the author's belief), are interesting: agpom in most cases ['æpʊm], but a few old-timers say ['æpəm]; hospital in each of its few instances ['hɒspɪtəl] ("hɔspitəl") was reported; wasp ['wɔsp], [ˈwɒsp], was very [ˈwɔzm], though a few say ['rozm], [ˈrozm]; Prefill ['prɛfɪl], once with [o], officer with [ə], [o], [o], the rounded vowels being more common; father usually ['fætə], twice ['fətə]; Scotch (Irish) ['skətʃ] (once ['skətʃə]); watch usually with [ə], but frequently with [o].  

The length of the sounds [ə], [o] varies with the speaker. If the utterance is slow or drawn out, they are protracted or diphthongized; for example, knob [naʊb], [naʊb], etc. The rounded vowel tends to be longer than the unrounded; for example, Tom ['tɒm], but [təm]. In polysyllables, the tendency to lengthen is suppressed, and diphthongization does not ordinarily occur.  

One group of words with general American [ə] is still pronounced with [ə] by many Smokies speakers: crop, drop, yon, fond; top in all instances was [plep], except in the reported expression, 'He lopped [lept] him one on the jaw.'  

A few sentences will illustrate. The former fire-warden of Cades Cove was heard to say: ['æs 'sɜːd 'fɪʃ 'jɛn 'lɒn], 'I saw a fish youn (that) long,' accompanying the demonstrative with appropriate gestures. On Cosby Creek, a young mountaineer told another that some object was ['jɛn 'lɒn n 'jɛn 'rəʊnd], also using gestures. An old hunter of Walkers Valley said: [ˈwɪ hɜrd 'əʊ ˈleɪpən ˈlɪmɪz], i.e., tearing down the branches of a tree. 'At the foot of yonder [ˈʃændə] mountain...' occurs in a recorded song. Although these pronunciations are very common in the speech of older people, they are losing ground rapidly among the younger generation. It should probably not be supposed, however, that they are the only ones used by the generation now dying out—a number of very old people employ forms like [krop] crop, ['ʃændə] yonder. Calm in its single occurrence was [ˈkeɪm] (for calmly on the Rat records, see chap. iii, p. 104 and note 51).  

Father [ˈfeətə], [ˈfeɪtə], is frequently replaced by ['deɪtə], used by young and old alike, less often by [pə]; and ['pəp(ə)]. For mamma, usually now ['mæmə], ['mæmə], the old-fashioned ['mæmə] may sometimes be heard, though mostly from elderly people.  

Was and what stressed have [ə], [n], [æ]; unstressed [o].  

In the following words, before r, the vowel is usually [ə], but in some of them it is very often rounded to [o], [ou]. There may also be other developments.  

Arm, bark, barn, car, Carter, Carver, dark, farm, garden, guard, hard, hearth, jar, lard, large, lark, march, park, part, smart (in the much used a right smart 'a great deal'), spark, starv, starve (in older use, 'to be hungry or thirsty'), tar, yard.  

Speakers who tend to round [ə] before p, b, t, d, etc. also tend to round this vowel before r. A picturesque character of the remote and isolated Hazel Creek (Swain Co., N. C.), who in the author's belief is one of the last of the old mountain men in the Smokies, uses [ə] in started, [ou] in arm, dark, yards, and [ay] in baking ['bɑrɪŋən]. A young farmer of Emerts Cove, in a recorded conversation, says ear, Cardwell, Clark, discharged,  

41. The [ə] forms result from an early modern unrounding and fronting, as explained and illustrated by Wyld, pp. 204-212. Some of the 15th, 16th, and 17th century spellings which he cites are interesting; for example, strape 'strap,' starne 'storm'; yonder (Lord Berners); Daset 'Dorset,' cejen 'cofin' (Machyn); sip (Queen Elizabeth); sip, God (Lord Topphington); lyd (Lady Wentworth, 1710). One is reminded also of Swift's rhyme of yonder with sulmoner.  

42. Cf. this interesting excerpt from a deposition in the case of the Virginia, Tennessee, and Carolina Steel and Iron Co. vs. Newman, U. S. District Court, Asheville, N. C., 1894: '... My father asked him if he had found anything of Brown's titles. All the answer he made was, "It's like a lady's fan. You can turn it over youn way or this way."... That was about all the answer he made on it.'
words, however, with Middle English aw and al, and various others, also have this sound. In the Great Smokies, [ɔ] appears in such words as the following:

Across all, all-over ("worst") [ɔl'əʊvət], along, also, always, awful, balsam, bawl, because, boss-man, bought, call, Calderwood (a town in Blount Co., Tenn.), caugh, cause, cloth, coffin, cost, cough, crow, crawl, cross, daughter, dog, donkey (obscene); sick, 'stupid'); fall, fog, jaw, law, loft, long, lost, moth, noggins (reported; 'noggin'), off, prong, scold, soft, song, talk, talky ('talkative'), tall, trough, undaunted, Utah, wall, Walland (Blount Co., Tenn.).

This sound sometimes shows extraordinary alteration in Great Smokies speech. Often it is raised and over-rounded, so as to give the impression of [o], as in because [bru'kəʊz], cloth [kloth], left [loʊt]. Often also it is diphthongized into something like [ɔʊ], or perhaps [ɔe], beginning with the lips slightly spread and ending with extreme rounding. Occasionally, too, it becomes a sound which suggests the diphthong [au], but which is probably a rounded low-back vowel with a high off-glide, perhaps [ɔu], [ɔ]. It is doubtful if the breaking is actually carried so far as is indicated by these symbols, but the tendency is toward these sounds. Lengthening, with or without diphthongization, is most likely to occur in monosyllables which carry especial stress, as in the end-cause and on-ending position; for example, [juəz 'seg as pəs] "You (plural) sing us a song," in which the diphthong is attended by a distinct rising and then falling pitch.

These phenomena may be present (though varying with individual speakers and depending upon stress and sentence-rhythm) in word-final

45. Not heard in natural speech, but reported in such uses as 'the all-over sight I ever had,' 'the all-over skin I ever saw,' etc. This expression evidently developed from the adverb all over (for the superlative suffix, cf. cheesepot) and is apparently not semantically related to all-over 'nervousness,' in the EDD, and reported by Kephart, 'A Word List from Western North Carolina,' Diacritic Notes, vol. 4, p. 407 (1917), and from mast Ainsworth, thirt., vol. 3, p. 266 (1908).

46. Reported with the comment 'not used much.' It means 'kind of dazed-like, off your mind a little, intoxicated a little' and is said to be used also of a 'dumb child.' (In the last sense, cf. dunces and the development [a] > [æ], [e] illustrated in sec. 11.) According to another informant, it is used of a person 'who sort of feels stupid, or who don't feel good, or who don't feel like eating.' Recorded by Kephart, Word List, p. 410, with the meanings 'fastidious,' 'equanimish'; see the EDD and cf. other words of related form and meaning; daint, daint, drench.

47. Great, Dalmarva, p. 60, says that on the Delmarva Peninsula [ɔ] rather than [æ] or [e] appears in dog, log, long, smell, often, haunted, ought. He says that [ɔ] is often intensified, approaching [o], and that this phenomenon is especially noticeable before retroflex [l] in small, wall, and off.

7. [ɔ]

Like the words which have [ɔ] or [ɔ], the words which show [o] are largely derived from Middle English antecedents with ɔ. A number of

43. Kephart, p. 502, also notes fairly. Far was recorded as [fɔː] by Crumb in southeastern Missouri in 1905 (p. 533). Cf. mercy ['mæri] (older mercy) in the 'by words' Lord a mercy, Laws a mercy. Gov. Sever wrote keep laid hog's head' (1818; vol. 6, p. 56).

Wydall, p. 357, cites 16th and 17th century rhymes of are with are and fair. Cooper (1633) lists are, are, heir, are and card' (carabam), card, (nuncius) as having the same sound (A. J. Ellis, Early English Pronunciation, Early English Text Society, London, 1867-89, p. 4, p. 1039). This orthoepist includes bar, are in a group of words with [ɔ] (coo, cot, dash, etc.; thrd, part 1, p. 70 f.).

44. Cf. farther; also, 'Thy name shall be renowned near and far,' in Thomas Shelton's translation of a sermon by Corvantes (1611). Cooper says that far, far, for have the same sound (Ellis, part 4, p. 1030).
position, before [t], [s], [k], the fricatives [f], [θ], [s], [z], and before [g] and [l]. Examples:

Finally: saw, law (in the interjection -'ol'), grandma (grandma).

Before [t]: bought, caught, daughter, thought, auto [auto] (but cf. ator ['ator'], [ator]).

Before [s]: August ['oʊgast], dog, fog, frog, hog, log; hawk [hoʊk], talk (as in, 'They'd laugh and talk' [sɔd 'læf ə 'tɔk]), walk. (But not in stock 'cattle' [stæk].)

Before fricatives: cross, frost, last, wisp; because, Cosby, jaws, moths [moθ]; cough, soft, often [çoʊf], soft (there is an interesting contrast here with the old-fashioned [soʊf]); cloth, moth.

Before [k]: long, prong, song; also in gone [goʊn].

Before [l]: all, bald [bɔl], fall, haul, half, salt.

It is certain that a transcription with [ʌ], or even with [oʊ], alone does not adequately represent this interesting and elusive variant of the normal sound. The tendency towards breaking is usually suppressed in polysyllables (cf. log 'lɔg', but logging 'lɔging'), but the vowel may be raised and tense, as in Calderwood ('kældərˌwʊd), coffee ('kɑfɪ), coffin ('kɔfɪn). Balsam seems always to have the normal vowel: 'bælsam'.

There is occasional unrounding to [ɑ] and to [ʌ] in fog, fogy, and hog. Hog-nail was once distinctly [hoʊg'-nai]. Only [o] or its diphthongal variants, however, were observed in dog, frog, log, logging, except in dog-gone, which is frequently ['dɒɡ,gən], ['dæ,gən]. Pronog, much used in the sense of 'a tributary stream,' or 'a large branch of a tree,' is ordinarily [prɒŋ], but its vowel may vary to [o]. Other examples of unrounding are Caldwell ['kældərˌwɪl] (but usually ['kælˌdɛl]), Law met ['laʊˌmiːt] (used by women), pellas ['pælas], thought [θɔt] (which occurs on one of the discs).

An intrusive [e] frequently appears in Audely (a man's given-name) ['ɔudəli],ought ['əʊt], wheat ['wεt], walnut ['wɔlnət] (once ['wɔlnɒt]), wash, posper ['pɑsper]. It is reported that everyone pronounces caucas ['koʊkəs], and Norfolk (Va.) ['nɔfəlˌkɔk]. One rugged fire-warden, a native of the Onealstee River, says [koʊt] for caught.

There are a few vestiges of the early modern unrounding and fronting of [o]. Because was pronounced [koʊs] by an elderly woman of Copeland Creek, to the amusement of her younger auditors. Haunt v., n. (as a noun, 'ghost') is ['hænt], although the word is considered by many as old-fashioned. When the writer asked a young boy what a certain man, unknown to him, looked like, the answer was: [læk 'skrɔd 'hæntə 'rəkan, ʃæntəd]. Jackson was heard only once, in the expression ['ʃæntəd 'ʤæŋkə]. An old woman of Catons Grove called green vegetables ['gænəv, ˈsædəs] (the usual expression is ['ɡɑrdə, ˈsædəl]). Saucer is pronounced ['sɔsə] by the 'old folks,' according to a woman of Cosby Creek. Soft, now almost universally ['sɔf], ['sɔf], is still (but very infrequently) heard as ['sof]. Daughter, in one instance, seemed to be ['dər].

Other rolls are [ɹ] and [ʃ] for fought, which are very common among people past middle-age.

Before r, [o] occurs in words like born, corn, Foren (Creek), Georgia, hornet, horse, laurel, lord, majority (as in the phrase, 'the biggest majority'), north, order, sort. The most striking thing here is the complete unrounding which the vowel often undergoes, as in chadira marbus ['keðəˌmərəb], Florida ['flɔrədə], forehead ['farəd], laurel, orange, orphan ['ɔrəfənt], torment v. ['təmənt]. More common, however, is a partial unrounding, as in corn ['kaʊn], Foren ['fɔrn], hornet, laurel, bortes, storm. The tendency to unround, of course, does not appear in like degree in all speakers; nor does a given person necessarily pronounce all words of this kind with a vowel of the same quality. For example, one old man, on a phonograph record, says born ['bərn], but corn ['kaʊn]. On the discs of the Rat story, horror appears as ['hɔrə], ['hɔrə], ['hɔrə]. It should be added that [o] sometimes is very intensified, as in George ['dʒɔrəz], sort of ['sɔːtə], quart ['kwɔt]. Quarrel, war, warden, warm usually have [o], but warmest tends toward the more open vowel [e]. Quarry is always either ['kwəri] or ['kwɔri].

Other variations in words of this type are the loss of [ə], fairly common in horse, horsehoe, infrequent in north [naʊ] (naʊ) twice) also cornsell ['karəˌfɛld] once on a disc; and the centralizing of [o] to [ə] in foreign ['fɔrən], foretinner ['fɔrənər] (both of which are used only when aged, isolated, etc.).

60. The form ['fɪkəs] was reported. Combs, p. 1315, notes howe ('becaus, cause, v., n.) and howen, v., n.

61. Cf. the 16th and 17th century spellings cited by Wyld, pp. 220 f., 395: dater, doter, daughter, because, 'sages, assasages. On p. 241, Wyld says: 'In Marshon's Eastward His occures the rhyme after—daughter, Act. v. Sc. 1, and here we must suppose an earlier form "dater." In old-fashioned Smokies speech, these words would probably rhyme fuse: [dərə]. See also p. 23f., and note 41, for the unrounding and fronting of o.

62. Cooper (1930) says that fit 'aptus' and fight 'pugnabat' have the same pronunciation (Ellis, p. 1630).

63. Comer's spelling horizontal 'horizontal' (p. 5) is significant.

64. Wyld, p. 240, says that stream 'storm' rhyme with 'sarm' in St. Editha (c.1280). He cites also narrow 'moron' (c.1300), Prince George (1559), p. 241.
or illiterate speakers), Jordan [dʒa:n]. As pronounced by older people, for is always stressed, yet unstressed; many younger people say [fə], [fə] stressed; [fə], [fə] unstressed.

8. [ou].

This vowel, which, as in most American speech, is usually diphthongized to [ou], is heard in such words as the following:

Age, alone, boat, bone, ceremony, close, clothes, crowd, don't, grow, hold, help(ed) (past tense of help), home, horse (to desire), hotel, Jones, jovial, know, load, low, low-rate v. (to criticize), moan, mole, moldy, no, oak, Ogden, Owenby, poke, pole, pone, past, Rhoda, reach v. (to comb), road, roam, roast, rogue (a thief?), scale, scope (as in 'a scope of woodland'), short (a young pig!), slope, Smokemont, Smoky, snow, sold, stone, stove (n., also past tense of stove), throw, throat, toad-frog, told, tone, tote, tow-sack.

The pure vowel no doubt appears only in rapid speech or in undrawn polysyllables. For example, 'He told us not to be turning his boat over,' [hi[to lə, 'tə] man his 'bot 'ovə], spoken in warning tones by an excited adolescent; 'So we were going to the traps ...,' [so wi wə 'go:n to 'træ:p:s]; it's loamy, sandy land, [hits limi 'sund 'land] (spoken quickly); Smoky Mountain, ['smɔki 'mauntən]; Ocmulgee River, ['o:kə,la,ji 'rivar]; '... going to be made...,' [go:n bi 'mæd]. The undiphthongized vowel seems also to occur in hotel [ha, 'let], help(ed) [həp(ə)], November [na, 'vəmbrə], throw [θrəʊ], throw [θrəʊ].

Almost always, however, diphthongization is present, especially when the utterance is slow, and there may be lengthening of either or both elements. For example: 'Back in old times ...' ['bak 'in dəld 'təimz]; 'I think so,' [a-'twɛŋk səʊ]; 'We're going to camp,' [wər 'gɑ:m for 'kæmp]; 'There came a spell of snow,' [θər kəm a spel o 'snoʊ]. These phenomena are well illustrated by the phrase, 'I don't know,' which, on the speech records, usually has the same rhythm and tonic pattern: [a'-,dənə't noʊ]. In this expression, there is a rapid, lip-falling pitch in don't, a sharp rise in the first vocalic element in know (with lengthening), and a falling inflection in the off-glide, which is pinched to [ə]. Without a doubt, slow utterance, drawl, and changing inflection (speech tune) account for much of the diphthongization in Smokies speech.47

Apart from rhythmical considerations, the diphthong is usually very audible (sometimes becoming dissyllabic) (1) when [o] is final, as in no [nəʊ] (in deliberate), below [ˈbəʊl]; (2) before nasals, as in home [hoʊm] (hoʊm in one of the dines), tone, Skin-Gone (place-name); before l in monosyllables, as in the old rat [ˈɔ:dət 'ræt], pole. The diphthong is clearly dissyllabic in a recorded instance of the name Doc Jones [dək ˈdʒɔz];

On one record, the vowel of home begins with a marked central sound, [həʊm], and on another go is [ɡəʊ]; but no similar instances were noted. Occasionally [o] is very tense, as in old [ɔld]. An off-glide (3) was observed once in unbeknownst [ʌnˈbekənstanst], known [ˈɡoʊn].

The preterits drove, rode, and rose preserve their dialectal forms in the speech of the elderly or the uneducated: [drəv], [rəd]; [rəs]; [rəs].

In a number of words [ə] rather than [ə] occurs before r, although a slightly more open vowel is sometimes heard. The combination becomes [ər] in monosyllables and before consonants.

Afford [əˈfɔrd], before, board, coarse, course (as of course [əkˈhaʊrs]), court, v., door, floor, ford, forty, four, fourteen, Moro, more, Newport (Cocke Co., Tenn.), Pigeon Forge (Sevier Co., Tenn.), porch, port, proportion, rear, rear, store, sword (sword), tore, towards [ˈtəʊərdz] (usually [təˈwɜrdz]).

67. This tendency toward strong diphthongization is found also in the Virginia Blue Ridge. Cf. the comment on Columbia University phonograph record no. VBR 5: 'Where you might expect a diphthong, you often hear two vowels with a rising inflection', see Phonetic Transcriptions from American Speech (Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 74 f. Its example in the transcription, however, do not concern [ə].

68. The centralised vowel is characteristic of Delamarva speech, which Great finds to have close affinities to Southern mountain speech; see his 'Delmarva Speech,' p. 59. This vowel is frequent in the Virginia Blue Ridge, to judge from the transcription of VBR 5.

69. Kephart, p. 363, finds div, drīv, rid, ris, rīt, fīris, brūl; Combs, p. 1219, notes bru: 'brøke', friz, friz, ziz 'closed.'

The replacement of [ə] by [ə] in some of these forms calls to mind a few instances of [ə] in non-verbal words noted by Kephart and others. Kephart (p. 363), XIsoton (p. 172), and 'A Mountain Sermon' (p. 172) agrees in representing while as hull. In 'A Mountain Sermon' (p. 23), home appears as hom. No similar examples were observed during the present survey.

60. This list agrees in all common particulars with Xkoyen's list of words with [ə] (ME [ə], [ə], or [ə]) before r (American Pronunciation, p. 225 f.). For [ə] (ME short o) before r, see the preceding section (p. 33). There is a striking acoustic difference between these two types of words in the Smokies. A few words with historical [ə] (ME o), however, sometimes show an intensified vowel approaching [ə] instances of sort [sɔr], George [dʒɔr], and others have been noted.

See also Katherine Wheelick, 'Southern Standards,' American Speech, vol. 9 (1931),
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In Cora, glory, Lorelty, story, the combination is [o:j] ['kori], ['glori], etc. In emphatic position, the vowel may be prolonged, as in, '. . . on the floor' ['on da 'flor]; 'He was just a-roaring,' ['li waz d3ast o'ra:n]. There were only a few instances of reduced or suppressed retroflexion following the vowel: porch ['por:t] (once); fourteen ['fo'ti:n] (Avery Co., spkr.); ['fo:t:n] (once), foremost ['femast] (reported), Portland ['porland] (once).

9. [u].

In the Great Smoky Mountains, this sound ordinarily presents little variation from its general American counterpart. It occurs in words like:

Book, bull, bullet, bush, Bushnell (Swain Co., N. C.); cook, could, foot, full, good, pudding ['pudj] (with a short, crisp vowel), pull, pulpit ['pullpit] (with a strong secondary stress and a rising inflexion in the second syllable), push, shook, stood, sugar, wolf, wood, wool, woolly, would.

Often, however, the [u] of the Smokies seems to be a shade more frontal and tense than the usual American sound, as in book, look, took, good, bull, pulp, wool.42 Although the vowel is not usually so altered as to require modifying symbols, the direction is slightly toward [u] or [u:]. Nevertheless, there are occasional instances of the frontal [u]; for example, 'Now look here . . . !' ['na:w ˈluk ˈhir]; 'We took up (went up) Nettle Creek,' ['wi ˈtul ˈap ˈnu: ˈkrik] (transcriptions from the disc).

Normally, diphthongization does not occur when the word falls within the rhythm of the sentence, but it is very likely to appear in an emphasized word, followed by a slight pause, or at the end of a sentence. Examples: 'The walls shook (pause) . . . .' ['di wolks ˈʃuk]; 'The fish aint biting to do no good.' ['Nif aint bitty tu ˈdu no ˈgud]. Diphthongization, furthermore, may be in breaking to [u:], as, for example, in [f rout] foot, or in a frontal sound followed by a laxer one of similar quality, as in the following examples.

If, at times, [u] is more tense than the general American vowel, it is often also (especially in less educated speech) more lax, moving in the direction of [j]. Shook, stood, took were all heard with a sound like [uv:]. Often, too, one hears a distinct [x] in pull, shook, took, as in, [li lark tˈlak ə hard ˈlitt] (spoken quickly), 'He almost took a violent fit (of anger).'

Combined with a following r, [u] becomes [w], as in sure [kwər], secure, sure, pure. Fronting, with or without raising, has been noted in sure [kwər], pure [kwər, kwə]- (in the latter as pronounced by educated speakers); but the vowel in poor, poorly adj. ('in bad health') is lax. In the speech of elderly or uneducated people, the vowel may become [o]; for example, sure [kwə], pure [kwə], sure [kwə], your [kwə], poor [kwə].43

10. [i].

Although this sound may occur in the Smokies without any apparent difference from the normal American kind, it often shares the general Southern characteristic of being very tense and frontal.44 It also diphthongizes easily. The following words are heard with normal [i] or variants as discussed below:

Boomer (a small red squirrel'), boose, broom, buoy v. i. ['bu:i], (in the phrase buoy up 'revive in strength and spirit'), cow-brute, crew, do, drew, fool, fruit, hoosier (a native of the mountains'), hoot-owl, July, June, loom, moon, music, new, pool, raccoon [ku:n], roof, rooster, school, shoot, soon, spoon, spruce, through, you.

Modifications in this sound are of several different types, and in nearly all cases involve some degree of diphthongization. Sometimes the frontal

p.42, whom classifieations of [i] and [u] before r similar to my own and those of Ken- you Professor Ayres, 'Bermondian English,' p. 8, finds 'tenno o' in words of Ken- you's Group II (boards, courously, floor, etc.), For the occasional loss of retroflexion after [u], see chaps. 111, sec. 15, and cf. the pronunciation of Porto Rico yams [ˈpɔɾto ˈriːko ˈjams], heard from a Jefferson Co. (Tenn.) speaker. Kephart, p. 405, says that do (door), fa (floor), mo (mo), yo, wo (our) are 'near, except where the mountain folks join the lowlands.' These forms are not current in the Smokies.

61. Of Williamsburg [u]. Great remarks, p. 165, that [u] appears, but in the South, roof, route, coop, couldn't, foot, stood, etc., may have a tense and frontal vowel which can be described as short [u] or a fronted and unstressed [u]. In the Smokies these words do not belong together; hoax, roof, room, route are apparently pronounced with [u], and coop, foot, stood, etc., with [u], the vowels in both groups being tense but not approaching the same sound.

