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THE PHONETICS OF  
GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAIN  
SPEECH

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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

### I. *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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 1939-40.<sup>3</sup> 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, 1926. . . . 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, 1939 (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.

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, treating the sick, 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 imaginations 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 folk-lore, 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, 73 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.<sup>4</sup>

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;<sup>5</sup> 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;<sup>6</sup> 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 illustrative 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 80 double-faced aluminum discs (10" and 12") and 48 double-faced acetate discs (12"). The aluminum discs (60 of speech and 30 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.

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 Dargan's *Highland Annals* and Frances 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 *Swing Your Mountain Gal*, a series of sketches in free verse, conveys the spirit of the dialect without contorting conventional spelling.<sup>7</sup>

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 might 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 *spend* (express) *one's opinion*, *swinge* for *singe*, 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 became 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 details await 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

7. See W. C. Greet, 'Southern Speech,' *Culture in the South*, edited by W. T. Couch (University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 595.

Appalachians in general is an interesting question, but one which surpasses the limits of the present purpose and the knowledge of the writer. It is suspected 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.<sup>8</sup>

## 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> It is flanked by the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Cumberland Mountains on the west. Between the middle chain and the Cumberlands 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 intra-montane country is rugged and precipitous, except for certain spacious bottom-lands, as on the French Broad River and the forks of the Pigeon.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> The first white settlement in the present North

8. John C. Campbell, *The Southern Highlander and his Homeland* (New York, 1921), p. 10 f.

9. The following account was suggested and influenced by Arnold Guyot's lucid description of western North Carolina topography. See Myron H. Avery and Kenneth S. Boardman, ed., 'Arnold Guyot's Notes on the Geography of the Mountain District of Western North Carolina,' *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 15 (1938), pp. 251-318.

10. *Ibid.*, note 7, p. 256.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 281.

12. Guyot says, *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 2,200 to 2,400

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.<sup>13</sup> 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 5,266 feet), and there were numerous trails across the top at various points.<sup>14</sup> People of both sides herded their cattle on the ridge, and hunting went on over the whole area unimpeded.<sup>15</sup> 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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feet. 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 2,300 ft.'

13. *Guide Map*; see note 1.

14. The present highway crosses a short distance away at Newfound Gap, elevation 5,048. Charles Lanman, writing in 1848, mentions this road; see his *Letters from the Allegheny Mountains* (New York, 1849), p. 85. But Jeannette S. Greve, *The Story of Gatlinburg* (Strasburg, Virginia, 1931), p. 105, 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 mule-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 59A).

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.<sup>16</sup> In previous times (1800-1850) there was no road at all, and the trip had to be made on foot or horseback.<sup>17</sup> 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 1900, 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.<sup>18</sup> 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

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There is testimony of bear-hunting from one side of the range to the other on several of the phonograph records (51, 65B, 77-80). The famed Quill Rose (see Rebecca Cushman, *Swing Your Mountain Gal*, Boston and New York, 1934, pp. 30-44) used to make frequent trips on his jackass between his home on Eagle Creek, N. C., and Cades Cove, Tenn., across the ridge (disc 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 forded through water so deep that it came almost into the bed of the wagon, and sometimes was too deep to be crossed. If high waters, 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. Stupka, 1938 (copy in the park library). See also disc 65A.

17. See Greve, *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 (c1850); see his *Historical Paper, no. 3* (typescript), National Park Service, 1940.



Gap.<sup>19</sup> The wild country on the creeks draining into the Little Tennessee between Forney Creek and Deals 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 1900 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 untilled 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

### 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 Grave, *op. cit.*, p. 79, a weekly mail route from Sevierville to Gatlinburg, Luftly, N. C., and Cashiers Valley was established sometime before 1850. This route was covered on horseback and required seven days for the round trip. For the Indian Gap road, see note 14.

20. Testimony of an informant of Hazel Creek. W. B. Ziegler and B. S. Grosscup, *Western North Carolina, or the Heart of the Alleghanies* (Raleigh, 1883), say, p. 130: 'Hazel and Eagle Creeks empty into the Little Tennessee in a still more lonely and less inhabited section. . . .' 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.

21. For an extensive list of books and articles, see 'A Bibliography for the Great Smokies,' *Appalachia*, vol. 18, no. 3 (1931), pp. 271-277. Miss Murfrees's novel of the Smokies was published in 1885, and Kephart's book first appeared in 1913.

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.<sup>23</sup> 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 1772, 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> It was not until 1819 that the Cherokee claims in the

23. See facsimile extract of the proclamation in Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Lure of the Frontier (The Pageant of America, vol. 2, Yale University Press, 1929)*, p. 25.

24. J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), pp. 93, 94, 102; also T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (University of North Carolina Press, 1932), pp. 3, 21.

25. Charles C. Royce, 'The Cherokee Nation of Indians,' in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Fifth Annual Report* (Washington, D. C., 1887), p. 179.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. Royce, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 181.

southwestern 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.'<sup>30</sup> 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 Oconaluftee river.'<sup>31</sup>

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 number 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.<sup>32</sup>

The first white child was born in the Gatlinburg area in 1802.<sup>33</sup>

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 Cocke County was erected, mentions the 'uppermost house on Cosby's Creek.'<sup>34</sup> In 1811, the line of Cocke County was changed so as to 'include all the inhabitants on the waters of Cosby's Creek.' One of 1809 mentions both Wears Valley and Tuckaleechee Cove; the Blount County line is to run by 'William Davis's in Weirs Cove,

29. See the map in Royce.

30. Report on Mountain Culture Program, p. 4 (v. s. note 16).

31. Conner MSS., GSMNP Library.

32. Report on Mountain Culture Program, p. 7.

33. Jeanette S. Grove, 'The Traditions of Gatlinburg,' *East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, no. 3 (1931), p. 62 f.

34. Henry D. Whitney, *The Land Laws of Tennessee* (Chattanooga, 1891), p. 659.

from thence . . . until it intersects the Indian boundary line . . . provided it may not include any of the citizens of Tuckaleechee Cove in the county of Sevier.'<sup>35</sup> One of the present residents of Wears Valley informed the writer that when his great-great-grandfather arrived there to settle, he found Indians occupying the land, and that, with some other men, 'he kindly scared the Indians out and settled.'

Cades Cove was not open for legal occupancy until 1819. It is said that the first permanent white settlers were John Oliver and Job Jones, who came to the cove about 1818, from New Jersey, where they had served in the Revolution. They found Indians living there and spent their first night in an Indian hut. Later, at the time of the Cherokee removal to the West, they helped to seize the Indians in the cove.<sup>36</sup>

It is believed that Cataloochee, a narrow valley enclosed by abruptly rising high mountains, did not have permanent occupants until about 1840, having previously fallen into the hands of land speculators.<sup>37</sup> The more open country, immediately to the south, must have been settled by 1800.<sup>38</sup>

One of the most rugged sections of the Smokies has always been the most sparsely settled. This is the area in western Swain County, North Carolina, between Forney Creek and Deals Gap.<sup>39</sup> Arnold Guyot, the geographer, writing in 1856-1860, observes that it is 'still a wilderness, little frequented.'<sup>40</sup> So also Ziegler and Grosscup, in 1883, note that on the Little Tennessee 'the mountains so encroach on the river that little arable land is afforded; houses are consequently far apart, in some places five miles of road being devoid of a clearing.'<sup>41</sup> One of the older present residents of the area states that his family came to Hazel Creek about 1882 when he was a boy, and that his parents had previously settled in Cashiers Valley, having come there from South Carolina, which is but a short distance away.<sup>42</sup> Ziegler and Grosscup observe that many South Carolinians had settled in that valley.<sup>43</sup> The informant of Hazel Creek, just mentioned, stated also that other first settlers of that area came from Burke County, North Carolina, about 1883.

The routes to the Smokies followed by the pioneers seem to have been chiefly three: (1) the Valley of Virginia to the Tennessee Valley; (2) Swan-

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 716-718.

36. Report on Mountain Culture Program, p. 17.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

38. Evidence in early deeds; e.g., Haywood Co. (N. C.) Register, vol. A, p. 102.

39. See p. 8.

40. *Op. cit.*, p. 205; see note 15.

41. *Op. cit.*, p. 145; see also note 20.

42. See p. 5f. and note 12.

43. *Op. cit.*, p. 321. 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.

nanon 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.<sup>44</sup> There seems also to have been a lesser movement from Charleston, South Carolina, to the Piedmont, from which the Smokies population probably drew.<sup>45</sup>

44. Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-59.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

## 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 Smoky 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:

Bead, bean, beast, bee, believe, between, cheek, creek, deal, deep, dream, eagle, evening, feed, feel, fect, fever, field, free, grieve, he, heap, jeans, least ('smallest'), leave, meal, meet, people, read, reason, season, seed, sheep, steal, steel, teach, teeth, three, tree, we, weak, week.

Lengthening of the vowel may be illustrated by a sentence transcribed from one of the phonograph records: [wi 'dɪdnt 'hæv 'mætʃ ə 'ti:m], '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 *feel* [fiəl], *steal* [stiəl].

The historical variation [i]/[ɪ], as in *sleek/slick*, is reflected in *breeches*, *lief*, *negro*, which have [ɪ] in the Great Smokies. So also *sweeny* (lameness of the shoulder in animals) in its two occurrences was ['swɪni].<sup>1</sup> *Creek*, however, is always [krik], never [kɪk].<sup>2</sup>

[e] or [ɛ] 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 [reəl] and ['reɪ]. On a disc, *jeans* (a home-woven cloth formerly used in men's clothes) is pronounced [dʒɛnz] by an old-fashioned woman of Cosby; this form is said to be used by many old people.<sup>3</sup> *Mean-*

1. The *OED* says: '*Sweeny* (swi'ni) U. S. Also *swinn(e)y* (probably f. G. dial. *schweine* "emaciation," "atrophy").' The Supplement (1933) gives the earliest example of its use, dated 1829-32, and antedating 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 [ɪ], [i], [e] from one mountain district to another. This is not true of the five counties studied (Cooke, Sevier, Blount Cos., Tenn.; Haywood, Swain Cos., N. C.).

3. Cf. the spelling in an early Toe Valley (N. C.) record quoted in Muriel Earley Sheppard, *Cabins in the Laurel* (University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 47: '. . . Four suits of clothes, two of which should be good "janes" and two of everyday stuff.'

*lime* is ['mentɑ:m] on a record of a young speaker from a neighboring county (Madison) in North Carolina. *East, least, mean v., meat* occurred once each with [e], but such pronunciations are apparently not very common. *Bleat* was heard only once, in the expression *horn bleat* ['hɔ:n ,bleɪt] 'sound of a horn'; local informants (mountain people) reported, however, that *bleat* is always [bleɪt] in the Smokies.<sup>4</sup> According to a White Oak informant (Haywood Co., N. C.), a few people say [klen] for *clean*, and one man says [benz] and ['ben,pætʃ].

Middle English open *e* occurs as [e] in *breem* (a kind of sunfish) [brɛm], *clean* (reported; as in 'The corn's [klen] of weeds'), *dreamed* [drempt], *leaned* [lent] (beside [lɪnd]), *leaped* [lept], *reach* [retʃ] (beside [ritʃ]), *reached* [retʃt] (beside [ritʃt]).

Other variations are: *neither* ['nɛðə] (on one of the discs); *Del Rio* (Cooke Co., Tenn.) [dɛl'ri:ɔ] and [dɛl'rɪ:ɔ].

## 2. [ɪ].

This vowel, derived from Middle English *i*, may be sounded with no difference from general American usage, as in the following words:

Betwixt, big, bit, bristle, cliff, chin, Crisp, drift, fix, ginseng ['dʒɪn sɛŋ], give, him, his, hiss, it, kiss, lick, live, liquor, pick, pig, phthisic ['tɪzɪk], physic, quick, quit, rich, ridge, sick, slick (as an adj., 'slippery'; as a n., 'laurel or rhododendron thicket'), sing, sit, spignet ('spikenard'), thick, whiskey, widow, wind, window.

On the whole, however, [ɪ] is unstable, as in much of English regional speech; it has a tendency both to diphthongize slightly and to vacillate between raised and lowered sounds. Some characteristics in its treatment are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The variability of [ɪ] may be observed first in the universal tendency to diphthongize it in monosyllables under emphasis and in the prolonged end-clause or end-sentence position. Such breaking is often attended with a tense, narrowed first element and a falling pitch in the second. Examples: '...If you carry on like ['dɪ:ɪs]; 'We didn't get nothin' that ['trɪ:ɪp]; 'We hit out down what we call the ['æntɔ:nɪ 'rɪ:ɪdʒ]; '...As long as I ['lɪ:ɪv]. Other examples selected from the phonograph records are: *chin* ['tʃɪ:ɪn], *cliff* ['klɪ:ɪf], *pitch* ['pɪ:ɪtʃ], *bridge* ['brɪ:ɪdʒ]. All these words commonly occur, of course, with normal [ɪ] undiphthongized.

4. This form is apparently well diffused through the South. It was recorded by D. S. Crumb, 'The Dialect of Southeastern Missouri,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 2, p. 306 (1903), and by J. W. Carr, 'A List of Words from Northwest Arkansas,' *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 70 (1905). Oma Stanley, *The Speech of East Texas* (Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 7, says that in East Texas *bleat* is always [bleɪt].

The common New England form is [blɛt]; see the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (Providence, 1939), vol. 1, pt. 2, map 195.

Under much the same circumstances, diphthongization may be present, with or without raising, in monosyllables before *l*, as in *hill* [hɪ:l], *kill* [kɪ:l], *build* [bɪ:ld]. In polysyllables, however, [ɪ] is ordinarily unaffected, as in *hilly* ['hɪ:lɪ], *children* ['tʃɪldrən].

There is a tendency in some speakers to use a tense, slightly raised [ɪ:], as in *big, fifty, live, ridge, slick, villain* ['vɪ:ljən], and [i] in *fish, itch, little, stick, wick*. A raised [ɪ:], approaching [i], is not infrequent in *big*, especially when the speaker is excited or enthusiastic; for example: ['dæts ðə 'bɪ:g 'θɪ:g ɪn 'dɪs ,kɑntrɪ]. The time-honored ['lɪt] for *little* is heard occasionally in such expressions as ['dʒɪst ə 'lɪ:t] 'just a little,' ['lɪ:t ,bɪt] 'a little bit,' ['lɪ:t 'fɜðə] 'a little further.' *District* was ['dɪstrɪk(t)] in all instances noted, but this pronunciation is probably limited to old-timers.<sup>5</sup>

Laxer and lowered varieties of [ɪ], often reaching [ɛ], may frequently be heard in *different, lid, rid, risk, until, 'til*, and the third syllable of *whistle-pig* 'groundhog': ['dɛ:fənt], [lɪd], [rɛd], . . . ['hwɪs,lɪ:pɪ:g]. [sɛt] for *sit* is probably a case of contamination with the cognate transitive verb.<sup>6</sup>

Both raising and lowering are very common before nasals. All degrees between [i] and [ɛ] are represented, although the variations ordinarily remain close to [ɪ], as in [lɪ:m], [lɪ:m] *limb*, or ['dɪ:nə] *dinner*. [ɪ:] or [i]

5. Mary N. Murfree ('Charles Egbert Craddock'), in *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* (Boston and New York, 1885) writes *leettle* (p. 114), *greased peeg* (p. 123), *heejus beastis* 'hideous beast' (p. 92). Horace Kephart, in his unpublished notes (vol. 3468, p. 503; see bibliography), writes *deestric, etch, keeck, leettle*. R. L. Mason, *The Lure of the Great Smokies* (Boston and New York, 1927), has *creetical* (p. 173), *concedered* (p. 191). Josiah Combs, 'The Language of the Southern Highlanders,' *PMLA*, vol. 46 (1931), p. 1316, notes *seel* 'sill.' Argus Tressider, 'The Speech of the Shenandoah Valley,' *American Speech*, vol. 12 (1937), pp. 284-283, notes [i] in *fish*. This pronunciation appears in various regional word lists; e.g., 'The Pioneer Dialect of Southern Illinois,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 2, p. 232 (1902), which also has 'dish, as if spelled *deesh*.' For [i] in *itch*, cf. this entry in John Brown's *Journal* (1795): 'The People [of the Toe Valley, N. C.] lives uncomen poor & mostly have the Each. . .' ('John Brown's Journal of Travel in Western North Carolina in 1795,' A. R. Newsome, ed., *North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 11, 1934, p. 300). For the raised vowel in *big*, cf. the Buncombe Co. (N. C.) Register of Deeds, vol. 2, p. 324 (1796): '...thence down the various courses of said creek to beeg Pigeon River. . .'

Such spellings as *steek* 'stick,' *steeked* 'sticked' in the Gabriel Harvey Letters, and *leettle* 'little,' *reaver* 'river' in the Verney Memoirs, and many others cited by H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd ed. (London, 1936), p. 208, show that pronunciations with [i] for [ɪ] were formerly numerous and widespread. Harold Whitehall, 'The Historical Status of Modern English [ɪ],' *Language*, vol. 16 (1940), pp. 120-121, says: 'If logographic and orthoepic evidence can ever be trusted, one important status of MnE [ɪ] in the EMnE period was the higher-front [i]. . .' See p. 62 and note 28, chap. 11, for [i]/[ɪ] in unstressed syllables.

6. Kephart, p. 503, notes *bed* 'bid,' *resk*. Combs finds *effn* 'if' (p. 1305), *resk* (p. 1316). Cf. *twell* 'until' in 'A Mountain Sermon,' *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 7 (1901), p. 21. Wyld, p. 228 f., cites many interesting 15th, 16th, and 17th century spellings showing [e] for [ɪ]; e.g., *deficulle, gletteryng, thether, festy, pcttyful*.

may sometimes be heard in *chinch*, *in*, *Indian* ['ɪndjən], *fling*, *pinch*, *sink-hole*, *thing*, and occasionally in the *-ing* ending (especially in singing).<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, [ɛ] or [e] often occurs in *drink*, *finger*, *Finger* (family-name), *hinder*, *ink*, *Lincoln*, *Mingus*, *rinse* [rents], *since*, *spring*, *sling*, *string*, *thing* (also in *anything* ['eniθɛŋ]), *wing*.<sup>8</sup> In Emerts Cove, *sling* and *thing* were transcribed [stɛŋ], [θɛŋ]. *Ring* is usually [rɪŋ]. *Been*, usually [bɪn] in the Smokies as generally in America, is sometimes [bɛn]. *Pin* and *pen* may be homophones.

The [ɪ] 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 perhaps 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 [ɪə] was heard: *afraid* (obsolescent for 'afraid'), *beer*, *appear*, *dear*, *deer*, *dreary*, *severe* (as in 'We had two pretty severe dogs'), *Sevierville* [sə'viəvəl].<sup>9</sup>

But the vowel in *hear*, *here*, *near*, *nearly* is often preceded by a palatal glide, and such variations as [hɪə], [hɪjə], [hjɛə], [hjɪə], [nɪə], [njɪə], etc. are current. *Here* as [hjɛə] has apparently passed out of use.<sup>10</sup> For *hear*, [hjɛə] is said to be very common. *Clear* and *year* vary [klɪə], [klɛə], [klɪə], etc.<sup>11</sup> *Miracle*, ['mɪrɪkəl] in the older speech, is now usually ['mɛrɪkəl]. *Queer*, *rear* v., *shear* are [kwɛə] (once [kwɔə]), [rɛə], [ʃɛə] ([ʃɛ] on one disc). *Irrigate* was pronounced ['ɪrɪgeɪt] by a CCC foreman of Cades Cove (Blount Co., Tenn.), ['æɪrɪgeɪt] by older speakers of the White Oak (Haywood Co., N. C.). *Ear* is [jɪə], [jɪ], [jɛə], [jɪə].<sup>12</sup>

7. Stanley, p. 9, finds [i] in *king*, *tingle*, *tinkle* in East Texas, but usually [e], [ɛ] before *nk*, *ng*. George P. Wilson, 'Some Unrecorded Southern Vowels,' *American Speech*, vol. 9 (1934), p. 210, notes similar phenomena.

8. The Smoky Mountain genealogist, Edward C. Conner, in his MSS. (see bibliography), writes *beginning* (p. 18). Kephart, *loc. cit.*, notes *hender*, *sence*; and Combs, p. 1316, (*w*)*rench*, (*w*)*rainch*, 'rinse,' *hender*. Brown (1795), p. 310, writes *convensed*. There are, of course, numerous examples of [e] for [ɪ] before nasals in Wyld, p. 223 f.; e.g., *danner* 'dinner' (Machyn), *sence*, *thenck* (Verney).

9. A well-educated informant of Wears Valley says that *dear* is also pronounced [d'ɛə].

10. But *there* as [ðɛə] may still be heard from a few old speakers. Cf. *hyar*, *hyur* 'here,' Kephart, vol. 3476, pp. 52, 57. William Cabell Greet, 'A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia,' *American Speech*, vol. 6 (1931), p. 168 f., says that in Williamsburg *here* is [hjɛ], [hjɛə], or [hjɔ]. Stanley, p. 8, says that [e] is occasional in *clear*, *hear*, *here*, *near*, etc.

11. According to a White Oak informant, 'most people say [klɪə]; very few say [klɪə], [klɛə].' When I ventured to inquire as to the frequency of the form [jɛə] *year* 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 ye'r* (years) in W. B. Ziegler, B. S. Grosscup, *Western North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1883), p. 95.

12. For [ɪ] in words of this type, cf. *yurs* 'ears', 'Mountain Sermon,' p. 22; *cherfully* 'cheerfully,' Conner, p. 9.

Words which do not fit into any of the groups discussed above are *pretty*, usually ['pɛtɪ], sometimes ['pʊɛtɪ], rarely ['prɪtɪ], ['prɛtɪ]; *vigorous* 'fierce,' 'vicious' ['vaɪgɹəs]; and *whip* [hwɪp], [hwɪp]; *wish* [wɪʃ] (once).

### 3. [e].

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

It appears in such words as:

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

The diphthong [ɛr] 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 [fɛs] of the mountain,' 'She done her baking in an oven' [ʃi 'dʌn hɔ 'bɛkɪn ɪn ə 'ʌvən]. It may occur in polysyllables without especial emphasis, as in *dangerous*, *Grady*, *Haywood County*, *law-breaking*, *nature*, *neighbor*, *potato*. Also in syllables with secondary stress, as in *aggravate*, *Desolation* (place-name), *separated*, *serenading*.

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

I'll see you all later. [ɪl 'si jəl 'leɪtə]

That's on the far Winter Range. ['ðætɪz ɒn ðə 'fɜ 'wɪntɪr rɛ'ɪndʒ]

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

[ɪ drʌðə 'hæv ðæt ðə'n 'æri 'pleɪs ɪn sə'viə 'kæunti]

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

['sɪtʃ əz 'ðætɪz wət 'gɪvz 'kɔzbi ə 'bæd 'neɪm]

Sometimes there is a pinched off-glide, as in the sentence: 'We'd sit around the fire-place' [wid 'set ə'rʌʊn ðə 'fa'ɹplɛɪs]. Diphthongization is usually very noticeable in *highway* ['haɪ'weɪ] and *daylight* ['deɪ,lɑɪ't] (or [deɪ'laɪ't], with rising inflection on the second syllable).

An off-glide [ə] (approaching [ɪ]) always appears before final *l* or *l* followed by a consonant, as in *rail*, *railroad*, *trail*, *fire-trail*: [reɪl] etc. A few speakers, given to slow, drawled utterance, use such forms as ['re:ʃəl]. The simple vowel may occur in open syllables, as in *Caylor* (family-name), *cold-trailer* (a hunting dog which can follow a 'cold trail'), *palings* ['peɪlɪŋz], etc.

Twice on the phonograph records [e] appears as the more open sound [ɛ]: 'He was making ['mækən] for the creek'; 'We'd stay [stɛ:] up there.' *Naked* as ['nekɪd], of course, is usual.<sup>13</sup>

Some words which have [e] in the standard pronunciation have, or may have, other vowels in the Smokies. *Drain* is generally [drɪn], not often [dreɪn].<sup>14</sup> *Flake* was [flik] in the sentence, 'They fleaked out and left the church.'<sup>15</sup> *James* is occasionally [dʒɪmz]. *Skins*, the metal covering of the axle, is apparently always [skɪnz]. *Staple* (a kind of nail) is ['stɪpəl]. For *ate*, the archaic [ɪt] is universal (except as 'corrected' to [et] in a few individual cases).<sup>16</sup> A *grater* is called a ['grɪtə], possibly through the influence of *grits* (a food prepared from grated corn). *Ancient*, *plague*, *plait* v. ('weave') were heard only with [æ]: ['æntɪʃənt], etc.<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. [ɛ].

This vowel, which is normally the development of Middle English *ɛ* or of an early modern shortening of Middle English [ē] (in the latter case often spelled *ea*), 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 [ɛ.ɛ], [eə], or [eɔ]; it may also become [ɪ] or [æ], especially in combination with a nasal; or, it may become [e], particularly before [g] and the palatal spirants; before *r*, it may be retracted to [ɜ]. Besides these developments, there are a few words in which [ʌ] is substituted for [ɛ], and some dialectal survivals of [i] for ME [ē].

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

Attention, bend, breath, clever ('hospitable'), commence, deadening n. ('a place cleared of trees by girdling'), death, devil, dread, edge, Enloe,

13. Greet, *Williamsburg*, p. 167, says that pronunciations with [e], [ɛ] for [ɛ], as in *make*, *great*, *say*, *day*, are characteristic of Southern coastal speech. H. M. Ayres, 'Bermudian English,' *American Speech*, vol. 8 (1933), no. 1, p. 7, states that [ɛ] is characteristically [ɛ] in Bermuda; e.g. *afraid* [ɔfrɛ:d].

14. According to the *Linguistic Atlas*, vol. 1, pt. 1, map 32, [drɪn] is fairly common in New England.

15. The *OED* states that *fleak(e)* (q.v.) is an obsolete or dialectal form of *flake*. Of the latter, it says (v. s. *flake*, sb.<sup>2</sup>): 'Of difficult etymology: possibly several distinct words have coalesced.' Cf. a *fleek* (slice) of ham meat, recorded in Kentucky, *American Speech*, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 29.

16. [et] was not heard, although *et* appears in Frances Goodrich, *Mountain Home-spun* (Yale University Press, 1931), p. 50, etc. The past participle also is [ɪt] in the Smokies.

17. *Ancient* and *angel* with [æ] must have been common in the United States in the early part of the last century. According to G. P. Krapp, *The English Language in America* (New York, 1925), vol. 2, p. 120, Webster in his *Compendious Dictionary* (1806) rejected the British pronunciation of these words with [e], maintaining that 'there is no shadow of reason why *a* in *angel*, *ancient* should have a different sound from that in *angelic*, *angle*, *anguish*.'

fence, fetch, guess, head, hello, help (usually [hɛp]), leather, let, many, Messer, never, pestle, ready, reckon, spell, spread-head (a kind of snake), tell, went.

Diphthongization, as usual, is associated with stress, rising and falling inflection, and prolonged utterance. Illustrative sentences are: 'There came a spell of snow. . . .' [θɜ 'kʌm ə 'spɛəl ə 'snou]; 'I couldn't hardly get my breath' [ə 'kʌnt 'hɑrdli 'gɪt mə 'brɛ.ɛθ]. Asked his name, an adolescent replied: ['beɔl] 'Bell.' One woman of Cataloochee, who speaks slowly and with a constantly changing pitch, pronounces *pen* [prɛ:jən] 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 [ɪ]: again(st) prep., conj., again adv., anyway, attend, Benson, end, enter, fence, forean(s)t prep. ('opposite, facing'), friend, generally, genuine, Glen, Henry, hen, Jenkins, many, men, mend, penny, pension, ten, Tennessee.

The movement of [ɛ] toward [ɪ] 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: [hɪts 'næt 'dʒɪnɛtəd ɪn mi tɔ 'stiəl].<sup>18</sup>

The raising of [ɛ] to [ɪ] was observed also in: crevice ['krɪvɪs], Ella ['ɪlə], Evans, get, Gregory, kettle, melon, recollect ['rɪkɔ'lɪkt] and ['rɪkɔ'lekt], regiment [rɪdʒ]- (once), yesterday, yet.

*Dwelling* (-house) occurred once with a high [ɛ:], and *fetch* on one of the discs shows a raised vowel, [ɛ:] or [ɪ:]. *Gregory* is commonly ['grɪgɔɪ] in Cades Cove, where the family has been numerous.<sup>19</sup> 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 [ɪ]), ginseng (usually [sæ:ŋ]), hem v. (as in, 'One of the dogs [hæmɪd] the bear in'), hem-pine ('hemlock'), memory ['mæmɪri], men, men-folks, mention, trench, Trēntham.

*Bench-legged* often occurs in the expression ['bæntʃ,legəd 'faɪst], a dog of mixed breed, much used in hunting. *Men* clearly had the lowered vowel

18. Conner, p. 5, writes *Sinaca City, S. C.*; Olive Tilford Dargan, in *Highland Annals* (New York, 1925), p. 286, writes *trimmle* 'tremble.' Cf. also the spellings in Brown's journal (1795): *mintioned* (p. 211), *whin* (p. 307).

19. The spelling *Grigory* appears in *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, taken in the year 1790; North Carolina* (U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, 1903), p. 231. Conner, p. 17, writes *Gragory*'ea-ball 'Gregory Bald,' showing the opposite change of [ɛ] to [æ]. Cf. the early vacillations in the name *Metcalf* in the Buncombe Co. Register: *Medcalf* vol. 2, p. 407 (1796), *Mitcalf* vol. 3, p. 9 (1794), *Madcalf* vol. 2, p. 320 (1796).



in the statement of a former resident of Barnes Valley, now dead: [ðer wəz 'bɔ:uθ 'prɪtɪ 'o:uld 'mæən].<sup>20</sup>

[æ] is common also in *beg, keg, leg* (also *bench-legged, boot-legging*), *peg, regular* [ˈræɡjələr]; *flesh, fleshy, fresh*; *measure, pleasure; mellow, yellow*.

Other words which may participate in this change are *eligible* [ˈældzɪbəl] (once), *well, Gregory* [ˈgræɡrɪ] (heard with this vowel at the White Oak, Haywood Co., N. C.), *Meigs* [ˈmæɡzəz] (as in *Meigs Mountain*). The local spelling of the given name *Lewellyn* indicates the pronunciation: *Lewallen*. *Thresh* and *wrestle* are uniformly pronounced with [æ], as everywhere in American colloquial speech.<sup>21</sup>

Sometimes, too, [e] moves toward or becomes [ɛ]. In the latter case it may be diphthongized to [eɪ̯] (with a pinched off-glide) or [eɔ̯]. The shift toward [e] and its variants is common in *egg* [eg], *keg, leg* (sometimes [leɪɡ]), and occasional in *edge, fresh* [freɪ̯ʃ], *measure, pleasure*. Isolated examples of the same tendency are: *bed* [bɛ:ɪd], *dead* [dɛ:ɪd], *Thunderhead* (the highest mountain at the southwest end of the Smokies) [-hɛ:ɪd], *death* [ˈdɛ:ɪθ], *Beck* [bɛ:k], *again* [əˈɡeɪn] (twice), *Bell* [ˈbeɪl], *bench* [benɪʃ], *Mellinger* [ˈmɛlɪŋgə], *Kephart* [ˈkephɛ:ɪt]. Perhaps to be included here also are *broomsedge* [ˈbrʊmsɛdʒ], *Kentucky* [kənˈtʌki] (the latter used only by a few old people).<sup>22</sup> Evidence that diphthongization exerts some influence upon narrowing the vowel is possibly to be seen in such forms as: *Bell* [beɪl], *again* [əˈɡeɪn], *bed* [beɪd], *dead* [dɛ:ɪd], *death* [dɛ:ɪθ]. 'I'm wantin' to go to bed!' whined a petulant Waynesville child, kept up after bed-time: [aɪm 'wɑntɪn tə 'ɡo tə 'be:ɪd].

Very often [ʌ] replaces [e] in *steady* v. (e.g., [hi 'stædɪd hɪz'sɛf ə'ɡɪn ə 'sæplən]), *trestle* [ˈtræs], *whether* [ˈhwɛ:ðə], and it usually appears in *trespass* [ˈtræspæs]. *Fresh* is sometimes heard with this vowel, as in the statement of a local fire-warden: 'The tracks [of a bear] was just [frʌʃ] across

20. For the lowered vowel before nasals, cf. *mentioned* 'mentioned,' J. Bryan Grimes, *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* (Raleigh, 1912), p. 7; *bench'es* 'benches,' *sung* 'ginseng,' Conner, pp. 28, 39.

21. Brown (1795) writes *Galaspys* 'Gillespie's' (p. 291), *sad* 'said' (p. 304; 'seat of Justice for sad County'). John Sevier, first governor of Tennessee, spells *brakfirasted* for *breakfasted*, 1797 (see John H. Dewitt, ed., 'Journal of Governor John Sevier (1790-1815),' *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, vol. 5, 1919-20, p. 237). Mrs. Dargan, p. 20, writes *desapivrest* 'most deceptive.' See also note 19.

It is interesting and significant that Professor H. M. Ayres, *American Speech*, vol. 8, no. 1, p. 7, finds [æ] 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 Virginia and Carolina coast.

22. For *broomsage* (popular etym. ?), see the *DAE*, under *broomsedge*. Brown (1795), p. 302, writes *Kaintucky*; Sevier (1802) writes *Caintucky line* (*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, vol. 6, 1920, p. 35).

the trail.' The ballad of 'The Seven Brothers' (Earl Brand) is known to a Big Bend woman as 'The Seven [ˈbrʌðə,ɪn], i.e., *brethren*.'<sup>23</sup>

Before *r*, [ɛ] is often retracted to [ɛ̠], as in: *Americus* (given-name), *berry, bury, ceremony, Cherokee, derrick, Jerry, serenade* ('shivaree'), *sheriff, terrible, very*.

A high central sound, however, appears on a disc in *Jerry* [ˈdʒɪrɪ], and *sheriff* was [ˈʃɪrɪf] as spoken by a man from the Tennessee Valley. *Sheridan* (given-name) retained [ɛ] in all instances, and *experiment* was always [ekˈspɪrɪmənt].

Other miscellaneous developments are (1) [i] for standard English [ɛ] in a few words, (2) [a] for [ɛ] in two verbs. Examples of [i] for [ɛ]: *cross* [ˈkrɪsɪz] (apparently the usual form), *deaf, deafen* (still commonly with [i], though speakers of any education say [ɛ]), *phlegm* [flɪm] (usually; but in one area [flɛm] was said to be more common), *weapons* [ˈwɪpənɪz] (once; said to be obsolescent), *recollect, recommend* (both of these often with [ɪk-] in older speakers).<sup>24</sup> An Emerts Cove family told, with some amusement, that a neighbor pronounced *stretch* [strɪtʃ]; an aged informant of Wears Valley said that this was once the usual pronunciation.<sup>25</sup> *Catch* and *fetch* as [kætʃ] and [fætʃ] have almost died out, except as jocular pronunciations. A CCC superintendent pronounced *fetch* with [a] for my benefit, but I heard a mountain enrollee remark [a 'bɒt ə d 'kætʃ ɪm] of another who had lost to him at a hand of cards.

23. *Brethren* with [ʌ], may be, of course, a case of attraction to the vocalism of the singular. For the replacement of [ɛ] by [ʌ], cf. the converse substitution of [ɛ] for [ʌ] in words like *just, shut*; also *neither* and *rather* with [ʌ]. For the fluctuations of Smokies [ɛ], cf. the early variant spellings of the word *Tennessee*: *Tunisee* (1715-16), *Tunasee* (1730), *Tanase* (1733), *Tenisee* (1751), *Tinassee River, Tanessee River* (18th cent.) (*East Tennessee Historical Society Publications*, no. 1, 1929, pp. 4, 7.).

24. Some of these are probably cases of modern English [i] for ME [ɛ:], as in *heap, stream*, etc., although *cross* may have had ME [ɛ:] (cf. the 16th and 17th century spellings *creeses* in the *OED*; v. s. *cross*). *Phlegm* seems to have had [ɛ:] in view of the 16th and 17th century spelling *fleam* (beside *fleume, fleme*; Milton has *fleam*); see *OED*, under *phlegm*. For *deaf* and *deafen*, [dɪf] and [ˈdɪfən] were in good use in America at least as late as 1884, for they are approved in Webster's Dictionary of that date.

Kephart, p. 503, notes *reccord* and *wecpin* 'weapon'; Miss Murfree, p. 133, and other writers have *eed* 'end.' *Cross* seems to be used only in the plural: [ˈkrɪsɪz].

25. This pronunciation is of curious interest in view of Drayton's rhyme *reach—stretch*, which Wyld cites in *Studies in English Rhymes* (London, 1923), p. 92 ('Rhymes of words originally containing *ɛ̄* with words which always had a short vowel'). He remarks that the vowel of *reach* is apparently shortened before *-ch*, and mentions the dialectal form with the short vowel. In the light of the present evidence from the Smokies, however, the rhyme could probably have been on either [ɛ:] or [ɛ]. See the *OED* for the 16th and 17th century spellings of *stretch* with *ea*, which probably represent [ɛ:], modern [i]; also *EDG*, p. 168, and *EDD* (vol. 5, p. 813) for English dialectal forms with [i].

## 5. [æ].

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

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

As in the case of other vowels, there is a tendency to lengthen [æ] 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!' [wi 'nevə wəz ə'skæəd sə 'bæəd]; 'So they went back to where we was camped' [tə 'hwɜ 'wi wəz 'kæ'mpt].

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

Before [g], [ŋ], the vowel is a shade higher than the sound in the words above-mentioned, i. e., [æː]; or it may have a faint off-glide [ʲ]. 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), *strangle*. *Swag* was in one instance clearly [swɛg], which illustrates the tendency toward a raised vowel before [g]. (Compare *leg* [leg], etc.) On the phonograph records, *angry* is sometimes [ˈæŋrɪ].

Before the fricatives [f], [θ], [s], [ʃ], and in one instance before [v], [æ] is very often diphthongized, with or without lengthening, to [æe]. The effect produced by this breaking is frequently suggestive of [ɛɪ], 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 [æe] or [ɛe]. 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 [ˈæftə], *calf*, *half*, *laugh*, *Metcalf* [ˈmɛd.kæf], *rafter*, *scaffold* [ˈskæfəld]; *salve* [sælv]; *path*; *ass*, *gas*, *glass*, *pass*; *fast*, *last*, *mast* ('acorns, chestnuts,' etc.); *past*, *pasture*; *Asheville*, *crash*, *flash*, *gash*, *mash*.

Sometimes a diphthong of the [ɛe] variety is unmistakable in *calf* [kæef], *half* [hæef], *gas* [gæes], and occasionally other words.<sup>26</sup>

The tendency to diphthongize and raise this vowel is suppressed in a number of polysyllables and compounds. Only simple [æ] was noted in *cast-boiler*, *cast-mill*, *caskel*, *fasten*, *Chasteen* (Creek) [tʃæs'tin], *sassafras*, *Mathis*, *rations*. Yet even *basket-ball*, *life-everlasting* (an herb), *molasses* appear on the phonograph records with the diphthong: [ˈbæeskət, bəl], [ˈlɑf, evə'li:vstɪn], [mɑ'æ:sɪz].

The treatment with [æe] is extended occasionally to words which, in the local speech, ordinarily have simple [æ] or some other vowel; for example, *rag* [ræeg], *thrush* (an infection of the mouth in children). Other anomalous developments are *ask* [eks] (also [æks], [æsk]); *axe* [eks] (also [æeks]); *after* [ˈetə] (also [ˈætə], [ˈæftə]);<sup>27</sup> *McGaha* [mæ'gæe] (usually [mæ'gæhæ]).

Before the nasal combinations [mp], [nt], [ns], [ntʃ], and sometimes before [ŋ], the treatment of [æ] is in all respects similar to that before fricatives, except that nasalization of the vowel is probably always present in some degree. In the following words, a diphthong varying [æe], [æẽ], [ɛe] often appears:

Camp, damp, stamp (postage); Anthony (with [t] rather than [θ]), haunt v., n., panther (with [t]), plant, scantling [ˈskæntlɪŋ]; chance, dance; Blanche, branch; banjo [ˈbæendʒɔ]; bank, gang: [kæemp], [dæemp], etc.

The vowel sound in these words is certainly not the same as that suggested by the transcription [kæmp], etc., although [e] alone appears not infrequently in *answer*, *Anthony*, and *panther*.<sup>28</sup> 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 valid in the Smokies. Using this rhyme in his discussion of the development of ME *a* before [f], [s], [θ], Wyld, p. 204, says that it is 'intelligible if we assume that the vowels in both words were long—[pæst—wæst]—but hardly so if we are to suppose [pæst—wæt] or even [wæt].' In fact, the rhyme is even more intelligible if we assume that the early modern [æ] before [f], [s], [θ] had something of the quality of its Great Smokies descendant.

27. [ˈetə] *after*, which is fairly common in the speech of old-timers, poses an interesting question. The form without [f] is no doubt very old, there being 16th and 17th century rhymes which suggest its existence at that period. Was [æ] raised to [e] before the loss of [f], or was [e] substituted after the loss through the influence of parallel forms with [f] in which [e] developed from [æe]?

28. A native reflection of the pronunciation of *Anthony* with [ə] was noted on a sign posted over a store near Walland (Blount Co.), Tennessee; it bore the inscription 'W. L. Ainthony.'



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.' [a 'heɪnt hæd ə 'tʃæ:ns]; 'Did you (plural) go to the dance?' [dɪd 'juənz 'gou tə ðə 'dæ:ns]. Often the diphthong is less exaggerated, as in *camped* [kæmpt].

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 [bɛəntʃ] on one of the phonograph records. *Ginseng* is frequently [sæ:ɛŋ] (also [sɛŋ]). *Haunt* v., n., never pronounced with [ɔ] in the Smokies, is [hænt] or [hɛənt]; and *daunt* is reported to have been [dɛənt] in former times.

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

*Aunt*, on the phonograph records, is usually [ænt], once [ant], but also [ent]. *Hasn't*, *haven't* are [ent], [hent], and *can't* is generally [kent].<sup>29</sup>

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. ('inherit'), Maryville, pair, parent, scared, scarify ('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 [a], 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 [a]. Old timers of a former day may have said [bæ] 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 *b'ar*.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes a normal [æ] and an 'open' [æ] occur in

The dialect writers observe some of these forms. Miss Murfree writes *painters* 'panthers' (p. 38), *gaynder* 'gander' (p. 106); Miss Goodrich, p. 40, and Mrs. Dargun, p. 219, write *chance* 'chance.' Most of them write *caint* for *can't*. Cf. Sevier's *Painters Springs* 'Panther Springs' (1798; vol. 5, p. 185).

29. For *ain't* as [hent], see chap. III, p. 93.

30. There is, however, no reason to suppose that *bear* may not once have been pronounced with [a]. Cf. the famous inscription attributed to Daniel Boone: 'D. Boon Cilled A. Bar On Tree in the year 1760.' See Mason, p. 76 f.

proximity, as in the following questions heard at a card game: ['gat 'æri 'pæ:ɪə] 'Got any pair?'; ['heɪnt 'gat 'nɜ:ri 'pæ:ɪə] 'Haven't got any pair?'<sup>31</sup>

Yet a distinct [a] does appear. A number of old people, and a few others, still say [ðə] *there*, a form which is preserved as a kind of fossil in *over there* ['ovə,ə], heard on Cosby Creek. This sound, moreover, is frequent in one group of words: *arrow*, *harrow*, *marrow*, *narrow*, *sparrow*, *wheelbarrow*. Usage of [a] and [æ] appears to be about evenly divided in these words.<sup>32</sup> [a] was observed also in *Arizona*, *embarrassed*, *guarantee*, *repaired*, *Wears (Valley)*, *where*.<sup>33</sup>

A tendency to use a centralized and raised [æ] was noticed in *air*, *hair*: [æ:ə] or [æ:ɪə], [hæ:ə], 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, [e] frequently occurs: *care*, *Carolina*, *chair*, *fair*, *hair*, *January*, *their*, *themselves* (for *themselves*) [,ðeə'selfs], *unfair*.

The vowel often tends to be retracted, as in *care* [kɛə], *fair* [fɛə], *hair* [hɛə]. Most people make a distinction between the sounds in *care* and *carry*: [kɛə]—['kæri]. *Carolina* is sometimes [kɛ'lainə].

By less well educated speakers, *care* and *chair* are pronounced with [ɪ], which may appear also in *scarce*, *scare*: [kɪə], etc.<sup>34</sup> The expression 'to run like a ['skɪəd 'hɛ:nt], i.e., 'a frightened ghost,' is symbolic of great speed. This vowel, too, tends to be centralized, as in *chair* [tʃɪə].

In the speech of most people, the retroflex central vowels [ɜ], [ʌɜ], [ɔ] (unstressed) are by far more common than any others in *where*, *anywhere*, *everywhere*, *nowhere*, *somewhere*. [ɜ] or [ɔ] is also very frequent in: *Carolina* [kɔ'lainə], *chair*, *Sarah* [səɔ], *scare*, *their*, *there* (as an expletive).<sup>35</sup> Il-

31. The much used *ary* and *nary*, which are avoided by the better educated, stand for *e(v)er a* and *ne(v)er a*. 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 e'er a book of the sciences of hawking and hunting. . . .' (Act I, Sc. 1); 'Ne'er a one to be found now?' (Act III, Sc. 5).

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

33. *Wears* with [a] was characterized as an 'awkward' pronunciation by one informant. He added that *stair* was formerly pronounced in such a way as to be confused with *star*. A White Oak boy sounded *warehouse* ['wɔ:həʊs]. For [a], cf. the dialect spellings of Ziegler and Grosscup: *sa'r* 'fair' (p. 98), *horse ha'r*, *whar* (p. 127), *ha'ry*, *suar*, *bar* 'bear', *thar* (p. 150). Kephart, p. 502, has similar forms: *bar*, *dar*, *deklar*, *swar*, *war* 'wear', *praar*, *raar*.

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

35. Cf. *source*, Ziegler and Grosscup (p. 149); *kerried* 'carried,' Murfree (p. 85). Also Brown's spellings, which plainly indicate a centralized vowel: *delawer* 'Delaware' (p. 308), *wher* 'where' (p. 289), *apperl* 'apparel' (p. 303), *ther* 'their' (p. 307), *thire* 'there' (p. 311).

According to Greet, 'Delmarva Speech', *American Speech*, vol. 8 (1933), no. 4, p. 60, [ɜ] for [ɛ] in *where*, *there*, *pair*, *fair*, *Delaware* is one of the most marked charac-

illustrative examples are: [hwɜː'biəːʊts] 'Whereabouts?'; [ðɜː ə 'oʊl 'hæːʊs ʌp hɪə bət 'daʊnt 'nɒbədi 'lɪv ɪn ɪt] 'There's an old house up here, but nobody lives in it.'

There often appears as [ðe] in such uses as, [ðɜː 'bɪn ə 'ledɪ 'hɪə] 'There's been a lady here'; [ðe kʌm ə 'snoʊ 'ðæt 'deɪ] 'There came a snow that day.'

Several miscellaneous forms deserve brief notice. In the speech of a few old people, *January* is ['dʒɪnu,erɪ], ['dʒɪnju,erɪ]. The diphthong [aɪ] replaces [æ] in *lack* and *raffle* (as in, 'They're going to ['raɪfəl] it off').<sup>39</sup> Substitution of [a] or [ɔ] is usual in *jab*, *pamper*, *stab*, *stamp* (with the foot), *wrap*, rare in *sal*, *Valentine*.<sup>40</sup> *Stamp* may also be heard with [ɔ], although most of the younger speakers on the phonograph records say [stæmp] or [stæmp]. For *catch*, [ketʃ] is usual, [kætʃ] rare; and *rather* is ['reðə] or ['ræðə].<sup>41</sup>

#### 6. [a], [ɔ].

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 vacillation in the low-back vowel group, the unrounded sounds tending to become rounded and the rounded tending to become unrounded. In the Smokies, [a] or a rounded variant is the development of Middle English *ɔ* before all consonants except [g], certain fricatives, and [r], and of Middle English *ɑ* followed by [r] or preceded by [w]. [ɔ] comprises most of the exceptions to the foregoing statement and will be discussed in the following section.

[a] or [ɔ] usually appears in such words as the following:

Beyond, body, bother, copper, copy, crop, doctor, drop, fodder, follow, fox, gobbler, God, got, hobble (as in *dog-hobble*, a plant name), hollow, holly, hot, job, John, knob, knock, lot, Molly, not, officer, Oliver, Polly, pot, rock, rosin, rotten, shot, stop, swallow, Thomas, tolerable, Tom, tonic, top, wallow, want, water, yon, yonder.

Of the two sounds, [a] is much more frequent than [ɔ], 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.'

39. Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 755, writes that 'raffles are called *rifting off*.' L. R. Dingus recorded *rifle* 'raffle' in southwestern Virginia in 1915 ('A Word-List from Virginia,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 4, p. 188). See the *OED* under *raffle*, *rifle* v<sup>2</sup>.

37. Cf. ' . . . I sot still all the time . . . ' Brown (p. 303), *pampered*, *Murfree* (p. 71), *scrap quilts*, *Goodrich* (p. 75).

38. Other instances of the raising of [æ]: Brown, *Devinport* (p. 239), *Devinport* (p. 310), *skilp'd* 'scalped' (p. 311); Conner, *scelery'es* 'salaries' (p. 52); Kephart, *hed* 'had,' *skelp* 'scalp' (p. 503); Combs, *beck* 'back,' *hev* 'have' (p. 1315).

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 [a] or [ɔ], contributes much to the local color of this regional speech, a brief discussion is necessary.

[a] seems often to be a 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 [a] and [ɔ] difficult.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, there are all degrees of rounding—from a low and faintly rounded [ɔ] to a high and over-rounded [ɔ] which approaches [o]. The more strongly rounded forms of the vowel (as in *promise* ['prɒmɪs], *lot* [lɒt]) 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 [a], [ɔ], and [ɔ] in forms with general American [a]; 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 [a] and 101 of [ɔ] (including a few cases of [ɔ]) for words with general American [a], as described by Kenyon.<sup>40</sup> 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 of 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 [rɒk] than as [rak]; yet the writer has slight doubt that [rak] is at least as common as, if not more common than, [rɒk] in the Smokies.

Nevertheless, a few generalizations are offered concerning the distribution of [a] and [ɔ] 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 [a] and [ɔ], that is] is increased by the fact that Piedmont [a] is further back than its Central-Western counterparts. . . .'

40. See *American Pronunciation*, 6th ed. (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 183-185; also *A Guide to Pronunciation* (in *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1934), §§182-185. In the former work, p. 179 f., he says: 'The status of [ɔ] in America is hard to describe, for it is not fully known. . . . The [ɔ] sound, or at any rate a sound intermediate between [a] and [ɔ], is used sporadically by many individuals in GA territory, especially in words with *w* (*want*) and with *r* (*sorry*). But it cannot be considered a stable and well-recognized phoneme in GA.'

(1) [a] prevails in most words in which ME *ǒ* precedes [p] or [b]; but [ɒ] is frequent in the transcriptions in *crop*, *Hopkins*, *top*, *job*.

(2) [a] is usual in *bottom*, *motto*, *not*, *Otto*, *pot*, *Plott*, *body*, *cod*, *codded*, *God*; but [ɒ] is frequent, especially in the speech of old-timers, in *got*, *hot*, *lot*, *not*, *shot*. *Water* varies [a], [ɒ], [ɔː] (probable order of frequency); [wɔːtə] is very common, but [wɔːtə] is said to be fairly rare. A few old men have been heard to employ the 'by word' *Aye God* [aɪ gɒd]; and *si-godling* ['sai'gɒdliŋ] ('catter-cornered?') was reported; younger speakers always say [gɒd].

(3) The transcriptions show a preference for [ɒ] in *rock*, but [a] is probably more common. In *clock*, *doctor*, *Knoxville*, *pocket*, [ɒ] is occasional. It apparently never occurs in *Cocke* (County), and but rarely in *knock*: [kɒk], [nɒk]. *Stock* and *mock* always have [ɒ]. Notable also are *document* ['dɒkjʊmənt] (once), *hemlock* ['hɛmlɒk] (twice), ['hɛmlɒk] (once), *stockings* with [ɒː] (twice).

(4) The field notes and the discs indicate a high frequency of [ɒ] in *follow*, *hollow*, 'holler,' *wallow*, *swallow* (there are a few instances of [ɔ] in the last two forms); if [a] is used, it is often very 'dark' (retracted). In *doll*, *holly*, *Molly*, *Polly*, [a] is usual, [ɒ] occasional; *Polly* is once [pɔːl].

(5) Before nasals, [a] is usual, as in *dominicker* (chicken or gnat), *John*, *mamma*, *Tom*, *want*, *yonder* (when not ['jændə]); but many speakers say [dʒɒn], [tɒm], [wɔːnt]. Cf. also ['prɒmɪs] *promise* (twice), ['kɒnfɪdɪnt] *confident* (once). *From* varies [a], [ɒ], [ʌ], and *on* is generally [ɔn], sometimes [ʌn].

(6) Before most fricatives, [ɔ] and its tense or diphthongal variants (see sec. 7) are usual; but the following forms, generally pronounced with [a] in American speech (in the author's belief), are interesting: *opossum* in most cases ['pɒsəm], but a few old-timers say ['pɔsəm]; *hospital* in each of its few instances ['hɒspɪtɪ] ([ 'hɔspɪtɪ] was reported); *wasp* [wɔːsp], ['wɔspə]; *rosin* generally ['rɔzəm], though a few say ['rɔzɪn], ['rɔzn]; *Proffitt* ['prɒfɪt], once with [ɒ]; *officer* with [ɔ], [ɒ], [a], the rounded vowels being more common; *father* usually ['fɑðə], twice ['fɒðə]; *Scotch* (-Irish) [skɒtʃ] (once [skɒt'æʃ]); *watch* usually with [a], but frequently with [ɒ].

The length of the sounds [a], [ɒ] varies with the speaker. If the utterance is slow or drawled, they are protracted or diphthongized; for example, *knob* [nɑːb], [nɑːb], etc. The rounded vowel tends to be longer than the unrounded; for example, *Tom* [tɔːm], but [təm]. In polysyllables, the tendency to lengthen is suppressed, and diphthongization does not ordinarily occur.

One group of words with general American [a] is still pronounced with [æ] by many Smokies speakers: *crop*, *drop*, *yon*, *yonder*; *lop* in all instances was [læp], except in the reported expression, 'He lopped [lapt] him one on

the jaw.'<sup>41</sup> A few sentences will illustrate. The former fire-warden of Cades Cove was heard to say: [a 'sɪd ə 'fiʃ 'jæn 'lɒŋ], 'I saw a fish yon [that] long,' accompanying the demonstrative with appropriate gestures. On Cosby Creek, a young mountaineer told another that some object was ['jæn 'lɒŋ ŋ 'jæn 'rænd], also using gestures.<sup>42</sup> An old hunter of Walkers Valley said: [wi 'hrɒd ə 'bæɹ ə'læpən 'lɪmz], i.e., tearing down the branches of a tree. 'At the foot of yonder ['jændə] 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 [krɒp] *crop*, ['jændə] *yonder*. *Calm* in its single occurrence was [kæm] (for *calmly* on the *Rat* records, see chap. III, p. 104 and note 51).

*Father* ['fɑðə], ['fɒðə], is frequently replaced by ['dædɪ], used by young and old alike, less often by [pɔː] and ['pæp(ɪ)]. For *mamma*, usually now ['mami], ['mama], the old-fashioned ['mæmi] may sometimes be heard, though mostly from elderly people.

*Was* and *what* stressed have [a], [ɒ], [ʌ]; unstressed [ə].

In the following words, before *r*, the vowel is usually [a], but in some of them it is very often rounded to [ɒ], [ɒː]. 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, start, starve (in older use, 'to be hungry or thirsty'), tar, yard.

Speakers who tend to round [a] 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 [ɒ] in *started*, [ɒː] in *arm*, *dark*, *yards*, and [ɔː] in *barking* ['bɔːəkən]. A young farmer of Emerts Cove, in a recorded conversation, says *car*, *Cardwell*, *Clark*, *discharged*,

41. The [æ] forms result from an early modern unrounding and fronting, as explained and illustrated by Wyld, pp. 240-242. Some of the 15th, 16th, and 17th century spellings which he cites are interesting; for example, *strape* 'strap,' *starme* 'storm'; *yander* (Lord Berners); *Dasset* 'Dorset,' *caffen* 'coffin' (Machyn); *stap* (Queen Eliz.); *slap*, *Gad* (Lord Foppington); *beyand* (Lady Wentworth, 1710).

One is reminded also of Swift's rhyme of *yonder* with *salamander*.

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 axed 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 yan way or this way." . . . That was about all the answer he made on it.'



sergeant with [ɔː], approaching [ə]. Everyone seems to say *carbon*, *carburetor*, and *harness* with [ɔː] ([ˈkɑːrbən], etc.). *Smart* occurred but once with [ɔ]: [ə ˈraɪt ˈsmɔːt ˈlɪt], i.e., 'quite a little,' beside [ə ˈraɪt ˈsmɑːt ə ˈtræb], [ðe ˈmeɪd ə ˈraɪt ˈsmɑːt ə ˈbuz]. Sometimes the vowel, [ɑ] or [ɔ], is noticeably prolonged, as in *lard* [laːɹd], *park* [pɑːɹk]. After [k] and [g], many elderly people and a few others use a palatal glide, as in *card* [kjaɹd], *garden* [ˈgjaɹdn], *scarred* [skjaɹd]. Rounding does not occur after [j].

In a few words, [æ] appeared before *r*: *are* [æɹ] (beside [ɑː]), *jarred* (past tense; once), *jar-fly* (cicada), *parboil* ['pæɹ,baɪl], ['pæɹ,bɔɪl], *spar* ('to box,' as in ['spærən ˈpæɹdnɹ]). Many speakers (including, it is said, a number of younger people) still pronounce *are* as [æɹ]: [hæv ˈæɹ jɪ] 'How are you?' ['æɹ j'u ˈgoʊn] 'Are you going?' *Parboil* and *spar* v., it is reported, are always pronounced as indicated; but the extent of currency of *jar* v. and *jar-fly* ['dʒæɹ,flaɹ] with [æ] is unknown. *Jar* n. is [dʒɑː]. The family name *Tarwater*, usually pronounced with [ɑ] in the first syllable, appears on a disc as ['tæɹwɔːtɹ].<sup>43</sup>

In a third small group, *r* was lost in early modern English when the vowel was still [æ]: *parcel* (as in [ə ˈpæɹs] əv ˈlænd]), *partridge* ['pæɹtrɪdʒ] (beside ['pætɹdʒ]), *cartridge* ['kæɹtrɪdʒ] (beside ['katɹdʒ]). The expression [pæɹs] seems to be avoided by younger, educated speakers. For *partridge*, ['pætɹdʒ] was reported, and *cartridge* appears as ['katɹdʒ] on a disc. In Emerts Cove, the expression *cartridge* is said to have been generally displaced by *shell*. In Wears Valley it was reported that *hearth* was formerly pronounced [hæθ].

*Far* in untutored speech is always [fɹ].<sup>44</sup>

*Borrow*, *sorry*, and *tomorrow* usually have [ɑ], occasionally [ɔ]: ['bɑːɹ], ['sɔːɹ], etc. On a ballad-record, however, *sorrowful* is clearly ['sɔːɹɪfəl].

## 7. [ɔ].

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

43. Kephart, p. 502, also notes *jairfly*. *Tar* was recorded as [tɹ] by Crumb in southeastern Missouri in 1903 (p. 333). Cf. *mercy* ['mæɹɪ] (older *marcy*) in the 'by words' *Lord a massy*, *Laws a massy*. Gov. Sevier wrote *hogs laird* 'hog's lard' (1815; vol. 6, p. 56).

Wyld, p. 357, cites 16th and 17th century rhymes of *are* with *care* and *fair*. Cooper (1635) lists *are*, *air*, *hair*, *ere* and *car'd* (curabam), *card* (pectino) as having the same sound (A. J. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, Early English Text Society, London, 1867-89, part 4, p. 1029). This orthoepist includes *bar*, *car*, *lar* in a group of words with [æ] (*cap*, *cat*, *dash*, etc.; *ibid.*, part 1, p. 70 f.).

44. Cf. *further*; also, 'Thy name shall be renowned near and fur,' in Thomas Shelton's translation of a sonnet by Cervantes (1611). Cooper says that *fir*, *fur*, *far* have the same sound (Ellis, part 4, p. 1030).

words, however, with Middle English *au* and *ai*, and various others, also have this sound. In the Great Smokies, [ɔ] appears in such words as the following:

Across, all, all-overst ('worst')<sup>45</sup> [ɔl'ovɹst], along, also, always, awful, balsam, bawl, because, boss-man, bought, call, Calderwood (a town in Blount Co., Tenn.), caught, cause, cloth, coffin, cost, cough, crawl, cross, daughter, dog, doncy (obsolescent; 'sick,' 'stupid'),<sup>46</sup> fall, fog, jaw, law, loft, log, long, lost, moth, noggin (reported; 'head'), off, prong, scald, 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* [br'koːz], *cloth* [kloːθ], *loft* [loːft].<sup>47</sup> Often also it is diphthongized into something like [ɔʊ], or perhaps [ɔːo], beginning with the lips slightly spread and ending with extreme rounding. Occasionally, too, it becomes a sound which suggests the diphthong [aʊ], but which is probably a rounded low-back vowel with a high off-glide, perhaps [ɔʊ], [ɔː]. 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-clause or end-sentence position; for example, ['juanz 'seq əs ə'sɔːŋ] '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-overst sight I ever seed,' 'the all-overst achin' I ever had,' 'the all-overst cow I ever seen,' (i.e., the most 'no account' cow). This expression evidently developed from the adverb *all over* (for the superlative suffix, cf. *cheatingest*) and is apparently not semantically related to *all-overs* 'nervousness,' in the *EDD*, and reported by Kephart, 'A Word List from Western North Carolina,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 4, p. 407 (1917), and from east Alabama, *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 286 (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. *dunce* and the development [ɹ] > [a], [ɔ] 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 eatin'.' Recorded by Kephart, *Word List*, p. 410, with the meanings 'fastidious,' 'squeamish'; see the *EDD* and cf. other words of related form and meaning: *daunch*, *daunt*, *densch*.