In American Pronunciation, p. 169, f., Kenyon summarizes Grandgent's findings (1821) with respect to American regional preferences for [u] or [u] in various words of this type.

b2. Kephart, p. 506, notes that [u] occurs for oo: fut, see for foot, sot. He apparently means [u], although foot with this vowel was unknown to my informants. Miss Murfree, p. 75, has huff for hoof. D. S. Crump recorded hoof as [hau] in southeastern Missouri in 1903 (Dialect Notes, vol. 2, p. 317). A Smokies informant (of the White Oak, Haywood Co., N. C.) states: 'Everybody around here says (huff), hieve.' For other variations in words spelled with oo, see under [u].

63. At the White Oak, poor [por] is reported to be more common than [po] ('You might hear [pur] once in a while'). Your, according to the same informants, is both [jor] and [ju:] ('About as much one way as the other').

Cf. the comments of C. F. Smith, 'On Southernisms,' Transactions of the American Philological Association, vol. 6 (1855), p. 51: 'Poor is pronounced por almost universally in the South; in fact, I should consider this pronunciation one of our shibboleths.'

64. Grant, American Speech, vol. 6, p. 166, finds Williamson [u] somewhat fronted and unusually tense. He says: 'The vowel is often prolonged until it is difficult to tell whether [u] has become [jul] or [u]. Dye is rarely distinguished from do . . . This tense and fronted [u] is characteristic of all Southern speech.' See also his comments on Delmar [i] and [u], American Speech, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 60.
and breaking produce [ɪu], with a falling pitch in the second element, as in approve, broom, soon, moon, now, Ruth: [ˈprɔu., ˈbɾu.əm, ˈsu.ˌn/ˈmʊn, ˈnɔ/. ˈrʊθ]; sometimes the sound becomes [ɪə], [ˈɪə], especially after palatals and fricatives.

On the diphthongs, cool, June, school, shows, shoot, Shulls, through, use, you may be heard as [kwi], [dʒu.ˌə], etc. When dawdled, these diphthongs may become dissyllabic as in dus ['dju.ə, ju.ˌu:]. July is often [dʒu.ˌə]. Fronting, however, may be absent in diphthongization, and forms like spruce, with two normal vowels, appear. Only a normal vowel seems to occur in crew, New hoosier ['hudz.ə], loom, rooster, shoot, soon.

In the following words, [u] is unusually tense and fronted and is always preceded by the palatal glide [j]: cucumber, cheat, duty, knew, few, Newfound (Gap), Newport, puny (in poor health), student, tune, use.

Due is not included in this list, for it is [dju] on many of the diphthongs. It is almost always distinguished from do, which, however, may have a fronted vowel. One of the records, "(I) sure do!" is [ʃu:ˈdju:] (there is a sharp rising pitch in the first element of the diphthong, followed by a smooth falling glissando in the second).

The Southern preference for [u] is exhibited in coap, Cooper, hoop, Hooper.44 Buzzy ['buzə] 'dizzy' was heard but once; but booze 'liquor' is [buzə]. Sooi occurred only as [sɔj]a.

Butte 'knob' is always [bʌt] in the Smokies and is spelled built on the U. S. Geological Survey map of the park.64

Rainy, past tense of rain, is [reɪnɪ] (once [rənɪ, rənɪ]), and occasionally [rɪnɪ].

A few dialectal features are worthy of mention. The archaic meet v. i. was heard in the sentence: 'Many of 'em have been [mjuˈtlan] (complaining) about it.' In uneducated speech, the preterites blew and knew are replaced by [bluud], [noud]. Straw 'scatter' was quaintly used in the sentence: 'We saw where you [strəud] books (magazines) on the floor.' Cucumber as [ˈkaːrˌkaumbə] was reported. For to, [tou] appeared only in the phrase to and fro, spoken by a lady in dictating a ballad.45 Ye for you is very common in older speakers; it occurred in such colorful expressions as: [jaɪˌˈrɪd ˈriːdɪŋ ɪn ˈdənt jɪl] 'You (sing.) rode with him, didn't you?,' [n. ˈnəʊd əd ˈdev] ju. ˈɪʌ] 'I knew I'd fool you!' The pronoun of the second person plural, you ones ['jʊənz], maintains its vitality in familiar use among speakers of all ages and classes.46 Some very well-built mountain people have been observed to say it. Steadily encroaching upon it, however, is ['jʊə] or [jʊ] (more familiar), as in ['jəˌla ˈkam metres (hospitalite invitation to return).

11. [a].

This sound is represented by a variety of developments in the speech of the Smoky hillmen. It may have its usual American quality; it may appear with a faint [u] tinge or become distinctly [u]; before nasals, it may be lowered toward [o], [ɒ]; it may be replaced by other sounds ([e], [ɪ], [ɑ:]). There is the usual tendency to diphthongize in stressed or dialled utterance.

[a], without perceptible difference from the general American sound, may be heard in a number of words:

Another, blood, Blount (Co., Tenn.), brother, bucket, come, company, conjure [kʌnˈdʒʊr], discover, dozen, dumb, Dutch, funk ('a bad odor,' as of mordant meal), funky adj., gun (as in bee-gun 'bee-hive,' gun-tree), gun, gut v. ('to remove the entrails'), honey, hunt, lunge, mother, much, once, one, other, oven, plumb, precaution, shock (as in corn-shocks, shock beans, shock pen), smoker, southern, stomach, summer, supper, thunder, tongue, Tuckaleechee (Cove), under.

Beside normal [a], there is a sound with a slight [u] flavor which appears in words like above, buff, cutt, golly, gun, hush, luck, one (when stressed), pup, snug, up. Although often suggestive of [u], upon analysis it seems essentially to be [a]. It is produced possibly through a slight raising and retraction toward [u]; but more probably it is [a] with lip-rounding.9

65. See notes 61, 62.

66. The form [bʌt] is probably the old word butt, meaning 'a promontory or headland' or 'a hilltop, mound.' See the OED, under butt, sb., ed. G. D. McJimsey, "Topographic Terms in Virginia," American Speech, vol. 15 (1940), p. 162, states: 'Butt(s). A short, broad projection from the lower part of a mountain. Possibly a coastal term carried inland.' His examples date from 1830. But on p. 29 f. he ventures a different explanation. "Batts" as [bʌt] is likely a re-borrowing from French. The spelling but by Meriwether Lewis in the journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1805), cited in the DAB (under but), probably represents the form [but], current in the Smokies. Lewis was a Virginian.

67. The present tense of this verb also is reported to have the vocalism [ʊə], as in '[ʃrəʊ] it around.' See Kenyon's remarks (p. 180) on words like show, shoot and straw, straw, he cites Swift's rhyme roads: straw'd.
This phenomenon is impressive especially under stress and may perhaps be closely associated with intensity of utterance. Some of the contexts in which it appeared are: 'Some of that country is terrible rough ['tar-bł-
'tar-3-aJə]  (there was strong stress in both of the last two words); 'It didn't run,' [hit 'dɪdɪŋ 'tər-3-aJə]  (run was strongly stressed); 'He's in Tennessee or Kentucky, one [wəu-3-aJə],  (i.e., 'one or the other'). The sound in question is not always broken, as in the foregoing examples; it appeared in guilty enthralled: ['gəl-3-lə].

A clear but lex [u] occurs for [ə] at least once on the records in bud, cud, hushed, striuk: [bud], [kud], etc.  Buiks and bulk are always sounded with [u].

An occasional tendency to lower and retracted [ə] to [a] has been observed in hungry ['hʌŋ-ɡri], one [wəu-3-ən], until [on-'tən]; and to lower it toward [ə] in bunch, front, hunt, months, much: [bʌθ], [frɛnt], [ɔ-ho-3-ntə], etc.  The occurrence of [ə] and [a] for [ə] chiefly before nasals is noteworthy. A girl of high-school age exclaimed ['wi: ɔ-wən], 'We won,' following a game of horseshoes on the school-ground at Gatlinburg. A young woman of Emerts Cove reported that her grandmother pronounced shut as [ʊ-tə], and an elderly informant of Wears Valley said that when he was a boy the past tense of touch [tətʃ] was [tətʃ].

In unschooled speech [ə] is sometimes replaced by [e], as in brush.

I. Cud was pronounced [kud] 'almost universally' in southeastern Missouri in 1903, according to Crumbo (p. 311). Cf. Brown's spelling beesch 'beach' (p. 309).

2. W. A. Read in 1911 found that 82 of his informants preferred [ə] in bulk and 136 [u]: 'The old unrounded vowel is, according to my figures, still the more usual. . . . Hodges, 1644, keeps the early u but Walker has [ə].  'Some Variant Pronunciations in the New South,' Diatolic Notes, vol. 3, p. 509.

3. Cf. Mike Murfee's longest critic in The Young Mountainmen (Boston and New York, 1897), p. 89, and Combs' homSpring, p. 1316. This form has been reported from different places in the South, inter al., by Stanley, p. 27.

Conner, p. 15, writes wonder 'wonder.' The form of this word with [ə] appears on some of the Crud-records and is said to be used by 'quite a few.' These examples with [ə] for [ə] are interesting in view of the [ə] coloring of [ə] in British, noted by Kuroy; see note 76. Such forms as Smokies, Skampa, company, months, [won] wonder possibly reflect the spelling. See W. A. Read's remarks on the variation [ə] / [a] in band, frontier, consistence and similar words, op. cit., p. 501.

4. The use of [tətʃ] as the prototype of touch was recorded in the Southern Appalachians in 1800 by H. M. Willoe, Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 13, p. 211 (He fired at little, but never took a hair), and by Crumbo in Missouri (p. 334). Shot was reported in 1859 as the prototype of shut in east Alabama, Diatolic Notes, vol. 3, p. 359. Combs, p. 1319, gives streek 'struck,' stet, shot 'shut' in a list of 'strong pronouns.' There is evidence here, though slight, of a tendency to develop an 'ablaut' variation between the present and the past tenses. Cf. [tətʃ] / [tətʃ], [tətʃ] / [tətʃ], all of which, however, appear to have been used indiscriminately in the Smokies for both the present and the past tenses.

Brushy (Mountain), judge, just, rush, Rutherford (a county in North Carolina), shovel, shut, shatter, shuffle, such, tuck. 4 For onion, [ə-3-ən] was reported by a number of informants; it is now practically obsolete. 5 It often appears in jun, such, and now rarely in cover and discover [dɪs-3-vər]. 6 (The old pronunciation of government is said to have been ['gəm-ər-3-ənt], which I heard only in jocular use.)

The occasional employment of [ə] for [ə] in bus, fuss, gush suggests hypercorrection for such forms as [bəst] burst, etc.

12. [ə].

This sound is in general clearly retroflex in the Great Smokies, as in most American speech. It is heard in such words as the following:

Birch, bird, birth, Burchfield, burn, certain, church, churn, curly, curve, dirt, first, fur, frown, girl, her, herb, herd, hurry, jerk, learn, Myrtle, sir, squirrel, term, thirsty, thirty, turkey, turn, turnip, were, whirl, work, world, Worley, worm.

[ə] is lowered and retracted to [aə] by some speakers in furrow (fər-ə) and girls (gər-ə); and by one elderly woman in her (hər).

[ə] is heard occasionally, as in church (kə尋) (once), heard (hərd), herb.

Kephart, p. 503, has a similar list which includes (besides some of the forms above-mentioned) hellabaloo, kentucky, gudge, and broak. Kenty (recorded also by Murfree (p. 20), Dargan (p. 160), and Combs (p. 1317), was unknown to my Smokies informant.

The form of Rutherford with [ə] is apparently of long standing; cf. the spelling Rutherford in a deed recorded in 1789, Buncombe Co. Register, vol. 1, p. 3. This spelling occurs several times.

86. Quan (as jə-nən, jə-nən), etc. is common diagnostically in Great Britain, especially in Scotland; see the EDG, p. 140. In America it has been noted by Combs (p. 1310), Stanley (p. 27), and probably others.

87. Cover as [kəvər] is perhaps derived from ME kover. In Chauncey, Tin, 187 (Robinson ed.), kever rhyme with kever 'fever,' thus showing a long vowel, which, unless reduced, should give modern English [kəvər]. But, as pointed out in Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Wright, An Elementary Middle English Grammar (London, 1825), p. 97, ME * kəvər (from OE 3e, AN 6) were shortened to o, a before an r in the following syllable. Keven thus would give modern English [ə] raised to [ə] in the Smokies, as in Evans (kəvər).

88. Combs, p. 1318, states that * r is frequently exerescent and lists, inter al., purs 'fuss,' 'wə-un,' murd, purd, purp, kurzh. Cf. exn 3 'enough,' Kephart, p. 510. Tressider, p. 280, finds [frən], [θər] in the Shennondah Valley.

Two additional variations of [ə] should be mentioned. Russian hot is [rətən] 'hot,' and ruchas in was in all instances [təkəs] (though [təkəs] also occurs). But (in read) is [rəd] (influence of read); Kephart, p. 916, writes: 'The road was all cut up in rovect.'
[verb], learn, shrift [ʃrɪft]. The same sound appeared once in worry: 'The old lady like to have [wɜːrd] herself to death.' Courage is plainly [kərədʒ] in a recorded ballad. Hurricane always showed [hərˈnɪk]. Mercy has [mɜːs]—without [r] in the oath—[məs]; also euphemized to [hos o'meas]; but the normal pronunciation is used too.

Another group of words has [ɪə]: pert [pɜrt], form [fɔrm], perch (fish) [pɜrt]. Except in the speech of the educated, heard is usually [hɜrd]; a few old people say [hɔrn]. Some of the readers of the Rat story who use [hɔrd] on the records employ [hɜrd] as their natural form.

Development of a glide [a] or [ə] before [s] and variants thereof (original front vowels) occurs in the following reported forms: (the) earth [ɜːθ], [ɪəθ], [ɜːθ]; fern [fɜrn] (beside [fɔrn]); perch [pɜrt] (beside [pɜrt]). Also in herb [ɪərˈbɜːr].

[a] for [a] is rapidly becoming obsolete. Nevertheless, it is preserved in the speech of a few old people, who may use it in learn, perfectly, search, serve, (Mount) Sterling. An old farmer of the Big Creek area was heard to say: [ˈhaeva jɪn wɛl ˈseərvd], by which he meant, 'Have you been well treated?' On a ballad-record, desert 'waste place' is [dəзərt]. As dialectally everywhere, carmine 'wild animal or bird' is [ˈvɑrmənt].

In its single occurrence, worship was ['wɔrʃp].

[a], without r, may appear in burst, curse, first, further, nurse, nursery, worse, worst. Probably not many people pronounce curse with its standard [ɜːs].

70. It is interesting to observe that Chaucer rhymes shirk with heres 'heart,' Prov. Leg. Good Women, F. 401-5, G. 390-1 (Riderton ed.).

79. Kephart writes, p. 553: 'I was plumb worried about you.' DuBois Hayward, Angel (New York, 1926), p. 76, has similarly.

81. Mrs. Dargin, p. 46, writes yard; also Kephart and Combs. See chap. 111, p. 94 and note 28.

The dialect writers record various forms of earth. Kephart: yearth, earth (pp. 510, 502); Mason: yeorth (p. 167), yether (p. 263).

82. Of (Mount) Sterling as [ˈsterlɪŋ], an informant states: 'You hear it lots; it's just in the last five or six years that people call it [ˈsterlɪŋ].' This word is spelled Starling in old writings and maps; e.g., Siegle and Gresscoup (1833), p. 124 and on the map; Guyot (1850-60), p. 260.

In a list of substitutions of a for e, Kephart (p. 502) writes: concern, determine, mearcy, merciful, circumstance, searce, sarce, sarame, 'laarn, ear' (worse). Also, The 'tarnal thing'; It's so 'tarnal festly' (pp. 637, 615), Mason, p. 101, writes sarine; Hayward, p. 133, has sarce; Miss Comrzech, p. 93, writes: Lawe o'mearcy; honest.' Brown (1795), p. 301, writes tarnal 'heznal'; ... We start'd Rodo 8 miles to an old hunnt who lived by himself in the most hoor'd place I ever seen.' He also spells search for search (p. 311), but sarce (p. 383) and clark for clerk (p. 312).


13. [ai].

The general Southern tendency to simplify the diphthong [ai] prevails in the Great Smoky Mountains. It may be reduced to [a], [a], [ə] under all circumstances—in any phonemic setting, in accented or unaccented position. There are, of course, great differences among individual speakers, some generally preserving it intact and others consistently simplifying it; but the preference is for some degree of reduction.

The exact quality of [ai] in the Smokies cannot be determined without further study. The usual sound seems to lie somewhere between [a] and [a]. It is likely, too, that the off-gliding is most often rather lax, hardly [ə], and that the quality of the first element is somewhat modified by anticipation of the glide, which may or may not sound in the actual pronunciation. Even when the off-gliding is clearly audible on the phonograph records, the diphthong is in many cases noticeably different from the general American sound. The difference may lie partly in a longer first element in the Smokies equivalent; for example, night [naɪt], which is probably a transitional stage in the reduction to [naɪt]. Such pronunciations as [əsəznə], [əsnət], with a pinched off-gliding, appear on some of the discs and illustrate the tendency to prolong the first element, with retention of the second.

Extensive data on the treatment of the diphthong in all settings are not available. In the words recorded and transcribed, original long i is fairly rare before p and b. Bible, nevertheless, was [ˈbaɪbəl]. The highest frequency
of 'long i' is before [t], [d], [s], [m], [n], [l], [r]. Before all these sounds, [ai] may be reduced. The tendency was noted especially in:

Daylight, night; hide, ride; ice, nice; limestone, time; line, mind, pine, remind, shine, sign; mile, pile, Siler; choir, fire, Greenbrier, hire, Irish, iron, Lequire ('likwar'), Mitty (Ridge), Myers, squire, tire, wire.

Some phrases and sentences, transcribed from actual utterance and the phonograph records, will serve as illustrations.

Ices, beg: 'He has a nice turn.' (i.e., 'a good disposition') [Ian 'tora]; 'Sometimes we'd stay a week,' [sam 'sam' wi 'ster a 'week]; 'Let's shine its eyes,' [les 'simz az 'zai]; 'It's figured about five miles,' [hte 'figured Fa 'v 'mailes].

The reduction of the diphthong is most consistent (one might say, practically universal) before r. Chair, fire, Greenbrier, etc., are almost always sounded [kwaw], [far], [gerb'r], etc. Irish is commonly [oer] in the expression Irish potatoes; and iron is [or]. In the speech of those who have been but little exposed to classroom influences, the sound is frequently [o] or [u] before r: iron [oran], ironing [oran'en], Myers [maers], wire [weer].

This rounding of the first element is found occasionally before other sounds. A Cades Cove man said: ['vo: ,not 'so, 'cni], I've not saw any.' The picturesque old character mentioned on p. 20 pronounces fite 'a cur; night with a sound approximating [o-], and I with [a].

A few words, because of their frequent occurrence, merit separate notice. The pronouns I, me are very often [a-], [a]; Ima. 'My bees [ma 'bez] help me out a whole lot,' a Walkers Valley man said. Sometimes he shows complete reduction of the second element, whereas other words in the same sentence show retention: [ju 'matt 'dogon 'rait a 'wud], 'You are (not) mighty doggone right I would!' But the reduction in these pronouns may reach even to the first element. Unstressed, I and me may be [i], [e], [es], as in the following examples. A man of the Waynesville area, questioned as to how he is progressing, replies (on a record): ['pso 'gu o ' pow], 'Pretty good, I guess.' A man of the Tennessee side says: [ht 'toul mi ta 'ter mi 'kas 'tev ot 'sao], 'He told me to take my car out of there.' In instances of this sort, the great force with which the stressed syllables are uttered results in an abnormal weakening of the unstressed syllables.

Oblige was never heard with [i] for [ai], but the old pronunciation is said to be still used, mostly by elderly women.85 For climbed, pret. and ptc.,

[klum] flourishes in the speech of older people, and [klum] may sometimes be heard. Other reported variants are [klim] and [klim], now apparently obsolete.

14. [au].

This diphthong departs from most American usage by having its first element raised and fronted to [a].

The following words almost always have [au] rather than [au]:

About, account, allow, around, bow, brown, cloud, county, cow, crowd, Crowson (family name), Dowdle (same), down, foul, found, ground, hound, hound-dog, house, how, hoy, howl, krait, mouthed (rare obsolete variant of might),7 mount, mountain, now, out, owl, pound, powder, Powell, proud, route, rowly, scout, sound, stout ('strong'), town, trout, without.

There are, however, occasional instances of a lower and more retracted vowel in the first element, as in [ha-und] hound, [ha-us] house: . . . when the dogs quitened down [du:wa].86 This change in quality is especially evident in excessive drawl, which tends to modify the timbre of all Smokies vowel sounds.

Lengthening usually affects only the first element of the diphthong, as in about ([o]beaut); but occasionally both, as in down ([da:]um) (two syllables), in the sustained end-sentence position. In the latter case, the second element may be pinched. In one instance of rowdy, the second element was lost and the first prolonged: [noo ju 'f'ilam ,ont 'ak az 'ra:d], spoken with paternal impatience. The loss of the second element, however, was not observed again except before r and l.87

85. Webster, Dissertations, p. 111, says: 'Ought for might is heard in most of the states, but not frequently except in a few towns.'


87. The transcription of W. C. Great's Virginia Blue Ridge record (see note 57) suggests mixed dialect conditions, for the diphthong varies [au], [o], [a], [a], [a], [a], [au], and exhibits considerable variance from the Smokies treatment.

88. Cf. the tendency to suppress the second element in the diphthong [au] in the Virginia Blue Ridge; see the preceding note. Professor Ayres finds a similar tendency in Bermudian English, p. 8: 'Sometimes . . . the second element almost disappears, as if [o].
After [b], the diphthong is often preceded by a palatal glide, which is more or less marked. The less extreme variety may be represented as in cow [kɔw], country [ˈkʌntri], etc.; the more extreme as in [kjeu], [ˈkʃənti], scouts [skjənts]. The consonantal type, [k], is not at all rare.22

Before [n], there may be some nasalization, as in [oʊˈrʌn], etc. Nasalization is not a prominent feature of Smoky Mountain speech, except before [n], [n], [ŋ].

Before r, and sometimes l, the treatment is varied. The second element is often reduced, suppressed, or converted to the consonantal glide [ə], in most cases with compensatory lengthening of the first element. Examples: tower [ˈtɔr], hour [ˈhaːr] (once [ˈhər]), flower [ˈflaʊər], shower [ˈʃaʊər], towel [ˈtaʊəl], Powell [ˈpaʊəl], (with unvoiced [s]; family names sometimes appear with a plural form).24 The loss of the second element is well illustrated by the curious and unmistakable [ˈhaʊəz] hours ("They fought for full five hours..."), heard on one of the ballad-records.

15. [ə].

In the Smokies, the diphthong [ə] varies [oʊ], [ə-ı], [əi]. The general preference seems to be for [oʊ] in choice, join, and perhaps joists, but for [ə-ı] in boy, noise. Before l, [ə] prevails, as in boil, fryola, oil, parboil. There is no apparent tendency to reduce this diphthong, although [ə] oil is rarely heard and a county-court judge said [oː] boy (with a scarcely audible second element).22

A number of people retain the archaic [ə] in words like boil n. (as in [ˈbɔil n. ‘raɪnzn] 'boils and risings'), boil v., boiler, coil [ˈkwaɪl], hoist, join, joint, joist, point, point-blank, poison.26 A high-school girl of Cosby reports that her grandmother employs [kwain] for coin and [ˈdɪspərnt] for disappoint.27 Penryygeal is said to be [ˈpɛnriˈgæl]. In reading into the microphone, a young woman 'corrected' her first pronunciation of joists [dʒɔʊstz] to [dʒɔistz], which is, of course, the true historical form (OF *gists*). For coil, also heard was [kwail], a kind of compromise between the archaic and the standard pronunciations.28

99. Webster, *Dictionaries*, p. 109, objects to the glide [ə] before this diphthong, as in cow (ˈkəʊw), gourd, power.

100. Cf. Tressider's transcription of hour as [ˈhaʊr], p. 259.

102. Combs, p. 1317, says: "Oil is usually ‘awl’." In general, diphthongs are a source of worry to the Highlander.

103. Local informants state that point row (in forming) is more commonly [pɔnt ˈroʊ] then [pɔnt ˈroʊ] in speakers of all ages. One informant reported the expression [tek jo tʃəs] ‘Take your choice,’ but with the comment, ‘It’s a good bit back since I heard that.’