47. Greet, *Delmarva*, p. 60, says that on the Delmarva Peninsula [ɔ] rather than [ɑ] or [ɒ] appears in *dog*, *log*, *long*, *small*, *often*, *haunted*, *ought*. He says that [ɔ] is often intensified, approaching [oo], and that this phenomenon is especially noticeable before retroflex [ʃ] in *small*, *wall*, and *all*.

position, before [t], [g], [k], the fricatives [f], [θ], [s], [z], and before [ŋ] and [l].  
Examples:

Finally: saw, law (in the interjection [o'lo']), grandma-['græn, mɑ'].  
Before [t]: bought, caught, daughter, thought, auto ['ɑ'to] (but cf.

*oller* ['ɑtə], ['ɔrtə]).

Before [g], [k]: August ['ɔgast], dog, fog, frog, hog, log; hawk [hɑ'k], talk (as in, 'They'd laugh and talk' [ðed 'læf ɪ 'tɔ'k]), walk. (But not in *stock* 'cattle' [stɔk]).

Before fricatives: cross, frost, lost, wasp; because, Cosby, jaws, moths [mɑ'z]; cough, loft, often ['ɔftən], soft (there is an interesting contrast here with the old-fashioned [sæft]); cloth, moth.

Before [ŋ]: long, prong, song; also in gone [gɔ'n].

Before [l]: all, bald [bɑ'l], fall, haul, malt, salt.

It is certain that a transcription with [ɔ:], or even with [ɔr], alone does not adequately represent this interesting and elusive variant of the normal sound.<sup>48</sup> The tendency toward breaking is usually suppressed in polysyllables (cf. *log* [lɔ'g], but *logging* ['lɔgən]), but the vowel may be raised and tense, as in *Calderwood* ['kɑltə,wʊd], *coffee* ['kɑfi], *coffin* ['kɑfən]. *Balsam* seems always to have the normal vowel: ['bɔlsəm].

There is occasional unrounding to [ɔ] and [ɑ] in *fog*, *foggy*, and *hog*. *Hog-wild* was once distinctly [hɑg'wa'ld]. Only [ɔ] or its diphthongal variants, however, were observed in *dog*, *frog*, *log*, *logger*, *logging*, except in *dog-gone*, which is frequently ['dæ:ɡɔ:n], ['dæ:ɡɔ:nd]. *Prong*, much used in the sense of 'a tributary stream,' or 'a large branch of a tree,' is ordinarily [prɔŋ], but its vowel may vary to [ɔ], [ɑ]. Other examples of unrounding are *Caldwell* ['ka:wel] (but usually [kɑ'wel]), *Lawme!* ['lu:mi] (used by women), *pshaw!* [ʃu], *thought* [θɔt] (which occurs on one of the discs).

An intrusive [ɔ] frequently appears in *Audely* (a man's given-name) ['ɔdɛli], *ought* [ɔt], [ɔt], *walnut* ['wɔnɔt] (once ['wɔnɔt]), *wash*, *pauper* ['pɔ:pə]. It is reported that everyone pronounces *caucus* ['kɔ:kəs], and *Norfolk* (Va.) ['nɔ:fɔ:k]. One rugged fire-warden, a native of the Oconaluftee River, says [kɔ:t] for *caught*.<sup>49</sup>

There are a few vestiges of the early modern unrounding and fronting of [ɔ]. *Because* was pronounced [kez] by an elderly woman of Copeland

48. C. M. Wise, 'Southern American Dialect,' *American Speech*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 37-43, observes raised [ɔ] in Southern speech, remarking that *thought* 'is often so extreme a form of [θɔt] as to sound very nearly like [θot] or [θoʊt].' He adds: 'When drawled, the diphthong becomes [ɔo], as in *hawk* [hɔok].'

Transcriptions with [ɔ<sup>o</sup>], [ɔ<sup>u</sup>] for [ɔ], in *hog*, *dog* appear in the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, vol. 1, maps 204, 211.

49. Miss Murfree, p. 6, writes *darter* 'daughter'; Mrs. Dargan, p. 240, *corcus* 'caucus.' Brown (1795), p. 307, writes *wark'd* 'walked.'

Creek, to the amusement of her younger auditors.<sup>50</sup> *Haunt* v., n. (as a noun, 'ghost') is [hænt], [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: [lak ə 'skɔd hænt ə 'rɛkən]. *Jaundice* was heard only once, in the expression ['jæl ə 'dʒændɪz]. An old woman of Catons Grove called green vegetables ['gædn̩ ,sɛs] (the usual expression is ['gædn̩ ,sɛlt]). *Saucer* is pronounced ['sæsə] by the 'old folks,' according to a woman of Cosby Creek. *Soft*, now almost universally [sɔft], [sɔft], is still (but very infrequently) heard as [sæft]. *Daughter*, in one instance, seemed to be ['dætə].<sup>51</sup>

Other relics are [fɪt] and [faut] for *fought*, which are very common among people past middle-age.<sup>52</sup>

Before r, [ɔ] occurs in words like *born*, *corn*, *Forney* (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 *cholera morbus* ['kɔləɪ 'mɑ:bəs], *Florida* ['flarɪdɪ], *forehead* ['fərəd], *laurel*, *orange*, *orphan* ['ɔfənt], *torment* v. ['tɔ:ment].<sup>53</sup> More common, however, is a partial unrounding, as in *corn* [kɔ:n], *Forney* ['fɔ:nɪ], *hornet*, *laurel*, *Morris*, *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* [bɔ:nd], but *corn* [kɔ:n]. On the discs of the *Ral* story, *horror* appears as ['hɔ:rə], [hɔ:rə], ['hɔ:rə], ['hɔ:rə]. It should be added that [ɔ] sometimes is very intensified, as in *George* [dʒɔ:rdʒ], *sort of* ['sɔ:tə], *quart* [kwɔ:t]. *Quarrel*, *war*, *warden*, *warm* usually have [ɔ], but *warrant* tends toward the more open vowel [ɔ]. *Quarry* is always either ['kwɛrɪ] or ['kwɔ:rɪ].

Other variations in words of this type are the loss of [ɔ], fairly common in *horse*, *horseshoe*, infrequent in *north* [nɔθ] ([noθ] twice) (also *cornfield* ['kɔ:nfiəld] once on a disc); and the centralizing of [ɔ] to [ə] in *foreign* [fɜ:n], *foreigner* ['fɜ:nə] (both of which are used now only by aged, isolated,

50. The form [bi'ke'z] was reported. Combs, p. 1316, notes *kaze* ('because, cause,' v., n.) and *kazen*, v., n.

51. Cf. the 16th and 17th century spellings cited by Wyld, pp. 240 f., 305: *dater*, *datter* 'daughter,' *becas* 'because,' *sassages*. On p. 241, Wyld says: 'In Marston's *Eastward Hoe* occurs the rhyme *after-daughter*, Act. v, Sc. 1, and here we must suppose an earlier form "dofter".' In old-fashioned Smokies speech, these words would probably rhyme [mɔ:tə]: [dɔ:tə]. See also p. 28f., and note 41, for the unrounding and fronting of o.

52. Cooper (1835) says that *fit* 'aptus' and *fight* 'pugnabat' have the same pronunciation (Ellis, p. 1030).

53. Conner's spelling *harizantal* 'horizontal' (p. 5) is significant.

Wyld, p. 240, says that *starm* 'storm' rhymes with 'harm' in *St. Editha* (c1420). He cites also *marrow* 'morrow' (c1550), *Prence Gearge* (1855), p. 241.

or illiterate speakers), *Jordan* [dʒɔdn].<sup>54</sup> As pronounced by older people, *for* is almost always [fɔː] stressed, [fɒ] unstressed; many younger people say [fɔə], [fɒə] stressed; [fɔː], [fɒə], [fə] unstressed.

### S. [ou].

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

Ago, alone, boat, bone, ceremony, close, clothes, crow, don't, go, grow' hold, help(ed) (past tense of *help*), home, hone ('to desire'), hotel, Jones, jovial, know, load, low, low-rate v. ('to criticize'), moan, mole, mouldy, no, oak, Ogle, Owenby, poke, pole, pone, post, Rhoda, roach v. ('to comb'), road, roam, roast, rogue ('a thief'), scole, scope (as in 'a scope of woodland'), shoat ('a young pig'), slope, Smokemont, Smoky, snow, sold, stone, stove (n., also past tense of *stave*), throat, throw, 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 'tɔl əs 'nɔt tə 'bi ə'tɜnɪŋ hɪz 'bɔt 'ɔvə], spoken in warning tones by an excited adolescent; 'So we was going to the traps. . . , ' [sɔ wi wəz 'gɔŋ tə ðə 'træps]; 'It's loamy, sandy land,' [hɪts 'lɔmi 'sændi 'lænd] (spoken quickly); 'Smoky Mountain,' ['smɔki 'mʌntɪn]; 'Oconaluftee River,' [ɔ'kɔnə,lʌftɪ 'rɪvə]; '... going to be made. . . , ' ['gɔn bi 'med]. The undiphthongized vowel seems also to occur in *hotel* ['hɔ,tel], *help(ed)* [hɒp(t)],<sup>55</sup> *November* ['nɔ,vembə], *throat* [θɒt], *throw* [θɔ].<sup>56</sup>

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. . . ' ['bæk 'o:uld 'tɑ:əmz]; 'I think so,' [a 'θɛŋk sɔ:u]; 'We're going to camp,' ['wɪə 'gɔvɪn fə 'kæmpz]; 'There came a spell of snow,' [ðə 'kʌm ə spel ə 'sno:u]. These phenomena are well illustrated by the phrase, 'I don't know,' which, on the speech records, usually has the same rhythmic and tonic pattern: [a 'dɔŋt 'no:u]. In this expression, there is a rapid, low-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 [u]. Without a doubt,

54. Combs, p. 1316, says that *or* becomes *er* (ɜ) in *Flerence, Florida, Jerdan, ferriner*. Mrs. Dargan, p. 270, writes *Flurridy*.

55. Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston, 1789), remarks, p. 111: '*Helpe* for *help* I have rarely heard except in Virginia.'

56. Greet, Williamsburg, p. 164, finds suppression of the off-glide in Williamsburg speech: 'The tendency to diphthongize is not nearly so marked in Tidewater Virginia as it is in other Southern dialects.'

slow utterance, drawl, and changing inflection (speech tune) account for much of the diphthongization in Smokies speech.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from rhythmic considerations, the diphthong is usually very audible (sometimes becoming dissyllabic) (1) when [o] is final, as in *no* [no:u] (if deliberate), *below* [bə'loʊ]; (2) before nasals, as in *home* [ho:um] ([ho'u:m] on one of the discs), *pone*, *Shin-Bone* (place-name); before *l* in monosyllables, as in *the old rat* [ðo:vl 'ræt], *pole*. The diphthong is clearly dissyllabic in a recorded instance of the name *Doc Jones* [dɒk 'dʒo:unz].

On one record, the vowel of *home* begins with a marked central sound, [həom], and on another *go* is [geou]; but no similar instances were noted.<sup>58</sup> Occasionally [o] is very tense, as in *old* [ɔʊl]. An off-glide [ɪ] was observed once each in *unbeknownst* [ʌnb'noʊns], *grown* ['grɔʊn].

The preterites *drove*, *rode*, and *rose* preserve their dialectal forms in the speech of the elderly or the uneducated: [drɪv], [drʌv]; [rɪd]; [rɪz].<sup>59</sup>

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

Afford [ə'fɔəd], before, boar, board, coarse, course (as in *of course* [əv 'kɔ:əs]), court n., v., door, floor, ford, forty, four, fourteen, Moore, more, Newport (Cocke Co., Tenn.), Pigeon Forge (Sevier Co., Tenn.), porch, port, proportion, roar, sore, store, sword [swɔəd], tore, towards [tɔədz] (usually [tə'wɔədz]).<sup>60</sup>

57. 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, 1939), p. 74 f. The examples in the transcription, however, do not concern [o].

58. The centralized vowel is characteristic of Delmarva speech, which Greet finds to have close affinities to Southern mountain speech; see his 'Delmarva Speech,' p. 60. This vowel is frequent in the Virginia Blue Ridge, to judge from the transcription of VBR 5.

59. Kephart, p. 593, finds *div*, *driv*, *rid*, *riz*, *writ*, *friz*, *bruk*; Combs, p. 1319, notes *bruk* 'broke,' *friz*, *fruz*, *cluz* 'closed.'

The replacement of [o] by [ʌ] in some of these forms calls to mind a few instances of [ʌ] in non-verbal words noted by Kephart and others. Kephart (p. 506), Mason (p. 172), and 'A Mountain Sermon' (p. 23) agree in representing *whole* as *hull*. In 'A Mountain Sermon' (p. 23), *home* appears as *hum*. No similar examples were observed during the present survey.

60. This list agrees in all common particulars with Kenyon's list of words with [o] (ME [ɔ:], [o:], or [u:]) before *r* (*American Pronunciation*, p. 224 f.). For [ɔ] (ME short o) before *r*, see the preceding section (p. 33). There is a striking acoustic difference between these two classes of words in the Smokies. A few words with historical [ɔ] (ME *ɔ*), however, sometimes show an intensified vowel approaching [o]; instances of *sort* [sɔrt], *George* [dʒɔrdʒ], and others have been noted.

See also Katherine Wheatley, 'Southern Standards,' *American Speech*, vol. 9 (1934),



and breaking produce [ü,u], with a falling pitch in the second element, as in *approve*, *broom*, *coon*, *moon*, *move*, *Ruth*: [ɔ'prü.uv], [brü.um], etc. Sometimes the sound becomes [ʉ], [ʊ], especially after palatals and fricatives. On the discs, *cool*, *June*, *school*, *shoes*, *shoot*, *Shults*, *through*, *use*, *you* may be heard as [k'ul], [dʒ'ün], etc. When drawled, these diphthongs may become dissyllabic, as in *due* ['dɹu:;u], *July* is often [dʒü:'lu:]. Fronting, however, may be absent in diphthongization, and forms like [spru.us] *spruce*, with two normal vowels, appear. Only a normal vowel seems to occur in *crew*, *flew*, *hoosier* ['hudʒɹ], *loom*, *rooster*, *scool*, *soon*.

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

*Due* is not included in this list, for it is [d'u] on many of the discs. It is almost always distinguished from *do*, which, however, may have a fronted vowel. On one of the records, '(I) sure do' is [ʃ'ʊr: 'dü.u] (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 *coop*, *Cooper*, *hoop*, *Hooper*.<sup>65</sup> *Boozy* ['bu:zi] 'dizzy' was heard but once; but *booze* 'liquor' is [bu:z]. *Soot* occurred only as [sɹu:t].

*Butte* 'knob' is always [bat] in the Smokies and is spelled *butt* on the U. S. Geological Survey map of the park.<sup>66</sup>

*Ruined*, past tense of *ruin*, is [rɹɹnt] (once [rɹɹnt]), and occasionally [ru:nt]. The present tense is usually [rɹɹn].

A few dialectal features are worthy of mention. The archaic *mewl* v. i. was heard in the sentence: 'Many of 'em have been ['mjulan] (complaining) about it.' In uneducated speech, the preterites *blew* and *knew* are replaced by [bloud], [noud]. *Strew* 'scatter' was quaintly used in the sentence: 'We saw where you [stroud] books (magazines) on the floor.'<sup>67</sup> *Cucumber* as ['kɹu:kambɹ] was reported. For *to*, [tɹu] appeared only in the phrase *to and*

65. See notes 61, 62.

66. The form [bat] is probably the old word *butt*, meaning 'a promontory or headland' or 'a hillock, mound.' See the *OED*, under *butt*, sb.<sup>1</sup>, sb.<sup>2</sup> G. D. McJimsey, 'Topographic Terms in Virginia,' *American Speech*, vol. 15 (1940), p. 162, states: 'But(t). A short, broad projection from the lower part of a mountain. Possibly a coastal term carried inland.' His examples date from 1820. But on p. 20 f. he ventures a different explanation.

*Butte* as [bjut] 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 *DAE* (under *butte*), probably represents the form [bat], current in the Smokies. Lewis was a Virginian.

67. The present tense of this verb also is reported to have the vocalism [ɹu], as in 'I strou it around.' See Kenyon's remarks (p. 186) on words like *shew*, *show* and *strew*, *strow*; he cites Swift's rhyme *road: strow'd*.

*fro*, spoken by a lady in dictating a ballad.<sup>68</sup> *Ye* for *you* is very common in older speakers; it occurred in such colorful expressions as: [jɹu: 'rɹd 'wɹɹɹ im 'dɹnt jɹu] 'You (sing.) rode with him, didn't you?', [a: 'noud a:d 'dɹv] jɹu] 'I knew I'd fool you!' The pronoun of the second person plural, *you-ones* ['ju:ɹnz], maintains its vitality in familiar use among speakers of all ages and classes.<sup>69</sup> Some very well-bred mountain people have been observed to say it. Steadily encroaching upon it, however, is [ju: ɹl] or [jɹl] (more familiar), as in [jɹɹl 'kɹm 'bæk] (hospitable invitation to return).

#### 11. [ʌ].

This sound is represented by a variety of developments in the speech of the Smoky hillsman. 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 [ɔ], [ɑ]; it may be replaced by other sounds ([ɛ], [ɪ], [ɜ]). There is the usual tendency to diphthongize in stressed or drawled utterance.

[ʌ], 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* ['kɹndʒɹ], *discover*, *dozen*, *dumb*, *Dutch*, *funk* ('a bad odor,' as of mouldy meal), *funky* adj., *gum* (as in *bee-gum* 'bee-hive,' *gum-tree*), *gun*, *gut* v. ('to remove the entrails'), *honey*, *hunt*, *lunge*, *mother*, *much*, *once*, *one*, *other*, *oven*, *plumb*, *puncheon*, *shuck* (as in *corn-shucks*, *shuck beans*, *shuck pen*), *smother*, *southern*, *stomach*, *summer*, *supper*, *thunder*, *tongue*, *Tuckaleechee* (Cove), *under*.

Beside normal [ʌ], there is a sound with a slight [u] flavor which appears in words like *above*, *bluff*, *cub*, *gully*, *gun*, *hush*, *luck*, *one* (when stressed), *pup*, *snug*, *up*. Although often suggestive of [u], upon analysis it seems essentially to be [ʌ]. It is produced possibly through a slight raising and retraction toward [u]; but more probably it is [ʌ] with lip-rounding.<sup>70</sup>

68. An informant reports that one of his aunts says [tɹu n frɹu], but that this pronunciation is not frequent. Great, Williamsburg, p. 164, says: 'Though not common, [tɹu] may appear almost anywhere in the South.'

Unstressed *to* is spelled *ter* by Miss Murfree (p. 20), 'A Mountain Sermon' (p. 21), Kephart (p. 510), and others. (Kephart also has *orter* 'ought to,' *haster* 'have to.')

These examples are curious, for the field-notes and (apparently) the discs yield no clear instances of retroflexed [ɹ] in this form except in *ought to* ['ɹɹtɹ].

69. Less stressed and unstressed forms of [ju:ɹnz] are [jɹnz], [jɹnz], [jɹnz]. For example, ['stɹp jɹnz 'ɹgɹjɹn] 'Stop you-ones' arguing!'; [θɹɹl 'kɹtʃ jɹnz 'ɹl] 'They'll catch you-ones all!'

70. Although given by IPA as round-back, [ʌ] in American speech is a central vowel. Kenyon, p. 64, describes it as 'lower mid-central retracted.' Of his own [ʌ], he says, p. 201: 'It lacks the slight [a] or [ɑ] coloring which the American often detects in the British [ʌ].'



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 [tə'ɹɔːbəl 'rʌʒəf],<sup>71</sup> (there was strong stress in both of the last two words); 'It didn't run,' [hɪt 'dɪdn̩ 'rʌʒəf], (run was strongly stressed); 'Ho's in Tennessee or Kentucky, one [wʌʒəf],<sup>72</sup> (i. e., 'one or the other'). The sound in question is not always broken, as in the foregoing examples; it appeared in *gully* undiphthongized: [gʌʒəl].

A clear but lax [ʊ] occurs for [ʌ] at least once on the records in *bud*, *cud*, *hushed*, *struck*: [bʊd], [kʊd], etc.<sup>73</sup> *Bulge* and *bulk* are always sounded with [ʊ].<sup>74</sup>

An occasional tendency to lower and retract [ʌ] to [ɔ] has been observed in *hungry* ['hʌŋgrɪ], *one* [wʌ:ən], *until* [ʌn'tɪl]; and to lower it toward [ɑ] in *bunch*, *front*, *hunt*, *months*, *much*: [bʌntʃ], [frʌnt], [ə'hʌntɪ], etc.<sup>75</sup> The occurrence of [ɔ] and [ɑ] for [ʌ] chiefly before nasals is noteworthy. A girl of high-school age exclaimed ['wi: 'wɑ:ən], 'We won!', following a game of horseshoes on the school-grounds at Gatlinburg. A young woman of Emerts Cove reported that her grandmother pronounced *shut* as [ʃʌt], and an elderly informant of Wears Valley said that when he was a boy the past tense of *touch* [tɛtʃ] was [tʌtʃ].<sup>74</sup>

In unschooled speech [ʌ] is sometimes replaced by [ɛ], as in *brush*,

71. *Cud* was pronounced [kʊd] 'almost universally' in southeastern Missouri in 1903, according to Crumb (p. 311). Cf. Brown's spelling *toock* 'luck' (p. 305).

72. W. A. Read in 1911 found that 82 of his informants preferred [ʌ] in *bulk* and 135 [ʊ]: 'The old unrounded vowel is, according to my figures, still the more usual. . . . Hodges, 1644, keeps the early u; but Walker has [ʌ].' ('Some Variant Pronunciations in the New South,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 3, p. 500.)

73. Cf. Miss Murfree's *hunger-critter* in *The Young Mountaineers* (Boston and New York, 1897), p. 89, and Combs' *hawngr*, p. 1316. This form has been reported from different places in the South, *inter al.* by Stanley, p. 27.

Conner, p. 18, writes *wander* 'wonder.' The form of this word with [ɑ] appears on some of the ballad-records and is said to be used by 'quite a few.' These examples with [ɑ] are interesting in view of the [ɑ] coloring of [ʌ] in British, noted by Kenyon; see note 70. Such forms as Smokies ['kʌmpni] *company*, [mʌnts] *months*, [wʌndə] *wonder* possibly reflect the spelling. See W. A. Read's remarks on the variation [ɑ] / [ʌ] in *bomb*, *frontier*, *constable* and similar words, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

74. The use of [tʌtʃ] as the preterite of *touch* was recorded in the Southern Appalachians in 1900 by H. M. Wiltso, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 13, p. 211 ('He fired at hit, but never tock a hair'), and by Crumb in Missouri (p. 334). *Shot* was reported in 1909 as the preterite of *shut* in east Alabama, *Dialect Notes*, vol. 3, p. 369. Combs, p. 1319, gives *streck* 'struck,' *shet*, *shot* 'shut' in a list of 'strong preterites.' There is evidence here, though slight, of a tendency to develop an 'ablaut' variation between the present and the past tenses. Cf. [kɛtʃ] / [kʌtʃ], [fɛtʃ] / [fʌtʃ], 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*, *shutter*, *shuttle*, *such*, *touch*.<sup>75</sup> For *onion*, ['eɪən] was reported by a number of informants; it is now practically obsolete.<sup>76</sup> [ɪ] often appears in *just*, *such*, and now rarely in *cover* and *discover* [dɪ'skɪvə].<sup>77</sup> (The old pronunciation of *government* is said to have been ['gɪvəmənt], which I heard only in jocular use.)

The occasional employment of [ɜ] for [ʌ] in *bus*, *fuss*, *gush* suggests hypercorrection for such forms as [bʌst] *burst*, etc.<sup>78</sup>

## 12. [ɜ].

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, furrow, girl, her, herb, herd, hurry, jerk, learn, Myrtle, sir, squirrel, term, thirsty, thirty, turkey, turn, turnip, were, whirl, work, world, Worley, worm.

[ɜ] is lowered and retracted to [ʌɜ] by some speakers in *furrow* [fʌɜ] and *girls* [gʌɜlz]; and by one elderly woman in *her* [hʌɜ].

[ɛ] is heard occasionally, as in *church* [tʃ'ɛɜtʃ] (once), *heard* [hɛɜd], *herb*

75. Kephart, p. 503, has a similar list which includes (besides some of the forms above-mentioned) *hellabaroo*, *kentry*, *gedge*, and *brash*. *Kentry*, recorded also by Murfree (p. 20), Dargan (p. 150), and Combs (p. 1317), was unknown to my Smokies informants.

The form of *Rutherford* with [ɛ] is apparently of long standing; cf. the spelling *Retherford* in a deed recorded in 1789, Buncombe Co. Register, vol. 1, p. 2. This spelling recurs several times.

76. *Onion* as [ɔjən], [ɪjən], etc. is common dialectally in Great Britain, especially in Scotland; see the EDG, p. 149. In America it has been noted by Combs (p. 1316), Stanley (p. 27), and probably others.

77. *Cover* as [kɪvə] is perhaps derived from ME *keveren*. In Chaucer, *Troilus*, 1, 917 (Robinson ed.), *kevere* rhymes with *fevere* 'fever,' thus showing a long vowel, which, unless reduced, should give modern English [kɪvə]. But, as pointed out in Joseph Wright and Elizabeth Wright, *An Elementary Middle English Grammar* (London, 1923), p. 97 f., ME *v*, *φ* (from OF *ue*, AN *o*) were shortened to *e*, *o* before an *r* in the following syllable. *Keveren* thus would give modern English [ɛ], raised to [ɪ] in the Smokies, as in *Evans* [ɪvʌz].

78. Combs, p. 1318, states that *r* is frequently exerescent and lists, *inter al.*, *furse* 'fuss,' *urs* 'us,' *murd*, *purle*, *purp*, *hursh*. Cf. *enurf* 'enough,' Kephart, p. 510. *Treasider*, p. 256, finds [fʌrs], [hʌrs] in the Shenandoah Valley.

Two additional variations of [ʌ] should be mentioned. *Russian hog* is ['ruʃən 'hɔg], and *ruckus* was in all instances ['rukʌs] (though ['rʌkɪt] also occurs). *Rut* (in a road) is [rʌʊt] (influence of *route*?); Kephart, p. 640, writes: 'The road was all cut up in rowts.'

[jæb], *learn*, *shirt* [ʃ'ært].<sup>79</sup> The same sound appeared once in *worry*: 'The old lady like to have ['wærrɪd] herself to death.'<sup>80</sup> *Courage* is plainly ['kærrɪdʒ] in a recorded ballad. *Hurricane* always showed [æ]: ['hærrɪkən]. *Mercy* has [æ]-without [r] in the oath-['læz ə 'mærs], also euphemized to ['læz ə 'mærsɪ]; but the normal pronunciation is used too.

Another group of words has [ɜ]: *perl* [pɜrt], *fern* [fɜn], *perch* (fish) [pɜrtʃ]. Except in the speech of the educated, *heard* is usually [hɜrd]; a few old people say [hɜn]. Some of the readers of the *Rat* story who use [hɜd] on the records employ [hɜrd] as their natural form.

Development of a glide [j] or [ɪ] before [ɜ] and variants thereof (original front vowels) occurs in the following reported forms: (*the*) *earth* [ðɪ'jɜθ], [ðɪ'jɜθ], [jɜθ]; *fern* [fjɜn] (beside [fɜn]); *perch* [p'ɜtʃ] (beside [pɜrtʃ]). Also in *herb* [j'ɜb].<sup>81</sup>

[ʌ] for [ɜ] 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*.<sup>82</sup> An old farmer of the Big Creek area was heard to say: ['hæv jɪ 'bɪn wel 'sævd], by which he meant, 'Have you been well treated?' On a ballad-record, *desert* 'waste place' is [dɛ'zært]. As dialectally everywhere, *vermin* 'wild animal or bird' is ['vɜrmɪnt].

In its single occurrence, *worship* was ['wɜʃɪp].

[ʌ], without r, may appear in *burst*, *curse*, *first*, *further*, *nurse*, *nursery*, *worse*, *worst*. Probably not many people pronounce *curse* with its standard vowel.<sup>83</sup>

79. It is interesting to observe that Chaucer rhymes *sherte* with *herte* 'heart,' *Prolog. Leg. Good Women*, F. 404-5, G. 390-1 (Robinson ed.).

80. Kephart writes, p. 633: 'I was plumb worried about you.' DuBose Heyward, *Angel* (New York, 1926), p. 76, has *sairtainly*.

81. Mrs. Dargan, p. 40, writes *yarb*; also Kephart and Combs. See chap. III, p. 94 and note 28.

The dialect writers record various forms of *earth*. Kephart: *yearth*, *airth* (pp. 510, 502); Mason: *yearth* (p. 167), *yuth* (p. 238).

82. Of (Mount) *Sterling* as ['stɜrlɪŋ], an informant states: 'You hear it lots; it's just in the last five or six years that people call it ['stɜrlɪŋ].' This word is spelled *Sterling* in old writings and maps; e.g., Ziegler and Grossecup (1833), p. 124 and on the map; Guyot (1856-60), p. 280.

In a list of substitutions of a for e, Kephart (p. 502) writes: *consarn*, *delarmine*, *marcy*, *marcifful*, *sarcumstance*, *sartin*, *sarve*, *sarvant*, 'tarnal, war ('were)'. Also, 'The 'tarnal thing!'; 'He's so 'tarnal feisty!' (pp. 637, 615). Mason, p. 101, writes *sarmints*; Heyward, p. 163, has *narvish*; Miss Goodrich, p. 63, writes: 'Laws a-marcy, honey.'

Brown (1795), p. 301, writes *harmil* 'hermit': '... We start'd Rode 6 miles to an old harmits who lived by himself in the most horrd Place I ever seen.' He also spells *sarch* for *search* (p. 311), but *surch* (p. 308); and *clark* for *clerk* (p. 312).

83. Cf. the nickname [hɜb] for *Herbert*, heard near Waynesville, N. C.; also the spelling *pussons* 'persons' in a local document reproduced by Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 844.

13. [aɪ].

The general Southern tendency to simplify the diphthong [aɪ] prevails in the Great Smoky Mountains. It may be reduced to [a<sup>2</sup>], [a], [ɑ] under all circumstances—in any phonemic setting, in accented or unaccented position.<sup>84</sup> 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 [aɪ] in the Smokies cannot be determined without further study. The usual sound seems to lie somewhere between [a<sup>2</sup>] and [a]. It is likely, too, that the off-glide is most often rather lax, hardly [ɪ], 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-glide 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* [na:ɪt], which is probably a transitional stage in the reduction to [na:t]. Such pronunciations as [sa:ɪnz], [na:ɪt], with a pinched off-glide, 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 ['ba·b<sup>2</sup>l]. The highest frequency

84. The tendency observed elsewhere in Southern speech to reduce [aɪ] before voiced consonants, but to retain it before voiceless consonants is assuredly not characteristic of Smokies speech. This fact is confirmed by numerous transcriptions of original 'long i' made during the survey and in two visits to the area after the main field-work was completed. The following pronunciations represent the speech of a single individual, but he is typical: *pipe* [pa:p], *right* [ra:t]; *ride* [ra:d], *sight* [sa:t]; *side* [sa:d], *rice* [ra:s]; *rise* [ra:z]. Characteristic also are these forms, which occur on the discs: *knife* [na:f], *wife* [wa:f], *white* [wa:t], *mice* [ma:s], *like* [la:k], [la:k]. (For the last-mentioned, cf. the spelling *lock*, which appears in a letter to the writer: 'Mother is just lock she was when you left.')

An inverse tendency, to replace original [æ] or [a] with [aɪ], [a<sup>2</sup>], or [a] (apparently by confusion or hypercorrection), is observed in *lack*, usually [la:k], *somebody*, *nobody*, sometimes [sʌm'bʌdɪ], [no'bʌdɪ]. Similar forms are noted by Medford Evans, 'Southern "Long I"', *American Speech*, vol. 10 (1935), pp. 188-190. But *raffle* with [aɪ] is derived from early modern *rifle*, a variant of *raffle*; see the *OED* under *raffle*, *rifle* (v.).

There appears to be no trace in the Smokies of the [ɔɪ] for [aɪ] heard in Virginia, Bermuda, Canada, northern England, and Scotland; (see Kenyon, p. 205 f.). W. A. Read, 'The Vowel System of the Southern United States,' *Englische Studien*, vol. 41 (1909), p. 74, wrote that this sound might be heard in east Tennessee and probably other parts of the South. It is safe to say, however, that such a diphthong has no currency in the Smokies.

of 'long *r*' is before [t], [d], [s], [m], [n], [l], [r]. Before all these sounds, [aɪ] 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 ['likwɔr], Miry (Ridge), Myers, squire, tire, wire.

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

*Ice-bag* ['a:s,bæg]; 'She has a nice turn,' (i. e., 'a good disposition') ['na:s 'tɜ:n]; 'Sometimes we'd stay a week,' [sɑ:m'ta:mz wid 'ster ə 'wi:k]; 'Let's shine its eyes,' [les 'ʃa:n its a:'z]; 'It's figured about five miles,' [hɪts 'fɪɡəd ə'baʊt 'fa-v 'ma:lz].

The reduction of the diphthong is most consistent (one might say, practically universal) before *r*. *Choir*, *fire*, *Greenbrier*, etc., are almost always sounded [kwɔr], [fɔr], ['grɪn,bɾɔr], etc. *Irish* is commonly [æʃ] in the expression *Irish potatoes*; and *iron* is [ærn]. In the speech of those who have been but little exposed to classroom influences, the sound is frequently [ʊ] or [o] before *r*: *iron* [ɔrn], *ironing* ['ɔrnɪŋ], *Myers* [mɔɪz], *wire* [wɔɪ].<sup>85</sup>

This rounding of the first element is found occasionally before other sounds. A Cades Cove man said: ['v:v ,nɒt 'sɔ: ,ɛnɪ], 'I've not saw any.' The picturesque old character mentioned on p. 29 pronounces *fiste* 'a cur,' *night* with a sound approximating [v<sup>h</sup>], and *I* with [ʊ].

A few words, because of their frequent occurrence, merit separate notice. The pronouns *I*, *my* are very often [a:], [ɑ:], [mɑ:]. 'My bees [ma 'bi-z] help me out a whole lot,' a Walkers Valley man said. Sometimes *I* shows complete reduction of the second element, whereas other words in the same sentence show retention: [ju 'maɪr 'dægən 'raɪt ə 'wud], 'You (are) mighty dog-gone right I would!' But the reduction in these pronouns may reach even to the first element. Unstressed, *I* and *my* may be [ɪ], [ə], [mə], as in the following examples. A man of the Waynesville area, questioned as to how he is progressing, replies (on a record): ['pɜ:ɪ 'gʊ-d 'gɜ:s], 'Pretty good, I guess.' A man of the Tennessee side says: [hɪ 'tɔʊl mɪ tə 'tɜ:k mə 'kɒr 'æʊt əv 'ðɛ-ɜ], '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 [aɪ], but the old pronunciation is said to be still used, mostly by elderly women.<sup>86</sup> For *climbed*, *prot.* and *ptc.*,

85. The rounding of [a] for original [at] was observed in Delmarva speech by Greet (Delmarva, p. 59); for example, *while* [wɔɪ], [o] as in *fire*, [ə] or [a] as in *tires*. Similarly, Stanley, p. 29, finds that in a group of words including *tire*, *tired*, *wire*, *wired*, *fire*, *fired*, etc. [aɪ] may be replaced by [a:], [ɑ:], [ɔ:], 'or in illiterate speech even [ɔ:]: [fɔ:r], [fɔ:r].

86. Noah Webster, *Dissertations*, p. 117 f., has some difficulty in choosing between *obleege* and *oblige* with 'i long,' but finally decides in favor of the latter.

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

#### 14. [aʊ].

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

The following words almost always have [æʊ] rather than [aʊ]:

About, account, allow, around, bow, brown, cloud, county, cow, crowd, Crowson (family name), Dowdle (same), down, foul, found, ground, hound, hound-dog, house, how, howdy, howl, kraut, mought (rare obsolescent variant of *might*),<sup>87</sup> mount, mountain, now, out, owl, pound, powder, Powell, proud, route, rowdy, 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 [haʊnd] *hound*, [haʊs] *house*: '... when the dogs quieted down [da:ʊn].'<sup>88</sup> 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* [(ə)'bæ:ʊt]; but occasionally both, as in *down* ['dæ::u:n] (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: [næʊ ju 'tʃɪlən ,dɒnt 'æk sə 'ra:di], spoken with paternal impatience. The loss of the second element, however, was not observed again except before *r* and *l*.<sup>89</sup>

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

88. Guy S. Lowman, 'The Treatment of [aʊ] in Virginia,' *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (Cambridge, Eng., 1936), pp. 122-125, finds seven types of treatment of [aʊ], varying from [æʊ] (before voiceless sounds): [æʊ] (before voiced sounds and finally) in the Tidewater to [ɔ-ʊ] in the southwest mountain area of the state. He says: '... Old-fashioned speakers west of the Blue Ridge frequently tend to substitute for [aʊ] a sound closer to [aʊ]; and adds that the treatment with [ɔ-ʊ] occurring in southwestern Virginia 'appears to be a survival of original northern speech, remote from Virginian influences.' Tressider, p. 286, finds [æʊ] normal in the Shenandoah Valley, except for [ɛʊ] or [əʊ] sometimes in *house*.

The transcription of W. C. Greet's Virginia Blue Ridge record (see note 57) suggests mixed dialectal conditions, for the diphthong varies [ɔʊ], [ɔv], [aɪ], [a:], [a], [a:r], [wɔ]. This exhibits considerable variance from the Smokies treatment.

89. Cf. the tendency to suppress the second element in the diphthong [aʊ] 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 [æ].'

After [k], 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* [kəw], *county* ['kəwntɪ], etc.; the more extreme as in [kjəw], ['kjəwntɪ], *scouts* [skjəwts]. The consonantal type, [kj], is not at all rare.<sup>90</sup>

Before [n], there may be some nasalization, as in [(ə)'rɛ̃nd], etc. Nasalization is not a prominent feature of Smoky Mountain speech, except before [m], [n], [ŋ].

Before *r*, and sometimes *l*, the treatment is varied. The second element is often reduced, suppressed, or converted to the consonantal glide [w], in most cases with compensatory lengthening of the first element. Examples: *tower* [təːˠr], *hour* [əːˠ] (once [aːˠ]), *flower* [fləːˠ], *shower* [ʃəːˠwə], *towel* [təːˠl], *Powell* ['paːwəls] (with unvoiced [z]; family names sometimes appear with a plural form).<sup>91</sup> The loss of the second element is well illustrated by the curious and unmistakable ['æjɔːz] *hours* ('They fought for full five hours . . .'), heard on one of the ballad-records.

#### 15. [ɔɪ].

In the Smokies, the diphthong [ɔɪ] varies [ɔɪ], [ɔːɪ], [oɪ]. The general preference seems to be for [ɔɪ] in *choice*, *join*, and perhaps *joists*, but for [ɔːɪ] in *boy*, *noise*. Before *l*, [ɔɪ] prevails, as in *boil*, *Hoyle*, *oil*, *parboil*. There is no apparent tendency to reduce this diphthong, although [ɔːl] *oil* is rarely heard and a county-court judge said [bɔːˠ] *boy* (with a scarcely audible second element).<sup>92</sup>

A number of people retain the archaic [aɪ] in words like *boil* n. (as in ['baɪlz ɪ 'raɪzɪz] 'boils and risings'), *boil* v., *boiler*, *coil* [kwaɪl], *hoist*, *join*, *joint*, *joist*, *point*, *point-blank*, *poison*.<sup>93</sup> A high-school girl of Cosby reports that her grandmother employs [kwain] for *coin* and [dɪsə'paɪnt] for *disappoint*.<sup>94</sup> *Pennyroyal* is said to be ['pɪnɪ,raɪl]. In reading into the microphone, a young woman 'corrected' her first pronunciation of *joists* [dʒɔɪsts] to [dʒaɪsts], which is, of course, the true historical form (OF *giste*). For *coil*, also heard was [kwɔɪl], a kind of compromise between the archaic and the standard pronunciations.<sup>95</sup>

90. Webster, *Dissertations*, p. 109, objects to the glide *ee* before this diphthong, as in *cow* (*keow*), *gown*, *power*.

91. Cf. Tressider's transcription of *hour* as [wɔːr], p. 289.

92. Combs, p. 1317, says: 'Oil is usually "aw!'. In general, diphthongs are a source of worry to the highlander.'

93. Local informants state that *point row* (in farming) is more commonly [paɪnt rɔw] than [paɪnt rɔw] in speakers of all ages. One informant reported the expression [tek ʃə tʃaɪs] 'Take your choice,' but with the comment, 'It's a good bit back since I heard that.'

Kephart, p. 503, finds *er* for *oi* in *querl* (*coil*?). He lists *appɪnɪ*, *bɪlc*, *bɪlɪn'*, *bɪlɪe*, *disappɪnɪ*, *jɪnc*, *jɪnt*, *fɪstɪe*, *pɪnt*, *pɪntɪdli*, *pɪzɪn*, *spɪlc*, *quɪle*.

94. According to Wyld, p. 251, Baker in 1724 says that *coin* is pronounced *quinc*.

95. Combs, *loc. cit.*, also finds *quoil*.

The old pronunciation of *boil* v. is picturesquely exemplified in an utterance of a Cades Cove woman: [a 'rek'n wɪd 'ɔrtə bɪ 'gɪtɪ 'houm || ʔə 'kɪləudzɔːə'baɪl'n ɔp ʔɔs ɔn ʔɛm 'mæʊntɪz].

On the speech-records, *going* is ['gɔɪn], ['gɔw,ɪn], ['go,ɪn], and once [gwain], as pronounced by an aged man of Bradley Fork. A grade-school girl says: 'This record's going to be made ['gɔn bɪ 'mɛd] by. . .'

THE VOWEL SOUNDS OF UNSTRESSED AND  
PARTIALLY STRESSED SYLLABLES

Professor G. P. Krapp 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 ['taʊ'el] for *towel*, ['lo:'el] for *Lowell*, ['bɑ:s'kit] for *basket*, ['æd'id] 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 counteracting 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 restressing 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 obscuration 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 ['peɪmənt] for *payment*, rather than ['peɪmənt]. Another important factor in the pronunciation of unaccented syllables is the elusive operation of analogy. If it is incorrect to say ['raɪtɪŋ] for *writing*, then it is incorrect to say ['maʊntɪŋ] for *mountain*; one should say ['maʊntɪŋ]. Here the authority of the spelling was not sought, but one should not expect perfect consistency. Still other alterative 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.<sup>1</sup> The CCC enrollees in the National Park, and in the adjacent

1. These remarks apply especially to those areas of the Smokies which lie beyond the park boundaries. Small grade-schools are still maintained in three districts within the park—Cataloochee, Smokemont, and Cades Cove, where a few of the original people still live. There are high schools within a few miles of the park at

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 [ə], [ɚ], [ɪ], [i]; but under partial or secondary stress [i], [e], [æ], [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 [ə]), 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 [ə] by all speakers. Examples:

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

In less educated mountain speech, the apheresis of [ə] is fairly common, as in *about* [bʌvt], *account* [kæunt] (in such expressions as, 'Hit ain't no 'count.'). *accuse* [kjuz], *alarm clock* [lɔəm klɔk], *appear* [piə]. All of the dialect writers take notice of such forms, but it seems safe to say that the

Gatlinburg, Pittman Center (Emerts Cove), Cosby, Townsend, Walland, Fines Creek, and Bryson.

clipping of initial [ə] is not so frequent as is indicated in their writings. More usual than the loss of the vowel is a weakened form of [ə].<sup>2</sup>

The apheresis of initial syllables containing [ə] for *a* is probably more common than the present transcriptions indicate. Only one example was actually observed: *machine* [ʃin]; but other instances were reported: *sewing machine* ['souən 'ʃin], *machinery* ['ʃinri], *banana* ['nænə].

(2) In closed syllables or under partial stress, the sound is [æ]. Examples: accepted [æ'septəd] (once; usually [ɪk'septəd]), admit [æd'mɪt] (one speaker is reported to say [ə'mɪt]), admonition, advantage, adventure, Alabama, angelica (plant-name) [æŋ'dʒelɪkə], Cataloochee (Creek), raccoon.

Here also the initial vowel or syllable may be dropped from certain words. *Accept*, it is reported, is sometimes [sept], and the old-timer's pronunciation of *angelica* is said to have been ['dʒelɪkə].<sup>3</sup> *Raccoon*, of course, is almost always [kun].

The stress in *Cataloochee* is variable: usually it is ['kætə,lutʃɪ] or ['kætə,lutʃ], but sometimes it is [kætə'lutʃɪ].

(3) Miscellaneous.

The following words do not fit into the classifications given above, or require special comment.

*Authority* [ə'tɔrətɪ].

*Carolina* [kærə'lainə], [kæə'lainə], [kə'lainə], etc. (See also under medial *a* and *o*.)

*Hawaiian* always ['haɪ,wɔjən] (as in 'Hawaiian guitar'), with shifted stress.

*Japan* as usually in general American; but [dʒe'pæn] was reported to be the form used by a CCC enrollee from Transylvania Co. (N. C.), in the mountain area; the author heard at least one other instance of this pronunciation in the Smokies.

*Lafayette* (man's given name) [lə'fet] (once), usually shortened to [fet].<sup>4</sup>

*Mc, Mac* usually [mə], as in *McC Campbell*, *McC Carter*, *McC Gaha*; but [mæk] in *McMillon* (as in 'The McMillon Settlement,' a settled area in Cocke Co., Tenn.)

*Maintain*, apparently [mən'teɪn].

*Particular* [pə'tɪklə], [pə'tɪklə].

*Quadruple* ['kɑ,drupəl] (once).

2. *Awake* is ['e'weɪk] on a ballad-record; this form is the more interesting because the singer is illiterate.

Loss of the vowel is illustrated in the spellings *Stuly* 'Satulah' (Mountain) in Guyot, p. 269, and *Torney Ginerah* in Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 889.

3. Cf. *jellico weed*, Kephart, Word List, p. 413.

4. Recorded as la-'eɪt 'universally' in east Alabama, la-'eɪt in northwest Arkansas; see *Dialect Notes*, vol. 3, pp. 343, 101.

(4) Mention may be made here of the proclitic particle *a-* (OE *an, on*) which is prefixed especially to verbs, but also to a few adjectives, adverbs, etc. Examples:

*Verbs: a-telling* [ə'telan] ('I'm a-tellin' you the truth. '); *a-bear-hunting* ('We didn't do no good a-bear-huntin'. '); *a-deer-driving*; *a-hollering* ('We heerd somep'n a-hollerin'. '); *a-doing* ('He said that jus' to be a-doin', i.e., just for fun.)

Other parts of speech: *a-purpose* ('on purpose'), *a-scared* ('I never was a-scared so bad'; cf. *afear'd, afraid*), *a-straddle* ('They'd th'ow him a-straddle of a rail and tote him all around.') *a many a time* ('I can tell you how I've cured 'em a 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 [i], [ɪ], or [e] unobscured. In cases where stress is absent, the sounds are [ə], [ɚ], or weakened varieties of [i], [ɪ], [e]. As always, the degree of stress exerts a direct influence upon the quality and quantity of the vowel.

(1) In one group, [i] 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* ['si,ment], *create* ['kri,et] or [kri'et], *December* ['di,sembə] or [di'sembə], *descendant*, *descent*, *equator*, *erect*, *eternal*, *renew*, *repass*, *speedometer* ['spi,damətə].

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-*, *re-*.

Words possessing these prefixes are grouped together because they display similar treatment of the unstressed vowel. The sounds are [ə], [ɪ], [i], and [i], 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 [ə] and [ɪ], under partial stress they may become [ɪ] or [i]. There is, of course, no consistency as to the particular vowel used by a given speaker. He may say [ɪ] or [i] in *because*, *begin*, *decide*, [i] in *declare*, *repair*, and [ə] in *between*, *despise*, *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 [ə] and [ɪ]. The occasional employment of [i] 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*; *delight*; *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 [ri'kə'lekt] in the speech of elderly people; otherwise, [rek-] and [rik-]. *Behave*, *behind*, *beyond*, *remembrance*, and *repair* show a preference for [ɪ] 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* [kəz], or in the older speech [keɪz]; *despise* ['d'spaɪz], [spaɪz] (as in the sentences, [a'd'spaɪz t' si 'fens grəʊd 'ʌp lɑ:k'æt] 'I despise to see a fence growed up like that,' [a' 'spaɪz sɪtʃ əz 'ðæt] 'I despise such as that!'); *recall* [kəl] (as in the sentence, [aɪ keɪnt 'kəl hɪz 'ʌðə 'neɪm] 'I can't recall his other name. '); *religion* ['rɪdʒən] (reported); *remind* [maɪnd] (as in the sentence, [hi 'maɪnz mi əv 'ju] 'He 'minds me of you. '). On a phonograph record, *remember* sounds very much like [r'membə] in the phrase, 'I don't remember . . .'. More often, however, the vowel is extremely reduced; for example, [b'liv] (as in the sentence, [a b'liv ɪt 'wəz] 'I believe it was'), [b'twɪkst], especially in the heavily stressed, jerky kind of utterance which is characteristic of some speakers.<sup>4</sup>

(3) Words with the spelling *em-*, *en-*, *es-*, *ex-*.

Words so spelled have a vowel which varies [e], [ɪ], [i], [ə]. Under partial stress the sounds are [e] or [ɪ]; when stress is absent the sounds are [ɪ] obscured, [i], or [ə]. In the syllable *ex-*, [e] is perhaps the most frequent sound, but [ɪ] is common; many Smokies speakers tend to place a shade more stress on this prefix than is customary in general American. In the syllables *em-*, *en-*, [i] is probably more common than any other sound.<sup>5</sup>

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 *de-tractin'*, *de-spise* in Murfree, pp. 126, 204; *reespect*, Mason, p. 214; *de-fence*, Kephart, p. 640. Loss of the syllable is illustrated in 'tarnal 'eternal,' 'caze 'because,' Kephart, p. 502; *sperjuiced, ye safeul dunce*, Murfree, *Young Mountaineers*, pp. 61, 64; 'twecn, Dargan, p. 22.

Brown's *Reduced*, p. 307, reflects [ɪ].

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

6. Brown (1795) and Conner (1937) consistently spell *en-* words with *in-*: Brown writes *inclosed* (p. 308), *incouragemint* (p. 305), *intertainment* (p. 304); Conner has *insirele* (p. 38), *indevor* (p. 82), *ingaged* (p. 83); but *enscribed* for *inscribed*, p. 47).

In a facsimile of the Tennessee Papers of the Draper MSS (I, i, 3, 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 [ɛ] and [ɪ], with secondary stress on the first syllable as in general American. *Escape* is often [ek'skeɪp], [ɪk'skeɪp], showing confusion with the *ex*-type or anticipation of the [k]. (Cf. [ɪk'speʃəli], *especially*, reported to be used in Jefferson Co., Tenn.) *Exactly*, usually [ɪg'zækli], is often [(ə)'zækli], as in the sentence, [hɪt 'luks dʒəs: 'zækli 'laɪk hɪm], 'Hit looks jus' zackly like him.' Only once was it heard as [ed'zækli], a form recorded by other writers, but apparently not widely used or known.<sup>7</sup>

As sometimes in *exactly*, there is occasional apheresis also in *except*, *excite*, *expect*, and probably others: [sept], [satt], [spɛk(t)]. A Mount Sterling woman expressed her reluctance to sing ballads into the recording microphone, saying ['dʌt θɪŋ 'sarts mi]. On a phonograph record, the sentence, 'Hit excited me,' sounds like [hɪt 'ksattəd mi].

(4) Another group of words spelled with *e* is characterized chiefly by [ə], although in some of them [ɪ] or [i] may occasionally be heard. Examples: elect, election, electric, electricity, eleven, enormous, evaporate, Kentucky, necessity; pellagra, severe, Sevierville (seat of Sevier Co., Tenn.).

But apheresis of [ə] is common; for example, *elect* [lekt], *election* ['leɪkʃən], *eleven* ['levn] (also ['lebɪn]).<sup>8</sup> Three variants or changes of the vowel are to be noted: Before [l], as in *elect*, *electric*, etc., [ə] may be replaced by [ɪ]. *Kentucky*, usually [kən'takɪ] (not [ken-]), is frequently ['ken,takɪ] in the speech of old-timers.<sup>9</sup> *Necessity* was heard once as [nɪ'sesɪti], spoken by a mountain preacher in a sermon.<sup>10</sup>

Library, Knoxville, Tenn.), I found the spelling *implied* for *employed* (letter of a woodsman-soldier, dated 1774).

7. Cf. *adzackly*, Combs (p. 1318), *edzact*, Kephart (Word List, p. 411). Combs regards this as a case of confused prefix, noting also *dezackly* and *prezackly*.

8. Cf. *Lizabethon* (Kentucky), Conner, p. 67.

9. Cf. *Kaintucky*, Brown (p. 302); *Caintucky line*, Sevier (vol. 6, p. 35).

10. Brown, pp. 307, 312, writes *needcessity*. This form was recorded in 1902 in southern Illinois (*Dialect Notes*, vol. 2, p. 239). The compiler of the word list, W. O. Rice, says, p. 220: 'The pioneers of the region studied were the descendants of the North Carolina "Dutch," who had moved farther and farther westward through Kentucky and Tennessee, until they finally settled in southern Illinois. The descendants of such settlers have remained largely untouched by outside influences.' Kephart, p. 609, reports this word, regarding it as a Scotticism.

(5) Miscellaneous pronunciations.

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

*Eclipse*, heard only as [klɪps] (three instances), as in, 'The sun comes in [klɪps].'<sup>11</sup>

*Ferocious* [fɪ'rɒʃəs] (twice: speaker from Jefferson Co.; also on a record of two Cumberland Mountains boys, who are imitating negro pronunciation).

*Jerusalem*, usually [dʒə-], but once [dʒɪ'rʊsɪləm], as spoken by an aged lady of 'the McMillon Settlement' (Cooke Co., Tenn.).

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

*Prefer* [pə'fɜː], [prɪ'fɜː]; *pretend* [pɜː-], [prɪ-]; *prepare*, with [ɪ] or [i].<sup>12</sup>

*Secure* [sɪ'kjʊə]; *recommend* [rɪkə'mend] (once) (also [rɪk-]).

*September*, usually ['sep,tɛmbə], but also [sɛp'tɛmbə].

*Tennessee*, usually now [tɛnə'si], but the older ['tɪnə,sɪ] is still fairly common.<sup>13</sup>

*Tremendously*, once, in a recorded 'bear tale,' told by a man ninety-six years of age of Hartford (Cooke Co., Tenn.): [wi 'tɪ ə 'trɪ'mendəsli 'lɒt əv 'dʌt 'bɛə], '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 [ɪ], [i], [ɪ], [aɪ], and in a few cases with [ə]. In one group, the tendency to shift the stress to the initial syllable is seen once more.

(1) The largest group of words has [ɪ] or [i], though the former sound is the more common. Examples: *civilian*, *discomfit* ('to inconvenience'), *disgust*, *disremember* (not frequent), *distill*, *divide*, *divorce*, *imagine*, *impose*, *impossible*, *improve*, *intend*, *intention*, *without*.

*Distill* and *without* sometimes suffer apheresis of the unaccented syllable: [stɪl], [dʒæʊt].

Two variations in the vowel sound deserve notice. In words like *civilian* and *disgust*, in which the unstressed syllable precedes the main accent, [ɪ] may be obscured to [i]; but not in words like *discomfit* [dɪskəm'fɪt] and *disremember*. Many old people and probably others pronounce *impossible* [an'pɒsəb\*ɪ], [ʊn-], [ɔn-], which is no doubt a case of confused prefix (*un-possible*); see under *u*, section 5.<sup>14</sup>

11. Cf. 'a great rayne and a clyps' (Lord Berners, 1520), cited by Wyld, p. 281.

12. Cf. *persume*, Conner (p. 7).

13. Ziegler and Grosscup (1883) write, p. 259: "'Tenesy," answered the man, giving the accent on the first syllable, a pronunciation peculiar to the uneducated natives.'

14. For *inflect*, [ɪ'fekt] is commonly employed, as in the sentence, 'His hand got [ɪ'fektəd]'; however, this form may well be for *affect*, which was used in the eighteenth



(2) In a second group the vowel is also [ɪ], but the stress is usually shifted to the first syllable. Examples: cigar, guitar, infirmary, inspector, insurance.

There is an occasional change of [ɪ] to [i] in *cigar*: ['sɪ,ɡəʊ], and the normal American pronunciation may also be heard.<sup>15</sup> *Guitar* is still prevailingly ['ɡɪ,təʊ]; rarely, in jocular language, it is ['ɡɪ,tɪd], which is possibly a bit of ephemeral slang.

(3) In a third small group, the sound is or may be [aɪ]. 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: ['aɪdɪ], ['vaɪəlɪn]. *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 [paɪ'ænə], but others say [pi'ænə] or else sound the word as in general American. There are few pianos, however, in the mountains; guitars are more portable and popular. *Direct* is both ['daɪ,rekt] and [də'rekt], another instance of variable accent; but *directly* was [d(ə)'rektli] 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 o.

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

(1) The most frequent vowel for words spelled with *o* 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 [mɒn'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 [ʌ], and the chief stress may be transferred to the first syllable: [ˌkʌ'mens] or ['kʌ,mens]. Now and then, *continually* may be heard as [ˌkən'tɪnjuəli]; and [ə] appeared in the single

century in a similar sense. Cf. the *OED*'s citation from Defoe (*The Plague*): 'The inward gangrene affects their vitals.'

15. Brown, p. 294, writes *Seccars*.

instance of *conscripted* ['kən,skɪptəd], 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 [kən'trəri]. A colorful example of its use is in the sentence, [hɪz 'kwæʊ kən'trəri ɪ 'mɪn], 'He's queer, contrary, and mean!' *Tomorrow*, ordinarily spoken with [ə], sometimes has an obscured [u] or [ʊ], as read on the phonograph records of *Arthur the Rat*: [tu'mərə], [tʊ'mərə].<sup>16</sup>

Loss of vowel or syllable is common. *Columbus* may, and often does, become ['klʌmbəs], and it is frequently shortened to [klʌm] (not, however, to *Lum*, or to the *Lom* which Combs notes). *Towards* varies [tə'wɔːdəz], [twɔːdəz], [tɔːdəz], though most old-timers pronounce it in the first way. *Opossum* is always ['pɒsəm], except perhaps in such uses as, 'He went [ə'pɒsəm 'hantɪ],' where, however, [ə] may represent the verbal proclitic *a-* (cf. 'a-bear-huntin'; see above under *a-*, section 1). In addition, there are the well-known but still interesting shortenings of *molasses*, *mosquito*, *potato*, *tobacco*, *tomato*: ['læsəz], ['skɪtə], ['tɛtə], etc. 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, *toboggan* 'a knit cap with a tassel,' seems to be known only in its reduced form ['bɒɡən].<sup>17</sup>

(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 [o] unobscured, they are considered together.

Brogans ('heavy shoes') [brɔ'ɡɒnz], hotel ['ho,tel], Mohee (in the song 'My Little Mohee') [mɔ'hi], November ['nɔ,vembə] or [nɔ'vembə], Oconaluftee (River) [o,kɒnə'lʌftɪ], police [pə'lis] or ['pɒ,lɪs], protractive (as in 'protractive meeting,' a series of revival meetings) [prɔ'træktɪv].

Two of these words, it should be noted, have variable stress: *November* and *police*; for the former, cf. the variable stress in *September* and *December*. *Hotel* is always accented ['ho,tel] in the Smokies; it is included in this list because general American is taken as the norm. *Oconaluftee* is generally shortened to ['lʌftɪ]; this shortening is illustrated in the place-name *Luftee Gap*.<sup>18</sup>

16. An intrusive *r* appears in Miss Murfree's *cornsider'ble* ([kɒn-ɪ?]), p. 257. The form of *commence* with [ʌ] and chief stress on the initial syllable is noted also by Miss Cushman, p. 46, who writes *commence*.

*Opinion* is occasionally [ri'pɪnjən], it is reported. Kephart, p. 627, also records this form along with other malapropisms: *a summer exhort* (resort), *distracted meetin'* (protracted).

17. Mrs. Dargan, p. 208, writes 'boggins. *Toboggan cap* appears in the *OED*.

18. See the United States Geological Survey Map of the park (edition of 1934). There is a *Lusty Baptist Church* at Smokemont, N. C. Cf. the Conner MSS, p. 10 f.: '... Reliable person's reported the snow-drift in the old Luffy gap; to measure 10

Another word which deserves mention here is *possession*, transcribed three times with [ə] and with a curious intrusive r: [pro'seʃən].<sup>19</sup>

(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 *protractive*, 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 [prə'pɔʃən]. In *produce* and *protect*, the prefix becomes [prə] or [pɜ]: [prə'dʒʊs], [pɜ'tekt], etc. *Provisions*, in its single recorded occurrence, is clipped to ['vɪzənz], spoken by an old-time bear-hunter.

(4) The prefixes *fore-*, *for-*. *Forenent*, *forenentst* (obsolescent, for 'opposite') are always [fə'nɛn(s)t] or [fə'nɪn(s)t].<sup>20</sup> *Forget* and *forgive* are generally [fə'gɪt], [fə'gɪv], infrequently [fə'gɛt], [fə'gɪv], 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 [sə'praɪz]), *surround*, *suspicion* v., although under slight stress the sound in *succeed* and *suggestion* may be [ʌ]; (2) a group with [u] or [ʊ]—for example, *curiosity* [kɪjʊ-], *Junaluska* (place-name) [ˌdʒʊnə'laskɪ], *rheumatics* [rum-], *musician* [mjuːz-]; (3) a group spelled with *un-*, variously pronounced with [ʌn], [ʌ], [ʊn], [ʊ]. None but the last of these groups requires comment. Examples: *uncertain*, *unknownst*, *understand*, *uncasy*, *unthoughted* ('unexpected,' as in the expression, 'It happened so quick and unthoughted'), *unluckily*, *unlucky*, *unsafe*, *until*.