104. According to Wyld, p. 251, Baker in 1724 says that coin is pronounced guine.

105. Combs, loc. cit., also finds quoil.
THE VOWEL SOUNDS OF UNSTRESSED AND PARTIALLY STRESSED SYLLABLES

Professor G. F. Knapp says:

'A constant tendency in the English language, from Old English times to the present day, has been to treat with slight respect the unstressed syllables of words. This has resulted in many instances in the complete loss of unstressed syllables, especially inflectional endings, and in the obscuring of the phonetic quality of such unstressed syllables as remain. Standard American use is now approximately uniform in its treatment of these surviving unstressed syllables, though in certain local forms of speech, instances may still be found of an older and formerly more general custom with fairly heavy accent on certain final syllables. Thus in New England, pronunciations like ['taʊəl] for towel, ['lɔuəl] for Lowell, ['bæskət] for basket, ['redəd] for added, etc., may still be heard.' (The English Language in America, New York, 1925, vol. 2, p. 247).

Professor H. C. Wyld says:

'The tendency to shorten, reduce, or eliminate vowels in syllables that are weakly stressed, or totally devoid of stress, is common to all Germanic languages, and is traceable in English through its entire history. . . . From the fifteenth century onwards the frequent occasional spellings make it clear that a wholesale system of reduction of unstressed vowels, in words of English, Scandinavian, and French origin, has long been established in the habitual pronunciation, the results of which are, so far as we can see, practically identical with what occurs in ordinary, unstudied, natural pronunciation at the present day. It is evident that this is no sudden innovation, but must have been long preparing. . . . There has been a countering tendency at work now for some centuries which aims at deliberately "restoring" what is supposed to be the original sound, and this artificial attempt has been to some extent successful inasmuch that in many words a vowel may now be heard in an unstressed syllable which has been introduced from a desire to approximate to the spelling, where formerly a quite different sound was pronounced. In innumerable cases these artificial forms have become traditional, and must be regarded as more or less fixed, unless indeed, in the course of time, some fresh and irresistible tendency to reduce or eliminate shall sweep them away.' (A Short History of English, 3rd ed., New York, 1929, p. 199 f.)

Both of these writers observe two opposing directions of change: (1) reduction of unstressed syllables, often resulting in elimination; (2) the preservation of old partially stressed forms, or the 'restress' of unstressed syllables and the 'restoration' of what is thought to have been the original sound.

These contrary tendencies are seen to be at work in Smokies speech. The obscurations of unstressed syllables is carried to the usual lengths and further, frequently resulting in the loss of vowel or syllable. There are many more instances of vocalic loss in the Great Smokies than in standard speech, though one would hesitate to say that such cases are more numerous than in American regional speech generally. There seems to be a certain common denominator in all regional idioms of this country—a mass of identical or nearly identical forms used in 'uncorrected' utterance everywhere.

But the counter-tendency is also at work. Restoration of stress is fairly common in the three positions—initial, medial, and final—and is practiced more actively than in general American speech. In most cases the sound introduced is in conformity with the spelling—the supposed 'power of the letter.' The care with which many speakers pronounce certain syllables ordinarily unstressed operates against the tendency to obscure and eliminate, and suggests that the people of the Smokies, long isolated from cultural centers where standards linguistic and otherwise are set, have appealed to the printed page as their authority. The letter e means [ɛ], they thought; therefore one should say ['pɛrnɛnt] for payment, rather than ['pɛrnat]. Another important factor in the pronunciation of unaccented syllables is the elusive operation of analogy. If it is incorrect to say ['raɪnt] for writing, then it is incorrect to say ['maʊnt] for mountains; one should say ['mænt]. Here the authority of the spelling was not sought, but one should not expect perfect consistency. Still other alternative influences are confusions of one word with another, of prefix and suffix, the shifting of the principal stress, and the effect of consonants upon adjacent vowels.

But the weakening of unstressed syllables on the one hand and the restoration of their supposed quality on the other tell only part of the story. Another episode is now being told by the schools, the radio, the National Park Service, the CCC, and the tourists. With due appreciation of the benefits which they are bringing to this country and to its people, one is bound to recognize that their influence pays but scant homage to the time-honored speech traditions of the Smokies. Even in these precipitous and maze-like hills, school-busses now collect their cargoes of young and take them off to a town or settlement, to an atmosphere of teachers and books. The CCC enrollee in the National Park, and in the adjacent
National Forests, are legion; and the talk which they hear from their superiors is not what their grandparents speak. Although electricity is scarce round about the Smokies, not a few families contrive by one means or another-to-have-a-radio. Then too, there are the motion pictures with sound, with their speech of Hollywood, gunmen, and cowboys. Against such odds, the rustic tang of Smokies utterance cannot endure. In tourist centers the changes are coming fast; in other areas they are coming gradually—but they are sure to win out in the end. In this chapter the materials to be considered fall into three natural divisions: the unstressed and partially stressed vowel sounds are treated according as they appear in initial, medial, or final syllables. In the first two sections, the principle of arrangement is the spelling, and the various sounds are discussed under the spelling. In the final section, the arrangement is primarily according to the several sounds, with the various spellings grouped under their respective sounds.

I. INITIAL SYLLABLES

There is considerable diversity in the treatment of the vowels of initial unstressed or partially stressed syllables. The most frequent sounds are [o], [e], [i], [y]; but under partial or secondary stress [l], [ɛ], [o], [u] also appear. In view of the complexity of the data to be examined, and because there is a degree of correlation between sound and spelling (except, of course, in the case of [o]), the most convenient method of classifying the sounds in question is to arrange them according to the spelling.

1. Spelling with a

(1) In open syllables, the unstressed vowel spelled with a is usually pronounced [a] by all speakers. Examples:

About, account, accumulate, accuse, address, affected, affected, afore (obsolete), afraid, again, against, ago, agree, agreeable, ahead, aligned, alarm, alive, allow, along, among, amount, appear, a-purpose ('on purpose'), around, association, assurance, asylum, attack, attack, attention, awake, away, awhile, banana, cance, familiar, machine, majority, Topco (Graham Co., N. C.), vanilla.

In less educated mountain speech, the aphasia of [a] is fairly common, as in about [auté], account [kounst] (in such expressions as, 'Hit ain't no 'count.'), accuse [kjuse], alarm clock [loeem klok], appear [pur]. All of the dialectal writers take notice of such forms, but it seems safe to say that the clipping of initial [o] is not so frequent as is indicated in their writings. More usual than the loss of the vowel is a weakened form of [a].

The apheresis of initial syllables containing [o] for a is probably more common than the present transcriptions indicate. Only one example was actually observed: machines [min]; but other instances were reported: sewing machine [souen 'min], machinery ['mynuri], banana ['mena]...
(4) Mention may be made here of the prolific particle a- (OE an, on) which is prefixed especially to verbs, but also to a few adjectives, adverbs, etc. Examples:

Verbs: a-telling (o'tceln) (‘I’m a-telling you the truth’); a-bear-hunting (‘We didn’t do no good a-bear-huntin’); a-deer-hunting; a-hollerin’ (‘We heard some’n a-hollerin’); a-doing (‘He said that jus’ to be a-doing’, i.e., just for fun.)

Other parts of speech, a-purpose (‘on purpose’), a-scared (‘I never was a-scared so bad’); e.g., afearred, a-straddle (‘They’d throw him a-straddle of a rail and toto him all around’) a many a time (‘I can tell you how I’ve aured ‘em many a time’ or is this anticipation of the article?) a-towards (‘He run right a-towards home’).

2. Spelling with e.

Words spelled with e show the usual variety of treatment. In cases of partial stress, or of stress shifted to the first syllable, the sounds are [a], [i], or [ë] unchanged. In cases where stress is absent, the sounds are [a], [i], or weakened varieties of [a], [i], [ë]. As always, the degree of stress exerts a direct influence upon the quality and quantity of the vowel.

(1) In one group, [a] consistently appears. In most of the words here included, Smokies speakers exhibit the tendency especially common in the South to transfer the chief stress to the initial syllable. Examples:

Cement [‘sɛnt]; create [‘krɛt]; or [‘krɛt]; Decembr [‘dɛmbr] or [‘dɛmbra]; descendant; descent; equator; erst; eternal; renew, repass, speedometer; [‘spidɔmɛtə] [spidɔmɛtə].

The primary stress is or may be on the initial syllable of all these words except possibly erect, eternal, and renew, which, in the observed occurrences, were pronounced with the normal placement of stress.

(2) The prefixes be-, de-, to-

Words possessing these prefixes are grouped together because they display similar treatment of the unstressed vowel. The sounds are [a], [i], [ë], and [a], each of which may be used in the words so spelled. Here especially the degree of stress is important, for, although the most common sounds are [a] and [i], under partial stress they may become [a] or [i]. There is, of course, no consistency as to the particular vowel used by a given speaker. He may say [a] or [i] in because, begin, decide, [i] in declare, repair, and [a] in between, despire, relation; and he may pronounce the same word differently at different times. In view of the limited number of transcribed occurrences of each word, it is not possible to make definite statements as to which sound is preferred in each; but there is no doubt that these prefixes are in general treated alike, and that the most frequent sounds for the group as a whole are [a] and [i]. The occasional employment of [a] in these words is probably to be attributed in part to the spelling. Examples:

Because, become, before; begin, behave; behind; believe; below; beside; between, betwixt, beyond, decide, declare, defeat, delay, deliver, despise, destroy, relations, religion, religious, remained, remember, remembrance (‘memory’), remind, repair.

Exceptions to the treatment here described are renew and repass, included above under (1), and recollect. Recollect, which has secondary stress on the first syllable, is often [rekəlkt] in the speech of elderly people; otherwise, [rekə] and [rekt]. Behave, behind, beyond, remembrance, and repair show a preference for [a] and [i].

In less educated mountain speech, some of the words of this type are spoken without the vowel or the syllable; for example, because [bas], or in the older speech [kerz]; desispays [‘dɛspəz]; ‘spatx’ (as in the sentences, [əd ‘spɔt x əf ‘fʌn grəd ‘ap lanə] ‘I despise to see a fonce growed up like that’; [ə ‘spɔt s ət] or [ə ‘spɔt] ‘I despise such as that!’); recall [kol] (as in the sentence, [ər kont ‘kol hais ‘ləʊ ‘nərm] ‘I cant recall his other name’); religion [‘rɛldʒən] (reported); reminid [ˈrɛmɪnd] (as in the sentence, [hi ‘mams mi əv ‘ju] ‘He minds me of you’). On a phonograph record, remember sounds very much like [rə’memər] in the phrase, ‘I don’t remember’ ...

... More often, however, the vowel is extremely reduced; for example, [bə’tliv] (as in the sentence, a bə’tliv it wa’d ‘I believe it was’), [bə’tələst], especially in the heavily stressed, jerky kind of utterance which is characteristic of some speakers.

(3) Words with the spelling en-, on-, en-, en-

Words so spelled have a vowel which varies [i], [ë], [a], [a]. Under partial stress the sounds are [a] or [i]; when stress is absent the sounds are [a] or [i]. In the syllable en-, [a] is perhaps the most frequent sound, but [i] is common; many Smokies speakers tend to place a shade more stress on this prefix than is customary in general American. In the syllables en-, on-, [i] is probably more common than any other sound.

5. Words with these prefixes appear under various forms in the dialect writers’ Primary stress upon the initial syllable and the sound [i] seems to be indicated by the spellings da-streinc’ in Muscicer, pp. 125, 204; recepi, Mason, p. 214; de-fence, Kephart, p. 640. Loss of the syllable is illustrated in ‘karmal ʻeternal’, ‘tose ʻbecause’, Kephart, p. 559; especienc, ye sawtul dunce, Muscic, Young Mountainers, pp. 61, 54; ‘tecom, Dargan, p. 22.

Brown’s ‘Reduced’, p. 307, reflects [i].

A derived form of eternal, ‘Tarnation!’ a mild oath (locally known as a by-word’) is reported to be used in Jefferson Co., Tenn.

6. Brown (1795) and Conner (1837) consistently spell en- words with in-: Brown: inicled (p. 308), incouragiment (p. 305), inarticulation (p. 304); Conner has inscriibl (p. 38), inscrib (p. 62), Engagd (p. 83); but inscribed for inscribed, p. 47.

In a facsimile of the ‘Tennessee Papers of the Draper MSS’ (1, 2, Lawson McGhee
However, to determine more fully the comparative frequency of each sound and the conditions under which each is used would require more data than are at present available. Examples:

Embarrass, employ, encourage, enjoy, entertain, escape, especially, estate, exact, exactly, exaggerate, example, except, exceed, exchange, excite, excuse, expect, expensive, experience, experiment, express, extend.

Certain of these words require comment. Entertain was heard only with [e] and [i], with secondary stress on the first syllable as in general American. Escape is often [eks'kept], [eks'kept], showing confusion with the ex-type or anticipation of the [i]. (Cf. [iks'kept], especially, reported to be used in Jefferson Co., Tenn.) Exactly, usually [ig'zaklit], is often [g'zaklit], as in the sentence, [hit 'laks dzos: 'zaklit 'lak him], 'Hit looks jus' zacky like him.' Only once it was heard as [ed'zaklit], a form recorded by other writers, but apparently not widely used or known.

As sometimes in exactly, there is occasional apheresis also in except, excite, exact, and probably others: [sept], [sat], [spek(z)]. A Mount Sterling woman expressed her reluctance to sing ballads into the recording microphone, saying ['fent 0ν 'sarts mi]. On a phonograph record, the sentence, 'Hit excited me,' sounds like [hit 'ksarat mi].

(4) Another group of words spelled with e is characterized chiefly by [a], although in some of them [i] or [u] may occasionally be heard. Examples: elect, election, electric, electricity, eleven, enormous, evaporate, Kentucky, necessity, sellager, severe, Sevillie (seal of Sevier Co., Tenn.).

But apheresis of [e] is common; for example, elect [lēkt], election [lek'son], eleven [leν] also [lēm'z]. Three variants or changes of the vowel are to be noted: Before [l], as in elect, electric, etc., [e] may be replaced by [i]. Kentucky, usually [ken'taek] (not [ken]), is frequently [ken'taek] in the speech of old-timers. Necessity was heard once as [nes'esi], spoken by a mountain preacher in a sermon.

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(5) Miscellaneous pronunciations.

There follows a brief list of words which do not fit into the classifications given above, or for which the date are too scant to permit conclusions.

Betease, heard only as [klips] (three instances), as in, 'The sun comes in [klips].'

Percious [prē'zəs] (twice: speaker from Jefferson Co.; also on a record of two Cumberland Mountaineers, who are imitating negro pronunciation).

Jerusalem, usually [dʒə'rusələm], but once [dʒə'trusələm], as spoken by an aged lady of the McMilton Settlement (Cooke Co., Tenn.).

Persimmon, variously pronounced [pə'sɪmən], [pə'sɪmən], [pə'sɪmən], [pə'sɪmən].

Prefer [prə'fər], [prə'fər]; pretend [prəd'end], [prəd-]; prepare, with [i] or [u].

Secure [sə'kjuə]; recommend [rɪk'mend] (once) also [rɪk-].

September, usually [sə'ptember], but also [sə'ptember].

Tennessee, usually [tə'nesi], but the older [təanesi] is still fairly common.

Tremendously, once, in a recorded 'bear tale,' told by a man ninety-six years of age of Hartford (Cooke Co., Tenn.): [tret 'mendəskh 'lart ov 'tənas' bær]. 'We eat (ate) a tremendously lot of that bear.'

3. Spelling with i.

Words spelled with i in the initial unstressed syllable are pronounced with [i], [u], [e], and in a few cases with [a]. In one group, the tendency to shift the stress to the initial syllable is seen once more.

(1) The largest group of words has [i] or [u], though the former sound is the more common. Examples: civilian, discomfit (to inconvenience), disgut, disremember (not frequent), distill, divide, divorce, imagine, impose, impossible, improve, intent, interruption, without.

Distill and without sometimes suffer apheresis of the unaccented syllable: [stil], [f'wart].

Two variations in the vowel sound deserve notice. In words like civility and disquit, in which the unstressed syllable precedes the main accent, [i] may be obscured to [ə]; but not in words like discomfit, discomfit't, and disremember. Many old people and probably others pronounce impossible [əm'pəsəbəl], [əm-], [əm-], which is no doubt a case of confused prefix (unpossible); see under u, section 5.11.

11. Cf. 'a great rayus and a eyspa' (Lord Bernov, 1820), cited by Wyd., p. 251.


13. Ziegler and Gressup (1853) write, p. 239: "Tennessee, answered the man, giving the accent on the first syllable, a pronunciation peculiar to the uneducated natives."

14. For infest, [fə'kst] is commonly employed, as in the sentence, 'His hand got [fə'tested]'; however, this form may well be for affect, which was used in the eighteenth
(2) In a second group the vowel is also [a], but the stress is usually shifted to the first syllable. Examples: cigar, guitar, infirmary, inspector, insurance. There is an occasional change of [a] to [i] in cigar: [s'karə], and the normal American pronunciation may also be heard. Guitar is still prevailingly [gar,ta]; rarely, in jocular language, it is [gar,ter]. This diphthong, which possibly a bit of epenthetic slant.

(3) In a third small group, the sound is or may be [ə]. This diphthong appears always in idea and violin, and usually in Italian; moreover, in the first pair, the primary accent is always on the initial syllable: [idea], [variolin]. Violin, however, is not often used; the customary expression is fiddle. Italian may also have its normal American pronunciation. For piano, old-fashioned speakers say [pən'loʊn], but others say [pi'loʊn] or else sound the word as in general American. There are two pianos, however, in the mountains; guitars are more portable and popular. Direct is both [də'rekt] and [də'rekt], another instance of variable accent; but directly was [də'rekt] in all instances noted. In the latter word, the unstressed vowel preceding the accent may, in rapid speech, become further weakened or lost altogether.

4. Spelling with a.

Words spelled with a in the initial unstressed syllable are divided into several groups according to the vowel sound used. One group, the largest, contains [a], with occasional variants [ə], [ə]; another contains [ə] unreduced and manifests a tendency to shift the primary accent to the first syllable; a third, in which a appears before r, is characterized by the sounds [ə], [ə], [ə]. Also, there are instances of the reduction of pro- to [pə], of mistaken prefixes, and of loss of the unstressed vowel.

(1) The most frequent vowel for words spelled with a is [ə]. It is heard in such words as the following:

Columbus (man’s given name), command, commence, companion, compare, complete, compose, conclude (much used by elderly people in the sense of ‘decide’), considerable, continually, continue, contrary (always with [ə]), molasses, Monteith (family name man’tiθ), mosquito, oblige, omit, potato, tobacco, together, tomato, tomorrow, towards.

In a few of these words, however, other sounds may sometimes be heard. In commence, [ə] occasionally becomes [e], and the chief stress may be transferred to the first syllable: [kə'ments], or [kə'ments]. Now and then, continually may be heard as [kən'tinjuəl]; and [ə] appeared in the single instance of conscripted [kən'skripتد], which illustrates once more the tendency to shift the accent. On the other hand, contrary is never stressed on the initial syllable as in general American, always being pronounced [kon'trə]. A colorful example of its use is in the sentence: [his ‘kwɛs kon’trent ‘m nɪn], ‘He’s queer, contrary, and mean! Tomorrow, ordinarily spoken with [ə], sometimes has an obscured [u] or [e], as in the phonograph records of Arthur the Rat: [tu’mərə], [tu’mərə].

4. Loss of vowel or syllable is common. Columbus may, and often does, become [kləmbəs], and it is frequently shortened to [kləm] (not, however, to Lem, or to the Lam which Combs notes). Toward varies [to'wərdz], [to'wərdz], [too'ərdz], though most old-timers pronounce it in the first way. Opposum is always [o'pəsəm], except perhaps in such uses as, ‘He went o’posum ‘hunt’n’, where, however, [ə] may represent the verbal proclitic a- (cf ‘a-bea-hunt’in; see above under a-, section 1). In addition, there are the well-known but still interesting shortenings of molasses, mosquito, potato, tobacco, tomato: [moləsə], [skətə], [tətə]. Although these words usually appear on the discs unclipped, the shortened forms are reported to be the ones in common use. Another word of this type, tobogan ‘a knit cap with a tassel,’ seems to be known only in its reduced form [tɔbəgən].

(2) One small group of words is characterized by partial stress on the initial syllable, or by a shift of the principal stress to that syllable. Since, with one exception (police), they are always pronounced with [ə] unobserved, they are considered together.

Brogans (‘heavy shoes’) [bro'gənz], hotel [ho'təl], Mohees (in the song ‘My Little Mohees’), [meθi], November [no'vember] or [no'vember], Oconaluftee (River) [o'kənəl'fuθi], police [pəl'θi] or [po'liθi], protactive (as in ‘proactive meeting,’ a series of revival meetings) [pro'tækativ].

Two of these words should be noted, have variable stress: November and police; for the former, cf. the variable stress in September and December. Hotel is always accentuated [ho'təl] in the Smokies; it is included in this list because general American is taken as the norm. Oconaluftee is generally shortened to [luθi]; this shortening is illustrated in the place-name Luftee Gap.

16. An intrusive a appears in Miss Murfrees’ consider’ble ([ka'n-bəl]), p. 257. The form of commerce with [ə] and chief stress on the initial syllable is noted also by Miss Cushman, p. 40, who writes summence.

17. Mrs. Dargen, p. 225, writes ‘təgən. Tobogan cap appears in the OED.

18. See the United States Geological Survey Map of the park (edition of 1924). There is a Luftee Baptist Church at Smokawant, N. C. Cf. the Conner MSS, p. 10 f.: ‘... Reliable person’s reported the snow-drift in the old Luftee gap; to measure 10
Another word which deserves mention here is possession, transcribed three times with [ə] and with a curious intrusive r: [pro'zəʃən].

(3) The prefix pro-. This prefix is not well represented in the transcriptions of either actual or recorded speech, but the data at hand indicate variety of treatment. In protract [pro'æktr], as already observed, the [ə] is retained. This vowel was also present in the corresponding verb protract, heard once in the interesting sentence: 'We just protracted the party from one house to another.' (The speaker referred to the prolonged frolics formerly observed between Christmas and New Year's.) Proportion occurs on a disc as [pro'pərʃən]. In produce and protect, the prefix becomes [prə] or [prə]; [prə'dju:s], [prə'tekt], etc. Provisions, in its single recorded occurrence, is clipped to [prəvəzən], spoken by an old-time bear-hunter.

(4) The prefixes fore-, for-. Foremost, foremost (obsolescent, for 'opposite') are always [fər'nən(s)ət] or [fər'nən(s)ət]. Forget and forgive are generally [fər'gat], [fər'giv], infrequently [fər'gət], [fər'giv], etc.

5. Spelling with u.

Words spelled with u in the initial unstressed syllable are divided into three chief groups: (1) a group sounded with [ə]; for example, succeed, suggestion, supply, support, surprise (usually with loss of r [so'prarəs]), surround, suspicion, etc., although under slight stress the sound in succeed and suggestion may be [ə]; (2) a group with [ə] or [u]—for example, curiosity [kər'zətə], Junaluska (place-name) [ju'naləskə], rheumatism [rə'jumətəs], musician [mju'ziʃən]; (3) a group spelled with un-, variously pronounced with [ən], [ən], [ən], [ən]. None but the last of these groups requires comment. Examples: uncertain, unbeknownst, understand, uneasy, unavowed ('unexpected,' as in the expression, 'It happened so quick and unavowedly,' unlikelihood, uneasy, unsafe, until.