By better educated speakers, all of these words are pronounced with [ʌ]; but by a number of old people, and very likely others, some of them are pronounced with the low-back vowels, unrounded and rounded, and with secondary accent.<sup>21</sup> Typical forms are: *uncertain* [ʌn'sɜtɪn], *unknownst*

feet at the top of the Smokey.' Cf. also *Chucky* 'Nolichucky (River)' in J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina; A History (From 1750 to 1918)* (Raleigh, 1914), p. 44.

19. The occurrence of this form once in the expression, 'He had a large [pro'seʃən] of land here' (i. e., a piece of land), suggests influence of the legal term *to proccession 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 *possess* [pro'sɛs].

20. *Forenent*, *-entst*, a combination of *fore* and *anent*, is Scottish and northern English, according to the *OED*. The first example of its use is dated 1524.

21. Unkind is [ʌn'kaɪn] in a recorded ballad sung by a woman in her thirties.

The dialect writers have taken advantage of this characteristic of mountain speech in their 'phonetic' spellings. Miss Murfree in the *Prophet has onwillin'* (p. 24), *onsartin*

[ɔnbɪ'noʊns], *until* [ʊn'tɪl]. (*Until* may be heard also as ['ʌntɪ], with shifted stress.)

From *unscrupulous*, the prefix is dropped by untutored speakers: ['skrupjʊləs], as in the sentence, 'He's 'scrupulous; he'd steal anything he could get his hands on.'

Miscellaneous. The place-names of Indian origin, *Cullowhee*, *Tuckaleechee*, *Tuckaseegee* are all sounded with [ʌ] in the initial syllable: [ˌkʌlə'wi], [ˌtʌkə'li:tʃi], [ˌtʌkə'si:dʒi].

## II. MEDIAL SYLLABLES

Again, the material to be considered is arranged according to the spelling, this time in four main groups: (1) *a* and *o*; (2) *e* and *i*; (3) *u*; and (4) a small group of words spelled with *le* and usually pronounced with syllabic *l*. This arrangement is observed, at some cost of repetition, because of the many instances of correlation between sound and spelling, and because some of the unusual characteristics of Smokies medial vowels become more evident when compared with the spelling.

### 1. Medial *a* and *o*.

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

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

Alabama [ˌælə'bæmə], almanac [ˈɔlmənɪk], Anthony, Carolina, Cata-loochee (Creek), Cherokee, Colorado, comfortable, constable, decoration (as in, *the Decoration* 'Memorial Day'), democrat, Desolation (place-name), dew-poisoning, disappoint, discomfit, favorance ('resemblance'), felony, finally, guarantee, Jerusalem (as in, *Jerusalem oak*), kerosene, organize, paradise, recollect, recommend, relative, rheumatism ['rɪmətɪz], separate, Sugarlands, tantalize, 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 [ɪ]. *Jerusalem*, usually [dʒə'ruzələm], has [i] for *a* on one of the discs. *Panama* (hat) was twice distinctly ['pænɪmə]. *Anthony* and *company*, and others of the same type, frequently lose their medial vowel; but such cases will be considered more fully below.

(p. 28), etc.; Mrs. Dargan *onhandy* (p. 5); Mason *ontell* 'until' (p. 166), *onbeknownst* (p. 211); Kephart *onmarciful* (vol. 3470, p. 859). For the shift [ʌ] > [a], [ɔ], see chap. 1, sec. 11.

(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, ['ælkɪhəl], ['daɪnɪməɪt] (once ['dɪnɪməɪt]), ['sæsɪfæk] 'sassafras'. A similar case is *chinquapin*, which seems always to have the raised vowel: ['tʃɪŋkɪpɪn]. *Idaho* and *Omaha* also belong here, for some speakers consistently pronounce them ['aɪdɪhə] and ['omɪhə]; these forms suggest the influence of *Ida* ['aɪdɪ] and *Oma* ['omɪ], the women's given names, and the general type with [ɪ] for final *a*.<sup>22</sup>

(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 *n*, *l*: accidentally [æksɪ'dentlɪ]; Anthony ['æntnɪ], ['entnɪ]; Carolina [kæɪ'ləɪnə], [kə'ləɪnə], [kə'ləɪnə]; company ['kʌmpnɪ]; finally; generally ['dʒɪnəlɪ]; reasonable ['rɪznəbəl].<sup>23</sup>

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

Such forms as ['fæktrɪ], ['hɪkrɪ], ['hɪstrɪ], ['memrɪ] are the usual ones for these words in the Smokies. *Boundary* and *Gregory*, however, are often sounded with a very brief syllabic *r*: ['bæundrɪ], ['grɪgrɪ]. In *ignorant*, also, the treatment commonly differs from that indicated above; this word generally retains its medial vowel, but loses the vowel of the following syllable: ['ɪgnənt]. (For this type, cf. *copperas*, etc., presented below under *e* and *i*.)

The curious pronunciation of *vigorous* is colorfully illustrated in the statement of a Mount Sterling woman: 'Hit [a rattlesnake] was intentioned to bite me; I never heerd a snake sing so ['vɑɪgrəs]!'<sup>24</sup>

Two miscellaneous instances of vocalic omission are the common forms of *Ephraim* and *whereabouts*: ['ɪfrəm], [hwɜː'bæʊts]. (For the former, cf. the loss of [ɪ] under medial *e* and *i*.)

22. Conner's spellings *legicy* (p. 32), *naritive* (p. 99), and *comparitively* (p. 37) suggest medial [ɪ] for *a*. For medial *o*, cf. *Dimmycrats* (Murfree, p. 89), *photygraphs* (C. M. Wilson, *Outlook and Independent*, vol. 151, p. 66).

The Indian names *Oconaluftee* (River), *Tuckasegee* (River), *Tuckaleechee* (Cove) are now pronounced with [ə] for medial *a*. A vowel [ɪ] or [i], however, is indicated by the following early nineteenth century spellings: *Tuckylechy Cove* (Whitney, *The Land Laws of Tennessee*, an act of 1809, p. 716 f.); *Tuckeysegee* (Haywood Co. Reg., vol. A, p. 260; 1812), *Oconey Lufy* (*ibid.*, vol. F, p. 45 f.; 1846). Mason, p. 37, has *Tuckyseej*.

23. For loss of the vowel before *n*, cf. the early modern spellings *rcasnable* (c1580), *parsnape* (1610), cited by Wyld, p. 232.

24. Recorded in southeastern Missouri by Crumb (p. 335), and in the Ozarks (*American Speech*, vol. 11, 1936, p. 318). Miss Murfree, p. 10, has *survigrus*, and Kephart, *Word List*, p. 418, has a form similarly spelled. Other instances may be found in various issues of *Dialect Notes* and *American Speech*. See also Thornton, *American Glossary*.

(4) Miscellaneous changes.

Syllabic *n* occurs in Chattanooga [tʃætɪ'nʌgrɪ], Hendersonville, and sometimes in *Anthony* ['entnɪ].

There is substitution of [ə] for [rə] in *aggravate* and *introduce*; also in *microphone*, which one CCC enrollee writes *mikerphone*. (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 [kə'ræktə], with the principal accent on the medial syllable; on a disc the word appears as ['kæ,ræktə], with secondary stress on the second syllable.<sup>25</sup> The common usage is with [ɪ], unstressed. *Relatives* is sometimes (but not frequently) stressed [rə'leɪtɪvz].<sup>26</sup> *Somebody* is usually [səm'bɒdɪ], and *nobody* varies [no'bɒdɪ], [no'ba'dɪ], ['nɒbədɪ]. *Theater* usually has secondary stress on the medial vowel: ['θi,etə].<sup>27</sup>

## 2. Medial *e* and *i*.

Unstressed medial syllables spelled with *e* or *i* appear chiefly with [ɪ], [i], and [ə]; but less common variants in special positions are [ɨ], [ɘ], [ɚ] and [ɻ]. Before *l*, *m*, and *n*, [ə] 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 [ɨ] and [ə]. Examples:

Accident, America, Americus (given name), barbecue, benefit, biggety ('conceited'), citizen, civilized, deadening, delicate, devilment, fitified ('subject to fits'; obsolescent), Florida, hospital, hurricane, imitate, irrigate, legislature, Louisville (Blount Co., Tenn.), medicine, officer, Oliver, perfectly, primitive (as in *Primitive Baptist*), Republican, satisfy, scarify ('to make incisions in the skin,' for blood-letting), talkified ('talkative'; obsolescent), 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. 1314, who regards the form as an Elizabethan survival.

26. Cf. *relatives*, Sheppard, *Cabins in the Laurel*, p. 277.

27. To these miscellaneous forms may be added *innercent*, Murfree (p. 92), *Dargan* (p. 220), and *comerdeate*, *Dargan* (p. 95). For other cases of the change [ə] > [ɚ] in medial syllables, see p. 63 of this chapter.

stress than is customary in general American. Examples: *accident* ['æksɪdnt], *benefit* ['benɪfɪt], *confident* ['kɒnfɪdnt] (as in the sentence, 'I don't confident the story'), *devilment*, *foolishness* ('nonsense'), *angelica*, *delicate*. A mountain preacher carefully articulated *privilege* ['prɪvɪlɪdʒ]; but speakers with scant formal training have been heard to use such forms as ['benɪfɪt] and ['remɪdɪ] with precise medial [ɪ]. 'You're perfectly welcome' ['pæfɪkəlɪ 'welkəm], said an old gentleman of Webbs Creek with an articulation far from slovenly. A precise and deliberate [ɪ] is fairly common.

Occasionally the vowel approaches or reaches [i]. Examples: *crucify* ['kruːsɪfaɪ], *Illinois* ['ɪlɪnoɪz], *marigold* ['mæriːgəʊld], *talkified*, *uniform*.<sup>23</sup> For the most part, such forms are limited to a few old people. Yet young people say ['sɪŋkiːfɔɪl] for *cinqufoil*. (In standard speech this word appears without a medial vowel.)

Closely allied to these are words like *anyway*, *anywhere*, *honeysuckles* ('flame azalea'), which have a sound which varies between [ɪ], and [i], 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*, *deadening*, *Gatlinburg*, *horrible*, *Maryville* (Blount Co., Tenn.), *officer*, *possible*, *Sheridan*, *Tennessee*, *terrible*.

*Officer*, for example, is thus often ['ɒfɪsə], ['ɒfɪsɪ], or ['ɒfəsə]. The pronunciation of *Maryville* is curious and characteristic: it approaches ['mærəvəl]. For *terrible*, many old-timers say ['tɜːbəl], 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

23. Harold Whitehall, 'The Quality of the Front Reduction Vowel in Early American English,' *American Speech*, vol. 15 (1940), pp. 136-143, suggests that present-day unstressed [ɪ] is 'a comparatively recent development of an earlier [i].' The sound [i], he says, is reflected in the frequent spelling of unstressed syllables with *-ee-*; for example, *spacefied* 'specified' (1740, Sharon, Conn.). See his remarks on the variation [ɪ]/[i] in stressed syllables in early modern English, referred to in note 5, chap. 1.

It would be unwise, of course, to attach too much importance to the few Smokies forms with [i] for [ɪ]; yet it is interesting to note that J. R. Clemens, *American Speech*, vol. 7, p. 438, finds [i] for unstressed [ɪ] current in George Washington's time. The following pronunciations are advised in a dictionary of that period: enee-mee, Konstee-tu-shun, patree-ut, A-mer-ee-kan, Prezzee-dent.

Cf. *confedent*, Mason, p. 191, and the following native spellings: *tenessee* 'Tennessee,' Buncombe Co. Reg. (vol. 2, p. 400; 1796); *notiefie*, Kephart (vol. 3470, p. 844); *misty-fied*, *ordinariely*, *beautyfully*, Conner (pp. 1, 2, 44; Conner also writes *ordinariely* twice; inverse spelling with *-ia-* for [i]?).

the frequency and distribution of [ɪ], [i], and [ə] in the words listed above, several interesting tendencies are nevertheless discernible:

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

II. Between *l* and a palatal stop, [ɪ] is preferred, as in *angelica*, *delicate*, *Tellico* (Plains).

III. Before a palatal stop, [ɪ] seems to be preferred, as in *barbecue*, *hurricane*, *irrigate*, *perfectly*. (Cf. *miracle*, *character*, *spectacles*.)

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

V. There is a preference for [ɪ] or [i] 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, deviling ('teasing'), dominicker ['dɒməːnekə], 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 syllabic *l* in *fertilize*: ['fɜːtɪlɪz]. In uneducated speech, *carpenter* and *turpentine* sometimes have syllabic *m*: ['kæpmpɪtə], etc.; and such forms as *decenter* ('more decent') have [ŋ]. Substitution of [ə] for [ɒ] is common in the given name *Audely* ['ɔːdəli], and in *dominicker* ('a black chicken or gnat with white spots') ['dɒməːnekə]. The latter word is frequently shortened to [dɒm] or [dɒmə] (but only when it has the sense of chicken).<sup>24</sup>

#### Before r.

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

24. *Dominicker* varies [ɪ]/[e]/[ə] before [k], but usually has [e]. Cf. Combs, 'A Word-List from the South,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 5, p. 33: '*dominacker*, n. A species of chicken (Dominique, or Domenico?). Also *dominecker*. Sometimes clipped to *dommer*.' Reported also from Wisconsin (*dominick* 'chicken,' *ibid.*, p. 240) and West Virginia (*dominicker*, *American Speech*, vol. 2, p. 352); recorded by Murfree (p. 106), Kephart (Word List, p. 411).

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 [ɪ] is substituted for [ə]: ['jɪstɹɪ], ['rɒbɪsn̩]. In *formerly* [ɔ] sometimes becomes [ə]: ['fɔ:məlɪ], and sometimes it is lost: ['fɔ:əmɪ].<sup>30</sup> When the accent on the initial syllable of *Jefferson* is heavy, the [ɔ] becomes very light: ['dʒɛf'sn̩].

(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* ['bætɹɪ] ('[bætəri] is rare), *evening* ['i:vən̩], *family* ['fæmɪ], *generally*, *mystery*, *scenery* ['sɪnɹɪ], *several* ['sevɹəl]. It is perhaps not usual, but at least frequent in *deadenig* and *Owenby* (a common family name in the vicinity of Gatlinburg). Omission of the vowel in the latter word is illustrated by the alternate spelling *Ownby*.

Exceptions to this treatment are *considerable*, *copperas*, *dangerous*, *different*, *Everett*, and others, which almost always retain the vowel before *r*, but lose the vowel of the following unstressed syllable: ['kɒpəs], ['dʒɛfənt], ['evət], etc. So also, *everybody*, *everything*, and *everywhere* are most often and characteristically ['evə,bɒdɪ], ['evəθɹɪ], ['evəhwɜ:]. It is difficult to say whether *interest* is more commonly ['ɪntrɛst] or ['ɪntɛst]; *interesting* appears on a disc with retention of both medial vowels and secondary stress on the second: ['ɪntɛ,ɛstrɪ]. *Tolerable* usually retains both vowels or becomes ['tɒləbəl].

After *r, l, n*.

Americus ['mɛkəs], eligible ['eldʒɪbəl], corymbel [ɑ:'sɪplɪs] (which shows loss both after *r* and before *l*), everybody, everything, everywhere, foreigner ['fɔ:n̩], terrible ['tɜ:bəl], venison ['venzən].

30. Cf. *formaly* 'formerly,' Conner, p. 66; also Haywood Co. Reg., vol. B, p. 110 (1823): '... where he formally lived' (i. e., formerly). Brown, p. 313, writes *Govenor* '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*, ['fɔ:rən̩] is rapidly displacing ['fɜ:n̩].

Before a vowel.

The vowel subject to syncope in this position is [ɪ].<sup>31</sup> 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 [ɪ] is usual in the following words:

Carrion ['kærən] (older [kjærən]), curiosity [kjʊr:'asɹɪ], curious ['kjʊərəs], dubious ['dʒubəs] ('timid, hesitant'), experience [ɪk'spɪrɪns], jovial ['dʒɔ:vəl], Julius ['dʒuləs], scorpion ['skɔ:pən].

*Carrion* as [kjærən] was also heard in the expression *carrion crow*. *Ephraim* as ['ɪfrəm] also belongs here, for in standard speech it is customarily sounded with medial [ɪ]. With this tendency may be contrasted the hypercorrective tendency to pronounce an [ɪ] or [j] in positions where it is inorganic; for example, *tarpaulin* is [tæ'pɔ:ljən], and *villain* is [vɪljən].<sup>32</sup>

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

The loss of [ɪ] before an unstressed vowel was characteristic of early modern English, to judge from numerous spellings cited by Ellis and Wyld. For example: *laborous* (1496), *behaviour* (1520), *behavior* (Q. Eliz.), *serus* (1663), *charēt* 'chariot' (Cooper, 1685), *Dannel*, *carrin* 'carrion,' *inin* 'onion' (Baker, 1724); see Wyld, pp. 175, 276, 281 and Ellis, pp. 1029, 1074.

Cf. the spelling *Ezekiel Stringfield* in the North Carolina census of 1790 (Morgan District, Rutherford Co., p. 116); Conner's *Harrit* 'Harriet,' *prevously* (pp. 39, 60); *Har'et*, Dargan (p. 186); *joval*, Goodrich (p. 69); *cur'osity*, *cur'ous*, Kephart (p. 509). *Dubious* as *juberous*, *jubous* has been reported from many places in the United States, chiefly in the South; see the indices to the several volumes of *Dialect Notes*, and Stanley, p. 50.

32. Wyld, p. 281, notes the confusion in the endings *-cous*, *-ous*, etc., citing Aschm's *barbariousnes* (1445), *stupendious* (1682), *mischevyous* (1739), and others. A similar confusion in Smokies speech is indicated by the forms mentioned in the text and in the following noted by other writers: *favior* (Murfree, p. 53), *nerveeous* (Mason, p. 215), *galliant* (Kephart, p. 510).

One of the ballad-singers sang:

Now Polly she is married  
Among the jovial ['dʒɔ:vəl] crew,  
but,  
Begono you dogged villains ['vɪljənz],  
For hanged you both shall be!

(b) The following words also illustrate the disposition to omit [ɪ] before a contiguous unstressed vowel; but the transcriptions represent single occurrences.

Association [ə,so'serʃən], Daniel [ˌdæniəl], editorial [ˌɛdɪ'tɔrəl], Gilead (see below), memorial [me'mɔrəl], serial ['sɪrəl], Trillium (see below), Presbyterian [ˌprezbə'tɛrən] (reported).

The prevailing usage for some of these words is not known, but in them omission of [ɪ] 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 [ɪ]. In *Daniel* the medial vowel is reasserting itself—probably through ultramontane influences; this word may be contrasted with *Julius*, which is still usually pronounced without its medial vowel. For *Trillium Gap*, formerly known as Brushy Gap, a high school graduate said ['trɪləm], but a CCC foreman said ['trɪljəm], 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 ['gɪləd] by a man of the Cosby section, but ['gɪljɪd] (with an extremely clear *l*) by his aged mother and by others. These two pronunciations appear on a phonograph record.<sup>33</sup>

(c) In at least two words [ɪ] has palatalized the preceding dental stop and disappeared: *Indian* ['ɪndʒən], *tedious* ['tɪdʒəs]. This pronunciation of *Indian* may still be heard from a number of old people, but the current forms are ['ɪndɪn], as frequently in general American, and ['ɪndʒən]. The palatalized form of *tedious* is common. Here also, perhaps, may be mentioned the old and obsolescent form of *onion* ['eɪʃən], in which the palatal glide has become retracted, velarized the nasal, and then disappeared.

#### (4) Miscellaneous.

Mention is made here of a few miscellaneous changes which affect the pronunciation of medial syllables. In Smokies speech, as in colloquial English generally, sounds not organic in a word sometimes intrude, probably in many cases by hypercorrection. *Audely* and *dominicker* with [ɛ] for [ə] have been mentioned above; another instance is ['reɪzə,dentə] for *residenter* 'old timer,' which occurs on a phonograph record. More striking examples, however, are ['sɪnjə] for *scenery*, heard now and then (metathesis?); [ɪn'sɪnjə,etə] for *incinerator*, heard once and reported once; and ['wɔʃɪŋtən] 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* [dɪ'sɪplən] (once); *difficulty* [dɪ'fɪkəltɪ], said

33. [ɪ] is not lost before inflectional syllables, as in *prettiest*, nor in *mail-carrier*, *Whittier* (N. C.), and the pronouns ['ɛrɪən], ['nɛrɪən] 'any one,' 'none' (e.g., [aɪ'nevə'sɪd ə'dɪr nə sɔ'nerɪənz 'træks] 'I never seed (saw) a deer nor saw nary one's tracks.')

When the sound of *i* is retained before a vowel, it usually becomes crisply consonantal in the Smokies; e.g., *Gilead* ['gɪljɪd], *idiot* ['ɪdɪət].

to have been a common pronunciation in former times; and *vehicle* [vi'hrkəl] (reported to be the form used by one speaker).<sup>34</sup>

#### 4. Medial *u*.

In general American speech medial unstressed syllables spelled with *u* are variously pronounced with [ju], [jə], [ʊ], and [ə]. (See Kenyon, *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 [jə], [ju], 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 ['kju:məlet], accurate ['ækəət], ambulance ['æmbələns], deputy sheriff ['depədt 'ʃɛrɪʃ], fistula ['fɪstələ], occupation, popularity, population, reputation; scrupulous ('mean, bad').<sup>35</sup>

(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 ['æktʃəl], educate ['edʒəkət], education, gradual ['grædʒəl], graduate ['grædʒəɪt], natural, usual ['ju:ʒəl].<sup>36</sup>  
*Graduate* was heard once as ['grædʒəɪt].

*Manufacturer* and *manufacturing* were each heard once with unpalatalized *t*: [mænə'fæktəʃ], [mænə'fæktərɪŋ].

It is said that the old form of *natural* ['nætərəl] has not yet died out completely.

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

34. Kephart, vol. 3467, p. 7, notes a similar form for *scenery*: 'Yes, th'r's a right smart scenyuh around hyur.'

An accentuation *difficulty* was recorded in 1895 at Roan Mountain (Carter Co.), Tenn. (*Dialect Notes*, vol. 1, p. 375).

35. A clerk in the U. S. district court at Asheville, N. C., pronounced *document* ['dɒkəmənt]. Kephart, p. 503, writes *calkelate*; Mrs. Dargan, p. 253, has *argyment*.

Cf. the spellings cited by Wyld, p. 277 f.: *repetation*, *argament* (15th cent.); *moniment* (Spenser); *miracilous*, *continial* (17th cent.), and others; also *phistiloes* in the *OED*, under *fistula*.

36. The more recent dialect writers find palatalized forms for *actual* and *natural* (e.g., *actially*, Kephart, p. 504; *nachally*, Dargan, p. 266); but Ziegler and Grosscup in 1883 write, p. 94, 'a nat'ral born hoss-awopper.'

Cf. the 15th, 16th, and 17th century spellings of words with medial *-ur-* cited by Wyld, p. 277; for example, *unscripterlye* (Latimer), *venterous* (*Euphues*, Machyn), *tortering* (Shakespeare, First Fol.). Cooper (1685) says that *century* and *centory* 'herba centaria' have the same sound (Ellis, p. 1029).

Before sibilants:

(7) *-as, -os, -ose, -ous, -us*: Amos, August, bilious ['biljəs], conscientious, fractious, Mingus (Creek), purpose, ruckus ['rukəs], surplus ['sɜrpləs], Thomas. Also, progress ['prəgrəs] (twice).

(8) *-ness*: darkness, foolishness, harness, meanness, roughness ('foder'), wilderness.

Before other sounds:

(9) confederate (other words with *-ate* tend to be pronounced with [ɪ]), Gilead ['gɪljəd] (also with [ɪ]), idiot ['ɪdɪət], turnip.

Compounds (of long standing):

(10) breakfast, chestnut ['tʃɛsnət], forehead ['fɔəd], [fæd], foremost ['fɔəməst], gentleman, hateful, spignet ('spikenard'), upland, walnut, welcome.

In general, words with these terminations are pronounced with [ə]; yet there are some deviations which need mention. They have to do with intrusive sounds, substitutions, hypercorrections, elimination of the vowel, and varying degrees of stress. The diverging treatments concern most of the groups given above, and the phenomena will be considered in three new groups: intrusive sounds, etc., omission of the vowel, variations of stress.

(1) Intrusive sounds, substitutions, and hypercorrections.

There has been a tendency in old Smokies speech to develop [ə] into [ɜ], especially before *n*. This tendency has, for the most part, been counteracted by the schools and other influences; but it may still be observed in the common pronunciation of *Lincoln* as ['lɪŋkən] and *dubious* 'hesitant, timid' as ['dʒubəs]. Other examples are: *heathen* ['hiðən], *onion* ['ɛjən], *Rabun* (Co., Ga.) ['reɪbən], *woman* ['wʊmən], *Gilead* ['gɪləd] (for the last, see p. 66). *Lincoln* had [ɜ] in all instances save one, even in the expression *Lincoln Zephyr* ['lɪŋkən 'zɛpɜ], though some young Cosby boys said ['lɪŋkən 'zɪpɜ].<sup>33</sup> *Woman* with intrusive *r* is apparently rare; it was heard but twice—on isolated Hazel Creek, and once from a CCC enrollee of Madison Co., N. C. (near the Smokies).<sup>34</sup> *Heathen* as ['hiðən] is said to be used especially in censuring an unruly horse: [ju 'dɛn 'hiðən ju].<sup>35</sup>

33. A pronunciation with [ɜ] is probably indicated in John Brown's *Journal*, p. 291: '... We Crossed the line between Berk [Burke] and Linkhorn [Lincoln] Countys. ...'

34. Cf. Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 785: 'Thar sot the old womern a-readin' Moody's books. ...'

40. Two other reported forms are: *leggings* ['lɛgɔnz] (said to be used by a man in Emerts Cove); *young ones* (children) ['jʌŋənz] (said to be in common use in Jefferson Co., Tenn.). Cf. *allers* 'always,' Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 855, Combs, p. 1320.

I have not heard the strange forms *dumern*, *dummern* (woman), *dumerns*, *dum-*

Intrusive [ɪ] is always present in *tarpaulin* [tɑp'poulin], and [j] in *villain* ['viljən].<sup>41</sup>

'Misplaced *-ing*' appeared only in *mountain* ['mæuntɪŋ]. This form is reported to be as common as ['mæuntɪ] 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.).<sup>42</sup>

[rə] becomes [ɜ] by normal reduction in *Alfred*, *apron*, *children*, *hundred*, *Wilfred*: ['ælfəd], ['eɪpən], ['tʃɪldrən], etc.<sup>43</sup>

[ən] becomes [ɪn] by assimilation in *even* ['iɪn], *eleven* [ə'lɛɪn] (but also [ə'lɛbən]), *heaven* ['hɛɪn]. Local informants (mountain people) say that these pronunciations are fairly common, but I did not hear them. *Oven* as [ʌbɪn] 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*.

Examples:

Aaron [æən], [ɑən], carrion [kɜrɪən] (obsolescent), confederate [kən'fɛdət], copperas, dangerous ['deɪndʒəs], different, Everett, forehead [fɔəd], foreign, ignorance, ignorant, parent [pɛənt]. (See p. 64f.)

Attention is directed also to the omission of [ɪ] 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 [ɛ], [æ], etc. unobscured.

The suffixes *-dent* and *-ment* (except in *independent*) in most instances bore secondary stress: *accident*, *confident*, *devilment*, *instrument*, *monument*, *payment*, *settlement*, *testament*, etc. ['æksɪdɛnt], etc.<sup>44</sup> This type is familiar in the standard pronunciation of *torment*, *n.* ['tɔəmənt].

*crenches*, *dummerenses* (women), recorded by both Kephart (Word List, p. 411) and Combs (p. 1313). (For these forms, Kephart indicates [ʌ] in the stressed syllable, but Combs [u].)

41. See p. 65 and note 32.

42. *Mountain* spelled *mounting* seems to appear only in the earlier dialect writings (e.g., Murfree, p. 3, Ziegler, p. 51, 'Mountain Sermon,' p. 23). Cf. *brethering* 'brethren,' 'Mountain Sermon,' p. 21; the form ['bræðərɪn] mentioned above, chap. 1, p. 21, possibly reflects this pronunciation. Combs, p. 1319, finds misplaced *-ing* in *seven* and *eleven*.

43. Cf. *Alford Enloe* (Alfred), Conner MSS. p. 68.

44. Kephart, p. 589, lists *element*, *evidence*, *sentiment*; and Combs, p. 1314, notes both [ɛ] and [ɪ] in words like *settlement* and *judgment*. Miss Murfree, p. 64, writes *settlemint*. I have not heard [ɪ] in words of this kind. Cf. *incouragemint*, *inhabelints* in Brown's *Journal*, pp. 305, 311.



Two family names ending in *-well* display inconsistent treatment. *Cardwell* shows reduction of the vowel to [ə]: ['kɑ:dwəl], but in *Caldwell* the main stress is curiously shifted to the final syllable: [kə'wel]. For the latter [kə'wel] and ['kawel] also occur, but they are infrequent.

Words ending in *-land* also show variation. *Copelands* (Creek), *upland*, *woodland*, and *Strickland* (family name) are always pronounced with [ə]; but *The Sugarlands* (a valley near Gatlinburg) is usually ['ʃugə,lændz]. An aged man of Webbs Creek said that his ancestor had come to Tennessee from [wesmo'læn] county, Virginia. (In the Tennessee Valley, ['oʊk,læn] 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 [æ]: *Graham* (Co., N. C.) ['grɛi,hæm], *Trentham* (family name) ['trɛnt,hæm] (besides ['trɛntɪ]).

*April* was ['eɪ,prɪl] 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 ['fɛtɪ]: British ['fɛ,tɪl]). The diphthong [aɪ] is heard also in *genuine* ['dʒɪnɪjə,wɛɪn], *quinine*. A former fire-warden is reported to have sounded *intestine* [ɪn'tes,tɪn].

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 *Cardwell* ['kɑ:dwəl] 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 [ɪ] is almost always obscured to [ə]; for example, *Knoxville* ['nɑksvəl], *Sevierville* [sə'vɪəvəl], *Waynesville* ['weɪnzvəl].<sup>45</sup> Sometimes the [ə] in such words is very much reduced, especially when the utterance is rapid, and sometimes it is retracted, making the *l* rather dark. Occurrences of these names with [ɪ] are rare in the Smokies.<sup>46</sup> Interesting too are *hurricane* ['hɜrɪkən] and the compounds *foremost*, *chestnut*, *walnut*, which always have [ə]: ['fɑst ɪ 'fɔməst], ['fɛst ɪ 'fɔməst], a by-word with some people, ['hed 'fɔməst] (reported) *head foremost* (cf. OE *fyrmost*, *formest*); ['tʃɛsnət]; ['wɔɹnət], ['wɔlnət] (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 ['fɔɹ,hɛd]), *surplus* ['sɜpləs], and words ending in *-ness* like *meanness* ['mɪnəs], *roughness* 'fodder' ['rɑfnəs] (but a mountain preacher was heard to say ['dɑ:k,nɛs] for *darkness*).<sup>47</sup> (Cf. *progress* ['prɒgrɛs].)