By better educated speakers, all of these words are pronounced with [ə]; but by a number of old people, and very likely others, some of them are pronounced with the low-back vowels, unrounded, and with secondary accent. Typical forms are: uncertain [an'sər'tən], unbeknownst...

feet at the top of the Smokey.' Cf. also Chucky 'Nolichucky (River)' in J. P. Arthur, Western North Carolina: A History (From 1730 to 1910) (Raleigh, 1914), p. 41.

19. The occurrence of this form was in the expression, 'He had a large [pro'æsən] of land here' (i.e., a piece of land), suggests influence of the legal term to possession land to establish the bounds of land, which occurs in the southeastern U. S., see Bouvier's Law Dictionary and Webster. A Jefferson Co. speaker pronounces posses [pro'æsəs].

20. Foremost, -est, a combination offore and anent, is Scottish and northern English, according to the OED. The first example of its use is dated 1594.

21. Unkind is [un'kənd] in a recorded ballad sung by a woman in her thirties. The direct writers have taken advantage of this characteristic of mountain speech in their 'phonetic' spellings. Miss Murfree in the Prophet has onswill (p. 24), onswart (p. 29), etc.; Mrs. Dargen onshandy (p. 5); Mason ontell 'untill' (p. 139), onbeknownst (p. 211); Keephart omenself (vol. 3470, p. 889). For the shift [æ] > [ə], [o], see chap. 5, sec. 11.

AND PARTIALLY STRESSED SYLLABLES

I. Medial a and o.

Medial unstressed a and o are pronounced chiefly with the sound [ə], but in a few words [ə] is heard. In a number of words, the vowel is or may be dropped. Under partial or secondary stress, the sounds may vary to [ə], [ə], [ə], but such instances are relatively infrequent.

(1) The largest group of words is sounded with [ə]. Examples:

Alabama [ə'la'bəmə], almanac [ə'ləmən], Anthony, Carolina, Cata- lochee (Creek), Cherokee, Colorado, comfortable, constable, decoration (as in, the Decoration 'Memorial Day'), democrat, Desolation (place-name), dew-poisoning, disapprove, discount, discomfit, favor (ressemblance, felonym, finally, guarantee, Jerusalem (as in, Jerusalem oak), kerosene, organizes, paradise, recollect, recommend, relative, rheumatism [ru'mətəs], separate, Sugarlands, tallow, testament, Tuckaleechee (Cove), violin.

There is no perceptible deviation from [ə] in these words, with the exception of a few here noted. Alabama and testament are sometimes pronounced with [ə]. Jerusalem, usually [dʒə'rələm], has [ə] for a on one of the discs. Panama (hat) was twice distinctly [pə'namə]. Anthony and company, and others of the same type, frequently lose their medial vowel; but such cases will be considered more fully below.
(2) A few words are generally sounded with [ɪ]: alcohol, dynamite, miracle, sassafras, spectacles, sycamore.

In some of these words, [ɪ] may be pinched and raised to or toward [i]; for example, [kalkhol], [daiminat] (once [diminat]), [sassafiar] 'sassafras'. A similar case is chingopin, which seems always to have raised the vowel: [tij'igpin]. Idaho and Omaha also belong here, for some speakers consistently pronounce them [ardilo] and [onimo]; these forms suggest the influence of Ida ['aidə] and Oma ['ɔmi], the woman's given names, and the general type with [ɪ] for final a. 22

(3) Omission of the vowel is frequent—in some words usual—in three positions: before r, l, and n followed by an unstressed vowel. Examples:

Before r: accidentally [əkə'sɛdətli]; Anthony ['ɑnthəni], ['entn]; Carolina [kər'əlina], [kər'əlnə]; company [kəmpəri]; generally [gəməni]; reasonable [rə'znəbəl].

Before l: boundary, factory, Gregory, hickory, history, memory, salary, separate adj., vigorous ('vicious', as of a dog) [vər'gərəs].

Such forms as [fəktrə], [hɪtrə], [ɪnstrə], [məmərə] are the usual ones for these words in the Smokies. Boundary and Gregory, however, are often sounded with a very brief syllabic r: [əʊnu'nə]; [greŋgrə]. In igno rant, also, the treatment commonly differs from that indicated above; this word generally retains its medial vowel, but loses the vowel of the following syllable: [ɪgɔənt]. (For this type, cf. coppərəs, etc., presented below under e and ə.)

The curious pronunciation of vigorous is colorfully illustrated in the statement of a Mount Sterling woman: 'Hit [ə rətəsəne] was inten tionally to bite me; I never heard a snake sing so [vər'gərəs].' 24

Two miscellaneous instances of vocalic omission are the common forms of Ephraim and whereabouts: [ɪfərəm], [wə'baʊts]. (For the former, cf. the loss of [ɪ] under medial e and ə.)

22. Conant's spellings loyecy (p. 32), narotive (p. 90), and comparitively (p. 37) suggest medial [ɪ] for a. For medial o, cf. Dimmyerer (Burfree, p. 50), photographs (C. M. Wilson, Outlook and Independent, vol. 151, p. 60).

The Indian names Oconaluftee (River), Tuckasegee (River), Tuckalassisee (Cove) are now pronounced with [ɪ] for medial a. A vowel [ɪ] or [i], however, is indicated by the following early nineteenth century spellings: Tuckeychy Cove (Whitney, The Land Laws of Tennessee, an act of 1809, p. 716 f.;) Tuckaseegy (Haywood Co. Reg., vol. A, p. 200; 1812), Oconee Enity (ibid., vol. E, p. 46 f.; 1816), Mason, p. 37, has Tuckisyey.

23. For loss of the vowel before n, cf. the early modern spellings reasonable (c1550), parsonage (1610), cited by Wyld, p. 282.

24. Recorded in southeastern Missouri by Crumb (p. 335), and in the Ozarks (American Speech, vol. 11, 1926, p. 210). Miss Murfree, p. 10, has survires, and Kephart, Word List, p. 412, has a form similarly spelled. Other instances may be found in various issues of Dialect Notes and American Speech. See also Thorowode, American Glossary.

(4) Miscellaneous changes.

Syllabic n occurs in Chattanooga [tʃat'nyugə], Hendersonville, and sometimes in Anthony ['entn].

There is substitution of [ɛ] for [a] in aggiurate and introdue; also in microseconds, which one CCC enrollee writes mikrophone. (This phenomenon should probably be referred to as normal syllabic reduction rather than 'substitution.')

The stress of certain words deserves comment. Character was observed once as [krəkə'tər], with the principal accent on the medial syllable; on a disc the word appears as [krəkə'tər], with secondary stress on the second syllable. The common usage is with [ɪ], unstressed. Relatives is sometimes (but not frequently) stressed [rə'leɨvəs]. 24 Someone is usually [səmə aw], and nobody varies [nə'bədi], [nə'ba'di], [nə'badi]. Theater usually has secondary stress on the medial vowel: [θə'tər, θə'tər]. 27

2. Medial e and ɪ.

Unstressed medial syllables spelled with e or ɪ appear chiefly with [ɪ], [i], and [ə]; but less common variants in special positions are [l], [n], [ə], and [i]. Before l, m, and n (e) frequently occurs; and before r this sound is the usual one unless it is omitted. There may be loss of the medial vowel in open syllables, particularly before and after r, l, n, and before another vowel. There may also be other developments, such as intrusive sounds, substitutions, and alterations of stress. The materials of this section are arranged in the following order: (1) [ɪ] and variants thereof, (2) [ə] and variants thereof, (3) loss of the vowel, (4) other changes.

(1) In an extensive group of words the sound in the medial syllable is [ɪ], although it may vary occasionally to [i] and [a]. Examples:

Accident, America, Americas (given name), barbecue, benefit, biggerty ('conceited'), citizen, civilized, deadening, delicate, devilish ('subject to fits'; obsolete), Florida, hospital, hurricane, imitate, irrigate, legislature, Louisville (Blount Co., Tenn.), medicine, office, Oliver, perfectly, primitive (as in Primitive Baptist), Republican, satisfy, scarify ('to make incisions in the skin, for blood-letting'), talkative ('talkative'; obsolete), terrible, thickety, Washington, Whittier (Jackson Co., N. C.).

In some of these words [ɪ] is often tense and distinct (not, however, suggesting [i]). In such cases the medial syllable is given slightly more

25. Cf. character, Combs, p. 1318, who regards the form as an Elizabethan survival.
27. To these miscellaneous forms may be added inerent, Murfree (p. 92), Dargen (p. 250), and some similar, Dargan (p. 85). For other cases of the change [ə] > [ɪ] in medial syllables, see p. 65 of this chapter.
stress than is customary in general American. Examples: accident ['akədənt], benefit ['bɛnfɪt], confident ['kɒnfɪdent] (as in the sentence, 'I don't 
confident the story'), deviant, foolishness ['dɪˈvɪənt, ˈfɒləsˌnʌs], angelic, delicate.

A mountain preacher carefully articulated privilege ['prɪvəlɪdʒ]; but speakers 
with scant formal training have been heard to use such forms as ['bɛnʃɪt] 
and ['rəndɪ] with precise medial [i]. 'You're perfectly welcome' ['pəˈvɛliənt
ˈwelkəm], said an old gentleman of Webb's Creek with an articulation far 
from stodgy. A precise and deliberate [i] is fairly common.

Occasionally the vowel approaches or reaches [i]. Examples: crucify ['krʊsɪfaɪ], Illinois ['ɪlɪnəʊs], marigold ['mæriˈɡəuld], talkify, uniform. For 
the most part, such forms are limited to a few old people. Yet young 
people say ['sɪŋki, fəɪl] for cinqfoil. (In standard speech this word appears 
without a medial vowel.)

Closely allied to these are words like anywhere, anywhere, honeysuckles ('flame azalea'), which have a sound which varies between [i] and [ɪ], 
as in general American.

An opposite tendency is manifested in a number of words of this general 
type. In them, the vowel not infrequently is lax and indistinct, often 
becoming indeterminate in quality. Instances of such a sound are usually 
associated with very brief quantity, a factor which assists in obscuration 
and renders analysis difficult. Examples: Arizona, authority, deeding, 
Gatlingburg, horrible, Maryville (Blount Co., Tenn.), officer, possible, 
Sheridan, Tennessee, terrible.

Officer, for example, is thus often ['ɑfɪsər], ['ɑfɪsər], or ['ɑfɪsə]. The 
pronunciation of Maryville is curious and characteristic: it approaches 
['marəvəl]. For terrible, many old-timers say ['təbəl], a pronunciation which 
illustrates the tendency toward obscuration and loss of the vowel.

From the foregoing remarks, it will be seen that two contrary tendencies 
are at work in Great Smokies speech: one towards preservation and tensing 
of [ɪ], and the other toward weakening and loss. Although, in view of the 
limited data, it is not feasible to make positive statements with regard to 
the frequency and distribution of [ɪ], [i], and [ə] in the words listed above, 
several interesting tendencies are nevertheless discernible:

I. Under slight stress, [i] rather than [i] or [ə] appears, as in accident, 
deviant, etc.

II. Between [i] and a palatal stop, [i] is preferred, as in angelica, delicate, 
Tellie (Plains).

III. Before a palatal stop, [i] seems to be preferred, as in barbecue, 
hurricane, irritate, perfectly. (Cf. miracle, character, speculations.)

IV. In the neighborhood of high front sounds, [i] tends to appear or to 
be preserved, as in benefit, bigeye, citizen, institute, remedy, thickness. This [ɪ], 
however, may be obscured to [i].

V. There is a preference for [i] or [ɪ] in the vicinity of sibilants and 
spirants, as in citizen, Louisville, satisfy, talkify. (Cf. also sassafras.)

Such generalizations, however, are merely tentative and point to the 
need for further investigation of the whole subject. It may be said, too, 
that many occurrences of [ɪ] are probably influenced by the spelling. The 
'power of the letter' undoubtedly holds strong sway in the minds of frontier 
folk who have no authority to appeal to other than the written word.

(2) A number of words are pronounced with [ə] in the medial syllable. 
This sound is likely to appear before laterals and nasals, and it always 
appears before r unless the vowel is omitted.

Before laterals and nasals.

Carpenter, ceremony (but also with [ɪ], devil, devilling ('teasing'), 
dominicker ['dɔmɪnɪkɚ], experiment, foreigner, Hazelwood (Haywood 
Co., N. C.), Illinois (beside the form with [i] mentioned above), regiment, 
Robbinsville (Graham Co., N. C.), serenade, turpentine, Valentine.

Some cognate sounds deserve notice here. There is usually a syllable l 
in fertile: ['fɜrtəl]. In uneducated speech, carpenter and turpentine 
sometimes have syllable m: ['kɑpənər], etc.; and such forms as decreer 
('more decent') have [ɚ]. Substitution of [ɚ] for [ə] is common in the given 
give Ausley ('ordnāl'), and in dominicker ('n black chick or gnat with 
white spots') ['dɔmɪnɪtʃɚ]. The latter word is frequently shortened 
to [dɔm] or [dəm] (but only when it has the sense of chicken). 28

Before r.

Cholera, confederate, considerable, conversation, copperas (crystallized 
ferrous sulphate, used in dyeing), Cumberland (Gap), dangerous, exag-

28. Dominicker varies [ɪ]/[ə]/[ʊ] before [r], but usually has [ɚ]. Cf. Coombs, 'A 
Word-List from the South,' Dialect Notes, vol. 5, p. 33: 'dominacker, n. A species 
of chicken (Dominique, or Dominicain). Also dominicker. Sometimes clipped to 
dommer.' Reported also from Wisconsin (dominick 'chicken', ibid., p. 210) and West Virginia 
(dominick, American Speech, vol. 2, p. 329); recorded by Murfree (p. 130), Kephart 
(Word List, p. 111).
gerate, formerly, generally, generation (frequently used in the sense of 'family,' 'race'), government, interesting, Jefferson (Co., Tenn.), miserable, reservation, separated, somerset, tannery, tolerable, yesterday.

Exceptions to this treatment are the occasional forms of yesterday and Robertson in which [i] is substituted for [e]: ['jat]ch, ['rubas]. In formerly [e] sometimes becomes [a]: ['fovor], and sometimes it is lost: ['fovam].

When the accent on the initial syllable of Jefferson is heavy, the [e] becomes very light: ['d3əfəs].

(3) Loss of the medial vowel.

The medial vowel is especially subject to syncope in the following positions: (a) before r, l, n; (b) after r, l, n; (c) before an adjacent vowel. In practically all instances, the omission occurs in an open syllable before an unstressed syllable.

Before r, l, n.

Battery, deadening, desperate, evening, everybody, everything, family, gallery ('porch'; obsolete), generally, interest, machinery, maintenance, mystery, Owenby, scenery, several, sweetening, traveller.

Syncope of the vowel is usual in many of these words; for example, battery ['beutri], ('beutri) is rare, evening ['evən], family ['fæmi], generally, mystery, scenery ['scəri], several ['sevərəl]. It is perhaps not usual, but at least frequent in deadening and Owenby (a common family name in the vicinity of Gatlinburg). Omission of the vowel in the latter word is illustrated by the alternative spelling Cumby.

Exceptions to this treatment are considerable, copperas, dangerous, different, Everest, and others, which almost always retain the vowel before r, but lose the vowel of the following unstressed syllable: ['kəpəz], ['d3əfənt], ['kəvəl], etc. So also, everybody, everything, and everywhere are most often and characteristically ['evəbəd], ['evərəni], ['evəwərə]. It is difficult to say whether interest is more commonly ['infra] or ['inəst]; interesting appears on a disc with retention of both medial vowels and secondary stress on the second: ['infraest]. Tolerable usually retains both vowels or becomes ['tələbəl].

After r, l, n.

Americes ['aməkəs], eligible ['elədʒəbl], oarspelas ['ɔəspələs] (which shows less both after r and before l), everybody, everything, everywhere, foreigner ['fərnər], terrible ['təbəl], venison ['vənəsən].

30. Cf. formally 'formerly,' Conner, p. 66; also Haywood Co. Reg., vol. B, p. 110 (1832): '... where he formally lived' (i. e., formerly). Brown, p. 313, writes Governor 'governor.'

With the exception of the words beginning with every- (the pronunciations of which have been indicated above), foreigner, and terrible, these transcriptions represent single occurrences. Syncope of the vowel is not so general in this position as before r, l, n. For foreigner, [fərənər] is rapidly displacing [fo'ranər].

Before a vowel.

The vowel subject to syncope in this position is [e]. The examples collected are divided into three groups: words in which the loss is usual; isolated occurrences and obsolescent pronunciations; two words in which the preceding consonant has been palatalized by the high vowel.

(a) Omission of [e] is usual in the following words:

Carrian ['kærən] (older ['kærən]), curiosity ['kjurəarti], curious ['kjuərəs], dubious ['dʒuəboz] ('timid, hesitant'), experience ['eksəprəns], jovial ['dʒəvəl], Julius ['dʒuələs], scorpio ['skəropəl].

Carrian as ['kærən] was also heard in the expression carrion crow. Ephraim as ['i:frəm] also belongs here; for in standard speech it is customarily sounded with medial [i:]. With this tendency may be contrasted the hypercorrective tendency to pronounce an [e] or [i] in positions where it is inorganic; for example, terrapin is ['teəpəlin], and villain is ['vəliən].

31. The omission occurs in most cases after r, l before an unstressed vowel. Cf. the tendency to drop final [i] after r, p. 74.

The loss of [i] before an unstressed vowel was characteristic of early modern English, to judge from numerous spellings cited by Eells and Wyld. For example: laborus (1400), behaure (1550), behavor (G. Ellis.), serus (1683), shorat ['ʃɔrət] (Cooper, 1838), Damet, carrin 'carri, fain 'fein' (Baker, 1792); see Wyld, pp. 175, 278, 281, and Eells, pp. 1023, 1074.

Of the spelling Ezekiel Springfeld in the North Carolina census of 1790 (Morgan District, Rutherford Co., p. 116): Conner's Harriet 'Harriet,' previously (pp. 39, 60); Harret, Dargan (p. 185): jovial, Goodrich (p. 50): everty, euryous, Kephart (p. 59).

Dubious as 'dʒubərus, juba has been reported from many places in the United States, chiefly in the South; see the indices to the several volumes of Diatret Notes, and Stanley, p. 80.

32. Wyld, p. 281, notes the confusion in the endings -con, -ous, etc., citing Ascham's barbarisms (1545), superciligious (1692), mitchesterous (1753), and others. A similar confusion in Scots speech is indicated by the forms mentioned in the text and in the following noted by other writers: favor (Murfree, p. 53), nereceous (Mason, p. 215), gallant (Kephart, p. 810).

One of the ballad-singers sang:

Now Polly she is married
Among the jovial ['dʒəvo] crow,
but,

Begone you dogged villains ['vəliən],
For bended you both shall be!
(b) The following words also illustrate the disposition to omit [i] before a contiguous unstressed vowel; but the transcriptions represent single occurrences.

Association [as'o'serjən], Daniel [dænəl], editorial [i'ditorəl], Gilead (see below), memorial [me'morəl], serial [sərəl], Trillium (see below), Presbyterian [prez'bə'tərən] (reported).

The prevailing usage for some of these words is not known, but in their omission of [i] is probably common. Association, which appears as above transcribed on the speech-record of an aged man, is said to be generally sounded with a light [i]. In Daniel the medial vowel is reasserting itself—probably through ultramontane influence; this word may be contrasted with Julia, which is still usually pronounced without its medial vowel.

For Trillium Gap, formerly known as Brushy Gap, a high school graduate said [trələm], but a CCC foreman said [tələm], with clear l. Balm of Gilead, the leaves of which are used in making a salve 'good for the itch' [itʃ] and other ailments, was pronounced [giləd] by a man of the Cosby section, but [giləd] (with an extremely clear [i]) by his aged mother and by others. These two pronunciations appear on a phonograph record.32

(c) In at least two words [i] has palatalized the preceding dental stop and disappeared: Indian ['indʒən], tawdious ['tədiəs]. This pronunciation of Indian may still be heard from a number of old people, but the current forms are ['indm], as frequently in general American, and ['indən]. The palatalized form of tawdious is common. Here also, perhaps, may be mentioned the old and obsolete form of onion ['ɔnən], in which the palatal glide has become retracted, vocalized the nasal, and then disappeared.42

(4) Miscellaneous.

Mention is made here of a few miscellaneous changes which affect the pronunciation of medial syllables. In Smokies dialect, as in colloquial English generally, sounds not organic in a word sometimes intrude, probably in many cases by hypercorrection. Audely and dominichuck with [ə] for [o] for [a] have been mentioned above; another instance is [trəzə,dənt] for reinender 'old timer,' which occurs on a phonograph record. More striking examples, however, are [ʃinjə] for scenery, heard now and then (metathesis); [in'sinjə,ətə] for exsinator, heard once and reported once; and [əvə'zələn] for Washington, said to have been current in the vicinity of Gatlinburg twenty or thirty years ago. Of interest, too, are a few instances of misplaced stress: discipline [drə'siplən] (once); difficulty [dɪ'fɪkəlti], said to have been a common pronunciation in former times; and vehicle [və'həvl] (reported to be the form used by one speaker).34

4. Medial u.

In general American speech medial unstressed syllables spelled with u are variously pronounced with [ju], [ə], [u], and [ə]. (See Xyon, Amer. Pron., p. 213; Guide, §§249-250.) The treatment in Smokies speech is characterized by increased obscuration, except as the tendency is counteracted by the schools and other influences. The commonest sound in syllables with this spelling is [ə], although instances of [ja], [jug], etc., are not entirely wanting. In two or three words the vowel is very often dropped.

(1) In the following words, u is usually pronounced [ə]:

Accumulate ['kəməlu:t], accurate ['ækərət], ambitions ['ambələns], deputy sheriff ['dəpəri 'ʃerfl], fistula ['fɪstələ], occupation, popularity, population, reputation; scrupulous ('mən, 'bæd').35

(2) In a related group of words, in which u has palatalized the preceding consonant, the sound is also usually [ə]; this sound may, however, combine with a following unstressed vowel. Examples:

Actual ['ækʃʊəl], educate ['edʒəku:t], education, gradual ['grədʒɡəl], graduate ['grədʒɡrət], natural, usual ['juəl].36

Graduate was heard once as ['grədʒət].

Manufacturer and manufacturing were each heard once with unpalatalized: iə : manju'fatıəkər, manju'fatıərin.

It is said that the old form of natural ('nətrəl) has not yet died out completely.

(3) In some words of this type, the sounds [ja], [ju], [u], etc., have been

34. Kephart, vol. 3467, p. 7, notes a similar form for scenery: 'Yes, th'ir's a right smart scene-yuh around byu.'

An accentuation difficulty was recorded in 1895 at Roan Mountain (Cartier Co., Tenn. (Diadect Notes, vol. 1, p. 316).

35. A clerk in the U. S. district court at Asheville, N. C., pronounced document ['dəkəmənt]. Kephart, p. 503, writes calkelat; Mrs. Dargen, p. 283, has argument.

36. The more recent dialect writers find palatalized forms for actual and natural (e.g., actualty, Kephart, p. 504; natchally, Dargen, p. 266); but Ziegler and Greasup in 1883 write, 'n nat'ral born hom-swapper.'

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37. Cf. the spellings cited by Wyld, p. 277 f.: repetition, argument (15th cent.); monument (Spenser); miraculous, continental (17th cent.) and others; also philtrees in the OED, under fistula.

38. The more recent dialect writers find palatalized forms for actual and natural (e.g., actualty, Kephart, p. 504; natchally, Dargen, p. 266); but Ziegler and Greasup in 1883 write, 'n nat'ral born hom-swapper.'

39. Cf. the spellings cited by Wyld, p. 277 f.; for example, unscrip'tible (Latimore), venturesome (Euphues, Machyn), fortifying (Shakespeare, First Fol.): Cooper (1665) says that century and century 'herbs continuin' have the same sound (Ellis, p. 1029).
Intrusive [i] is always present in tarpaulin [tar'paulin], and [j] in villain [vil'jan].

A misplaced -ing appeared only in mountain [moun'tain]. This form is reported to be as common as [moun'tan] in the White Oak district of Haywood Co., N. C. Strangely, however, the hypercorrective pronunciation occurred but twice, at Gatlinburg and in a recorded ballad (sung by a young fellow of Spring Creek, Madison Co., N. C.).

[ar] becomes [a] by normal reduction in Alfred, apron, children, hundred, Wilfred: [wil'fred], [ap'ron], [chil'dren], etc.

[an] becomes [an] by assimilation in even [ev'n], eleven [el'ven] (but also [el'ven]), tawen [taw'en]. Local informants (mountain people) say that these pronunciations are fairly common, but I did not hear them. Even as aven is said to have practically died out since the introduction of wood stoves to the mountains. The word in its older sense referred to the Dutch oven, which is a heavy iron pan, with a cover, placed on the coals in the fireplace.

(2) Loss of the vowel.

The vowel of the final syllable is subject to loss after r especially before n.

Ex. Aaron [a'an], [a'ren], carrion [kar'son] (obsolescent), confederate [kə'frəd], cowper, dangerous [də'verdz], different, Everett, forehead [frə'ved], foreign, ignorance, ignorant, parent [pə'rent]. (See p. 641.)

Attention is directed also to the omission of [i] or [j] in such words as curious, Julius, scorpion, discussed above, p. 65.

(3) Variations of stress.

A number of words have, or may have, secondary stress on the final syllable, in which case the vowels are [a], [o], etc. unobscured.

The suffixes -dent and -ment (except in independent) in most instances bore secondary stress: accident, confident, defendant, instrument, monument, payment, settlement, testament, etc. [əkrənt, də'fənt, etc.] This type is familiar in the standard pronunciation of formant, n. ['formənt].

cresset, cresserettes (women), recorded by both Kephart (Word List, p. 411) and Combs (p. 1313). (For these forms, Kephart indicates [a] in the stressed syllable, but Combs [o].

41. See p. 65 and note 32.

42. Mountain spelled moun'ting seems to appear only in the earlier dialect writings (e.g., Murfree, p. 3, Siegler, p. 61, 'Mountain Sermon,' p. 53). Cf. bretheren ['bretərən], 'Mountain Sermon,' p. 21; the form [tir'brən] mentioned above, chapt. 1, p. 21, possibly reflects this pronunciation. Combs, p. 1310, finds misplaced -ing in seven and eleven.


44. Kephart, p. 659, lists elements, evidence, sentiments; and Combs, p. 1314, notes both [a] and [i] in words like settlement and judgment, Miss Murfree, p. 61, writes settlement. I have not heard [i] in words of this kind. Cf. encouragement, inhabitants in Brown's Journal, pp. 205, 311.
Two family names ending in -well display inconsistent treatment. Cardwell shows reduction of the vowel to [o]; ['kar'dwel], but in Caldwell the main stress is curiously shifted to the final syllable: [ka'wel]. For the latter [ka'wel] and ['kawel] also occur, but they are infrequent.

Words ending in -land also show variation. Copeland (Creek), upland, woodland, and Strickland (family name) are always pronounced with [o]; but The Squirrel's (a valley near Gatlinburg) is usually ['syr'leə]. An aged man of Webs Creek said that his ancestor had come to Tennessee from ['webolem] county, Virginia. (In the Tennessee Valley, ['mek,leə] for Oakland, a local place-name, was heard.)

In the speech of elderly people and some others, proper names with the suffix -ham are frequently sounded with [a]: Graham (Co., N. C.) ['grem,ham], Trentham (family name) ['trent,ham] (besides ['trentm]).

April was ['tpr,præl] in the speech of a young man of Emerts Cove; a high-school girl of Cosby said that this is her grandmother's pronunciation. (Compare American ['frstl]: British ['fr,tæl]). The diphthong [ai] is heard also in genuine ['dʒmin,jwain], quinine. A former fire-warden is reported to have sounded intestine ['ntst,tæn].

These examples of the tendency to put more than the usual stress on final syllables are contrasted with instances wherein less than the customary stress is given. The form Caldwell ['ka'wel] has been mentioned above. Further illustration is found in the numerous place-names with the suffix -ville. It is typical of Smokies speech that in these words [i] is almost always obscured to [a]; for example, Knoxville ['noks,væl], Saviorville ['sævər,væl], Waynesville ['wēnsvæl]. Sometimes the [a] in such words is very much reduced, especially when the utterance is rapid, and sometimes it is retracted, making the i rather dark. Occurrences of these names with [i] are rare in the Smokies.45 Interesting too are Hurricane ['hǝr'zikn] and the compounds foremost, chestnut, walnut, which always have [a]: ['fər'mɔst], ['frst, n 'frəmst], a by-word with some people, [ˈhed 'fɔrmst] (reported) head foremost (cf. OE formost, formost); ['flsmt], ['ψwnt], [ˈwɔlnut] (heard often in the place-name Walnut Bottoms). There seems to be little tendency, furthermore, to restore the stress in forehead (though a few are reported to say ['fɔr,hed], surplus ['sɔrpl], and words ending in -ness like neatness ['nɛtnæs], roughness 'fodder' ['trənæs] (but a mountain preacher was heard to say ['dɔrk,nes] for darkness).46 (Cf. progress ['prəgres].)

46. But Hendersonville (Transylvania Co., N. C.) and Robbinsville (Graham Co., N. C.) were heard only with [i] in the final syllable. The rhythm of the former almost requires secondary stress on the final syllable.

2. [i].

This sound occurs in a number of end-syllables too diverse for brief characterization. Some of them are Germanic, like -y, as in dusty, icy; -ly, as in kindly; -et, as in hornet; -ie, as in frolic; many were originally French, as for example, -age, -age, -ad, -et (as in pallet), -ite, -ite (as in phyite); at least two are ultimately of American Indian origin, as chinquapin, Catalowee. But since most of them are pronounced with [i] in general American (see Kenyon, Guide, §§121, 125), it seems unnecessary to go into further detail. The examples of words which are sounded with [i], or variants thereof, are arranged in the following order: (1) [i] final, (2) before stops, (3) before affricates and fricatives, (4) before sibilants, (5) before nasals.

(1) [i] final:

Anthony, biggity, boundary, brownie (‘panny’), catty (‘active’), clifty (‘cliffy’), Cosby (Creek), country, doncy (‘dancy’?), dusty, every, fancy v., foggy, funky (‘having a bad odor’), gaily (‘gay’), hungry, Husky, icy, Kentucky, linsey (‘a cloth made of cotton and wool’), mercy, mighty, missey, old-tiney (‘old-fashioned’), Owenby, perfectly, plenty, prairie, poorly (‘in bad health’), puny, rowdy, smoky, sorry, study, thickly (‘covered with a thicket’), Catalowee, Chilhowee, Hiwassee, Occasalooce, Tuckaleechee, Tuckasagee.

Monday, Tuesday, etc., yesterday, Loveday (a family name).

(2) Before stops (chiefly dentals and palatals):

Balld, salad, solid; accurate, desperate; bucket, casket, civel, coverlet, hornet, pocket, pocket, racket, rocket, scarlet, skillet, socket, Sinnett (family name).

Biscuit, circuit, minute.

Favorite, Profit (family name), pulpit, rabbit.

Colic, electric, frolic, mimic, phthisic (‘asthma’), physic, rollick.

Almanac, mattock, stomach.

(3) Before affricates and fricatives:

Advantage, cabbage, courage, garbage, manage; college, privilege; cartridge, partridge.

Protractive (as in ‘proactive meeting’), relative, shairf.

Childish, finish, foolish, skittish.

(4) Before sibilants:

Crevile, notice, office, practice, promise, service; Baptist, Methodist.
(5) Before nasals:

Cabin, chinquapin, Hopkins, piggin, robin.

Because each of these groups displays individual peculiarities in the treatment of the unstressed vowel, it is necessary to discuss them separately. The order as given above will be observed.

(1) [i] final. The vowel in the final syllable of such words as dusky, hungry, smoky, pumpy varies between a somewhat reduced [i] and a lax [i]. These sounds represent the two extremes; the usual pronunciation, no doubt, is a raised [i]. Nevertheless, if the word-stress is heavy, as it frequently is in Smokies speech, the unaccented final vowel suffers, tending to become lax and obscured. A few examples taken from natural or recorded speech will illustrate. On one of the discs, a young fellow says: [am 'twent 'tu j'z' ou'l] 'I'm twenty-two years old' (the double stress marks indicate very heavy stress); on another, a CCC corollary reads: ['wun 'rem 'der], 'One rainy day...', (also with strong force on the accented syllable); another speaker says: ['en 'ta'm] any time. Also, there is a slight tendency for the vowel to be diminished after r; Mary Ridge ['mara 'rardz] (the sound in the final syllable was hardly audible), '...If you carry on like this.' ['kar a 'la-k 'dis]. The result of these tendencies is reflected in the frequent loss of [i] in the much-used every and mighty; for example, every time ['evo 'ta'm], every day ['evo 'der], mighty nigh ['ma-t 'naun]. Cf. everything, everybody ['evo'rej], ['evu'hadi].

As to the Indian names, the -es of the final syllable is usually treated like final -y: Chitkoosee [chitko'hau], Tuckaleechee [takalii'li], Tuckasegee [takose'ei], etc. But in Catawbaee, the final syllable is frequently dropped, no doubt in an effort to simplify a long and apparently meaningless word: [katela't].

Some speakers combine the final vowel of yesterday with the initial vowel of evening in the phrase yesterday evening ['jast'divn].

(2) Before stops (dental and palatal). Before [t] and [k], the general preference is for [i], but the particular shade of the vowel varies as between different words and speakers. Certain features may be noted.

48. Cf. slipper, allum 'slippery elm,' Dargan, p. 31, and the loss of [i] after r in words like curious, serial. There are indications that the reduction or loss of final [i] after r is fairly common in the South; cf. this transcription from American Speech Series, No. 65-5, Macon, Georgia: [oi ju 'ker a on jk 'dis], '...If you carry on like this.' (American Speech, vol. 9, p. 297); also East Texas No. 8 (Sterling, p. 87 and note 210).

49. Mason writes Tuckasee (p. 37) and Tuckalee (p. 170).

Sincerely ([kalivit]) on one of the ballad-records. For prairie, the interesting dialect spelling perarrer appears in the Illustrated Guide Book of the Western North Carolina Railroad (Salisbury, N. C., 1889), p. 17. This recalls David Crockett's pararr (see note 67, chap. 111).

Ballad, salad, bullet, pellet, skillet follow the same phonetic pattern in the final syllable, usually having a precise [i] preceded by clear 1; [busli], [sasch] (both of these with unvoicing of final d), [burtit], etc. These pronunciations are very characteristic of Smokies speech. Other words which in most cases showed an unweakened [i] were: minute, pulpit (with secondary stress) ['pul,pi], rabbit, racket, socket, scarlet, Stinnett, Profitt ['mint], ['rabit], etc.50

In some words of this same type, however, the vowel appeared to ossillate freely between [i], [e], [a]: basket, bucket, casket, hornet, market, pocket. Two other words with variant sounds are favorite, usually with [i], but sometimes with [e], and covered ['kavril], [-ird], [-led].

Words ending in -ic like cico, froic, philicis ['fritik] have unobscured [e]. Here belong also the words with original back vowels: almanac ['almanak], matlock ['matlok] (OE mattoc), atomach ['atomak], which are all typical Smokies pronunciations.47 (For almanac, cf. tabernacle [tarnk], dominick, the latter with an alternation of [i/e/a] before [k].)

(3) Before affricates and fricatives. Words in which the vowel precedes [ts], [v], [s] (there were no instances of [ts], [s], but one of [s], generally preserve [i] without reduction: cabbage ['kebdz], relative ['rel,tiw], skittish ['kitkis]. Before [i], [s], the vowel is often raised slightly toward [i]: foehn ['fo:zn], etc. A weakened vowel is sometimes heard, however, in cardridge and partridge, which vary ['kartrigz], ['kartridz], ['kartradz], etc. In sheriff the vowel may be diminished and lost: ['serif], ['serf]; in Irish it is practically always lost: [or].

(4) Before sibilants. Before [s], [z] is in most instances clear and distinct; for example, crevice ['kervis], promise ['prems]. Sometimes, however, it becomes lax and retracted, especially in Baptist ['bembits], Methodist ['mebeds], Morris ['moras], and occasionally in the other words.

Jesuitic is perhaps an exception to this; it occurred but once, in the expression ['jei 'dzeedz]. Neither the word nor the expression seems to be widely known or used.51

(5) Before [n]. The unstressed vowel of cabin, piggin, and robin alternates between the tense and lax varieties of [i], though the preference perhaps is for the former. Chinquapin, however, always has secondary stress on the final syllable and preserves [i] unweakened: [chinkin, pum]. The word violen (little used) is stressed on its initial syllable, and the vowel of its final syllable is often indeterminate in quality.

Smidgen 'a little bit' (< smitting?) cannot yet be classified; it is said

50. Conner, p. 70, writes Eye-sockits; Mrs. Dargan, p. 231, kibberids.

51. Wyck remarks, p. 26: 'In almanac we have 'restored' [e] in the final syllable.' He compares the form almenae in the Cely Papae and cites atomach and Itec (Icna) in Baker (1724).

52. Crumb, p. 316, recorded yellow fander and black fander in southeast Missouri.
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to occur in such expressions as (go 'ouvr n, baro 'arin, vo 'salt), and [' dist (just) ə 'sin].43

3. Words ending in -ə, -ə, -ə.

Words with these endings are variously treated: most show the old-fashioned [1]; a few (with -ə, -ə) have [ə]; and a few have other vowels ([e], [a], [o]). There is also a group in which only [ə] was heard. In speech subjected to modernizing influences, forms with [ə] and [ɛ] may be corrected to corresponding forms with [ə] or [ɛ].

(1) [t]. In the speech of many middle-aged people, of many middle-aged and young, both -ə and -ə, and (in two cases) -ə, appear as [t]. Certain words excepted from this treatment will be discussed below.

The words in which [t] was heard are as follows:

Alabama [əbəbənt], America, Augusta (Georgia), California [n], Chattanooga [kətəh', a], cholena morph, Corn, diorina [kətər', r'], extra, Florida, Georgia, Heinbooga Bald (in the park), Hosen [hu:nz] (man's given name), Indiana, Johnh (the Biblical figure), (Lake) Junalaska [kəjuləskə], Laura, Linda, lobulina, mamma ['mam], Martha, Nora, okra, Oma (woman's given name), Ora (same), papa [pap], pellagra, Pennsylvania, (Mount) Pisgah, pneumonia, Rebecca (usually shortened to Becky), Rhoda, soda, Virginia [n].

The very common any 'any' and nary 'no' (adj.) for the early modern ər ə and ərə ə also belong here.

A few comments on these forms are necessary. People who have been exposed to the schools and the tourists may substitute [o] or [n] for [t] in some or all of the words given above; but there is no necessary consistency of usage. A middle-aged man with some contact with the world may say, for example, [kə'təgə], for Heinbooga Bald, a place-name known for the most part only to people who live in Haywood county; but he is almost sure to pronounce Alabama with [b]. Alabama has a wider social sphere than Heinbooga; that is, its social implications are greater and its frequency of occurrence higher, and thus it is more susceptible of receiving new phonetic influences. Similarly, a man in his twenties may say [ərka] for okra, but he may regard [nu'mount] as old-fashioned. Okra is a word which is largely limited to use within the family and hence less subject to modes of pronunciation. But isolated, uneducated, or very old people may pronounce [t] in all of the words listed above. An exception, however, to this variable treatment is Ida, which is very generally ər among young and old.44

43. This form, reported also by Coues (p. 1305) and Kephart (p. 641), who write smildgin, is said to be dying out in the Smokies. Cf. also the reported forms nagggin ərd 'naggin', 'naggin; 'boggan ərd capn 'boggan', 'boggan.

44. Krapp, vol. 2, p. 251, cites evidence which suggests that [t] for final -ə was once prevalent in American speech. Early local spellings and modern usage indicate that both [t] and [tv] have been common in the vicinity of the Smokies. Examples:


(2) [t] Shandar 'Shandara', Virginia (Brown, 1765, p. 387, 387), Unaker ('Unaker or Iron Mountain'; Strother's diary, 1799, quoted in Arthur, p. 44), Sinicar snake root (Siev, 1900).

Coumar writes Transalncy, N. C., p. 68, Fudilla, p. 5 (girl's name, probably for Fidelia, but pronounced 'fudilə', in the Smokies), but Fidel 'Fidelissi' p. 68.

53. I have not heard Caroline with final [t], but evidence of such a form, which has possibly fallen out of common use, is found in the representations Kerley (Dict. Notes, vol. 1, p. 375), South C'liny (Dargen, p. 234), North C'liny (Mason, p. 321).


54. The celebrated moonshiner of Eagle Creek, Quill Rose (see Cushman, pp. 30-44), now dead, is referred to as 'kwa'll' on one of the discs; Arthur, p. 310, spells his given name Aquilla.
These occurrences, noted from speakers of varying ages, illustrate the tendency to abandon the old forms with [i] or [y].

4. [ə]

This sound occurs in the final syllables of words of several types: words which end in -ar, -er, -or; words which end in -ure; words with the suffix -ward; and miscellaneous others like acorn, cupboard, lard. It is also common in a group of words ending in -o and -ow, which will be discussed in the following section.

Examples:

(1) -ar, -er, -or: collar, dollar, familiar, mortar, particular, regular; after, boiler, boomer (a small brown squirrel), brother, chigger, clabber, clever (‘kind, hospitable’), cold-trailer (a kind of hunting dog), cooper, cumbler, dominicker, enter, ever, fodder, further, gobbler, gritter (‘grater’), hammer, high-power (a kind of gun), hooser (‘hodge’); see p. 99), linkister (‘interpreter’), looser v. and n., master n. and adj., moonshiner, offer, plunder n., preacher, scatters, settler, slipper, slobber, wender, yonder; labor, liquor, neighbor.

(2) -ure: capture, conjure (‘Kandy’s), creature (‘krite’), figure, measure, nature, pasture, picture.

(3) -ward: awkward, backward, Edwards, forward, outward.

(4) Other spellings: acorn, acre, all-overs (‘overs’); obolosce, bastard, buzzard, Hartford (Cocke Co., Tenn.), lard, Millard (a man’s given name), orchard, southern.

(1) Words like dollar, clever, liquor require little comment. Entered on a disk is sounded [‘entəd], with loss of retroflexion; but this was the only observed instance of this change. Fertilizer appears without its final syllable: [‘fərtələ]. For campfire, at least one speaker uses the old form campfire (‘kampfla’).

(2) Words spelled with -ture may retain their old unpalatalized forms with -ture.

Capture (‘kapeptə’) (rarely heard).

57. This pronunciation is indicated in the Conner MSS, p. 4 ff. ‘... We never heard of Fertilizer’s until I was 12 or 14 year’s old, yet we made plenty to live on, and to spare, and now it takes all our crops to pay our Fertilize bills. ‘... Kephart, p. 601, records this form, regarding it as a verb transformed into a noun, and classifying it with give-out ‘annunciation.’

58. Kephart, Word List, p. 412, writes campfire, apparently for campphor. This form is probably an instance of folk etymology; cf. the quotation from Bacon (Spia, 1830) in the OED: ‘Brumstones, Pits, Chapphires, Wildfire... make no such fiery wind, as Guaypowder doth.’ For American examples, see the D.A. under campfire.

59. There is abundant evidence in various writers that forms with unpalatalized -ture have been extensively current in the mountains. Examples: Scripture, natural, creature (‘krite’), said to be used especially in rebuking a horse: [ju ‘drə ‘krite’].

Manufacture, usually with [i], but twice with [ə].

Mixture, in several instances [‘mixtərə], but once [‘mixtə]. The common usage is unknown.

Nature, always [‘neɪtə], even in the speech of old-timers, except once in the phrase ill-natured [‘natredd] dogs.

Pawley (‘pəstər’), very common.

Picture (‘pikta’), not frequent, but it occurs on a disc; also ‘pikta’.

Punctured (‘pəntktərd’), once.

50. Figure occurred only as [‘frəgə]; (cf. the treatment of medial -v, p. 577.)

(3) Words with the suffix -ward (except towards), in the common speech, almost always lose [w] preceding [ə]: awkward [‘əskərd], backward [‘bəskərd], etc. But towards varies [təwərds], [‘təwərds], [tərds].

(4) The treatment of the unstressed vowel in words like acorn, buzzard, effort does not differ from general American usage, with the exception of acorns, which has only [ə] (cf. OEB acorn), and possibly massacre and sabra, which in single occurrences were [‘məskrə] and [‘səbrə] (spelling pronunciations?).

(5) Analogical -er and excrecent [ə].

Two words have assumed the suffix -er, apparently by analogy with forms of similar type: linguisit (-i) becomes [‘lɪŋkəstər] [‘lɪŋkəstə] ‘interpreter’ (heard only once, but recorded by various writers); and resident becomes residenter ‘old timer’ (also heard but once, but reported from an adjacent area). The verbal use of looser may also be noted: ‘I’m just a-looserin’ around.’

In the speech of children and of some grown-ups, weep frequently occurs as [‘wəpər], [‘wəpə], with inorganic [ə]. Buck-ague ‘buck fever’ develops [ə] from unstressed [i] : [bək’əgə], and twice [bək’əkə].

Ziegler and Grosscup, pp. 50, 91; natur, critter, ridin’ critter, Kephart, p. 593; nater, Dargan, p. 91, 96; critter, picter (motion pictures), Heyward, p. 500, 501; misty Goodrich, p. 66; nater, picter, Mason, p. 207. Combs, p. 1310, lists nater, pletter, teipster, and misty.

Wylde, p. 277 f., gives numerous occasional spellings, dating from to passer (St. Editha, c. 1432) to creators, tetter, pictures in the Wentworth Papes (16th cent.).

60. For example, ‘linguisit or Interpreter,’ Lamman (1649), p. 97; linguisit, linkisit, linkester, Kephart, Word List, p. 414. It is possible, however, that linkisit is derived from ligne + ister (-ister as in leacher, etc.), or that linkester is a popular etymology either of ligne-ister or of linguisiter. The interpreter could have been regarded as a link between speakers.

61. Cf. topper’s nest in the EDD (u. s. weap).

62. Cf. buck-ague, Mason (p. 169) ager ‘ague,’ Dargan (p. 40). These forms were recorded also in southeast Missouri (Crum, p. 204). One informant reports that [bək’əgə] means ‘chills and fever.’ Brown gives (p. 301 f.) ‘... Met a large Drove of fowls: all moving for Kentucky from the South State a grate Part of them was sick with the third day Bagy.’
5. Words spelled with -o, -ow.

The usage is varied in words spelled with final -o, -ow. Such words are pronounced with [ə], [o], [i], [u], depending on the word and the speaker. After r, the vowel is sometimes omitted, with or without lengthening in the preceding sounds. The pronunciations are of three main types, and the words are arranged in accordance with these types.

(1) Words of the type of banjo ['baNDzə] and follow ['fələ]. The sound [o], representing retroflexion of historical [ɔ], is the prevailing one in most words spelled with -o, -ow.24 It may be, and frequently is, modified to [ə]; and occasionally it is 'corrected' to [o]. It exhibits amazing vitality, nevertheless, in the speech of young and old, often persisting when other outmoded linguistic features have been lost. A considerable degree of education or subjection to modernizing influences is required before speakers regularly avoid [ə] for general American [o]. Examples:

Banjo, mosquito ([ma'koGəskitoʊ]), negro ['negrə], piano ['paN森ə], potato, tobacco, tomato; fellow, follow, 'holler' v. ('spelled hallo, hallow in the dictionaries, earlier hallow < OE hállo), hollow n. (as in Possom Hollow, near Proctor, N. C.), meadow, mellow, pillow, shadow, shallow, tallow, willow (as in Bear Wallow Ridge; also as a verb), widow, window, yellow (usual sense; also in ['jifəl, 'pərt], 'a burned-over area'.