45. Cf. Brown's *Linvel River* 'Linville' (twice), p. 303.

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

47. Cf. Connor's *surpluss* 'surplus,' p. 10.

## 2. [ɪ].

This sound occurs in a number of end-syllables too diverse for brief characterization. Some of them are Germanic, like *-y*, as in *dusky*, *ivy*; *-ly*, as in *kindly*; *-et*, as in *hornet*; *-ic*, as in *frolic*; many were originally French, as for example, *-age*, *-ege*, *-ad*, *-el* (as in *pallet*), *-ile*, *-ic* (as in *physic*); at least two are ultimately of American Indian origin, as in *chinquapin*, *Cataloochee*. But since most of them are pronounced with [ɪ] in general American (see Kenyon, *Guide*, §§119, 155), it seems unnecessary to go into further detail. The examples of words which are sounded with [ɪ], or variants thereof, are arranged in the following order: (1) [ɪ] final, (2) before stops, (3) before affricates and fricatives, (4) before sibilants, (5) before nasals.

## (1) [ɪ] final:

Anthony, biggety, boundary, brownie ('penny'), catty ('active'), clifty ('cliffy'), Cosby (Creek), country, doney ('duncy?'), dusky, every, fancy v., foggy, funky ('having a bad odor'), gaily ('gay'), hungry, Huskey, ivy, Kentucky, linsey ('a cloth made of cotton and wool'), mercy, mighty, misery, old-timey ('old-fashioned'), Owenby, perfectly, plenty, prairie, poorly ('in bad health'), puny, rowdy, smoky, sorry, study, thickety ('covered with a thicket').

Cataloochee, Chilhowee, Hiwassee, Oconaluftee, Tuckaleechee, Tuckaseige.

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

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

Ballad, salad, solid; accurate, desperate; bucket, casket, civet, coverlet, hornet, pallet, pocket, racket, rucket, scarlet, skillet, socket, Stinnett (family name).

Biscuit, circuit, minute.

Favorite, Proffitt (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 'protractive meeting'), relative, sheriff.

Childish, finish, foolish, skittish.

## (4) Before sibilants:

Crevice, 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) [ɪ] final. The vowel in the final syllable of such words as *dusky*, *hungry*, *smoky*, *puny* varies between a somewhat reduced [ɪ] and a lax [ɪ]. These sounds represent the two extremes; the usual pronunciation, no doubt, is a raised [ɪ]. 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 'jɪz 'ou] 'I'm twenty-two years old' (the double stress marks indicate very heavy stress); on another, a CCC enrollee reads: ['wan 'reɪn' 'deɪ], '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*: *Miry Ridge* ['maɪə 'rɪdʒ] (the sound in the final syllable was hardly audible), '. . . If you carry on like this' ['kæɪə 'ɒn lə:k 'ɔɪs].<sup>48</sup> The result of these tendencies is reflected in the frequent loss of [ɪ] in the much-used *every* and *mighty*; for example, *every time* ['evə 'ta:m], *every day* ['evə 'deɪ], *mighty nigh* ['maɪt 'naɪ]. Cf. *everything*, *everybody* ['evəθɪŋ], [ɪvə'badɪ].

As to the Indian names, the *-ee* of the final syllable is usually treated like final *-y*: *Chilhowee* [tʃɪl'hoʊ], *Tuckaleechee* [tʌkə'li:tʃi], *Tuckaseegee* [tʌkə'si:dʒi], etc. But in *Cataloochee*, the final syllable is frequently dropped, no doubt in an effort to simplify a long and apparently meaningless word: ['kætəlʊtʃ].<sup>49</sup>

Some speakers combine the final vowel of *yesterday* with the initial vowel of *evening* in the phrase *yesterday evening* [jɪstɪ'dɪvənən].

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

48. Cf. *slipper*' *ellum* 'slippery elm,' Dargan, p. 91, and the loss of [ɪ] after *r* in words like *curious*, *serial*. There are indications that the reduction or loss of final [ɪ] after *r* is fairly common in the South; cf. this transcription from American Speech Series, No. 65-B, Macon, Georgia: [ɒf jv 'keɪəɪə ɒn lə:k 'ɔɪs] ('. . . if you carry on like this') (*American Speech*, vol. 9, p. 297); also East Texas No. 8 [kæɪə ɒn] (Stanley, p. 87 and note 216).

49. Mason writes *Tuckyseej* (p. 37) and *Tuckaleech*' (p. 170).

*Scarcely* is ['skɪəslɪ] on one of the ballad-records. For *prairie*, the interesting dialect spelling *perarer* appears in the *Illustrated Guide Book of the Western North Carolina Railroad* (Salisbury, N. C., 1882), p. 17. This recalls David Crockett's *parara* (see note 57, chap. III).

*Ballad*, *salad*, *bullet*, *pallet*, *skillet* follow the same phonetic pattern in the final syllable, usually having a precise [ɪ] preceded by clear *l*: ['bæɪlɪt], [l'sæɪlɪt] (both of these with unvoicing of final *d*), ['bʊɪlɪt], etc. These pronunciations are very characteristic of Smokies speech. Other words which in most cases showed an unweakened [ɪ] were: *minute*, *pulpit* (with secondary stress) ['mɪnɪt], *rabbit*, *racket*, *socket*, *scarlet*, *Stinnett*, *Proffitt*: ['mɪnɪt], ['ræbɪt], etc.<sup>50</sup>

In some words of this same type, however, the vowel appeared to vacillate freely between [ɪ], [ʏ], [ə]: *basket*, *bucket*, *casket*, *hornet*, *market*, *pocket*. Two other words with variant sounds are *favorite*, usually with [-ɪt], but sometimes with [-aɪt], and *coverlet* ['kʌvəlɪt], [-lɪd], [-lɛd].

Words ending in *-ic* like *colic*, *frotic*, *phthisic* ['tɪzɪk] have unobscured [ɪ]. Here belong also the words with original back vowels: *almanac* ['ɒlmənɪk], *mattock* ['mætɪk] (OE *mattuc*), *stomach* ['stʌmɪk], which are all typical Smokies pronunciations.<sup>51</sup> (For *almanac*, cf. *tabernacle* [nɪk-], *dominicker*, the latter with an alternation of [ɪ/e/æ] before [k].)

(3) Before affricates and fricatives. Words in which the vowel precedes [dʒ], [v], [ʃ] (there were no instances of [tʃ], [ʒ], and but one of [f]), generally preserve [ɪ] without reduction: *cabbage* ['kæbɪdʒ], *relative* ['relə,tɪv], *skittish* ['skɪtɪʃ]. Before [ʒ], [dʒ], the vowel is often raised slightly toward [i]: *foolish* ['fuɪlɪʃ], etc. A weakened vowel is sometimes heard, however, in *cartridge* and *partridge*, which vary ['kætrɪdʒ], ['kætərdʒ], ['kætɪrdʒ], etc. In *sheriff* the vowel may be diminished and lost: ['ʃeəf], [ʃɛf]; in *Irish* it is practically always lost: [æʃ].

(4) Before sibilants. Before [s], [z] [ɪ] is in most instances clear and distinct; for example, *crevice* ['krɪvɪs], *promise* ['prɒmɪs]. Sometimes, however, it becomes lax and retracted, especially in *Baptist* ['bæptɪst], *Methodist* ['methədɪst], *Morris* ['mɒrɪs], and occasionally in the other words.

*Jaundice* is perhaps an exception to this group; it occurred but once, in the expression ['jælə 'dʒændɪz]. Neither the word nor the expression seems to be widely known or used.<sup>52</sup>

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

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

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

51. Wyld remarks, p. 263: 'In *almanac* we have "restored" [æ] in the final syllable.' He compares the form *almyncke* in the Cely Papers and cites *stomick* and *Izic* (Isaac) in Baker (1724).

52. Crumb, p. 318, recorded *yellow janders* and *black janders* in southeast Missouri.

to occur in such expressions as [go 'ouvə ŋ 'bəri ə 'smɪdʒən əv 'sɔlt], and ['dɪst (jʌst) ə 'smɪdʒən].<sup>53</sup>

### 3. Words ending in -a, -ia, -ah.

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

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

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

Alabama [ælə'bæmɪ], America, Augusta (Georgia), California [-nɪ], Chattanooga [tʃætŋ'nʌdʒɪ], cholera morbus, Cora, diarrhea [dɑr'ri], extra, Florida, Georgia, Heintooga Bald (in the park), Hosea ['houzɪ] (man's given name), Indiana, Jonah (the Biblical figure), (Lake) Junaluska [dʒʌnə'laskɪ], Laura, Linda, lobelia, mamma ['mæmɪ], Martha, Nora, okra, Oma (woman's given name), Ora (same), papa [pæpɪ], pellagra, Pennsylvania, (Mount) Pisgah, pneumonia, Rebecca (usually shortened to *Becky*), Rhoda, soda, Virginia [-nɪ].

The very common *ary* 'any' and *nary* 'no' (adj.) for the early modern *e'er a* and *ne'er a* also belong here.

A few comments on these forms are necessary. People who have been exposed to the schools and the tourists may substitute [ə] or [jə] for [ɪ] 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, [hɑn'tʌdʒɪ], for *Heintooga 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 [ə]. *Alabama* has a wider social sphere than *Heintooga*; 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 ['oukri] for *okra*, but he may regard [nu'maʊntɪ] as old-fashioned. *Okra* is a word which is largely limited to use within the family and hence less subject to changing modes of pronunciation. But isolated, uneducated, or very old people may pronounce [ɪ] in all of the words listed above. An exception, however, to this variable treatment is *idea*, which is very generally ['a:di] among young and old.<sup>54</sup>

53. This form, reported also by Combs (p. 1305) and Kephart (p. 641), who write *smidgin*, is said to be dying out in the Smokies. Cf. also the reported forms *noggin* 'head' ['nɑɡɪn], ['nɔɡɪn]; 'boggan' 'knit cap' ['bɔɡɪn], ['bɔɡɪn].

54. Krapp, vol. 2, p. 251, cites evidence which suggests that [ɪ] for final -a was once

Mention may be made of a few forms of family relationship. *Mama* and *papa*, now usually ['mæmə] and ['pæpə], may still occasionally be heard as ['mæmɪ] and ['pæpɪ]; the latter is often shortened to [pæp]. *Grandfather* is sometimes ['grænpæp(ɪ)]. A curious form is ['mæ,mə:], which I heard a middle-aged man employ in addressing his grandmother. A corresponding ['pæ,pə:] for *grandfather* is also said to be current.

Two place-names show variation. *Alabama* occasionally loses its final vowel. *Sylva* (the seat of Jackson Co., N. C.) as ['sɪlvɪə] (beside ['sɪlvə]) is either a hypercorrection or a confusion with the feminine given-name.

(2) [ə]. The tendency already observed to develop [ə] into [ɜ] is manifest also in words spelled with -a, -ah, especially *Carolina* (as in *North* and *South Carolina*) and *Hannah* (family and place-name): [kær'lɑɪnə], [kə'lɑɪnə], etc.; ['hænə].<sup>55</sup> These words also occur with [ə], but the forms with [ɜ] are by far the more common. Other instances of this change are *Ella* (feminine given name) ['etə], *lima* (beans) ['laɪmə], and *banana* [bə'nænə], ['nænə].<sup>56</sup>

(3) Other sounds. The given name *Noah* always had [e] or [ɪ]: ['no,e]; so also *Joshua* in its single occurrence was ['dʒɔʃu,e]. The family name *McGaha*, common on Cosby Creek and in the Big Bend, is [mə'gæ,hæ] or [mə'gæ:ɛ]. *Blowah* (McMinn Co., Tenn.) is ['etəwə] or ['etə,wə]. *Angelica* and *fistula* are always pronounced with [o]: [æn'dʒɛlɪ,kə], ['fɪstə,lə], interesting in the light of the early modern spellings *angelico* (1676), *phistiloes* (c1570), and others. (See *OED*; also *DAE: angelico*, 1817.)

In the following words, chiefly girls' names, only [ə] was heard: *Arizona*, *Clara*, *Ela* (Swain Co., N. C.) ['ɪlə], *Ella* ['ɪlə], *Lela* ['lɪlə], *Levada* [lə'vedə], *Sarah*.

prevalent in American speech. Early local spellings and modern usage indicate that both [ɪ] and [ɜ] have been common in the vicinity of the Smokies. Examples:

(1) [ɪ]: *Saludy* 'Saluda, N. C.' (Hamer, vol. 1, p. 36), *McGahey* 'McGaha' (N. C. Census, 1790, p. 118), *Philadelphie*, *Stuenzy* (Sevier's *Journal*, 1796, 1803), *Nantehallee* 'Nantahala' (Haywood Co. Reg., vol. B, p. 165, 1823), *Stuly* 'Satulah' (Mountain), (Guyot, p. 269, 1856-60).

(2) [ɜ]: *Shanadoar* 'Shenandoah,' *Virginier* (Brown, 1795, pp. 287, 313), *Unaker* ('Unaker or Iron Mountain'; Strother's diary, 1799, quoted in Arthur, p. 44), *Sinicar snake root* (Sevier, 1803).

Conner writes *Transelvany Co., N. C.*, p. 68, *Fydillie*, p. 67 (girl's name, probably for *Fidelia*, but pronounced ['faɪdɪlɪ] in the Smokies); but *Beller* 'Isabella' p. 66.

55. I have not heard *Carolina* with final [ɪ], but evidence of such a form, which has possibly fallen out of common use, is found in the representations *Kerliny* (*Dialect Notes*, vol. 1, p. 375), *South C'liny* (Dargan, p. 234), *No'th Ca'liny* (Mason, p. 231).

For *Hannah*, cf. the spellings *Haner*, *Hanner* (1885) in the *North Carolina Park Commission Abstracts* (1928-1935), vol. 8, p. 209.

56. The celebrated moonshiner of Eagle Creek, Quill Rose (see Cushman, pp. 30-44), now dead, is referred to as ['kwɪlə] on one of the discs; Arthur, p. 340, spells his given name *Aquilla*.

These occurrences, noted from speakers of varying ages, illustrate the tendency to abandon the old forms with [ɪ] or [ɜ].

## 4. [ɜ].

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*, *lizard*. 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, cucumber, dominicker, enter, fever, fodder, further, gobbler, gritter ('grater'), hammer, high-power (a kind of gun), hoosier ['hudsɜ] (see p. 99), linkister ('interpreter'), loafer *v.* and *n.*, master *n.* and *adj.*, moonshiner, offer, plunder *n.*, preacher, scatter, settler, slipper, slobber, wonder, yonder; labor, liquor, neighbor.

(2) *-ure*: capture, conjure ['kændʒɜ], creature ['kri:tɜ], figure, measure, nature, pasture, picture.

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

(4) Other spellings: acorn, acre, all-overst ('worst'; obsolesc.), bastard, buzzard, Hartford (Cocke Co., Tenn.), lizard, Millard (a man's given name), orchard, southern.

(1) Words like *dollar*, *clever*, *liquor* require little comment. *Entered* on a disc is sounded ['entɜd], with loss of retroflexion; but this was the only observed instance of this change. *Fertilizer* appears without its final syllable: ['fɜ:tlɜz].<sup>57</sup> For *camphor*, at least one speaker uses the old form *camphire* ['kæmpfɜɜ].<sup>58</sup> *Horror* as ['hɔ:ɜ], ['hæ:ɜ] is possibly a case of dissimilation; see p. 97.

(2) Words spelled with *-ture* may retain their old unpalatalized forms with [-tɜ]:<sup>59</sup>

*Capture* ['kæptɜ] (rarely heard).

57. This pronunciation is indicated in the Conner MSS, p. 4 f: '... We never heard of Fertilizer's until I was 13 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* 'announcement.'

58. Kephart, Word List, p. 412, writes *campfire*, apparently for *camphor*. This form is probably an instance of folk etymology; cf. the quotation from Bacon (*Sylva*, 1626) in the OED: 'Brimstone, Pitch, Champhire, Wildfire. . . make no such fiery wind, as Gunpowder doth.' For American examples, see the DAE under *camphor*.

59. There is abundant evidence in various writers that forms with unpalatalized *-ture* have been extensively current in the mountains. Examples: *Scriptur*, *nat'ral*,

*Creature* ['kri:tɜ], said to be used especially in rebuking a horse: [ju 'dɜn 'kri:tɜ].

*Manufacture*, usually with [tʃ], but twice with [t].

*Mixture*, in several instances ['mɪkstri], but once ['mɪkstɜ]; the common usage is unknown.

*Nature*, always ['neɪtʃɜ], even in the speech of old-timers, except once in the phrase *ill-natured* ['neɪtɜd] *dogs*.

*Pasture* ['pæstɜ], very common.

*Picture* ['pɪktɜ], not frequent, but it occurs on a disc; also ['pɪtʃɜ].

*Punctured* ['pʌŋktɜd] (once).

*Figure* occurred only as ['fɪgɜ]; (cf. the treatment of medial *u*, p. 67f.).

(3) Words with the suffix *-ward* (except *towards*), in the common speech, almost always lose [w] preceding [ɜ]: *awkward* ['ɔ:kɜd], *backward* ['bækɜd], etc. But *towards* varies [tɔ'wɔ:ɜdz], [tɔwɜdz], [tɔ:ɜdz].

(4) The treatment of the unstressed vowel in words like *acre*, *buzzard*, *effort* does not differ from general American usage, with the exception of *acorn*, which has only [ɜ] (cf. OIE *æcorn*), and possibly *massacre* and *sabre*, which in single occurrences were ['mæsəkri] and ['sɛbrɪ] (spelling pronunciations?).

(5) Analogical *-er* and excrescent [ɜ].

Two words have assumed the suffix *-er*, apparently by analogy with forms of similar type: *linguist* (?) becomes ['lɪŋkɜstɜ] 'interpreter' (heard only once, but recorded by various writers),<sup>60</sup> and *resident* becomes *residenler* 'old timer' (also heard but once, but reported from an adjacent area). The verbal use of *loafer* may also be noted: 'I'm just a-loaferin' around.'

In the speech of children and of some grown-ups, *wasp* frequently occurs as ['wɔ:spɜ], ['wɔspɜ], with inorganic [ɜ].<sup>61</sup> *Buck-ague* 'buck fever' develops [ɜ] from unstressed [ju]: [bæk'ægɜ], and twice [bæk'ekɜz].<sup>62</sup>

Ziegler and Grosscup, pp. 50, 94; *natur*, *critter*, *ridin' critter*, Kephart, p. 503; *nater*, Dargan, pp. 91, 96; *critter*, *piclers* (motion pictures), Heyward, pp. 109, 201; *mixtry* Goodrich, p. 66; *nateral*, *picter*, Mason, p. 207. Combs, p. 1316, lists *nater*, *picter*, *legislater*, and *mixtry*.

Wyld, p. 277 f., gives numerous occasional spellings, dating from *to paster* (St. Editha, c1420) to *creelors*, *lorter*, *piclurs* in the Wentworth Papers (18th cent.).

60. For example, 'linguister or interpreter,' Lanman (1849), p. 97; *lingister*, *linkister*, *linkster*, Kephart, Word List, p. 414. It is possible, however, that *linkster* is derived from *lingo* + *ster* (*-ster* as in *teamster*, etc.), or that *linkster* is a popular etymology either of *lingo*-*ster* or of *linguister*. The interpreter could have been regarded as a *link* between speakers.

61. Cf. *wopper's nest* in the EDD (v. s. *wasp*).

62. Cf. *buck-aguer*, Mason (p. 169); *ager* 'ague,' Dargan (p. 46). These forms were recorded also in southeast Missouri (Crumb, p. 304). One informant reports that [bæk'ægɜz] means 'chills and fever.' Brown writes (p. 301 f.): '... Met a Large Drive of famleys all moving for Kentucky from the South State a grate Part of them was sick with the third day Eagy.'

5. Words spelled with *-o*, *-ow*.

The usage is varied in words spelled with final *-o*, *-ow*. Such words are pronounced with [ɜ], [ə], [ɪ], [o], 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 those types.

(1) Words of the type of *banjo* ['bændʒɜ] and *follow* ['fɒlə]. The sound [ɜ], representing retroflexion of historical [ə], is the prevailing one in most words spelled with *-o*, *-ow*.<sup>63</sup> 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 out-moded linguistic features have been lost. A considerable degree of education or subjection to modernizing influences is required before speakers regularly avoid [ɜ] for general American [o]. Examples:

Banjo, mosquito [(mə)'skɪtɜ], negro ['nɪɡɜ], piano [paɪ'ænɜ], potato, tobacco, tomato; fellow, follow, 'holler' v. (spelled *hollo*, *halloo* in the dictionaries, earlier *hallow* < OF *halloer*), hollow n. (as in *Possum Hollow*, near Proctor, N. C.), meadow, mellow, pillow, shadow, shallow, tallow, wallow (as in *Bear Wallow Ridge*; also as a verb), widow, window, yellow (usual sense; also in ['jælɜ 'pæts]), 'a burned-over area'.

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

Much of the pleasing rusticity of Smokies speech is associated with the sound of [ɜ] in these words. The following sentence is illustrative: [hɪz ðə 'kræbədast ɒvl 'felɜ 'ɛvə ə 'sɪd] 'He's the crabbedest old feller ever I seed.'

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 [ɜ], but usually with [ə], possibly by dissimilation (cf. ['hɒrə] for *horror*). Examples: *arrow*, *furrow*, *harrow*, *narrow*, *sparrow*, *tomorrow*, *wheelbarrow*.

63. Wyld, p. 180, remarks: 'Feller [felu] 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 vulgarism at the time the translation was written.'

There may be other developments. Often the unstressed vowel is lost, as in [fʌ·ɜ] *furrow*, [spɔ:ɜ] *sparrow*, usually with lengthening either of the vowel of the preceding syllable or of [r]. Occasionally the vowel is diminished to a faint off-glide, either [ʔ] or [ʰ], as in [fɜʔ], [nɜʔ]. In at least three words there may be replacement by [ɪ]: *borrow* ['bɒrɪ], *narrow* ['nɒrɪ] (the former is common, but the latter seems to be rare), *tomorrow* [tə'mɒrɪ] (once). The loss of the vowel is exemplified in a question addressed by an Emerts Cove man to his neighbor: 'eɪnt jə 'gæt ðæt 'fiəl 'hæd 'æut 'jɪt] 'Aint you got that field harrowed out yet?'

*Sorrowful* is ['sɔrɪ·fəl] in a recorded ballad. This form is possibly a case of substitution of [ɪ] 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.) ['dɪlz·bərə], *Middlesboro* (Ky.) ['mɪd|z,bərə].

(3) Words of the type of *auto* ['ɔtə]. The vowel [o] is present only when the final syllable receives secondary stress. It may be heard in *auto* (car has practically supplanted this word), *molto* ['mɔ,tə], *photo* ['fotə]; also in a group of place-names: *Colorado* [kələ'redɔ] (once with [ə]), *Jellico* (Campbell Co., Tenn.), *Ollo* (a settlement in western North Carolina) ['ɔtə], *Soco Gap*, *Tellico Plains*.

Exceptions to treatments previously described are the two place-name forms *Tapoco* (Graham Co., N. C.) [tə'pɔkə], *Alamogordo* (N. M.) [əlmə'gɔrdɪ] (once).

## 6. [j] and [ɲ].

These sounds occur after the dental stops [d] and [t]. [j] is heard in such words as the following: *addle*, *cradle*, *fiddle*, *heddle*, *hospital*, *kettle*, *liddle*, *pistol*, *shuttle*, *straddle*, *treadle*.

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 *muzzle*: ['kænj], ['dɔg,fɛnj], ['pɑs], etc.

It is absent, however, in the frequent Smokies pronunciation of the phrase *little one* ['lɪtlən], as in, 'Reach me the little one,' ['retʃ mi ðə 'lɪtlən].

The line between [j] 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*, *cuckold* v. ['kəkəl], *devil*, *dog-hobble*, *gravel*, *honeysuckles* (flame azalea), *navel* ['neɪbəl], *raffle* ['rɛɪfəl], *Rebel* ['rebəl], *shovel*, *sprangled* ('spread out,' of a tree), *strangle*, *travel*. There is an interesting contrast between the normal and dialectal pronunciations of *turtle*, both of which are heard in the Smokies: ['tɜtl], but ['tɜkəl].

In a recorded utterance, [ə] is lost before *l* in the phrase *couple of months* ['kʌplə 'mʌnts].

[ɪ] is heard in the following words and others like them:

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

But *captain* is ['kæptən], and *mountain* is occasionally ['mævntən] and ['mævntn], as well as ['mævntɪ].

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

### 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], [ʃ], [tʃ], [dʒ].

The vowel of this termination varies between [ə], [ɪ], [ɪ], with a preference for [ə] and [ɪ]; a distinct [ɪ] does not seem to be very common. However, *horses* and *houses* occur on the discs with an [ɪ] more or less clearly audible. Typical forms are *benches* ['bæntʃəz], *bridges* ['brɪdʒɪz], *catches* ['kætʃəz], *closes* ['klouzəz], *Mingus's Creek* ['mɛŋəsəz 'kri:k], *molasses* [mə-'læsəz], ['læsəz], *Sparks' place* ['spærksəz 'pleɪs].

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

*Nests* ['nestəs], ['nestəz], ['nestɪs], ['nestɪz] (beside [nes:]).

*Posts* (like *nests*); a Cosby boy said: [ə 'wændə 'wət ðe 'eɪmz tə 'du wɪðɪz 'paɪn 'poustəs] 'I wonder what they aims to do with these pine posts.'

*Joists* ['dʒɔɪstəs] (once, on a disc; also [dʒɔɪs:]).

*Fists* ['fɪstɪz] (once, small boy on Cosby Creek); *fistes* (ours) ['faɪstɪz].

*Locusts* (insects) ['ləkəsəz] (in the few observed instances).<sup>64</sup>

*Wasps* ['wæspəs] (also ['wɔspɛz]; but now usually [wɔs:]).

*In Christ's time* [ɪn 'kraɪstɪs 'taɪm] (once).

*Belluses*, *galluses* ['beləsəz], ['gæləsəz].<sup>65</sup>

*Yours* ['jʊrənzəz] (plural; once).

The following verbal forms were pronounced with [ə] in the final syllable: *costs* ['kɒstəs], *tastes* ['teɪstəs], *interests* ['ɪntəstəs]. The first two were used by some small Cosby children; the last by a CCC enrollee.

64. Cf. *Papases* 'Papists' (1655), Wyld, *Short. Hist.*, p. 216.

65. Cf. *Medderses*, apparently *Meadows*, in an expression recorded by Kopher: vol. 3470, p. 738: 'Run, Kit, back to Medderses, an' ax what air they.'

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

Carded ['kɔrdəd], decided [dɪ'sa'dəd], drowned ['draʊndəd], excited [ək'saɪtəd], haunted ['hæntəd], moulded ['mouldəd], squatted ['skwɒtəd], started ['stɑrtəd], forked stick ['fɔrkəd 'stɪk], plagued panther ['plæɡəd 'pæntə].

But [ɪ] occurs on the discs in the following forms (single instances): drifted ['drɪftɪd], rooted up ['ru:tɪd ʌp], undaunted [ʌn'dɑntɪd], waded ['weɪdɪd].

(3) *-ing*. This ending varies [ən], [ɪn], [ɪn], [ɪ], depending in most cases on the preceding sound; [ɪŋ] 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 [ən], as in *doing* ['duən], *frying* ['fraən], *seeing* ['siən], *snowing* ['snəʊən]. But on the discs of *Arthur the Rat*, *going* varies ['gəʊən], ['gəʊɪn], ['gənə], ['gəʊnə]; a very aged man of Bradley Fork pronounces this form [gəʊɪn].<sup>66</sup>

(b) After all consonants, except the dentals and *l*, [ə] is generally used; for example: *popping* ['pɒpən], *yelping* ['jɛlpən], *a-barking* [ə'bəʊkən], *cooking* ['kʊkən], *walking* ['wɔkən], *logging* ['lɒɡən], *coughing* ['kɒfən], *fishing* ['fɪʃən], *hearing* ['hɪʒən], *a-hollering* [ə'hɒləʊən]. There is, however, a tendency to use [ɪ] or [ɪ] after [k], [v], [ʃ], [n]: *looking* ['lʊkɪn], *making* ['meɪkɪn], *a-deer-driving* [ə'dɪə 'draɪvɪn], *fishing* ['fɪʃɪn], *raining* ['reɪnɪn], *running* ['rʌnɪn]. After *r*, the vowel may be elided, as in *doctoring* ['dɒktən], *Roaring Fork* [rɔrɪn fɔrk].

(c) After *l*, [ɪ] or [ɪ] is more frequent than [ə], as in *cracklings* ['krækɪlɪnz], *dwelling* ['dwɛlɪn], *middling* ['mɪdlɪn] (of bacon), *singlings* ['sɪŋlɪnz], *stilling* (distilling) ['stɪlɪn], *trailing* ['treɪlɪn], *trifling* ('no-account') ['traɪflɪn]. The *l* in such cases is always clear. But [ə] seems to be usual in *falling* ['fɒlən] and *telling* ['telən]; preceding [ə], the *l* lacks the clear quality which it has before [ɪ].

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

Bleeding ['blɪdɪŋ], feeding ['fɪdɪŋ], spreading adder ['spredɪŋ 'ædər] (reported),<sup>67</sup> cutting ['kʌtɪŋ] (as in, ['kʌtɪŋ ə 'bɪɡ 'fɪɡər]), eating ['i:tɪŋ], getting ['getɪŋ], Fighting Creek ['faɪtɪŋ kri:k], hunting, salting, shooting, dancing ['dænsɪŋ], frosting ['frɒstɪŋ], roasting ears (corn) ['rəʊsɪŋ 'jɪəz], using ['ju:zɪŋ].

66. Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 738, also finds this form: 'Stranger—mennin' no harm—where are you gwinc?'

67. Apparently not ['spred 'nædər] in the Smokies.

## (e) Miscellaneous.

*Nothing* is usually ['nʌθən], and *something* varies ['sʌmpɪŋ], ['sʌmθən], ['sʌmpən], ['sʌmpɪŋ] (once). Sometimes in singing the [ɹ] of *-ing* is pinched to [i] and the [ŋ] restored; e.g., ['dɑ:liŋ] *darling*.

## (f) The comparative and the superlative.

The sounds are [ɜ] (with the usual retroflexion), [əs(t)]: *bitterer* ['bɪtəɹ], *pleasanter* ['plɛzəntə], *richest* ['rɪtʃəst], *closest* ['kləʊstəs], *sorriest* ['sɒriəst].

## 3

## THE CONSONANTS

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 *b* 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, dissimilation, 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.