Attention may be given to a few matters of usage. Negro is ['negrə] in the speech of everyone—educated or uneducated. The frequency of piano as ['paN森ə] is not known; probably only the old-timers and the isolated use this form now. Potato, tobacco, and tomato display little evidence of correction to [ə], though they are heard fairly often with [ə]. They continue to flourish as [po'tætə], [ˈtætət], etc. An informant of Welden's Creek (Sevier Co., Tenn.) reports that some of the less schooled families of his section say ['tætə] and ['melet] for potatoes and tomatoes; but these forms with [i] for -ow were unknown to the writer's informants in other areas.

Much of the pleasing rustidity of Smokies speech is associated with the sound of [o] in these words. The following sentences are illustrative: [ˈhis ən 'krubest bəʊ ɪn ˈɛhr əv a ˈsid] 'He's the crabbest old fellow ever I seen.' Probably to be included too under this heading is chigger, in view of the early spellings chigo, etc. (see the OED).

(2) Words of the type of arrow. When r precedes -ow or -o, the treatment is not with [ə], but usually with [ə], possibly by dissimilation (cf. [ʰaʊə] for horror). Examples: arrow, furrow, harrow, narrow, sparrow, tomorrow, wheelbarrow.

63. Wyld, p. 180, remarks: 'Feller [ˈfiLə] for fellow was certainly Pope's pronunciation, and as it is still certainly a good and natural form in colloquial speech, it is improbable that it was a vulgarity at the time the translation was written.'

There may be other developments. Often the unstressed vowel is lost, as in [ˈstætə] sour, [ˈspærə] sparrow, usually with lengthening either of the vowel of the preceding syllable or of [ə]. Occasionally the vowel is diminished to a faint off-glide, either [ɨ] or [ɨ], as in [ˈstær], [ˈnær]. In at least three words there may be replacement by [i]: borrow [ˈbɔːri], narrow [ˈnær], (the former is common, but the latter seems to be rare), tomorrow [ˈtoməri] (once). The loss of the vowel is exemplified in a question addressed by an Emerts Cove man to his neighbor: ['tɛnt go ˈgæt ˈɛst ˈfæl ˈhærd əm ˈjɪt] 'Aint you got that field harrowed out yet?'

Sorrowful is [ˈsɔriflə] in a recorded ballad. This form is possibly a case of substitution of [ɨ] for [ə], but it suggests the influence of sorry.

Two place-names, which should be included here, show the customary Smokies treatment with [ə] after r: Dillsboro (Jackson Co., N. C.) [ˈdɪlsˌbəro], Middleboro (Ky.) [ˈmɪdəˌbəro].

(3) Words of the type of auto ['əto]. The vowel [ə] is present only when the final syllable receives secondary stress. It may be heard in auto (car has practically supplanted this word), molo ['moLə], photo ['foːto]; also in a group of place-names: Colorado [kə'loʊrdə] (once with [ə], Tellico (Campbell Co., Tenn.), Otto (a settlement in western North Carolina) ['əto], Soco Gap, Tellico Plains.

Exceptions to treatments previously described are the two place-name forms Tapoco (Graham Co., N. C.) [ˈtəpəkə], Alamagordo (N. M.) [əˌlaˌməɡɔrdə] (once).

6. [i] and [ə].

These sounds occur after the dental stops [d] and [t]. [i] is heard in such words as the following: addle, cradle, fiddle, huddle, hospital, kettle, little, pistol, shuttle, straddle, treddle.

It seems to be present, too, in certain cases after [n], [s], [z], as in candle and handle (which are generally pronounced without [d]), dog-fennel (a plant-name), parcel, and mussels: ['kænəl], ['dɑɡˌfənəl], ['pærəl], etc.

It is absent, however, in the frequent Smokies pronunciation of the phrase little one ['lɪtələn], as in, 'Reach me the little one,' ['tɛtəl mi əm ˈlɪtələn].

The line between [i] and [ə] is at times very fine, and there are doubtful cases; yet an [ə] appears to intervene before l in the following words: azel, barrel, caskal v. ['kækal], devil, dog-hobble, gravel, honeysuckles (false azalea), navel ['nævəl], ruffle ['rʌflə], Rebel ['eɪrədəl], showel, sprangled ('spread out', of a treed), strangle, travel. There is an interesting contrast between the normal and dialectal pronunciations of turtle, both of which are heard in the Smokies: ['tɜːtəl], but ['tɜːzəl].

In a recorded utterance, [ə] is lost before l in the phrase couple of months ['kæplə ˈmænts].
[o] is heard in the following words and others like them:

Aden (man's given name), Canton (Haywood Co., N. C.), Catons Grove, certain, cotton, fitter adj. ('fitting, proper,' as in, 'It ain't fitten for a man to go outside in this weather'), Parton, plaint, quieten, rotten, sudden, Sutton, threaten, warden.

But captain is ['kapTən], and mountain is occasionally ['məuntn] and ['mauntn], as well as ['maunt].

It may be noted here that one in enclitic position is often reduced to syllabic n, as in the phrase pretty good ones ['pɛtɪ 'gudnə].

7. The inflectional endings.

The present remarks with regard to the sounds of the inflectional syllables are based upon all available transcriptions; more definite statements cannot be formulated until all of the materials on the phonograph records have been transcribed.

(1) -es, preceded by [s], [z], [s], [z], [d], [z].

The vocal of this termination varies between [s], [z], [i], with a preference for [s] and [i]; a distinct [z] does not seem to be very common. However, horses and horses occur on the discs with an [i] more or less clearly audible. Typical forms are benches ['benks], bridges ['brɪdʒ], catches ['kɛtʃz], classes ['klɑsəz], Mingus's Creek ['mɪŋgəs 'krik], molasses ['mələsəz], ['mələsəz], Sparks's place ['spɑksəz 'plɛs].

In the dialectal plurals and possessives of words like nests, posts, etc., the same vowels appear, and also occasionally [s] or [i]:

Nests ['nestz], ['nestz], ['nɛstz], ['nɛstz] (beside ['nes]).

Posts (like nests): a Cosby boy said: 'a wandr' wat de 'em ba'du wr̩z 'pʌmstəz' I wonder what they aim to do with these pine posts.'

Joists ['dʒɔstz] (once, on a disc; also ['dʒɔstz]).

Fists (['fɪstz], ['fɪstz], ['fɪstz] (in the few observed instances).\footnote{64}

Wasp (['wasp], ['wasp], but now usually ['wɔsp]).

In Christ's time (in ['krɪstəz 'tɪm] (once).

Bellises, gallises (['beləzə], ['geləzə]).\footnote{65}

Yours (['jʊrz], plural; one).

The following verbal forms were pronounced with [o] in the final syllable: costs (['kəstz], ['kəstz], 'intrests (['intrəstz], ['intrəstz]). The first two were used by some small Cosby children; the last by a CCC enrollee.

\footnote{64. Cf. Pope's 'Papists' (1655), Wyld, Short Hist., p. 216.}

\footnote{65. Cf. Medderses, apparently Meddows, in an expression recorded by Kophar, vol. 3470, p. 738: 'Run, KI, back to Medderses, an' say what's thar they.'}

(2) -ed. In this ending, [o] is usual, but [i] and [e] may be heard occasionally. Most of the transcriptions show [o]; for example:

Carded ['kərdəd], decided ['dɛzdəd], drowned ['drəundəd], excited ['ekəstəd], haunted ['hæntəd], moulded ['mʌldəd], squatted ['skətəd], started ['stərtəd], forked stick ['fɔrkəd 'stɪk], plagued panther ['plægd pəntər].

But [i] occurs on the discs in the following forms (single instances): drifted ['drɪftəd], rooted up ['rʊtəd ʌp], undaunted ['ʌndədəd], waded ['wədəd].

(3) -ing. This ending varies [in], [ɪn], [ɪn], [n], depending in most cases on the preceding sound; [n] may be heard, of course, from educated speakers, but, on the whole, it is very rare, even among them. From the present evidence, the following tendencies are discernible:

(a) After vowels, the sound is usually [n], as in doing ['duŋ], fryin ['frɑɪn], seein ['siŋ], snowing ['snoʊn]. But on the discs of Arthur the Rat, going varies ['gʊŋ], ['gʊn], ['gʊm], ['gʊm]; a very aged man of Bradley Fork pronounces this form ['gwaɪn].\footnote{66}

(b) After consonants, except the dentals and t, [o] is generally used; for example: poppin ['pɔpən], yelpin ['jɛlpən], a-barking ['bɑrkɪŋ], cooing ['kuɪŋ], walking ['wɔkɪŋ], logging ['lɔɡɪŋ], coughing ['kʌfɪŋ], fishing ['fɪʃɪŋ], hearing ['hɪərɪŋ], a-hollerin ['hələrɪŋ]. There is, however, a tendency to use [i] or [e] after [k], [v], [z], [n]: looking ['lʊkɪŋ], making ['mɪkɪŋ], a-door-drivin ['dɔr 'driːvɪŋ], fishing ['fɪʃɪŋ], rainin ['rɛɪnɪŋ], running ['rʌnɪŋ]. After r, the vowel may be elided, as in doctorin ['dɔktərɪŋ], Roaring Fork ['rɔrɪŋ fɔrk].

(c) After l, [i] or [e] is more frequent than [o], as in cracklin ['krækəlɪŋ], dwellin ['dɛlɪŋ], middlin ['mɪdəlɪŋ] (of bacon), singlin ['sɪŋəlɪŋ], stillin (distilling) ['stɪlɪŋ], trufflin (['tɹʌfəlɪŋ], trislin (['trɪsəlɪŋ], trislin (['trɪsəlɪŋ], 'no-account') ['trɪlɪŋ]. The l in such cases is always clear. But [o] seems to be usual in fallin ['fælɪŋ] and tellin ['telɪŋ]; preceding [o], the l lacks the clear quality which it has before [i].

(d) After [t], [d], [s], [z], syllabic n is almost universal. Examples:

Bleeding ['blɪdɪŋ], feeding ['fɪdɪŋ], spreading adder ['spredɪŋ 'ədər] (re-reported),\footnote{67} cutting ['kʌtɪŋ] (as in, ['kʌtɪŋ 'bɪŋ 'tɪŋ], eating ['ɛtɪŋ], getting ['gɛtɪŋ], Fighting Creek ['fɪtɪŋ kərk], hunting, shooting, dancing ['dæntən], frostin ['frɔstɪŋ], roasting eggs (corn) ['roʊsɪŋ 'jɛz], using ['juəz].

\footnote{66. Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 735, also finds this form: 'Stranger—maunin' no harm—where are you going?'}

\footnote{67. Apparently not ['spredɪŋ 'ədər] in the Smokies.}
THE VOWEL SOUNDS OF UNSTRESSED

(c) Miscellaneous.

Nothing is usually ['nʌθin], and something varies ['sʌmpθin], ['sʌmpθon], ['sʌmpən], ['sʌmpən] (once). Sometimes in singing the [r] of -ing is pinched to [l] and the [y] restored; e.g., ['dɔrliŋ] darling.

(4) The comparative and the superlative.

The sounds are [s] (with the usual retroflexion), [as(t)]: bitterer ['bitɪər], pleasanter ['pliəntə], richest ['ritʃest], closest ['kloʊthest], sorriest ['sɔrreɪst].

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The consonants of Great Smokies speech conform so closely to those of general American speech that it is unnecessary to give a detailed description of each. There may be some differences, for example, between the standard and the local articulation of the t in bear; but the writer is unable to perceive them. Differences affecting consonants lie chiefly in their loss in certain cases where they are ordinarily pronounced, their addition where unadmitted by standard speech, assimilation, dissimulation, voicing of voiceless sounds, unvoicing of voiced sounds, and apparent substitutions of one sound for another. Many of the phenomena here discussed are widespread in English colloquial and dialectal speech and some, though perhaps not many, may be limited to the Southern Appalachian region. It is no doubt impossible to single out any feature in the pronunciation of the Great Smoky Mountains as peculiar to that area. The sources of population from which the region was settled were essentially the same as those from which a great part of the South was settled. Furthermore, the people in the counties studied were never, as a group, completely isolated; there was always some contact with cultural centers like Knoxville and Asheville, which in turn received influences from abroad. These factors prevented Great Smokies speech from becoming a dialect possessing sharp divergencies from the speech of surrounding areas.

In each of the ensuing sections wherein general phenomena (like the loss and addition of sounds) are treated, the consonants will be considered in the following order: plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals, laterals, and semi-vowels. In the final sections of this chapter, however, certain consonants which show unusual treatment will be individually considered.

1. Initial loss.

The consonants most susceptible of initial loss are [s], [h], and [w]; and instances of elision are limited chiefly to words of commonest use, like pronouns, adverbs, and auxiliary verbs.

Loss of [s] has been observed in this, that, these, those, there, than, than, though. The omission is frequent in such phrases as like this, like that, back there, over there, up there: [lɛk′θiz], [lɛk′θet], [bæk′θar], (′ɔvər ˈθɛr). This evening is sometimes reduced to [′sɪvən]; [gənə ˈkæm ə ′rɛm ′sɪvən]. (′Thar′s going to come a rain this evening.) Children have been observed to drop the [s] even in a stressed form, as in the sentence: [′tɔrə ′bug ou]
'spa-dz] 'There's a big old spider!' Then often suffers initial loss after a comparative: [hi 'merid ma 'su-'sot ov'don mi] 'He married my sister older than me'; [hi 'kild im 'dordon [or 'slad] 'He killed him (a bear) deader than four o'clock.' The pronoun it [hit] (OE hit) preserves its initial historical [i], except when unstressed; e.g., [i-] 'don't rm 'member 'beau 'hit it' 'I don't remember about it.' Even unstressed hit often occurs without initial loss, as in the sentence: [n 'doven 'hou how 'bap hits 'bin] 'I don't know how long it's been.' But unstressed hit, like he, him, her, etc., usually occurs without [i]: [s] 'ges its bm 'ten 'fitfin 'jir a'gou 'I guess it's been ten or fifteen years ago.'

Here [hir], [hir] may lose its [i] in the phrase 'Come here!' ['kam 'jir].

At home often occurs (twice on the speech-records) as [a'toun]: ['kam 'toun] ['kam 'rozoon] 'not a'toun'; ['dizis 'laik 'vi woz a'toun'] '...Just like we was at home.' To the house receives curious treatment in the sentence: [s] 'kam 'toun 'gat 'soul 'man to 'leap mif] 'I came to the house and got the old man to help me.' The pronunciations [a'toun] and [a'toun] are probably old colloquial relics. Initial [i] was elided in an instance of the phrase around the hill ['a'revunt 'tli].

Heir, herb, honest, hour, humble, humor occur without [i]: [ez], [eb] (jir), [e], ['ambal], [ir]. Hospital and humane are ['hospit] and ['hjemen]. A respected county-court judge pronounced honor ['honna].

[w] often disappears in was, will, would when preceded by a personal pronoun; for example, I was, he will, they will, you would, etc.: [g], [h], [so], [ju], etc.; I'll go tomorrow; 'I think hit'll fair up' [got hit]; 'faw 'jap; 'Hit was awful bad' ['hit as 'afol 'bad]; 'We would have us a big (fine) time' ['wi ad 'have us a big 'tarn]; Want lost its initial consonant as pronounced by an illiterate adolescent of Cosby Creek: ['jents 'tui'] 'If you want to.' After making a faulty start with Arthur the Rat on a speech-record, a Bushnell led asked: ['jam'mi] to be 'bgin 'ove 'ginn.'

The pronoun one always occurs without [i] in the dialectal you-one: ['jiena] (as general Southern you-all), unstressed [i'en] [jenz] e.g., ['juent 'set in 'frant] 'You (plural) sit in front.' The corresponding we-ones seems to have about died out in the Smokies; it was not heard. The reduced form of one is heard also in such expressions as: 'Which one?' ['hweirt'zi]; 'That one' ['fas]; the next one' ['se 'nclstaj]; 'That's a main (great) big one!' ['sats o 'men 'bigaj]; I never saw another one ['er 'sent 'sid 'nqers 'nqajaj].

Loss of other consonants is less frequent. [i] is sometimes dropped in don't [s 'doun 'nou] 'I don't know'; [gs] in just: [st] 'as 'don 'nou. An old

woman of Copeland Creek amused her younger friends by pronouncing right now ['ait 'nu] You lost its [i] ([list]), by assimilation to the following vowel; compare ME riz-'it, slipen 'itch', and contrast sur ['fis], [beside ['fel]], in which an inorganic glide develops before the high vowel.


Medial loss of consonants is much more common than initial loss and affects a wider variety of speech sounds.

[p] was absent in one instance of Baptist ['besed]; the usual forms are ['ba'bis] and ['ba'bis].

[b] is sometimes dropped in bumble-bee, tremble, and tumble, and likely too in Cumberland Gap, which is ['kamber] ['gpm] on a disc. Probably is ['prabl], ['prabl]. The local family names Campbell and McCampbell are always ['kempl] and ['mekempl].

[t] is usually unsounded between [k] and [l] and in the medial combination [st], and is sometimes lost after [n], as in the following words: directly, exactly, perfectly; chestnut, frost, frosty ['fros]; joists, roasting ears ('corn') ['raus 'jirs]; county, gentleman, lantern, mantle, mountain ['maunoun], plenty, twenty.

Practically is ['prekhi] in a recorded story of a bear-hunt. Joists, in the discs of Arthur the Rat, is usually ['dizojos] or ['dizor]; and once it is ['dizous]. Similarly, the plural of fset n., a car, is ['fars] or ['fassor]. For locusts, ['lokossaj] seems to be the only form of common use. But [t] is retained in the old infinitive forms nset ['nestaj], ['nestaj], posts ['pojest], etc., which may still be heard in the Smokies alongside [nes], [pous], etc. Occasionally, [t] is lost in verbal forms ending in -ted; the two following examples appear on the speech-records: wid 'stand aut 'shantaj] 'We started out a-hunting'; 'That's undoubtedly [an'deult] a bear. ('Undoubtedly is also ['an'deult].) Let's is, of course, often [tes]. Often does not lose its [t] ['set].

[d] after [n] is in most cases not sounded before [l], [z], or some other consonant, as in the following words: bundle, candle, handle, kindle, kindling, landlord; hands, pounds, reminds, Sugarlands; grandma, grandpa ['gran, 'paj], hound-dog, hundred ['hunda] (but usually ['handd]), sand-pile.

Similarly, after [n] before a vowel; [d] is sometimes omitted in yonder ['jenn], madamant ['mennan].

After [l], synopses of [d] is usual in coals, fields, Shields, and occasional in children ['tjilaj], Waldens Creek ('wouns). Childish is clearly ['kijaj] on one of the held-records. Caldwell is apparently always ['kowel], ['kawel], or ['ka'wel], (the latter two are not very common).

2. Cf. the spellings in the Conner MSS: trum-naw (p. 38), kan-shake (p. 91).
There is frequent omission of [d] before [n] in couldn't and didn't: [kənt], [dɪd].

[k] and [g], respectively, were absent in single occurrences of [kæbudget] for accepted and [ædʒestjən] for suggestion. The former, if it is not a spelling pronunciation, may reflect the schoolmaster's disapproval of such forms as [kæk'skæp] for escape (see p. 54). Asked is usually [æst], although it is still pronounced [æst] by some isolated or illiterate people.

The frienitive subject to medial loss are [r], [l], [s], and [z]. A pronunciation characteristic of old-timers is ['æstə] for after; so also ['ætɔrdə] afterwards. [l] is dropped in months and [k] in clothes [kiəts] and math [mæθs]. Hasn't and wasn't were sounded [hænt] and [wont] by one old man of Cades Cove, the former in the curiously inverted phrase [hænt 'nəbdət sid it] 'Nobody has seen it.'

The lateral [l] is not sounded by many (perhaps most) speakers before labials, as in help, holp(ed), bulb, self, Ralph, balm, calm, film: [help], [holp(ə)], [bəbl], [bəlm] and [bəlm], etc. It seems to be dropped by everyone in Cudwell (see above); and Palmer is sometimes [ˈpæmə], but usually [ˈpæmər]. [l] is unrestored in self, saives, salve, talk, walk, folk, should, would. [ɔ:ldə] varies ['ɔ:ldə], [ˈɔ:ldə], [ˈɔ:ldər].

[w] is generally absent in a number of words with the suffix -ward: awkward, backward, Edwards, towards n. (always [ˈɛdərs]), outward, upward, [ˈɔkərd], [ˈbækərd ˈnəʊrθərd], etc. It is retained, however, in afterwards, and usually in towards ('atowards), [ˈkwɔːdrəds], less often [ˈkwaːrdəs]. For equal and equally, the forms [ɪkˈlɪv] and [ɪkˈliːv] are current, and there were single instances of frequent and quadruple without [w]: [ˈfrɪkwɪnt], [ˈkwaːrdəpl]. Always [ˈælwaɪz] has this glide as pronounced by some old-fashioned speakers; others say [ˈælwaɪz], etc. But in sword, [w] has been either retained or restored from the spelling: [ˈswɔːrd].

[hw] is frequently lost in the unemphatic form of somewhere, ['səməz], as in the sentence: [hɪs ˈdʒɔːlɪ fɪˈtɪər ˈrɛkən ə ˈbodoʊ ə ˈfrænd im ˈdɛd]


Xephart, p. 539, writes aˈlwaɪz (always). Combs, p. 1317, has eˈkəl 'equal' and eˈkəlɪ 'equally.' Miss Murfree, p. 35, writes eˈkəl.

Wyld, p. 526, finds the loss of u initially before rounded vowels (as in man for 'woman'), after a consonant before rounded vowels (as in word for 'word'), after [k] in the combination gu- (as in caging for 'quoting'), before an unrounded vowel (as in upward for 'upward'). He says that the omission of u before an unrounded vowel is very old, citing upward in the Trinity Herald (1800) and hammond homeward in St. Editha (1420). Except in such place-names as Harwich, Green wich, he continues, -u- has usually been restored from the spelling—e.g., Edward, forward.

'sæmməz' 'He's so old and feeble, I reckon a body will find him dead somewhere.'

As has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, the palatal slide [ɹ] may be unsounded in unstressed position, as in curious ['kjuərəs], Daniel ['dʒənəl], Trillium ['trɪlɪəm], lobelia ['ləbəliə], operation ['əpəˈreɪʃən]. (See pp. 55-56.) It is apparently preserved by all speakers, however, in such words as bilious ['bɪliəs], civilian, familiar, William, Guilmains (family name), and it is reported to be retained in fitful ['fɪtʃəl] not ['fɪtʃəl]. Two other forms showing loss of [ɹ], each heard but once, are ['kəzəs] access and ['kəzməb] cucumber.

[r] may be dropped in two medial positions, before a consonant and after a consonant. Instances of its omission have been observed in the following words: horse, mercy, nurse, nursery, parcel; burst, first, worst; cartridge, partridge, north, farther, further; throat, through, throw, from.

It is interesting to note that in these examples [r] is or may be lost before [s], [st], [t], [st], and after [θ], [ɹ]. The pronunciations [həs] horse, [meθəs] mercy (only in the expressions [hərd 'meθəs], [həd 'meθəs], now generally replaced by [hərd həv 'meθəs]), [θɔst] first, [wəst] worst seem to belong, on the whole, to the older generations; but it is impossible now to ascertain how extensively they have been used in the past. One can say only that they are still fairly common, and that they are being supplanted by the corresponding forms with [r]. Parcel, partridge, and cartridge, however, are still generally sounded without [r]: [ˈpærəl] (in the specialized senses, a parcel of young 'uns, a parcel of land, etc.), [ˈpærətdʒ], [ˈpærətdʒ], etc. All such pronunciations seem to be doomed to early extinction; I have not often heard them from younger speakers, and already there is a tendency to replace partridge with quail, and cartridge with shell. But, on the other hand, younger speakers seem to prefer [ˈfærə] for Arthur, instead of the older ['ɔrθə], and [ˈfaθə], [ˈfaθər] for farther and further, instead of the older ['fədə]. It is not easy to reconcile the restoration of [ɹ] in one group of words with its suppression in another, but it is nevertheless apparent that such old colloquial forms as

7. Xephart and Combs, however, find ['dʒɔdət]. See note 31, p. 59.

6. Xephart, p. 508, in a list of 'elisions,' gives gust, just, got, host,うsu, passel, acce (scoops), it's, through, through.

Combs lists chillum, gal, sus, passel, parson (p. 1303), all of which he ascribes to negro influence; he mentions also pausin (p. 1316), fast, wares (p. 1316). He says, p. 1318, that r, save in negro and lowland influence, is never dropped. (In paraply, r is not original; cf. ME pounpe, OP punne.)

Miss Murfree writes passel (p. 55), with (p. 35), fith (p. 49), Laww e-maysey (p. 63), peəson (parson) (p. 101), host (p. 201), backin' an' fêthin' (p. 205), chillen (p. 184), yeastidy (p. 52). (It is necessary to say, however, that parson is not employed in the Snickers, preacher being the universal term. A person is said to be a 'nigger preacher.' )
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[has], [est], etc. are giving way to the standard [has], [est]. As for [aʊ], [aʊ], and [aʊ], there are at least two possible explanations. These may be old forms which existed beside [aʊ], [aʊ], now preferred because of their standard consonants, or they may have been introduced from parts of the South where r in this position is unsounded.

Other omissions of r were observed in corner ['kɔ:nər] (twice), north [nɔ:t], [nɔ:] (twice), fourteen ['fɔ:rɪn] (once), Portland ['pɔ:rlənd] (once), cornfield ['kɔːrnflɪd] (once), and in the reported ['fɔ:məst] for foremost.

In unstressed syllables, r may be lost in Carolina ['kɑːlənə], entertain ['ɪntər'teɪn], formerly ['fɔ:'mɔ:lt], particular ['pə'tɪkəl], persimmon ['pə'sɪmən], yesterday ['jɪstdeɪ].

Postconsonantally, r is commonly slided in threat [θrɛt], through [θrʊ], and throw [θrəʊ]. Omission is probably frequent in from, but there is only one clear example on the discs. On a speech record, through is once [θrʊ], in which the front glide is perhaps the remnant of an old [r].


The consonants most likely to result as [t] and [d], though there are isolated instances of the omission of other sounds.

Final [t] may disappear after [k], [f], [s], and [n], as in the following words:

Act, district, expect (e.g., 'speak 'skept 'I expect so'), treat, drift, shift (as in a little shift of snow 'a light snowfall'); Baptist, baptize ['bæptɪz], first, first ('a cur'), just, Methodist, next, worst; couldn't, didn't, don't, [stk], [drift], [fifs], ['kudn], etc.

The loss of [t] is usual in Baptist, Methodist, but occasional in the other words. Old timers say [driftsk] for district and younger people generally say [distrik]. Final [t] is omitted sometimes also in crept (as *krep 'ap on am), dreamt [drɛmt], leaped [lept], reached [reθ] (as in, 'tar es 'just 'reθ n 'gat m). In the final combination -sts, [ts] is often dropped and the preceding [s] elongated; for example, foists ['foɪst], nests ['nɛst]. (See p. 87.) So also, -spe was reduced to [s] in the reported pronunciation [wes 'nes] for wasp's nest. For against, many speakers use the archaic [aʊrgn], as both a preposition and a conjunction.

[d] is frequently unsounded after [n] or [l], as in: around, beyond, brand (as in brand-new ['bredn 'nu]), hound, land, send, stand, thousand; build, Burchfield, buckled, field, old, scaffold, sold, told, wild, world.

Often, however, a light [d] remains; e.g., mind ['ma nd], told ['tɔld]; final consonants tend to be preserved as sandhi links before vowels.

[is] is absent from the phrase with me [ wi mi] in a recorded utterance.

[s] is lost in a common form of yes ['jɛs], closely clipped at the end by a glottal stop. This pronunciation seems to be limited to the speech of boys and men.

[ml] is dropped from rheumatism ['rəmətɪzm] by old-fashioned speakers.

[n] is lost in unstrung on in such archaisms as on purpose ['pa rpos], on Sunday ['saʊndi], on Christmas. The prothetic vowel which is very often attached to verbs and other parts of speech is, of course, the vestige of an old on; for example, [hi 'wants to go o'hantə kˈrɪzməs] He wants to go a-hunting on Christmas. The article on is often replaced by a in Smokies speech, as in the sentences: 'I have a aunt . . .', 'She done her baldin' in a oven (i.e., a Dutch oven).

Except in educated speech and frequently in singing, [s] has not been restored in the verbal ending -ing; e.g., running ['rænɪŋ], snowing ['snəʊnɪŋ], cutting ['kʌtɪŋ].

4. Addition of sounds.

There are numerous instances of exeroient consonants in Smokies speech. Many of them are natural developments, with more or less wide currency in English speech, as the case of drempl for dreamt, [hitə] for here, [dʒæmpt,wa ɪvə] for January; others are probably hypercorrections—for example, [vɪlən] for villain, [bəs] for bus. The materials of this section will be considered in the following order: stops (p, t, d, k), fricatives (s, z, h), nasals, glides (w, j, r).

1) Stops. The only observed instances of an exeroient labial glide are [drempl] for dreamt, [sæmp] for something, and [ˈʃampi] 'Do you want me . . .' Camphor as [ˈkæmpər] is probably a popular etymology. The

12. The -t is not original, of course, in this word. Cf. OE aŋən, aŋən, etc. Of again, the OED says: 'As early as 1130 there arose in the south a variant with advb. genitive aegens, againes, corrupted bef. 1400 to aegents, againsts, . . . through the influence of such words as amends, betwixt.

13. Used in CCC slang in the sense 'to go out with another fellow's girl.'

14. Some of Conner's spellings illustrate the loss of final [d]: bym (p. 25), bran-new settlement (p. 26), Gregory's bull 'Gregory Bald' (p. 27), Gregory bull (p. 22), han-shake (p. 94).

15. For the development of [p] in drempl, etc., see Kenyon, p. 138.
forms [ˈjʌmbli] and [ˈfæmbli] no doubt exist in the Great Smokies, but they were not heard [ˈjʌmnəl] and [ˈfæməl] are the forms of common use.

The frequent loss of final t after s, as in such words as drift, just, couldn't is inversely reflected in its addition inologically after the same consonants. Many speakers pronounce the following words with exessent final t:

Cliff, trough; close, short, fence, once, twice; orphan, vermin [ˈvɜrmɪn].

From [ˈklɪft] an adjective ['klɪft] is formed: [ˈkɪltəz] or ['kɪltəz]. It was a cliffy place. Oclus may retain its a in the comparative and superlative ['klɪuəs], ['klɪuəss]. Loss is [ˈlaʊs] on one of the ballad-records. Medially, [t] often develops in answer ['anten], dence ['dents], etc.16

[d] is added by most elderly speakers to akin and born: [ˈkɪnt], [ˈbɔrn].

Dog-gone adj. is usually [ˈdɔgɡon], though [ˈdɔɡɡon] also occurs. For stolen shoes ['stɜːləd] ['fʌz] appears in a recorded song.

There are a few cases of metanalysis involving t and d: at all [ˈtɔl], at home ['həʊm] (e.g., [ˈnou tənt ˈsin ˈneɪt ˈloʊ]), I'd rather ['drəðɚ], ground soy ['graʊn ˈdɑrvi], yesterday evening ['ɪnstəˈdɪvn].

The form [ˈtʌs] for other is used frequently in such phrases as one or the other ['wʌn ər ˈtʌs], the other way ['dər ˈtʌs ˈweɻ], the far mountains at the other side of the cows ['dər ˈkʌrəʊ ˈmeʊntənz ˈtʌs ˈsard ə ˈkʌvə].

[k] is sometimes intrusive in escape ['ekˈspɛrk] and can be anticipated of the following [k], but more probably by analogy with words of the type of exchange.

(2) Fricatives. [s] is attached initially to crouch (7) and crowd v.: 'She was all [ˈskrʊtʃ] up behind a tree' 'Quit [ˈkraʊdənd] me!' Plunge was [ˈsplʌndʒ] as spoken by an old woman of Tight Run Branch, near Ravensford. Having witnessed, as a girl, a movement of Yankee cavalry up the Oomalous Creek, Ocoee, she said, 'They bit that river [ˈspʌlndʒən]29 To one old fellow of the White Oak (Haywood Co., N. C.), a case knife is known as a [ˈlekəs ˈnɔt].

[z] may be added inflectionally to such forms as azen ['əzən], foremen ['fɔrəmən], salmon ['sɔrəmən], Scriverville ['skrɪvərəl]. The latter is rare. Most Smokies speakers prefer to pronounce [z] in the adverbs compounded with -ward, -where: backward ['bækərd], forward ['fɔrəd], outward, upward, toward; nowhere, somewhere ['sɔmrəm].

Perhaps by the influence of these words, the intensive no-way often appears as [ˈnuəə]. We didn't have no use fer it nowadays. 30

Inorganic [n] often occurs in ain't 'ənət, 'is not, 'are not, apparently by analogy with [hiːnt] has not, have not.' For example, [hiːnt] hert bət a ˈjʊf ˈləf]. 'There are only a few left. 31

(3) Nasals. [n] expressed in single occurrences of whether as [ˈhɛðənə]. ('He knew where') he saw it and it as [ˈhɪtə]. ('She wanted it'). 32 The former example is perhaps from whether or not [ˈhɛðər ˈnət], and the latter is no doubt an analogic formation on the pattern of that one, in [ˈɛnət]. Other examples of inorganic [n] are united [ˈnjuːtəd] (once), dug [ˈdɑɡən] (the latter in a ballad: 'a new dugger grave'), rotting [ˈrətənə], etc. 33

If occurs sometimes as [nə]; for example, [səm ˈɪnto ˈtər ˈɛf ˈdʒəm ˈwənts ˈtə]. 'Come into the fire if you once wants to.' This form apparently goes back to the early modern English doubletonal an if, an. 34 Off ['əfə] and out ['əut] seem to be derived from off of and out of. (See section 5, p. 97.) No form with exessent [n] seems now to be very common, though in the current of rapid speech they are likely to elude the observer. 35

(4) The lateral. [l] is intrusive in the reported [ˈplæm ˈblænkp] point-blank (usually [ˈplæm ˈblæŋk]), possibly through the influence of the much-used plumb.

(5) The glides. [v] develops as a glide in the still very common pronunciation of coin as [ˈkwʌn], in the rare [ˈkwʌtn] for coin (reported twice) and [ˈkwʌn] for going (heard twice from a 96 year old speaker). Coɪ was heard also as [ˈkwʌr], seems to be a compromise between the dialectal and the standard forms. Occasionally [v] develops in such words as shower, sour, Fuvell, text, where [səvər] > [səvər] before [s] or [z] [ˈsɜvəl], [ˈsɜvəl], [ˈpɑwəl], [ˈtɔvəl]. In genuine and January [ˈʃu] > [ˈʃuː]: [ˈtʊʃən,ˈwɑrən].

21. In a bullied [ə] was suffixed to the adjective yonder: [ə ˈjʌndəz ˈplən] on yonder plain.

22. See chap. 1, p. 21.

23. Unfortunately these are doubtful instances; they were collected in Cades Cove in the earliest stages of the survey and were unknown to my informants in other areas.

24. According to the OED, an, on was weakened from end, occurring in such expressions as don't please you and in the intensified if, on if, common in the 17th century and preserved in the southwestern English dialects. Cf. OED's citation from Tom Jones (1749): 'If an she be a rebel.'

25. Combé says (p. 1317) that n is sometimes exessent, as in: unitend, uniteder, unintered, less: unless, unless than?), thou (without).

Miss Murfree writes 'sprang off'n the bluff,' 'haffon way' (half way) (The Young Mountainmen, pp. 74, 73); 'haut', 'That ain't a dunne fool on the Big Smoky as damn that thar sayin' bout'n the beasts.' 36 (Prophet, pp. 46, 74.)
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['dʒən,wər] (beside the more usual ['dʒən,vər]). The presence of [v] in [sword] is explained by the spelling, if a survival of [w] in the dialects may not be assumed. But trials for single must have resulted from an early contamination with Swedish (OE swangen) 'to beat, chastise,' or words with the mute su- ('e.g. swarm, sawd, swaith, sweep, swell, switl, swill, stoj, stiwes, swiir, swirch, etc.').

Besides the settings wherein [i] appears as a palatal glide in general American speech (e.g. before [u] in union, puny, beauty, few, human, etc.), there are certain other positions in Great Smokies speech in which [i] has developed. These deserve some comment. As generally in the South and some other sections of the country, [i] regularly appears before [u] when preceded by [i], [d], and [n]; for example, in due, dumb, during, Du Pro, tube, tune, new, Newton: [dju i], [djour], etc. Sometimes the glide is more vocalic, as in due, new, school, student: [dju u] (djour when drowled), [neu], [ekn], [stendnt]. Due and due are homonyms in Smokies speech.

Sometimes, too, a lax, rounded back glide is heard, as in [huw] who, but never after the consonants above mentioned. Reunions appears both with and without [i].

In the speech of older people, this glide [i] is very common after [k] or [g] before [a]; for example, in car, card, carpenter, cairn, cart, Carter, card, garden, guarantees, guard, McCarter, scarred: ['kər], ['kən], ['kær], ['gærdn], etc. Some CCC enrollees have been observed to say [kərd] for card. Cairn as [kərn] now seems to be obsolete except in the phrase [hit 'strik 'wesn 'kərn]. The prevailing pronunciation is said to be [kærn].

Before a front vowel (or an original front vowel) [i] has developed as a palatal glide (1) initially in kar [kar] (beside kar, [kər], kerb [kerb], [ker], kar, and in the reported forms of earth [erθ], [eəl], [eəl]; (2) after [k], [l], [h], [n] in kill [kəl], fern [fərn] (beside [fərn]), hear [hər], [hər], here, near, nearby. Compare the reported [pə'tsə] (beside [prə'tsə]). It develops also by the breaking of a vowel in the drowled end-phrase or end-sentence position; for example, Bell [bel], Yale (loc. ['jəl], yam [pəu], ‘we’ll freeze to death’ I’wil ‘friz tə ‘dəjər’; ‘that old mule’ [fənt ˈkæt miˈjʊl].

The pronunciation ['viljan] for villain has already been mentioned (see p. 65).

[r] is intrusive especially after the lower central and the lower back-

rounded vowels (before a consonant), and in unstressed syllables by retroflexion of [a]. In at least one instance it occurs before a vowel.

The following words may occur with postvocals [a] in the stressed syllable:

Bus [bus] (rare), fuss [fus], gush; Palmer ['pærəm], hospital ['hospət] (reported), hospitality ['hospətəlit] (once; jocular); caught ['kat] (rare), ought, soldier ['sɔldər]; casual ['kɑskəs] (said to be the only form), pumper ['pʊmpər], 'pʊmpər; walnut, wash, Washington; ruin ['raun], ['raun], ruined ['raun].

All of these pronunciations are common except as specified. Brush occurs with a very retroflex vowel on one of the speech-records: ['brəʃ], or perhaps ['brəʃ]. One man is reported to pronounce onions ['ɒnəs]. The prevailing pronunciation of Norfolk (Va.) is said to be ['nə:fək]; it was heard from an aged lady of the McMillon Settlement.

In unstressed syllables, especially final syllables, [a] displays a tendency to become retroflexed to [r].


Medial: dominicker, residenter (once). (See chap. II, p. 80.)

Final: (1) age ['eɡə], dubious ['dʒubəs], heathen, leggings ['legənθ] (reported), Lincoln ['lɛŋkən], onion. (See chap. II, p. 70.)

(2) Carolina ['kærənə], Hannah, Etta, polka ['poukə] (once, from an Asheville speaker), Swannanoa (once). (See chap. II, p. 77.)

(3) Words of the type of banjo ['bæŋdʒə], potato ['teɪto] (from, hollow ['hələ]. (See chap. II, p. 80.) Usual in this group.

The only instance of an intrusive r before a vowel is [pro'seən] (three times) for possession (usually as in standard English), although poverty is ['prəvəti] in a recorded ballad.

5. Assimilation and dissimilation.

Instances of assimilation concern chiefly [l], [rl], the fricatives, and the nasals, though there are scattered examples involving other sounds.

(1) Final [l] is sometimes assimilated to an initial [d] of a following word in such phrases as cut down, got down, sat down: [kəd dəun], [gəd dəun], [əd dəun]; also as in the sentence, ‘What did I have [wæd ˈdæt hæv] to kill it with?’

[l] is combined with a following palatal glide [i] by partial assimilation to form the voiceless affricate [ʃ]: actual ['æktʃəl], natural ['nætʃəl], Tuesday ['tjued] (reported) etc.; ‘I bat you’ [a ˈbætjə]; ‘I want you to know’ [at ˈwɑnt ju təˈnau]; ‘It used to be’ [ɪtˈʃaste bɪ]; ‘last year’ [ˈlaʃt].

20. Conyer, p. 1318, lists 'nud', 'purde', 'puddle,' and others.
In the expression right here ['rattʃə], [t] + ([h]) become [t]. (Compare [kɔrn jɛr] 'Come here!' Similarly, in 'What's your rush?' [t] + [j] also become [t]: ['wɔtʃə].\footnote{The older mountain forms of \textit{pasture}, \textit{picture}, \textit{mixture}, \textit{nature}, and others, of course, do not show [t] by assimilation of [t] and [j]. At an early period in the history of English, before palatalization had begun to operate, \textit{-ure}, the unstressed syllable, underwent normal weakening to [ə]. Thus \textit{pasture} and \textit{picture}, for example, became ['pɛstə] and ['pɪktrə]. These pronunciations have survived in the dialects, whereas the standard pronunciations ['pɛstə], ['pɪktrə] reflect the artificial forms ['pɛstʃə] and ['pɪktrʃə] imposed by the schools. (See chap. 11, pp. 27, 78f.).\footnote{2} (2) [d] is combined with a following palatal glide [j] to form the voiced affricate [dʒ] in \textit{dubious}, \textit{education}, \textit{gradual}, \textit{graduate}, \textit{Indian} (only, as a rule, in the speech of elderly people), \textit{sachral}, \textit{editious} [ˈdʒubəs], [ˈɡrædʒəl], [ˈɪndʒən], [ˈɪdʒəs], etc.; also in the reported forms of individual speakers tremendous ('I got a [ˈтриˌmэнʤəs] headache'; confused suffix) and onion ['ˈʌndʒən] (with excess pron. [d]).\footnote{3} (3) [s], [z], etc., Capsule ['kapʃul] (reported pron. of one speaker). Chance ['ʃɛntʃ], a very common form. Horse-shoe ['hɔsju]. Prints, footprint ['prɪnt], ['frɪnt] (ft) > (s)?. Month, clothes, moss ['mɔnt], ['klous], ['mɔs]. This year ['biˌsɛt] (but compare this here ['ˈbıˌsɛtʃ], ['ˈbıˌsɛt]; which occur on the speech-records).\footnote{4} Usual ['juˌʒəl]. (d) The nasals. Tense time ['tʃampˌtænd] (beside the normal form); something ['ˈsæmpn]. (Cf. ['tʃɔkˌtænd].) Point blank ['pæm ˈblaŋk], [ˈplæm ˈblaŋk] (reported) (beside [pæm ˈblaŋk]). Eleven, even, heaven, even, seven ['oˌɪbən], ['ɪbən], etc. (pronunciations said to be fairly common, but not heard). Pumpkin ['pʌŋkən]. Around them ['əˌrəʊnˌəm], around those ['əˌrəʊnˌdəs], in the loft ['lɔft].\footnote{5} Onion ['ˈʌŋn] (ln) + [j] > [n]?.)

\textbf{6. Voicing and unvoicing.}

The examples of the voicing of voiceless sounds are rather few and affect chiefly [l]. Voicings of [t] were observed in: Affadavit ['əˌfədavət], Baptist ['bæbət], county, coverlet, liberty,\footnote{33} little (as in the phrase a little old dead birch [əˌlid dɛd bɜr]; McCal, partner, Santa Claus, seventy. Coverlet as ['kʌvələt] ([ˈkʌvələt] in the older speech) is doubtless a popular etymology. The given name ('bidas), spelled Čedus (by a Weirs Valley man), probably represents an original Osis. I have heard the given name spelt \textit{Levero} pronounced both [ˈləvəro] and [ˈvətə].\footnote{34} Life adv., 'willingly' is [lɪv], as in the sentence, 'I'd just as [lɪv] do it as not.' As in standard English, with before voiced sounds and in sentence-final position in [wət]: [əˌwʌsnt 'wɪtəm] 'just do it] I wasn't with 'em that day."

The unvoicing of voiced sounds is more frequent. Except in Caleb

\footnote{33} This word (of doubtful etymology) has apparently been subjected to complex influences. Cf. the 17th century spellings cited in the \textit{OED} (sæsfras, sásfras, sásfras; also sásfras 'wedge'; q.v.). Contamination with sæsfras and other words seems likely. Cf. also tamarcac, hackmacac.

The form ['sæsfras] 'sasfras' was reported from Jefferson Co. (Tenn.), and sæsfras has been noted in east Alabama and southwest Virginia (\textit{Dialect Notes}, vol. 3, p. 360; vol. 4, p. 189). The \textit{RDD} has sæsfras.

\footnote{34} Cf. the spellings Madsaf, Madolf, Duncombe Co. Reg., vol. 2, pp. 322, 407 (1765), and Rulledge 'Rulledge (Tenn.),' map in H. E. Colton, \textit{Mountain Scenery} (Raleigh, 1859).}
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[ˈkeɪp], the labial plosives are apparently not affected. The consonant most often unvoiced is final [d], preceded in the majority of examples by [n], [l]. In ballad, sad, nutted, second, [l] always occurs for [d]: [ˈba:ldə], [ˈsædə], [ˈnʌtɪdə], [ˈʃɔntə], [ˈra:nt], [ˈfrʌnt]. For leaved, [lɛnt] is about as common as [lɛnt]. Other instances of unvoicing of final [d]:

Around (once, in the phrase given below), balm of Gilead [ˈgɪlɪd] (once), behind, (baseball) diamond [ˈdʒɒmɔnt] (once), island [ˈaɪland], skinned [ˈskɪnd] (once); held, hold n., killed, scared [ˈskɛrd], [ˈskɛrt], [ˈskɜrt].

Such forms as [britˈhɑnt], [ˈhɔlt], [ˈhɔult], [ˈlɑt] are current especially in the speech of old-timers; younger people seem to avoid them. On a disc held occurs in the sentence: "The bear just left all [hɑult] go and fell over two limbs" (i.e., of a tree). At the White Oak, old people are said to pronounce swarming [ˈswɑrmŋ].

Unvoicing of other sounds are as follows:

[g] > [k] twice in buck-oque [ˈbʌkˈoʊkə] (usually [ˈbʌkˈəɡə]), in Williams (family name) [ˈwɪljəms], but with [gw] by members of the family.

in lingust (t) [ˈlɪŋkəst] (in the single occurrence of this word).

[v] > [f] once in leave 'permission,' in the sentence: "I got [lɪf] for it."24

[θ] > [θ] once in the phrase around the hill [ˈərənd ˈθɪl].

[z] > [s] mediately in linsey, bellows [ˈlɪnɪs], [ˈbɛləsoʊs], [ˈgələsoʊs] (always in these words).

finally in always [ˈæləs] (frequent), Mars Hill [mɑr ˈhɪl] (once).

7. Metathesis.

With the exception of [eks], objectionable for ask, and (ˈkɛmplɪ) calmly (for the latter, see chap. 11, p. 104 and note 51), the instances of metathesis involve only [t]. Of those, however, sorgum as [ˈsɔɡrəm] is probably the only case of true metathesis; the other examples, with [z] for [r], in all likelihood represent normal syllabic reduction.