## I

1. *Initial loss.*

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

Loss of [ð] has been observed in *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *there*, *than*, *then*, *though*. The omission is frequent in such phrases as *like this*, *like that*, *back there*, *over there*, *up there*: [lɑ'k'ɪs], [lɑ'k'æt], [bæk'æθ], ['ovə θə]. *This evening* is sometimes reduced to ['sɪvnən]: [gənə kʌm ə 'reɪn 'sɪ-vnən], ('There's) going to come a rain this evening.' Children have been observed to drop the [ð] even in a stressed form, as in the sentence: ['æz ə 'bɪg ɒv]

'spa:də] 'There's a big old spider! *Than* often suffers initial loss after a comparative: [hi 'mærid mə 'sɪstə 'ouldən mi] 'He married my sister older than me'; [hi 'kɪld ɪm 'dɛdən 'foə ə'klak] 'He killed him (a bear) deader than four o'clock.'

The pronoun *it* [ɪt] (OE *hit*) preserves its initial historical [h], except when unstressed; e.g., [a- 'dʊnt rɪ'membə 'bæut 'hɪtɪ] 'I don't remember about it.' Even unstressed *hit* often occurs without initial loss, as in the sentence: [n 'daʊn 'nəʊ hæʊ 'ləŋ hɪts 'bɪn] 'I don't know how long it's been.' But unstressed *hit*, like *he*, *him*, *her*, etc., usually occurs without [h]: [a- 'ɡes ɪts bɪn 'ten 'fɪftɪn 'jɪə ə'ɡəʊ] 'I guess it's been ten or fifteen years ago.'

*Here* [hɪə], [hɪɜ] may lose its [h] in the phrase 'Come here!' ['kʌm 'jɪə].

*At home* often occurs (twice on the speech-records) as [ə'toʊm]: [ðæt 'kʌnz (raccoon's) nət ə'toʊm]; [dʒɪs ,lə'k 'wi wəz ə'toʊm] '... Just like we was at home.' *To the house* receives curious treatment in the sentence: [a' kʌm 'taʊs ŋ ɡʌt ðəʊl 'mæn tə 'hep mi] 'I came to the house and got the old man to help me.' The pronunciations [ə'toʊm] and [taʊs] are probably old colloquial relics. Initial [h] was elided in an instance of the phrase *around the hill* [ə'ræʊnt 'hɪl].

*Heir*, *herb*, *honest*, *hour*, *humble*, *humor* occur without [h]: [æɜ], [ɜb] ([jɜb]), [æʔ], [ˈlʌmbəl], [ˈjumə]. *Hospital* and *human* are [ˈhɒspɪtəl] and [ˈhjumən]. A respected county-court judge pronounced *honor* [ˈhənə].

[w] often disappears in *was*, *will*, *would* when preceded by a personal pronoun; for example, *I was*, *he will*, *they will*, *you would*, etc.: [a'z], [hi'ɪ], [ðe'ɪ], [ju(ə)d], etc.; 'I'll go tomorrow'; 'I think hit'll fair up' [aɪ θɪŋk hɪt] 'fæɜ 'ʌp]; 'Hit was awful bad' ['hɪt əz 'ɔfəl 'bæd]; 'We would have us a big (fine) time' ['wi əd 'hæv əs ə 'bɪɡ 'taɪm]. *Want* lost its initial consonant as pronounced by an illiterate adolescent of Cosby Creek: [ɪf 'jɑnts ,tu] 'If you want to.' After making a faulty start with *Arthur the Rat* on a speech-record, a Bushnell lad asked: ['jʌm' ,mi tə bə'ɡɪn 'ovə ə'ɡɪn].

The pronoun *one* always occurs without [w] in the dialectal *you-ones* ['juənz] (= general Southern *you-all*), unstressed [jʊnz] [jənz]; e.g., ['juənz 'set ɪn 'frʌnt] '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?' ['hwɪtʃ' n]; 'That one' ['ðætɪn]; 'the next one' [ðə 'nekstɪn]; 'That's a main (great) big one!' ['ðæts ə 'men 'bɪɡən]; 'I never saw another one' [aɪ ɛnɪt 'sɪd 'næri ə'nʌðən].

Loss of other consonants is less frequent. [d] is sometimes dropped in *don't*: [a' dʊnɪ 'nəʊ] 'I don't know'; [dʒ] in *just*: [aɪ 'ʌs 'dʊʊn 'nəʊ]. An old

1. Wyld, p. 295, cites Mrs. Honour's spelling at *ome* (at home) in *Tom Jones* and says: 'This phrase is still pronounced [ətoʊm] by excellent speakers, and *atəm* is found as early as Layamon, c1200.'

woman of Copeland Creek amused her younger friends by pronouncing *right now* [ˈaɪt 'nəʊ]. *Yeast* loses its [j] ([jɪt]), by assimilation to the following vowel; compare ME *ȝif* 'if', *ȝicchen* 'itch', and contrast *ear* [jɪə], (beside [ɪə]), in which an inorganic glide develops before the high vowel.

## 2. Medial loss.

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

[p] was absent in one instance of *Baptist* ['bædɪs]; the usual forms are ['bæbdɪs] and ['bæbtɪs].

[b] is sometimes dropped in *bumble-bee*, *tremble*, and *tumble*, and likely too in *Cumberland Gap*, which is ['kʌmərɪən 'ɡæp] on a disc. *Probably* is ['prəbəli], ['prəbli]. The local family names *Campbell* and *McCampbell* are always ['kæməl] and [mækæməl].

[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, frosting ['frɒʃn], joists, roasting ears ('corn') ['rəʊʃn 'jɪəz]; county, gentleman, lantern, mantle, mountain ['mæʊnɪn], plenty, twenty.

*Practically* is ['præklɪ] in a recorded story of a bear-hunt. *Joists*, in the discs of *Arthur the Rat*, is usually [dʒɔɪs:] or [dʒaɪs:]; and once it is ['dʒɔɪsəs]. Similarly, the plural of *fiste* n., 'a cur,' is [faɪs:] or ['faɪsəs]. For *locusts*, ['ləkəsɪz] seems to be the only form of common use. But [t] is retained in the old inflectional forms *nests* ['nɛstɪs], ['nɛstəz], *posts* ['pəʊstɪs], etc., which may still be heard in the Smokies alongside [nɛs:], [pəʊs:], etc. Occasionally, [t] is lost in verbal forms ending in *-ted*; the two following examples appear on the speech-records: [wɪd 'stæd əʊt ə'hʌntɪ] 'We'd started out a-hunting'; 'That's undoubtedly [ʌn'dæʊdli] a bear.' (*Undoubtedly* is also [ʌn'dæʊtli].) *Let's* is, of course, often [les]. *Often* does not lose its *t*: ['ɔftən].

[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 ['græn,pə:], hound-dog, hundred ['hʌnd] (but usually ['hʌndəd]), sand-pile.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, after [n] before a vowel, [d] is sometimes omitted in *yonder* ['jənə], *mandolin* ['mænəlɪn].

After [l], syncope of [d] is usual in *colds*, *fields*, *Shields*, and occasional in *children* ['tʃɪldrən], *Waldens* (Creek) ['wɒlənz]. *Childish* is clearly ['tʃɪldrɪʃ] on one of the ballad-records. *Caldwell* is apparently always [kə'wel], [kə'wɛl], or ['kɑ:wɛl] (the latter two are not very common).<sup>3</sup>

2. Cf. the spellings in the Conner MSS: *bran-new* (p. 38), *han-shake* (p. 91).

3. Brown, *Journal* (p. 307), writes *coan feels* 'corn fields.' For *Caldwell*, cf. the spellings in the *North Carolina Park Commission Abstracts: Caldwell* (1889), *Colwell* (1901), vol. 7, pp. 702, 761.



There is frequent omission of [d] before [n] in *couldn't* and *didn't*: [kʌnt], [dɪnt].

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

The fricatives subject to medial loss are [f], [θ], [ð], and [z]. A pronunciation characteristic of old-timers is ['ætr] for *after*; so also ['ætrwɔ:dz] *afterwards*.<sup>4</sup> [θ] is dropped in *months* and [ð] in *clothes* [klouz] and *moths* [mɔ:z]. *Hasn't* and *wasn't* were sounded [hænt] and [wɔ:nt] by one old man of Cades Cove, the former in the curiously inverted phrase ['hænt 'nɒbədɪ 'sɪd ɪt] 'Nobody has seen it.'

The lateral [l] is not sounded by many (perhaps most) speakers before labials, as in *help*, *help(ed)*, *bulb*, *self*, *Ralph*, *balm*, *calm*, *film*: [hɛp], [hɒp(t)], [bʌb], [bæm] and [bɒm], etc. It seems to be dropped by everyone in *Caldwell* (see above); and *Palmer* is sometimes ['pʌmə], but usually ['pʌsmə]. [l] is unrestored in *calf*, *calves*, *salve*, *talk*, *walk*, *folk*, *should*, *would*.<sup>5</sup> *Solder* varies ['sɒdɔ], ['sɔ:dɔ], ['sɒldɔ].

[w] is generally absent in a number of words with the suffix *-ward*: *awkward*, *backward*, *Edwards*, *inwards* n. (always ['ɪnɔ:dz]), *outward*, *upward*, ['ɒkɔ:d]; ['bækɔ:dz ɪ 'fɔ:rɔ:dz], etc. It is retained, however, in *afterwards*, and usually in *towards* (['ætrwɔ:dz], [tɔ:wɔ:dz], less often [tɔ:dz]). For *equal* and *equally*, the forms ['i:kəl] and ['i:kəli] are current, and there were single instances of *frequent* and *quadruple* without [w]: ['frikənt], ['kɔ:drʌpəl]. *Always* ['ɔ:lɔs] loses this glide as pronounced by some old-fashioned speakers; others say ['ɔ:lwɔz], etc. But in *sword*, [w] has been either retained or restored from the spelling: [swɔ:d].<sup>6</sup>

[hw] is frequently lost in the unemphatic form of *somewhere*, ['sʌməz], as in the sentence: [hɪz sə 'ɔ:ld ɪ 'fɪbəl ə 'reken ə 'bɑ:dɪ əl 'fɑ:nd ɪm 'ded

4. Kephart, vol. 3470, p. 855, writes *gran'ther Pilkey* for 'Grandfather Pilkey' (Pilkington).

5. Wyld, p. 297, gives evidence of the loss of *l* before lip and back consonants beginning in the 15th century, and states that the orthoepist Dr. Jones (1701) finds loss of *l*, among other words, in *help*, *helpen*.

6. Kephart, p. 509, writes *al'ays* (always). Combs, p. 1317, has *ekal* 'equal' and *ekality* 'equality.' Miss Murfree, p. 35, writes *ekal*.

Wyld, p. 296, finds the loss of *w* initially before rounded vowels (as in *oman* for 'woman'), after a consonant before rounded vowels (as in *sord* for 'sword'), after [k] in the combination *qu-* (as in *coting* for 'quoting'), before an unstressed vowel (as in *uppard* for 'upward'). He says that the omission of *w* before an unstressed vowel is very old, citing *uppard* in the *Trinity Homilies* (c1200) and *hamnard* 'homeward' in *St. Editha* (1420). Except in such place-names as *Harwich*, *Greenwich*, he continues, *-w-* has usually been restored from the spelling—e. g., *Edward*, *forward*.

'sʌməz] '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 glide [j] may be unsounded in unstressed position, as in *curious* ['kjʊərəs], *Daniel* ['dæniəl], *Trillium* ['trɪliəm], *lobelia* [lə'bɪli], *occupation* [ˌɒkə'peɪʃən]. (See pp. 65-68.) It is apparently preserved by all speakers, however, in such words as *bitious* ['bɪljəs], *civilian*, *familiar*, *William*, *Guilliams* (family name), and it is reported to be retained in *idiot* ['ɪdɪət] (not ['ɪdʒət]).<sup>7</sup> Two other forms showing loss of [j], each heard but once, are [ə'kuz] *accuse* and ['ku,kʌmbɜ] *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], [θ], [ð], and after [θ], [f].<sup>8</sup> The pronunciations [hɔs] *horse*, ['mɛsɪ] *mercy* (only in the expressions ['lɔ:d ə 'mɛsɪ], ['lɔ:z ə 'mɛsɪ], now generally replaced by ['lɔ:d hæv 'mɛsɪ]), [fɔst] *first*, [wɔst] *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]: ['pæsəl] (in the specialized senses, *a parcel of young 'uns*, *a parcel of land*, etc.), ['pætrɪdʒ], ['pɑtrɪdʒ], 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 ['ɑθɜ] for *Arthur*, instead of the older ['ɑ:tɜ], and ['fɑðɜ], ['fɑðɜ] for *farther* and *further*, instead of the older ['fɜ:dɜ]. It is not easy to reconcile the restoration of *r* in one group of words with its suppression in another, but it is nevertheless apparent that such old colloquial forms as

7. Kephart and Combs, however, find ['ɪdʒət]. See note 31, p. 96.

8. Kephart, p. 509, in a list of 'elisions,' gives *dast*, *fust*, *gal*, *hoss*, *nuss*, *passel*, *scace* (*scayse*), *th'oa*, *th'ough*, *th'ow*.

Combs lists *chillun*, *gal*, *nuss*, *passel*, *pusson* (p. 1303), all of which he ascribes to negro influence; he mentions also *pasnip* (p. 1315), *fust*, *wuss* (*worst*), (p. 1316). He says, p. 1318, that *r*, save in negro and lowland influence, is never dropped. (In *pasnip*, *r* is not original; cf. ME *pasnepe*, OF *pasnoie*.)

Miss Murfree writes *passel* (p. 25), *wuth* (p. 33), *fo'th* (p. 48), *Laws a-massy* (p. 52), *pa'son* (*parson*) (p. 104), *hoss* (p. 204), *backin' an' fo'thin'* (p. 205), *chillen* (p. 134), *yestiddy* (p. 92). (It is necessary to say, however, that *parson* is not employed in the Smokies, *preacher* being the universal term. A *parson* is said to be a 'nigger preacher'.)

[həs], [fəst], etc. are giving way to the standard [həʊs], [fɜːst].<sup>9</sup> As for ['aθr], ['fæðr], and ['fæðr], there are at least two possible explanations. These may be old forms which existed beside ['aɪtə], ['fædər], 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.<sup>10</sup>

Other omissions of *r* were observed in *corner* ['kɔːnə] (twice), *north* [nɔθ], [nɔθ] (twice), *fourteen* ['fo:tin] (once), *Portland* ['pɔːtlənd] (once), *cornfield* ['kɔːnfi:ld] (once), and in the reported ['fɔːməst] for *foremost*.

In unstressed syllables, *r* may be lost in *Carolina* [kə'ləɪnə], *entertain* [ɪn'teɪn], *formerly* ['fɔːmɔːli], *particular* [pə'tɪkɪlə], *persimmon* [pə'sɪmən], *yesterday* ['jɪstɪdɪ].

Postconsonantly, *r* is commonly elided in *throat* [θɒt], *through* [θu], and *throw* [θo]. Omission is probably frequent in *from*, but there is only one clear example on the discs. On a speech record, *through* is once [θ'u], in which the front glide is perhaps the remnant of an old [r].

### 3. Final loss.

The consonants most subject to final loss are [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., ['spɛk 'sɒv 'I expect so']), tract; drift, skift (as in *a little skift of snow* 'a light snowfall'); Baptist, betwixt [bɔ'twɪks], first, fiste ('a cur'), just, Methodist, next, worst; couldn't, didn't, don't. [æk], [drɪf], [faɪs], ['kʊdɪ], etc.<sup>11</sup>

The loss of [t] is usual in *Baptist*, *Methodist*, but occasional in the other words. Old timers say ['dɪstrɪk] for *district* and younger people generally say ['dɪstrɪkt]. Final [t] is omitted sometimes also in *crept* ([aɪ 'krep 'ɒp ɔn ɪm]), *dreamt* [drempt], *leaped* [lep], *reached* [retʃ] (as in, ['aɪ əs (jʌst) 'retʃ ɪ 'gæt ɪm]). In the final combination *-sts*, [ts] is often dropped and the preceding [s] prolonged; for example, *joists* [dʒɔɪs:], *nests* [nes:]. (See p. 87.) So also, *-sps* was reduced to [s] in the reported pronunciation [wɒs nes] for

9. Although these forms are becoming generally obsolete and are avoided by younger, educated speakers, they may of course linger on for some time in the speech of isolated and less privileged families.

10. Still another possibility deserves mention: ['aθr], ['fæðr], ['fæðr] may represent dissimilation of the two *r*'s. See George Hempl, 'Loss of *R* in English through Dissimilation,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 1, pp. 279-281 (1893), who explains *fa(r)ther*, *fo(r)mer*, *co(r)ner*, etc. in this way.

11. Cf. 'a track [i.e., tract] of land,' Buncombe Co. Reg., vol. 1, p. 6 (1792). According to the *EDD* and the *OED*, *skift* and *skiff* ('a slight gust of wind or shower of rain, etc.') are Scottish expressions. In view of the ON *skipta* 'to divide, change' and OE *sciftan*, an original form with *t* is no doubt to be assumed.

*wasps' nest*. For *against*, many speakers use the archaic [ə'ɡɪn], as both a preposition and a conjunction.<sup>12</sup>

[d] is frequently unsounded after [n] or [l], as in: around, beyond, brand (as in *brand-fired new* ['bræn 'fæ 'nju]), hound, land, send, stand, thousand; build, Burchfield, cuckold,<sup>13</sup> field, old, scaffold, sold, told, wild, world.

Often, however, a light [d] remains; e. g., mind [ma'nɪd], *told* [tɒld]; final consonants tend to be preserved as sandhi links before vowels.<sup>14</sup>

[ð] is absent from the phrase *with me* [wɪ mi] in a recorded utterance.

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

[m] is dropped from *rheumatism* ['rumə,tɪz] by old-fashioned speakers.

[n] is lost in unstressed *on* in such archaisms as *on purpose* [ɔ'pɜːpəs], *on Sunday* [ɔ'sʌndɪ], *on Christmas*. The proclitic 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 'wʌnts tə ɡoʊ ə'hʌntɪ ə'krɪsməs] 'He wants to go a-hunting on Christmas.' The article *an* is often replaced by *a* in Smokies speech, as in the sentences: 'I have a aunt . . .', 'She done her bakin' in a oven (i.e., a Dutch oven).'

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

### 4. Addition of sounds.

There are numerous instances of excrescent consonants in Smokies speech. Many of them are natural developments, with more or less wide currency in English speech, as in the case of [drempt] for *dreamt*, [hɪjɪr] for *here*, [dʒænju,weɪrɪ] for *January*; others are probably hypercorrections—for example, ['vɪljən] for *villain*, [bɜːs] 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 excrescent labial glide are [drempt] for *dreamt*, [sʌmpɪp] for *something*, and ['jʌmpɪ] 'Do you want me . . . ?' *Camphor* as ['kæmp,faɪr] is probably a popular etymology. The

12. The *-st* is not original, of course, in this word. Cf. OE *ongegn*, *onzean*, etc. Of *again*, the *OED* says: 'As early as 1130 there arose in the south a variant with advb. genitive *agenes*, *againes*, corrupted bef. 1400 to *agenst*, *against*. . .', through the influence of such words as *amidst*, *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]: *beyon* (p. 25), *bran-new settlement* (p. 38), *Gragory'es ball* 'Gregory Bald' (p. 17), *Gregory ball* (p. 32), *han-shake* (p. 94).

15. For the development of [p] in *dreamt*, etc., see Kenyon, p. 118.

forms ['tʃɪmbli] and ['fæmbli] no doubt exist in the Great Smokies, but they were not heard; ['tʃɪmli] and ['fæmli] are the forms of common use.

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

Cliff, trough; close, dose, fence, once, twice; orphan, vermin ['vɔ:mənt].

From [klɪft] an adjective ['klɪftɪ] is formed: ['hɪt əz ə 'klɪftɪ 'pleɪs] 'It was a clifty place!' *Close* may retain its acquired *t* in the comparative and superlative: ['kloustə], ['kloustəs]. *Loss* is [lɔst] on one of the ballad-records. Medially, [t] often develops in *answer* ['æntɜ], *dance* [dænts], etc.<sup>16</sup>

[d] is added by most elderly speakers to *akin* and *born*: [ə'kɪnd], [bɔ:nd].<sup>17</sup> *Dog-gone* adj. is usually ['dæg,gɔnd], though ['dæg,gɔn] also occurs. For *stolen shoes* ['stouldən 'ʃu:z] appears in a recorded song.

There are a few cases of metanalysis involving *t* and *d*: *at all* [ə'tɔl], *at home* [ə'toum], *it aint* [ɪ'teɪnt] (e. g., ['nɔv ɪ'teɪnt 'bɪn ðæt 'hɔŋ]), *I'd rather* [ɪ 'draðə], *ground ivy* ['grəʊn 'daɪvɪ], *yesterday evening* ['jɪstə'dɪvɪnɪŋ].<sup>18</sup> The form ['tʌðə] for *other* is used frequently in such phrases as *one or the other* ['wʌn ə (ðə) 'tʌðə], *the other way* [ðə 'tʌðə 'weɪ], *the far mountains at the other side of the cove* [ðə 'fɜ 'məʊntənz 'tʌðə 'saɪd ə ðə 'kəʊv].<sup>19</sup>

[k] is sometimes intrusive in *escape* [ek'skeɪp], perhaps by anticipation of the following [k], but more probably by analogy with words of the type of *exchange*.

(2) Fricatives. [s] is attached initially to *crouch* (?) and *crowd* v.: 'She was all [skrutʃt] up behind a tree'; 'Quit ['skrɔ:vdʒən] me!' *Plunge* was [splændʒ] as spoken by an old woman of Tight Run Branch, near Ravensford. Having witnessed, as a girl, a movement of Yankee cavalry up the Oconaluftee River, she said, 'They hit that river [ə'splændʒən]!'<sup>20</sup> To one old fellow of the White Oak (Haywood Co., N. C.), a *case knife* is known as a [skets nɑf].

[z] may be added inflectionally to such forms as *oxen* ['aksnz], *foremen* ['fɔ:mənz], *salmons* ['sæmənz], *Sevierville* [sə'vɪəzval] (the latter is rare). Most Smokies speakers prefer to pronounce [z] in the adverbs compounded

16. For excrescent *t*, cf. Conner's spelling *gutter trough* (p. 4).

Miss Murfree writes *suddint*, p. 53; Kephart, *speciment*, vol. 3476, p. 53; Mason, *sarminz* 'sermons,' p. 191.

17. Conner, p. 102, writes: 'He was] a natural-bornd woodsman.'

18. Combs, p. 1319, notes the existence of a separate word *druthers* n.: 'I'd do it if I had my druthers (rathers, my own way).' So also Mrs. Dargan, p. 61: '. . . I'd let her do her own 'druthers the rest of her days.'

19. The forms *ðɛ ɪðere*, *ðɛ ɪðer*, etc., 'the other,' occur in Middle English; there are examples in the *Genesis and Exodus*, *Havelok*, and Richard Rolle. See O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader* (London, 1932), the Glossary, under *ðer*, p. 415.

20. *Scrooch* and *splunge* occur in the British dialects; see the *EDG*, p. 67. Stanley, p. 62, finds [skrɪndʒ] and [skrɔ:vdʒ] in East Texas. For *splunge*, cf. *splash* and other words with imitative *s*-.

with *-ward*, *-where*: backward ['bækwɔ:dʒ], forward ['fɔ:wɔ:dʒ], outward, upward, toward; nowhere, somewhere ['sʌmɜ:z].

Perhaps by the influence of these words, the intensive *no-way* often appears as [nɔv weɪz]: 'We didn't have no use fer it nowadays.'<sup>21</sup>

Inorganic [h] often occurs in *ain't* 'am not,' 'is not,' 'are not,' apparently by analogy with [heɪnt] 'has not,' 'have not.' For example, [ðe 'heɪnt bət ə 'fju 'left] 'There are only a few left.'<sup>22</sup>

(3) Nasals. [n] excrescent appeared in single occurrences of *whether* as ['hwɛðən] ('He knowed ['hwɛðən] he saw it') and *it* as ['hɪtɪ] ('She wanted ['hɪtɪ]').<sup>23</sup> The former example is perhaps from *whether or not* [hwɛðə: nɔt], and the latter is no doubt an analogical formation on the pattern of *this one*, *that one* ['ðɪsɪn], ['ðætɪn]. Other examples of inorganic [n] are *united* [nu'nɪtəd] (once), *dug* ['dʌgən] (the latter in a ballad: 'a new duggen grave'), *rotting* ['rɔtɪnɪŋ]. *If* occurs sometimes as [ɪfɪ]; for example, [kʌm 'ɪntə ðə 'fɔə ɪfɪ jʌnz 'wʌnts ,tu] 'Come into the fire if you-ones wants to.' This form apparently goes back to the early modern double conditional *an if*, *if an*.<sup>24</sup> *Off* ['ɔfɪ] and *out* ['aʊtɪ] seem to be derived from *off of* and *out of*. (See section 5, p. 97.) No form with excrescent [n] seems now to be very common, though in the current of rapid speech they are likely to elude the observer.<sup>25</sup>

(4) The lateral. [l] is intrusive in the reported [pləɪm blæŋk] *point-blank* (usually [pləɪm blæŋk]), possibly through the influence of the much-used intensive *plumb*.

(5) The glides. [w] develops as a glide in the still very common pronunciation of *coil* as [kwəl], in the rare [kwəɪn] for *coin* (reported twice) and [gwəɪn] for *going* (heard twice from a 96 year old speaker). *Coil* was heard also as [kwɔɪl], which seems to be a compromise between the dialectal and the standard forms. Occasionally [w] develops in such words as *shower*, *sour*, *Powell*, *towel*, where [æw] > [æw] before [ɔ] or [ɔl]: ['ʃæwə], ['sæwə], ['pawəl], ['tæwəl]. In *genuine* and *January* [ju] > [(j)əw]: ['dʒɪnjə,wəɪn],

21. In a ballad [z] was suffixed to the adjective *yonder*: [ɔn 'jəndəz 'pleɪn] 'on yonder plain.'

22. See chap. 1, p. 24.

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*, *an'* was weakened from *and*, occurring in such expressions as *an't please you* and in the intensified *and if*, *an 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. Combs says (p. 1317) that *n* 'is sometimes excrescent, as in: *nunited*, *nuniteder*, *nunitedest*, *lessn* (unless, unless than?), *thoutn* (without).'

Miss Murfree writes 'spang off'n the bluff,' 'haffon way' (half way) (*The Young Mountaineers*, pp. 74, 76); 'bout'n', 'Thar ain't n durned fool on the Big Smoky ez dunno that thar sayin' bout'n the beastises. . . .' (*Prophet*, pp. 48, 74).

['dʒɪnə,wɛrɪ] (beside the more usual ['dʒænʃu,ɛrɪ]). The presence of [w] in [sword] *sword* is explained by the spelling, if a survival of [w] in the dialects may not be assumed. But *swinge* for *singe* must have resulted from an early contamination with *swinge* (OE *swengan*) 'to beat, chastise,' or words with imitative *sw-* (cf. *swarm*, *swal*, *swath*, *sweep*, *swell*, *swift*, *swill*, *swig*, *swipe*, *swirl*, *swish*, etc.).<sup>26</sup>

Besides the settings wherein [j] 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 [j] has developed. These deserve some comment. As generally in the South and some other sections of the country, [j] regularly appears before [u] when preceded by [t], [d], and [n]; for example, in *dew*, *due*, *during*, *Du Free*, *tube*, *tune*, *new*, *Newport*: [dju], ['dʒurən], etc. Sometimes the glide is more vocalic, as in *due*, *new*, *school*, *student*: [d'u] ([dru:] when drawled), [n'u], [sk'u], ['st'udənt]. *Dew* and *due* are homonyms in Smokies speech. Sometimes, too, a lax, rounded back glide is heard, as in [huu] *who*, but never after the consonants above mentioned. *Revenue* appears both with and without [j].

In the speech of older people, this glide [j] is very common after [k] or [g] before [æ]; for example, in *car*, *card*, *carpenter*, *carrion*, *cart*, *Carter*, *carve*, *garden*, *guarantee*, *guard*, *McCarter*, *scarred*: [kjaɐ], [kjaɐn], [kjaɐv], [gjaɐdn], etc.<sup>27</sup> Some CCC enrollees have been observed to say [kjaɐd] for *card*. *Carrion* as [kjaɐn] now seems to be obsolescent except in the phrase [hɪt 'stɪŋks 'wɜsn̩ 'kjaɐn]. The prevailing pronunciation is said to be ['kærən].

Before a front vowel (or an original front vowel) [j] has developed as a palatal glide (1) initially in *car* [jɪə], [jɛə] [jɛə] (beside [ɪə], [ɛə]), *herb* [jɛb], [jɛəb], and in the reported forms of *earth* [jɛθ], [jɛθ], [jɛθ]; (2) after [k], [f], [h], [n] in *kill* [kjɪl], *fern* [fjɛən] (beside [fɪən]), *hear* [hjɪə], [hjɛə], [hjɛə], *here*, *near*, *nearly*. Compare the reported [p'ɛtʃ] (beside [pɛtʃ]).<sup>28</sup>

It develops also by the breaking of a vowel in the drawled end-phrase or end-sentence position; for example, *Bell* [bejəl], *Yale* (lock) ['jɛr,jəl], *pen* [pɪ-jən]; 'We'll freeze to death' ['wiəl 'friz tə 'deɪθ]; 'that old mule' ['ðæt ,oʊl mɪ'juəl].

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

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

26. The first known occurrence of *swinge* 'singe' is in Spenser: 'The scorching flame sore swinged all his face.' (*F. Q.* 1, xi, 26).

27. Kephart, p. 510, lists *blackgyard*, *cyard*, *cyarn* 'carrion,' *cyarpet*, *discyard*, *gyarb*, *gyarden*, *scyar*. Combs, p. 1317, mentions similar forms. Cf. Miss Murfree's *kyerds* 'cards' (p. 51).

28. Kephart, p. 510, lists *year* 'ear,' *yerb*, *yarb*, *yearth*, *yern* 'earn,' *yerrand*, *pyerch*. Combs, p. 1317, gives similar forms.

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

The following words may occur with postvocalic [ə] in the stressed syllable:

*Bus* [bʌs] (rare), *fuss* [fʌs], *gush*; Palmer ['pʊəmə], *hospital* ['hɔspɪtl] (reported), *hospitality* [hɔspɪ'tælɪtɪ] (once; jocular); *caught* [kɔt] (rare), *ought*, *solder* ['sɔldə]; *caucus* ['kɔkəs] (said to be the only form), *pauper* ['pɔpə], ['pɔpə], *walnut*, *wash*, *Washington*; *ruin* [rɪn], [rʊən], *ruined* [rɪnt].

All of these pronunciations are common except as specified. *Brush* occurs with a very retroflex vowel on one of the speech-records: [brɛʃ], or perhaps [brɛʃ]. One man is reported to pronounce *onions* ['ɔnjənz]. The prevailing pronunciation of *Norfolk* (Va.) is said to be ['nɔɹfɔk]; it was heard from an aged lady of the McMillon Settlement.<sup>29</sup>

In unstressed syllables, especially final syllables, [ə] displays a tendency to become retroflexed to [ɻ]:

Initial: *vanilla* [və'nɪlə] (once).

Medial: *dominicker*, *residenter* (once). (See chap. II, p. 66.)

Final: (1) *ague* ['æɡə], *dubious* ['dʒubɪəs], *heathen*, *leggings* ['legɪŋz] (reported), *Lincoln* ['lɪŋkən], *onion*. (See chap. II, p. 70.)

(2) *Carolina* [kə'lɑɪnə], *Hannah*, *Etta*, *polka* ['poulkə] (once, from an Asheville speaker), *Swannanoa* (once). (See chap. II, p. 77.)

(3) Words of the type of *banjo* ['bændʒə], *potato* ['tɛtə], *hollow* ['halə]. (See chap. II, p. 80.) Usual in this group.

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

##### 5. Assimilation and dissimilation.

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

(1) Final [t] is sometimes assimilated to an initial [d] of a following word in such phrases as *cut down*, *got down*, *sat down*: [kʌd daʊn], [gɔd daʊn], [sʌd daʊn]; also as in the sentence, 'What did I have [wʌd daɪ hæv] to kill it with?'

[t] is combined with a following palatal glide [j] by partial assimilation to form the voiceless affricate [tʃ]: *actual* ['æktʃəl], *natural* ['nætʃərəl], *Tuesday* ['tʃuɪzdi] (reported) etc.; 'I bet you' [a 'betʃə]; 'I want you to know' [aɪ 'wɒntʃu tə 'noʊ]; 'It used to be' [ɪ'tʃustə 'bi]; 'last year' ['læstʃɪə].

29. Combs, p. 1318, lists *mud* 'mud,' *purdle* 'puddle,' and others.

In the expression *right here* ['raɪtʃɪə], [t] + [(h)] become [tʃ]. (Compare [kʌm ʃɪə] 'Come here!') Similarly, in 'What's your rush?' [ts] + [j] also become [tʃ]:-['wʌtʃʊə 'rʌʃ].

The older mountain forms of *pasture*, *picture*, *mixture*, *nature*, and others, of course, do not show [tʃ] by assimilation of [t] and [j]. At an early period in the history of English, before palatalization had begun to operate, -ure, the unstressed syllable, underwent normal weakening to [ɜ]. Thus *pasture* and *picture*, for example, became ['pæstɜ] and ['pɪktɜ]. These pronunciations have survived in the dialects, whereas the standard pronunciations ['pæstʃɜ], ['pɪktʃɜ] reflect the artificial forms ['pæstʃʊə] and ['pɪktʃʊə] imposed by the schools. (See chap. II, pp. 67, 78f.)<sup>30</sup>

(2) [d] is combined with a following palatal glide [j] to form the voiced affricate [dʒ] in *dubious*, *education*, *gradual*, *graduate*, *Indian* (only, as a rule, in the speech of elderly people), *schedule*, *tedious*: ['dʒʊbɪəs], ['grædʒʊəl], ['ɪndʒən], ['tɪdʒəs], etc.; also in the reported forms of individual speakers *tremendous* ('I got a ['tri.məndʒəs] headache'; confused suffix) and *onion* ['ʌndʒən] (with excrecent [d]).<sup>31</sup>

(3) [s], [z], etc.

*Capsule* ['kæpsʊl] (reported pron. of one speaker).

*Chance* [tʃæns], a very common form.

*Horse-shoe* ['hɔʃu].

*Prints*, *footprints* [prɪnθ], ['fʊt,prɪnθ] ([ts] > [θ])?<sup>32</sup>

*Months*, *clothes*, *moths* [mʌnts], [kləʊz], [mɔz].

*This year* [ˈðɪ'jɪə] (but compare *this here* ['ðɪs'jɪə], ['ðɪs'jɪə], which occur on the speech-records).

*Usual* ['juʒəl].

(4) The nasals.

*Turpentine* ['tɜrpn,tain] (beside the normal form); *something* ['sʌmpɪŋ]. (Cf. ['tɜkəm,tain]).

*Point blank* [paɪn blæŋk], [plɑɪn blæŋk] (reported) (beside [paɪn blæŋk]).

*Eleven*, *even*, *heaven*, *oven*, *seven* [(ə)'levn], ['ɪbɪn], etc. (pronunciations said to be fairly common, but not heard).

*Pumpkin* ['pʌŋkən].

*Around them* [ə'rʌʊn(ə)nəm], *around there* [ə'rʌʊn(ə)nə], *in the loft* [ɪn(ə)nɪ 'lɔft].

*Onion* ['ɒjən] ([n] + [j] > [ŋ])?

30. Kephart has *actially* (p. 503) and *sumpshious* (p. 509). Combs, p. 1318, has *chune* 'tune.'

31. Kephart, p. 509, writes *idjit* 'idiot,' *jue* 'due,' *tejus*, *tremenjous*. Combs, p. 1317, lists *juel* 'duel,' *jue* 'dew,' *idjit*, *tedjious*. Miss Murfree, p. 92, writes *hejusz* *beastis*.

32. As in the expression 'the [prɪnθ] of a bear.' Is this an analogical formation? Cf. *spillth* and *blowth* ('blossoms, blowing things'), noted by C. M. Wilson, 'Elizabethan America,' *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 14 (1920), p. 239.

*Length*, *lengthy*, *strength*, *strengthen* [lenθ], ['lenθɪ], etc. (these are the usual pronunciations of these words).

(5) Miscellaneous.

*Exactly* [əd'zæktli] (once) ([g] > [d] before [z])?

*Kind of* ['kaɪn(d)lɪ], frequently used in such expressions as: [hɪts 'kaɪnlɪ 'paɪzn] 'It's somewhat poisonous' (assimilation, or anticipation of [l] in the phrase *kind of like?*).

*Out of* (?) ['aʊtɪ] (not frequent).

Dissimilation is less frequent. *Flail*, heard in such senses as 'whip,' 'break,' 'knock,' is [frel]: 'He frailed the tar outn him'; 'I beat and frailed on the door.' Dissimilation of two successive r sounds may explain ['hɔrə] *horror*, ['nərə], ['nɑrɪ] *narrow*, in which we have final [ə] or [ɪ] instead of [ɜ], which is normal in this speech. It may also explain such pronunciations as [hɔrə], [nərə], [spərə], in which, however, the two r's could have coalesced. (See pp. 81 and 90, note 10.) Doubtful cases are *off of* [ɔfn], *sassafras* ['sæsɪfræk], ['sæsɪfræk] (beside the usual ['sæsɪfræs]),<sup>33</sup> *fifth*, *sixth*, *twelfth* [fɪft], [sɪkst], [twelft], *chimney* ['tʃɪmlɪ] (dissimilation of nasals?).

6. Voicing and unvoicing.

The examples of the voicing of voiceless sounds are rather few and affect chiefly [t]. Voicings of [t] were observed in:

*Affidavit* [æfɪ'devəd], *Baptist* ['bæptɪst], *county*, *coverlet*, *liberty*, *little* (as in the phrase *a little old dead birch* [ə 'lɪd] oʊl ded bɜrtʃ)), *Met-calf*, *partner*, *Santa Claus*, *seventy*.

*Coverlet* as ['kʌvəlɪd] ([kɪvəlɪd] in the older speech) is doubtless a popular etymology. The given name ['ɒdəs], spelled *Odus* (by a Wears Valley man), probably represents an original *Odis*. I have heard the given name spelled *Levator* pronounced both [lə'vedɜ] and ['vetɜ].<sup>34</sup>

*Lief* adv. 'willingly' is [lɪv], as in the sentence, 'T'd just as [lɪv] do it as not.' As in standard English, *with* before voiced sounds and in sentence-final position is [wɪð]: [ə 'wʌznɪt 'wɪð əm 'ðæt 'der] 'I wasn't with 'em that day.'

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

33. This word (of doubtful etymology) has apparently been subjected to complex influences. Cf. the 17th century spellings cited in the *OED*: *sazefras*, *sarsafraz*, *sassafrax*; also *salsifax* 'salsify' (q. v.). Contamination with *saxifrage* and other words seems likely. Cf. also *tamarack*, *hackmatack*.

The form ['sæslɪfræk] 'sassafras' was reported from Jefferson Co. (Tenn.), and *sassafrax* has been noted in east Alabama and southwest Virginia (*Dialect Notes*, vol. 3, p. 366; vol. 4, p. 188). The *EDD* has *sassifraz*.

34. Cf. the spellings *Madcalf*, *Medcalf*, Buncombe Co. Reg., vol. 2, pp. 320, 407 (1796), and *Rudledge* 'Rutledge (Tenn.)', map in H. E. Colton, *Mountain Scenery* (Raleigh, 1859).

['keləp], 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*, *salad*, *ruined*, *second*, [t] always occurs for [d]: ['bælit], ['sælit], [rænt], [ruɪnt]. For *leaned*, [lɛnt] is about as common as [lɪnd]. Other instances of unvoicing of final [d]:

Around (once, in the phrase given below), balm of Gilead ['gɪlɪt] (once), behind, (baseball) diamond ['daɪmənt] (once), island ['aɪlənt], skinned [skɪnt] (once); held, hold n., killed, scared [skæət], [skɛət], [skɪət].

Such forms as [br'hɑɪnt], [hɛlt], [hɔɪlt], [kɪlt] are current especially in the speech of old-timers; younger people seem to avoid them. On a disc *hold* occurs in the sentence: 'The bear just let all [hɔɪlts] go and fell over on two limbs' (i. e., of a tree). At the White Oak, old people are said to pronounce *serenading* ['sɛrə,netɪ].<sup>35</sup>

Unvoicings of other sounds are as follows:

- [g] > [k] twice in *buck-ague* [bʌk'ækɜz] (usually [bʌk'æɣɜ(z)]).  
 in *Guilliams* (family name) ['kwɪljəmz], but with [gw-] by members of the family.  
 in *linguist* (?) ['lɪŋkəstɜ] (in the single occurrence of this word).  
 [v] > [f] once in *leave* 'permission,' in the sentence: 'I got [lɪf] for it.'<sup>36</sup>  
 [ð] > [θ] once in the phrase *around the hill* [ə'rʌʊnt 'θɪ:l].  
 [z] > [s] medially in *linsey*, *bellows*, *gallows* ['lɪnsɪ], ['bɛləsɜz], ['gələsɜz] (always in these words).  
 finally in *always* ['ɔləs] (frequent), *Mars Hill* [mɔrs hɪl] (once).

#### 7. Metathesis.

With the exception of [æks], obsolescent for *ask*, and ['klæmlɪ] *calmly* (for the latter, see chap. III, p. 104 and note 51), the instances of metathesis involve only [r]. Of these, however, *sorghum* as ['sɔgrəmz] is probably the only case of true metathesis; the other examples, with [ɜ] for [rə], in all likelihood represent normal syllabic reduction.

Aggravate ['æɣə,vert]	Introduce [ɪntɜ'dʒʊz]
Alfred, Wilfred ['ælfɜd], ['wɪlfɜd]	Produce [prɜ'dʒʊz]
Apron ['epɪn]	Protect [prɜ'tekt]
Children ['tʃɪldrən]	Sorghum ['sɔgrəmz] (once)
Hundred ['hʌndɜd]	

35. Cf. 'the Bent of the Yadkin River,' Brown (p. 295); *forket* ('...beginning at a forket pine...'), Buncombe Co. Reg., vol. 1, p. 6 (1792); *Crooket Creek*, map in Colton (1859). Mrs. Dargan has *beyant* 'beyond' (p. 235), *holt* (p. 157), *skcert* (p. 161); Mason has *worrited* 'worried' (p. 39).

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

*Ask* as [æks] 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* ['tʃɪmlɪ].

*Hoosier*, or *mountain hoosier*, 'a person who lives in the mountains' ['hʊdʒɜ]; *measure* ['mɛdʒɜ] (rare; usually ['mæʒɜ]).<sup>37</sup>

*Hulver* (an herb) ['gʌlvɜ] (twice).

*Kind* of ['kaɪn(d)lɪ] (see p. 97).

*Navel* ['neɪbəl] (usual); ['nɪɣɜz 'neɪbəl] 'Black-eyed Susan'; also other words with [b] for [v]: *eleven*, *even*, *heaven*, *oven*, *seven*.<sup>38</sup>

*Rosin* ['rɔzəm].

*Shrink* [swɪmp] (twice).<sup>39</sup>

*Shrivel* ['swɪvəl] (reported to be common at the White Oak).

*Tusk* [tʌʃ], an old dialectal variant of [task].

*Turtle*, *brittle* ['tɜkəl], ['brɪkəl] (the latter was reported).<sup>40</sup>

*Vanish* ['væɪnɪʃ] (on a ballad-record), possibly through confusion with *banish*; but cf. ['neɪbəl].<sup>41</sup>

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* ['ɑ:θɜ], which is still heard occasionally.<sup>42</sup> So also, *anathemated* (?) in the

37. 'The mountaineers don't like to be called *hoosiers* ['hʊdʒɜz],' I was told in Emerts Cove. For evidence of extensive currency of this word throughout the South in the sense of 'backwoodsman,' 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 Murfree writes *medjur* 'measure,' p. 71, and *a-medjurin* 'o' toll, p. 145; Combs, p. 1318, says that *measure* is sometimes like 'majur.'

38. Cf. *habersack*, *nabel*, Kephart (p. 508); *gravel* v. 'grabble,' *marvel* 'marble,' Combs (p. 1317); *leben* 'eleven,' *marvel* 'marble,' *ribel* 'rivet,' Dingus (pp. 184, 185, 188). The EDG, p. 62, has *marvl*, *nebl*, *elebm*. A dialectal interchange of *b* and *v* is suggested by these various forms, although it is notable that in most of them *b* or *v* is followed by *i* or *n*.

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

40. *Whelt* as [hwɛlk] was reported from Jefferson Co. A Hancock Co. (Tenn.) speaker used the forms ['vɔmtɪk], ['vɔmtɪkt] for *vomit*, pres. and pret.; Kephart, Word List, p. 419, recorded *vomic* in the Smokies.

41. Cf. *Ari'urs Knob*, Sheppard, p. 23, and *Arlor* 'Arthur' (1615), in William Matthews, *Cockney Past and Present* (London, 1938), p. 177.

declaration of a mountain preacher: 'I'm conscientious and satisfied that sin will be destroyed and [ə'nætə,metəd].' But *Anthony* and *panther*, usually ['æntɪ] and [pæntə], show the survival of Middle English forms with [t] for Greek [θ] through Latin and Old French [t].<sup>42</sup>

*Miscellaneous.* *Exaggerate* as [eks'ægret] is probably a spelling pronunciation. For *heard*, a few old people say [hɪrən], which is probably analogical with such old strong forms as *been*, *seen*, etc. *Height* as [haɪt] shows retention of the dental fricative in OE *hæht* (with early loss of the velar fricative; cf. OE *drāgoð*, Mod. Eng. [draʊt], [draʊθ]). *Sobby* ['sɒbɪ] (as in *sobby biscuits*, *sobby wood*) occurs in the Great Smokies for the usual *soggy* of American speech.<sup>43</sup> *Squeak* was heard only as [skrik], which seems to be a blend of *squeak* and *screech* or *shriek*.<sup>44</sup>

## 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], [hw], [r].

## 9. [t].

[t] becomes the flapped voiced consonant [ɾ] under the following conditions:<sup>45</sup>

(1) Between vowels when preceding or introducing a syllable without full or secondary stress; for example, in *after* ['æfə], *afterwards* ['æfəwɔ:dz], *later* ['leɪə], *little*, *pretty*, *skittish*, *thickety*, *water*.

But before [ŋ], as in *rollen*, *Sutton*, *cutting*, *biting*, [t] remains voiceless and is exploded nasally in the sounding of [ŋ]: ['rɒtŋ], ['sɒtŋ], ['kɒtŋ], etc. [t] is not voiced in *settler* and *rattler*; *l* is non-syllabic in these expressions in

42. The pronunciation of these two words with [θ] is the result of Renaissance orthography. For *panther*, Chaucer, Caxton and other early writers have *pantere*; see the *OED*. Cf. also *anatomy* 'anatomy' (1541) 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 [skrikən] she banished away.

45. See Kenyon's comments on voiced *t* (pp. 122, 232); also Einar Haugen, 'Notes on Voiced *T* in American English,' *Dialect Notes*, vol. 6, pts. 16, 17 (1938), pp. 627-634: 'The conditions of voicing may accordingly be more completely formulated as follows: *t* is voiced when *jt* is preceded by a vowel or a sonorant (*l*, *n*, *r*), and is followed by *h*, by an unstressed syllable-forming element (vowel, *l*, *r*, but not *n*), or by a stressed vowel in the following word.'

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

(2) After *n* before a vowel of an unstressed syllable, as in *county*, *haunted*, *panther*: ['kəuntɪ], ['hæntəd], ['pænʃə] (also rarely ['pæntə], with unflapped [t]). Sometimes [t] becomes [d] in this position; e.g., ['kəundɪ], ['sevəndɪ] *seventy*. Sometimes [t] is dropped (assimilated to [n]): ['kəunɪ], ['mæunɪ] *mountain* (rare), ['plɛnɪ] *plenty*.

Between [n] and [ŋ], however, as in *Branton*, *Canton* (Haywood Co., N. C.), *mountain*, *plaintain*, the explosion of [t] is the same as that indicated above for *rollen*, *cutting*, etc.: ['bræntŋ], ['kæntŋ], ['mæuntŋ] (also rarely ['mæuntən], with precise [t]). In *maintenance* (as pronounced by a CCC foreman on a speech-record) and *Anthony*, a similar phenomenon appears: ['meɪntnəns], ['æntnɪ]; 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 ['meɪnnəns], ['ænnɪ].

Sometimes final [t] becomes [d] by assimilation to an initial [d] in a following word, as was shown above on p. 95: *cut down* [kʌd dəʊn]. 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': [hɪt 'dɪdn̩ 'rʌn].

(3) In word-final position before a vowel; e.g., *got along* [gʊtə'lɒŋ], *that way* ['ðætə,weɪ] (with svarabhakti 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 ([pɒ'tekt], ['hɒ,tel], ['rumə,tɪz]); medially at the end of a stress-group ([ˈpɒtlənd] *Portland*); finally except when preceding a vowel. Here belongs a small but interesting group of exceptions to the usual American treatment with voiced *t*. In the Smokies, *auto*, *molto*, *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 ['mɑ,tɔ]; 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 ['ɒt,tɔ] *auto*, ['ɑ,t,tɔ] *Otto*, ['mɑ,t,tɔ], ['fɒ,t,tɔ].<sup>46</sup> This phenomenon does not occur for *-it-* before an unstressed syllable, as in *otter* ['ɒtə], 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. *Molto* occurs as ['mɑ,t,tɔ] in the recorded utterance of a CCC enrollee from the Cumberland Mts. (Coffee Co., Tenn.).



## 10. [ŋ].

As shown above in section 5, the velar nasal, [ŋ], becomes [n] by assimilation to a following [θ] in *length, lengthy, strength, strengthen*: [lɛnθ], etc.

Certain words which have [ŋg] in standard English sometimes have [ŋ] alone: *angry, singer, Finger* (family name, Jonathans Creek), *longer, M'ingus* (Creek), *shingle, single, singlings* ['sɪŋlɪnz] ('first-run whiskey'), *younger*: ['æŋgri], [fɪŋʒ], etc. But *hungry* was ['hʌŋgri] (rarely ['hʌŋgri]) in all observed cases.<sup>47</sup>

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

## 11. [l].

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.<sup>48</sup> What Jones states further of 'Received English' is also true of Smokies speech: 'clear' *l* occurs before vowels and [j]; 'dark' *l* occurs before all other consonants and finally.<sup>49</sup>

The Smokies laterals differ from the normal American treatment in only two important respects: (1) intervocalic *l* followed by the front vowels, [ɪ], and [j] is much 'clearer' (more fronted) than in general American speech; (2) postvocalic *l* (not followed by another vowel) is in some instances 'darker' (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 [ŋg] in many of the British dialects (see the *EDG*, 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 [ŋg] inherited from the British dialects. The M'ingus family, after which M'ingus 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 settler's to claim a possession on the water's of the upper Ocona Luffy river' (*MSS*, p. 18 f.). The Fingers of Jonathans Creek are also, apparently, of German origin. In August 1937, Mr. John C. Finger stated that his family is referred to as 'black Dutch' (southern German?), and that his grandparents talked German with other local families, the Setzers, the Fyces, the Clydeselters, and the Carpenters (originally Zimmermann?). His father, who was present, knew most of the numerals up to twelve and a few other words. Other German family names in the area are Bumgarner, Gass (?), Messer, Myers, Shults, Siler, Smelcor.

48. *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 4th ed. (New York, 1934), pp. 160-162.

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, [ɪ], or [j], as in:

Before [ɪ]: belly, Ellis, gully, hilly, holly, Nelly, valley, Willie, wooly; ballad ['bæɪɪt], salad ['sæɪɪt], bullet, pallet, skillet; angelica [æŋ'dʒɛɪ,kə], Tellico Plains; sometimes also in Alabama [æɪɪ'bæmə], telephone ['tɛɪɪ-fəʊn]; deviling ('teasing') ['dɛvəɪɪn], dwelling n., paling (of a fence), spelling, stilling ('distilling'), trailing.

Before [æ]: molasses [mə'læɪsəs].

Before [ɔ], but not [ə]: fellow ['fɛɪɔ], follow, hollow, mellow, shallow, swallow, tallow.

Before [j]: Gilead, 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 [ɪ], but not before [ə]. On the discs of *Arthur the Rat*, the *l* of *Nelly* consistently has the quality described above, but that of *Helen* ['hɛɪlən] does not. When [ə] appears in the *-ing* ending, the ordinary lateral (and not the exceptionally clear one here referred to) is heard; for example, *deviling* ['dɛvəɪɪn], *paling* ['pæɪɪn].

This same *l* may be heard finally in a word which is followed by a front vowel or [j] in the next word, as in the sentences: 'I can tell you' [aː kən 'tɛɪɪ jɪ]; 'I'll kill you!' (a man thus addresses a bear in a recorded 'bear-tale') [aːɪ k'ɪɪl j'ju]; 'Kill that bear!' ['kɪɪɪɪl æt 'bɛɪɪ]. In the phrase, 'I want to tell you,' as pronounced by some speakers, *l* is completely vocalized: [aː 'wɒnt tə 'tɛɪɪjə].

This tendency to vocalize *l* before [j] is illustrated also in the occasional pronunciation of *million* as ['mɪjən].

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, *middling* n. (of bacon) ['mɪɪdlɪn], *singlings* ['sɪɪlɪnz], *kindly* ('kind of') ['kæɪɪndli], *nearly* ['nɛɪɪɪli].

In settings other than those herewith discussed, prevocalic *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, Cataloochee, close, daylight, flavoring, flower*.

(2) 'Dark' *l*.

In the Smokies postvocalic *l* (not followed by a front vowel, [ɪ], or [j]) 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, hell, laurel, mule, Sal, several, shell, squirrel, wheel; apple, bobble ('a slight error'), Cable, double, maple, rifle; Asheville, Granville (given name), Knoxville, Waynesville, etc.; addle, beetle, cradle, Dowdle, kettle, saddle.

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

There can be no doubt that such words as *all, bald, cold, bulk, girl, mouldy, mule* have a dark *l* 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, [ɔ<sup>o</sup>l], [bɔ<sup>o</sup>ld], [kɔ<sup>o</sup>ld], [bʊ<sup>o</sup>lk], etc. Even the vowel of the suffix *-ville* in place names is at times quite dark; e.g., ['nɔksv<sup>o</sup>l], ['weinzv<sup>o</sup>l], although these forms probably represent the extreme.

The *l* of *elm, help, help(ed), self, twelve* shares characteristics common throughout the South. Most speakers say [hɛp], [hɔp(t)], [sɛf], twɛv], but ['ɛlɔm] (with dark *l*). Others velarize the *l* in some or all of the words: [ɛ<sup>ɹ</sup>m], [hɛ<sup>ɹ</sup>p], etc. This *l* approaches the quality of a [u] off-glide. Still others, old and young, vocalize the *l*: [ɛ<sup>ɹ</sup>m], hɛ<sup>ɹ</sup>p], etc. All of these pronunciations may be heard on the phonograph records.<sup>50</sup> *Bulb* and *film* in all occurrences were [bʌ<sup>ɹ</sup>b] and [fɪ<sup>ɹ</sup>m].

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

As for *balm* and *calm*, older speakers say [bæm], [kæm]; others say [bɔm], [kam]. Yet in the speech-records, younger speakers pronounce *calmly* ['kæmlɪ], ['kælmɪ], ['kiæmlɪ], as well as ['kɔlmɪ], ['kæmlɪ].<sup>51</sup> Most of those who have not advanced beyond the grades employ one of the first three forms; those who have been to high school, without exception, use one of the last two forms.

Other miscellaneous features are: intrusive [ɹ] in *Palmer* ['pɑɹmɛ] (the only current form), *walnut* ['wɔɹnɔt] (used by a large number of people old and young), *solder* ['sɔɹdɛ] (beside ['sɔldɛ], ['sɔldɛ], ['sɔdɛ]),<sup>52</sup> unreduced *l* in *calf, calves, half, salve* (all of these with the customary variations of the

50. Professor W. C. Greet finds similar phenomena at Williamsburg, Virginia and Lubec, Maine (*American Speech*, vol. 6, pp. 169, 401). Also Stanley in East Texas (p. 70).

51. Some of these pronunciations are perhaps not too much to be trusted, for the word is not generally known in print. The *-ly* form is also a disturbing factor because adverbs usually occur in the Smokies without this suffix.

52. The comparative frequency of these various forms of *solder* is unknown.

[æ] phoneme), *talk, walk, folk, should, would*. *Ralph* was apparently [rɛf] in earlier Smokies speech; now it is usually [ræf], less often [rɔlf].<sup>53</sup>

12. [hw].

Old English *hw*, [hw], is preserved in a group of words spelled with *wh*: *Whaley* (family name), *what, wheat, wheels, when, 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 [hwʊɛ] for *where* and the common [hwʊp] for *whip*.<sup>54</sup> The aspiration may remain distinct even when the word receives but partial stress: 'You can see where [hwɔ] 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 [wɔt], *when* is [wɛn] (as in the recorded utterance, 'When did he?' ['wɛn, did i]), and *whichever* is ['wɪtʃɛvɛ]. On one of the discs, *awhile* is [ɔ'hwa:l], but on another it is [ɔ'wa:l]. The interjection *why* unstressed appears with a voiced and unaspirated *w* in the exclamation 'Why, law me!', common among women. Stressed, it retains [hw], as in the recorded remark ['hwai ai 'hæd nou 'aɪdi] 'Why, I had no idea. . .'

Compounds of *where, anywhere, everywhere* 'wherever,' *nowhere, somewhere, whereabouts*, usually retain [hw]: ['ɛni,hwɛ], etc. But *somewhere* is very frequently ['sɑmɛz], ['sɑmhwɛz].

The compounds *whatever, whenever, wherever, whichever*, are often inverted: ['ɛvɛ,hwɔt], ['ɛvɛ,hwɛn], etc. The form ['ɛvɛ,hwɛz] is sometimes ambiguous since it may stand for both *wherever* and *everywhere*, but the semantic difference is unimportant. For example, [viəl 'gou 'ɛvɛ,hwɛ ʔə 'dɔg 'trɪz] '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 [pɔ:<sup>ɹ</sup>tʃ] *porch* and [dʒɔ:<sup>ɹ</sup>dʒ] *George*, in which prolongation of

53. Cf. Conner's spelling *Rafe Hughes* (p. 60).

54. For *whip* as [hwʊp] cf. the interesting sentence of a small Cosby boy, teased by his playmates: [ɛm 'gɔnɔ 'hwʊp 'juɔnz 'ɔl 'θri] 'I'm going to whip you-uns all three!'

the stressed vowel is attended with diminution of the glide, and a few others like [nəθ], [noθ] *north* (beside the usual [nɔrθ]), ['kɔnɔ] *corner*, ['aθɔ] *Arthur*, ['fɑθɔ] *farther*, Smokies *r* shows no influence of the suppressed or lost *r* of Southern 'plantation' speech.<sup>55</sup> Such pronunciations as ['pæs], ['kætrɪdʒ], [fast], [bast], [wast], 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.<sup>56</sup> Yet, whatever their origin, the forms without *r* are more than counterbalanced by others in which *r* appears inorganically. The excrecent *r* in *Palmer*, *walnut*, *caucus*, *ought*, *pauper*, *wash* and others evidently developed from retroflexion of the vowel; so also [ɔ] in unstressed syllables, as in ['damɔr,nɛkɔ], ['ægɔ], ['lɛkɔn], ['dʒubɔs], etc. The *r* occasionally intrusive in words like *bus*, *fuss*, *gush* is a hypercorrection for forms like [bast] *burst*, [fast] *first*. 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, and, 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 [pɔ'ræri], and *prong* seemed once to be [pɔ'rɔŋ].<sup>57</sup> In *Cades Cove fern* was once ['fɪrən]; in other cases this word was [fɪrən], [fjɛrən].<sup>58</sup>

55. As was pointed out, p. 89 f. and note 10, it is possible to explain some of the forms without *r* in other ways: ['aθɔ], ['fɑθɔ], ['kɔnɔ] may represent dissimilation of the two *r*'s; or, these pronunciations and the rare [nəθ], ['fɔtɪn], ['fɔmɔst] perhaps belong with [fast], [bast], ['pæs], etc. and are vestiges of the early modern tendency observed by Wyld (p. 298 f.) to omit *r* before consonants.

56. Vol. 2, pp. 220-228.

57. Cf. Conner's naive spelling *perairy* (p. 26): 'The section where he settled is now called Mingus perairy'; also the dialect spelling *perarer* (see note 49 of the preceding chapter), David Crockett's *parara*, cited in *American Speech*, vol. 9, p. 263.

58. Cf. the spellings *morun* 'morn' (c1450) and *baron* 'barn' (1534) in Wyld, p. 299; also *Sotherrren* 'Southern,' Brown, p. 308.

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- on the mountain people and their speech. Kephart seems to have collected his material on speech almost entirely in Swain Co., N. C., especially in the vicinity of Deep Creek, Hazel Creek, and Bryson City. Taken as a whole, it does not well represent the speech of the Smokies. The effect is too illiterate; but, as Professor H. M. Ayres remarks, phonetic misspellings always make speech seem more illiterate than it actually is. These journals, however, are valuable testimony of linguistic conditions in Swain Co. during the period above-mentioned and often confirm the existence of forms in the Smokies which have now become rare or obsolete. (The volumes containing most information on speech are nos. 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3476. Because vol. 3468 is most frequently referred to, it is cited by page alone; e.g., Kephart, p. 501, means vol. 3468, p. 501. Kephart's original numbering of these volumes is in many cases undiscernible; these numbers represented their sequence in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Library, to which they were lent by their owner, Mr. I. K. Stearns of Bryson City, N. C.)
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## ABBREVIATIONS

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- DAE *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, University of Chicago Press, 1936—.
- EDD *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898-1905.
- EDG *The English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, 1905.
- OED *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, Oxford, 1888-1928.

## 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 California, 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 Greet, and Louis H. Gray. He has taught English at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, 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.