Aggravate [ˈæɡrəvət] Introduce [ˌɪntrəˈdʒus]
Alfred, Wilfred [ˈælfərd], [ˈwɪlfərd] Produce [ˈprədʒəs]
Apron [ˈɑrprən] Protect [prəˈtɛkt]
Children [ˈtʃɪldən] Sorghum [ˈsɔɡrəm] (once)
Hundred [ˈhʌndər]

25. Cf. 'the Bent of the Yedkin River,' Brown (p. 205); forket ('...beginning at a forchet pine...'), Buncombe Co. Reg., vol. 1, p. 6 (1793); Crooked Creek, map in Colton (1850). Mrs. Dargen has bengt 'beyond' (p. 258), bult (p. 157), akcert (p. 161); Mason has worterd 'worried' (p. 39).

26. The form [ˈhɪf] leave (as in 'give me leave') was recorded also in northwest Arkansas (Carr, p. 103).

Ask as [aks] seems to be employed now only by isolated or illiterate people; it is used by only one speaker on the phonograph records.

8. Substitution.

This title is tentatively offered, for the phenomena here included may, upon further investigation, prove to be the results of normal but obscure processes. The following words show departures from their accepted pronunciations:

Chimney [ˈtʃɪmni].

Hoosier or mountain hoosier, 'a person who lives in the mountains' [ˈhuːzɪə]; measure [ˈmɛʒər] (rare; usually [ˈmeʒər]).

Hulver (an herb) [ˈhʌlvr] (twice).

Kind of [ˈkaɪnd] (see p. 97).

Novel (wet, verbal) [ˈnovəl] [ˈnɪvəl] 'Black-eyed Susan'; also other words with [v] for [v]: eleven, even, heaven, even, seven.

Roein [ˈroʊən].

Shrink [ˈʃrɪŋk] (twice).

Squire (ˈsverɪ) (reported to be common at the White Oak).

Talk (tw), an old dialectal variant of [tək].

Turtle, brittle [ˈtaːrktəl], [ˈbrikəl] (the latter was reported).

Vernish (ˈvɛrnɪʃ) (on a ballad-record), possibly through confusion with bonish; but cf. [ˈnaːbəl].

The early modern confusion of [t] and [θ], resulting from the conflict of the historical and the spelling pronunciations of th, as in Anthony and panther, is perhaps reflected in the older Smokies pronunciation of Arthur (ˈɑrtər), which is still heard occasionally.4 So also, anathematis (t) in the

37. 'The mountaineers don't like to be called hoosiers,' [ˈhuːzɪəs], I was told in Eureka Cove. For evidence of extensive currency of this word throughout the South in the sense of 'hickwoodsman,' see J. P. Dunn, 'The Word Hoosier,' Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. 4, no. 2 (1907), pp. 1-29; also O. D. Short, 'Origin of the Term Hoosier,' and editor's note, Indiana Magazine of History, vol. 25 (1929), pp. 101-3. The etymology is unknown.

Miss Murfee writes medjuf 'measure,' p. 71, and ə-medjufɛn 'tell,' p. 145; Conab, p. 1518, says that measure is sometimes like 'majuf.'

38. Cf. hæncn, noel, kæphar (p. 505); gwals (p. 258); ground, 'grable,' masuls 'marble,' Conab (p. 1517); kebns 'eleven,' masuls 'marble,' rible 'ribet,' Dinng (pp. 181, 185, 188). The EDG, p. 62, has marul, nelt, eleum. A dialectical interchange of b and v is suggested by these various forms, although it is not possible in most of them b or v is followed by l or n.

39. Cf. swmuk up 'exhausted,' recorded in northwest Arkansas (Carr, p. 97), with the comment: 'Originally a negation from shrunk up; rare'; also, [swmik] 'shrink,' Wilson, p. 210.

40. Whalk as [ˈwɔlkw] was reported from Jefferson Co. A Hauptk ook. (Tenn.) speaker used the forms [ˈvæmtəl], [ˈvæmtəkt] (wnt) for smelt, pres. and pret.; Kepher, Word List, p. 140, recorded same in the Smoldas.

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declaration of a mountain preacher: 'I'm conscientious and satisfied that
sin will be destroyed and [s]ine[n]

But Anthony and panther, usually ['ten[ə]nt] and [pan[ə]r], show the survival of Middle English forms with [t] for Greek [t] through Latin and Old French [t].

Miscellaneous. Exaggerate us [eks'gærət] is probably a spelling pronunciation. For heard, a few old people say [hir], which is probably analogical with such old strong forms as been, seen, etc. Height as [hı:t] shows retention of the dental fricative in OE hēþu (with early loss of the velar fricative; cf. OE drigo, Mod. Eng. [draʊt], [dɪrəʊt]). Sobby ['sɒbi] (as in sobby biscuit, sobby wood) occurs in the Great Smokies for the usual soggy of American speech. Squeak was heard only as [skrik], which seems to be a blend of squeal and screech or shriek.

II

There remains to be considered a group of consonants which possess certain noteworthy characteristics in the speech of the Great Smokies area. Some of these features are more or less common in American speech; others are not. The phonemes discussed in the following sections are [t], [n], [l], [bvw], [r].

9. [t].

[t] becomes the flapped voiced consonant [d] under the following conditions:

(1) Between vowels when preceding or introducing a syllable without full or secondary stress; for example, in after ['æftə], afterwards ['æftərweis], later ['leər], little, pretty, skittish, thickety, water.

But before [n], as in rollen, Sutton, cutting, biting, [t] remains voiceless and is exploded nasally in the sounding of [ŋ]: ['rɒtən], ['sɒtn], ['kætn], etc. (t) is not voiced in seller and rattler; t is non-syllable in these expressions in [səd v. (ME sobben).

42. The pronunciation of these two words with [t] is the result of Renaissance orthography. For panther, Chaucer, Canton and other early writers have panter; see the OED. Cf. also endonym 'aautumn' (1811) in the OED. Anthony with [t] is still the preferred form in Webster.

43. The origin of soggy appears to be uncertain; sobby is obviously a formation from sob v. (ME sobben).

44. The usual meaning of [skrik] is 'squeak,' but the sense 'shriek' is evident in the lines from 'Pretty Polly':

He saw his pretty Polly come flowing in her blood,

And [skrik] she banished away.

45. See Kenyon's comments on voiced t (pp. 122, 323); also Knar Haugen, 'Notes on Voiced T' in American English,' Diacrit Notes, vol. 6, pts. 16, 17 (1935), pp. 577-578: 'The conditions of voicing may accordingly be more completely formulated as follows: t is voiced when it is preceded by a vowel or a sonorant (l, n, r), and is followed by a stressed vowel of the following word.'

Smokies speech. Similarly, the phrase little one is sometimes ['litən], with two syllables.

(2) After n before a vowel of an unstressed syllable, as in county, haunted, panther: ['ɭəʊn], ['həʊnt], ['pænθər] (also rarely ['pænər]), with unfapped [t]. Sometimes [t] becomes [d] in this position; e.g., ['kɒtnəd], ['sɒnəvdə] ['dɪvnt]. Sometimes [t] is dropped (assimilated to [n]): ['knəm], ['məunəm] mountain (rare), ['plənt] plenty.

Between [n] and [t], however, as in Brenton, Canton (Haywood Co., N. C.), mountain, plain, the explosion of [t] is the same as that indicated above for rollen, cutting, etc.: ['brentən], ['kɑntən], ['məunənt] (also rarely ['məunənt], with precise [t]). In maintenance (as pronounced by a CCC foreman on a speech-record) and Anthony, a similar phenomenon appears: ['məntənəs], ['məntə], the [t] is exploded in the articulation of the final syllable. Being flanked by nasals, it is scarcely recognizable as [t]; yet the effect is certainly different from that suggested by the inadequate representations 'manunens,' ['mənən].

Sometimes final [t] becomes [d] by assimilation to an initial [d] in a following word, as was shown above on p. 95: cat down ['kæt dowən]. This treatment, however, may be limited to verbs, for there is no voicing of the [t] in it in the phrase, 'It didn't run': ['lit 'dɪrn], ran.

3 In word-final position before a vowel; e.g., got along ['ɡɒtələn], that way ['foʊəw], with a sibilant glide.

As generally in American speech, [t] does not become voiced initially when introducing a syllable with primary or secondary stress (as in tooth, Tuckaleechee); medially when beginning a syllable with primary or secondary stress ([pɔrtɛk], ['hɔtel], ['ruma,tɛl]); medially at the end of a stress-group (['pɔlənd], Portland); finally except when preceding a vowel. Here belongs a small but interesting group of words belonging to the usual American treatment with voiced t. In the Smokies, auto, metto, Otto (Macon Co., N. C.), photo are pronounced with marked secondary stress on the final syllable, and the t remains unvoiced. In some instances the phonetic representation should be with one [t], which belongs with the second syllable, as in ['ma,tɔl] tont; but in most cases two symbols should be used (for generally the stop is prolonged, the first syllable ending with [t] and the second beginning with this sound—without plosion between), as in ['sə,tɔ] auto, ['sə,tə] Otto, ['fo,tɔ], ['fo,tə]. This phenomenon does not occur for-t before an unstressed syllable, as in alter ['ɔltə], which shows the usual voicing.

46. These pronunciations very likely have extended currency in the South. I have heard them in speakers from South Carolina, Kentucky, and Middle Tennessee. Metto occurs as ['met,tə] in the recorded utterance of a CCC enrollee from the Cumberland Mts. (Coffey Co., Tenn.).
10. [ŋ].

As shown above in section 5, the velar nasal, [ŋ], becomes [ŋ] by assimilation to a following [ŋ] in length, lengthy, strength, strengthened: [ləŋ], etc.

Certain words which have [ŋ] in standard English sometimes have [ŋ] alone: angry, finger, Finger (family name, Jonathans Creek), longer, Mingus (Creek), single, single, singlings ['səŋləm], ('first-run whiskey'), younger: ['ŋvər], [ŋər], etc. But hungry was ['həŋɡri] (rarely ['həŋɡri]) in all observed cases.6

[ŋ] has not generally been restored in the participial forms with -ing (see p. 83 f. of the preceding chapter).

11. [ʃ].

As generally in English speech, British and American, there are two chief varieties of l in the idiom of the Great Smoky Mountains, 'clear' l and 'dark' l. Daniel Jones has shown that 'clear' l is sounded by raising the front of the tongue toward the hard palate, thereby producing the timbre of a front vowel; and that 'dark' l is formed by raising the back of the tongue toward the soft palate, thus giving the impression of a back vowel.4 What Jones states further of 'Received English' is also true of Smokies speech: 'clear' l occurs before vowels and [ʃ]; 'dark' l occurs before all other consonants and finally.6

The Smokies laterals differ from the normal American treatment in only two important respects: (1) intervocalic l followed by the front vowels, [ʃ] and [ʃ] is much 'clearer' (more fronted) than in general American speech; (2) postvocalic l (not followed by another vowel) is in some instances 'dark' (more retracted) than its counterpart in most American usage, showing a tendency either to vocalize or to disappear altogether. In other respects Smokies l appears to agree with normal practice.

47. Although [ŋ] occurs for [ŋ] in many of the British dialects (see the EOG, p. 61), it seems possible that the large number of early German settlers in North Carolina and Tennessee may have exerted some influence in propagating or maintaining the [ŋ] for [ŋ] inherited from the British dialects. The Mingus family, after which Mingus Creek (in the park) was named, seem to have come directly to the Smokies from Saxony, Germany about 1794. According to Conner, a descendant, they claimed to be the first white settlers to claim a possession on the water's of the upper Oconaluftee river' (MISS, p. 18 f.). The Fingers of Jonathan's Creek are also, apparently, of German origin. In August 1937, Mr. John Finger stated that his family is related to as 'black Dutch' (southern German?), and that his grandparents talked German with other local families, the Sutroes, the Feyes, the Obedfelters, and the Carpenteres (originally Zimmermanns). His father, who was present, knew most of the numerals up to twelve and a few other words. Other German families in the area are Damburger, Goss (l), Meser, Myers, Swills, Siler, Smokey.


49. Loc. cit. On p. 162, note 8, he points out that both 'clear' l and 'dark' l 'are subject to slight variations depending on the nature of the adjoining vowel.'

1) 'Clear' l.

Especially characteristic of Smokies speech is the intervocalic 'clear' l which occurs before a front vowel, [ʃ], or [ʃ], as in:

Before [ʃ]: belly, Ellis, gull, hilly, holly, Nelly, valley, Willie, wooly; ballad ['bæləd], salad ['sæld], bullet, pail, skille; angelica ['æŋɡəlɪkə], Tellico Plains; sometimes also in Alabama ['æləbəma], telephone ['tɛlfəʊn]; deviling ('teasing') ['dɛvəlin], dwelling n., paling (of a fence), spelling, stilling ('distilling'), trailing.

Before [ʃ]: molasses ['mɒləsəs].

Before [ʃ], but not [ŋ]: fellow ['fælə], follow, hollow, narrow, swallow, swallow, tallow.

Before [ʃ]: Gililand, Trillium, William.

The l of these words has a very musical quality, the precise timbre being difficult to describe. The tongue is more advanced and tense, and the blade has wider contact with the teeth-ridge, than in the usual American varieties. The effect is produced by a quick action of the tongue, which might be called (as Professor H. M. Ayres suggests) a kind of tongue flip.

It is curious that this sound occurs before [ʃ], but not before [ŋ]. On the discs of Arthur the Rat, the l of Nelly consistently has the quality described above, but that of Helen ['helən] does not. When [ŋ] appears in the -ing ending, the ordinary lateral (and not the exceptionally clear one here referred to) is heard; for example, dwelling ['dɛvəlin], pacing ['pæsən].

This same l may be heard finally in a word which is followed by a front vowel or [ʃ] in the next word, as in the sentence: 'I can tell you' ['kəʊn ti], 'I'll kill you' (a man thus addresses a bear in a recorded 'bear tale') ['æl kl jə]; 'Kill that bear!' ['klət] at 'bear'. In the phrase, 'I want to tell you,' as pronounced by some speakers, l is completely vocalized: ['kənto 'tel] jə).

This tendency to vocalize l before [ʃ] is illustrated also in the occasional pronunciation of milkton as ['mɪktən].

An l not quite so impressive but very clear is used in -ing forms and words ending in -ly when the lateral is preceded by a consonant; for example, middle['mɪdl], singlings ['sɪŋləm] (kindly ('kind of')) ['kaɪnd], nearly ['nɛrli].

In settings other than those heretofore discussed, postvocalic l is not perceptibly different from standard usage. An ordinary American l (neither very clear nor very dark) occurs in such words as least, live, later, laugh, lock, loft, loom, Cataclaochea, close, daylight, flavoring, flower.

2) 'Dark' l.

In the Smokies postvocalic l (not followed by a front vowel, [ʃ], or [ʃ]) and syllabic l are 'dark.' The quality of the lateral in these positions, how-
ever, presents no marked divergence from the standard sound. 'Dark' l
may be heard in such words as the following:

Finally: all, barrel, bashful, Bell, bull, Bushnell, call, gal, girl, hall, laurel, 
mule, Nail, several, shell, squirrel, wheel; apple, bobble ('a slight error'), 
Cable, double, maple, rifle; Asheville, Granville (given name), Knoxville, 
Waynesville, etc.; saddle, beetle, cradle, Dowdle, kettle, saddle.

Before consonants other than [j]: bald, bulk, cold, elder, field, mauly.

There can be no doubt that such words as all, bold, cold, bulk, girl, mauly, 
mule have a dark I in the Great Smokies. The vowels of all of these words are 
followed by a velar off-glide, which governs the tongue position of the 
following l; for example, [al], [bo], [ko], [bu], etc. Even the vowel of the 
suffix -ville in place names is at times quite dark; e.g. ['nakvولد], 
['wevولد], although these forms probably represent the extreme.

The l of still, help, help(ed), self, twelve shares characteristics common 
throughout the South. Most speakers say [hep], [hup(t)], [sef], twcv, 
but ['elam] (with dark l). Others vocalize the l in some or all of the words: 
[el], [hep], etc. This l approaches the quality of a [u] off-glide. Still 
others, old and young, vocalize the l: [el], [hep], etc. All of these 
pronunciations may be heard on the phonograph records.60 Bulb and film in 
all occurrences were [bl] and [fr].

The tendency toward vocalization noted in these words is well 
exemplified also in the given name Varmul, transcribed consistently at first as 
['varmo] and later as ['vamol], when the back l was more or less distinctly 
heard.

As for balm and calm, older speakers say [bom], [keem]; others say [bam], 
[kom]. Yet in the speech-records, younger speakers pronounce calmly 
['kaml], ['kame], as well as ['kalm], ['kaml].51 Most of those 
who have not advanced beyond the grades employ one of the first three 
foms; those who have been to high school, without exception, use 
one of the last two forms.

Other miscellaneous features are: intrusive [o] in Palmer ['pawm'] (the 
only current form), wanut ['woatn'] (used by a large number of people 
old and young), soldier ['sardor'] (beside ['soldar'], ['soldar'], ['saldar]);52 
unrestored l in calf, calves, half, salse (all of these with the customary variations of the

50. Professor W. C. Greet finds similar phenomena at Williamsburg, Virginia and 
Lubbock, Maine (American Speech, vol. 6, pp. 103, 401). Also Stanley in East Texas 
(p. 70).
51. Some of these pronunciations are not too much to be trusted, for the 
word is not generally known in print. The -ly form is also a disturbing factor because 
advocates usually occur in the Smokies without this suffix.
52. The comparative frequency of these various forms of soldier is unknown.

[8] phoneme), talk, walk, folk, should, would. Ralph was apparently [ref] 
in earlier Smokies speech; now it is usually [ref], less often [ref].

12. [hw].

Old English hwe, [hw], is preserved in a group of words spelled with wh: 
Whaley (family name), what, wheat, wheels, where, whether, which, 
whip, whirl, whiskey, Whittier (Jackson Co., N. C.), why.

The initial sound of these words is usually more strongly aspirated 
and rounded than in general American speech. Extreme aspiration and 
rounding are noticeable particularly in where and its by-forms and are 
reflected in the rounded vowel in the occasional [hw] for where and the 
common [hw] for whirl. The aspiration may remain distinct even when 
the word receives but partial stress: 'You can see where [hw] it was.' 
But as a general rule, the degree of aspiration and rounding are in 
proportion to the amount of stress.

Unstressed forms with wh-, and occasionally stressed forms, lose their 
aspiration and excessive rounding, in which event the [hw] becomes voiced. 
For example, what is frequently [wat], when is [wen] (as in the recorded 
utterance, 'When did he?' ['wen did i] and whichever is ['wetever]). On one 
of the discs, awhile is ['awha], but on another it is ['awa]). The 
interjection why unstressed appears with a voiced and unaspirated w in the 
exclamation 'Why, law madl, common among women. Stressed, it retains 
[hw], as in the recorded remark ['hwar at had now 'ardl] 'Why, I had no 
idea...'

Compounds of where, anywhere, everywhere 'wherever,' nowhere, somewhere, 
whereabout, usually retain [hw]: ['entre, [hw]s], etc. But somewhere is very 
frequently ['samwe], ['samwe].

The compounds whichever, whenever, wherever, whichever, are often 
invorted: ['ever, [hw], ['ever, [hwen], etc. The form ['ever, [lawr]s] is sometimes 
ambiguous since it may stand for both wherever and everywhere, but the 
semantic difference is unimportant. For example, [wil] 'gov ['ever, [lawr]s 'doa' 'trid] 'We'll go wherever (or, everywhere) the dog trees.'

13. [r].

The loss, the addition, and the metathesis of r have been discussed in 
previous sections of this chapter. It remains to be said, however, that r 
in the Smokies is usually a distinctly retroflex sound with little difference 
from its counterpart in western American speech. Except for occasional 
forms like [paw*t] parch and [day*] George, in which prolongation of

54. For whip vs [hw] cf. the interesting sentence of a small Cosby boy, teased 
by his playmates: ['wm 'gawm] ['hw] ['juw] 'ol] 'I'm going to whip you-uns all 
three!'
THE CONSONANTS

the stressed vowel is attended with diminution of the glide, and a few others like [nɔʊ], [nɔʊ] north (beside the usual [nɔʊ]), [ˈkɔrner], [ˈɑ(r)th, [ˈfɑ(r)th], Smokies r shows no influence of the suppressed or lost r of Southern 'plantation' speech. Such pronunciations as [ˈpɛus], [ˈkɛstrɪdʒ], [ˈfast], [ˈbɑst], [ˈwɑst], of course, have nothing to do with Southern obscured r. These are old colloquial relics, brought over from the British Isles in the settlement of the American colonies; and, as the late Professor Krapp has shown, they exist everywhere in American speech. Yet, whatever their origin, the forms without r are more than counterbalanced by others in which r appears inorganically. The excessive r in Palmer, walnut, racquet, righthand, washer and others evidently developed from retention of the vowel; so also [r] in unstressed syllables, as in [ˈdɑmrək], [ˈnæɡ], [ˈteɪkər], [ˈdʒɑbəs], etc. The r occasionally intrusive in words like bus, fuss, gush is a hypercorrection for forms like [ˈbɑst] burst, [ˈfɑst] fast. All these pronunciations with non-historical r exemplify the vitality of the retroflex glide in the Smokies. Furthermore, two of the speech discs recorded at the eastern end of the Park, one in Tennessee and the other in North Carolina, show an r more tensely retroflex than is usual in Western speech.

The Smokies r of the future, however, is a different matter. With increasing contact with the transmontane world and education, two opposing influences will be at work: one, toward maintaining the r of most American speech; the other, toward suppressing r in common with the rest of the South. The retroflex r is used by the majority of tourists and is heard over the radio and in motion-picture theaters, whereas Southern suppressed r is common in such centers as Asheville and Knoxville, in the CCC camps, and in the nearby colleges. It is of course impossible to foretell which tendency will ultimately prevail.

Not previously mentioned is the svarabhaktic glide which in a few instances was present between r and another consonant. Prairie in its few occurrences was [ˈprɔɾr], and prong seemed once to be [ˈprɔnr]. In Cades Cove farm was once [ˈfɾm]; in other cases this word was [ˈfɾrn], [ˈfɾn].

55. As was pointed out, p. 89 f., and note 10, it is possible to explain some of the forms r; in other ways: [ˈwɔs], [ˈtoʊs], [ˈkɔrnr], [ˈkɔrnr] may represent dissimilation of the two r's or, these pronunciations and the rare [nɔʊ], [ˈtoʊs], [ˈtoməs] perhaps belong with [ˈfast], [ˈbɑst], [ˈpɛus], etc., and are vestiges of the early modern tendency observed by Wyld (p. 298 f.) to omit r before consonants.

56. Vol. 2, pp. 229-238.

57. Cf. Conner's native spelling perry (p. 29): 'The section where he settled is now called Mingus perry'; also the dialect spelling perryer (see note 49 of the preceding chapter). David Crockett's parara, cited in American Speech, vol. 9, p. 583.

58. Cf. the spellings mura 'mura' (1430) and bera 'bara' (1531) in Wyld, p. 299; also Schurken 'Southern,' Brown, p. 308.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Works are referred to by the names of their authors alone after the first citation. To avoid ambiguity in a few cases where there might be doubt, I append a very brief list of works cited when only the author's name is given. For other authors and their works, the reader may consult the bibliography.

Kephart, Horace Kephart, Unpublished Notes, vol. 3188 (see above, under C.

The following symbols are used:

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VITA

The author, Joseph Sargent Hall, was born in Butte, Montana, August 23, 1906. He attended schools in Los Angeles, California, and in 1924
entered Stanford University, where he received the degree of Bachelor of
Arts in 1928. After teaching Latin in secondary schools of Southern Cali
fornia, he studied comparative linguistics at the École des Hautes Études,
Paris, 1933-1934. From 1934 to 1937 and in the spring of 1940, he was
in residence at Columbia University, receiving the degrees of Master of
Arts (in comparative linguistics) in 1936 and of Doctor of Philosophy (in
English and comparative literature) in 1941. His principal teachers at
Columbia University were Professors Harry Morgan Ayres, Cabell Gree
t, and Louis H. Gray. He has taught English at Brooklyn College, Brook
lyn, New York, and phonetics at the Hartford Seminary Foundation,
Hartford, Connecticut. Since 1939 he has done research in the speech
and the folk-lore of the Great Smoky Mountains as Collaborator in the
National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.