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The Regional and Social Dialects of East Tennessee

A Preliminary Overview

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# THE REGIONAL AND SOCIAL DIALECTS OF EAST TENNESSEE A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW

SUBMITTED TO THE RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

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This final report of a survey of East Tennessee regional and social dialects is at least six years overdue. Funded in 1971 by the NCTE Research Foundation, the fieldwork was immediately undertaken and substantially completed during the spring of 1972. Through the summer and fall of 1972, the corpus of approximately 225 hours was transcribed; during the winter and spring of 1972-1973, the data were charted to provide a phonological foundation for a baseline statement. In March 1973, the National Endowment for the Humanities invited a full proposal to complete the fieldwork for the entire Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States(LAGS). With that proposal approved and funded, no time could be found to complete this report. This has been most unfortunate because the Research Foundation made possible all of the other work that followed, for without that initial NCTE grant, it is doubtful that a convincing LAGS proposal could have been drafted in 1973.

Because of this inseparable contribution of NCTE and NEH, many observations made here go far beyond the original proposal; indeed, the sample described here is exactly twice the size of that outlined in 1971. Thus, this report summarizes the field-work, outlines the history of East Tennessee in a sociolinguistic context, provides a skeletal corpus derived from that investigation, describes that evidence, and concludes with a summary of sociolinguistic correlates.

### CHAPTER 1: AIMS AND METHODS

In the original research proposal, funded in 1971, the survey of East Tennessee regional and social dialects was restricted to 28 informants in 14 communities. These communities corresponded to the East Tennessee grid of the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States(LAGS) project. As identified in Figure Il, the grid organizes the 34 counties of East Tennessee according to topographical and historical coincidence. Of these communities, eight were to be selected for investigation in the survey. In six of the communities, three informants were to be interviewed; in two urban communities, Knoxville and Chattanooga, five were to be interviewed. With the work sheets of the LAGS project, the survey aimed to identify regional and social correlates of usage and to describe these in a context that might be useful to both the linguistic geographer and the classroom teacher.

Given the generous support of the National Endowment for the Humanities and Emory University in 1973, the original survey of East Tennessee was absorbed in the larger framework of the LAGS Project. Although obscured by much additional work that followed in East Tennessee, the work done under the auspices of NCTE is readily identifiable and genuinely distinguished as the cornerstone upon which the larger project was built. In this chapter, the aims and methods of the East Tennessee survey are outlined under these rubrics: 1) a chronology of NCTE supported fieldwork, 2) a description of the East Tennessee sample, and 3) a summary of the methodology as it is developed in the full report. All of this work is best understood from the perspective of inventorial research, an effort to identify the central characteristics of the regional and social dialects of the delimited area through the investigation of systematically contrastive features. In addition to that primary goal, four secondary goals are also sought:

- 1) to investigate the full linguistic system, observing all distinctive features of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon;
- 2) to record in narrative form the usage observations of the informants and to relate those judgments to a functional set of standards of correctness;
- 3) to preserve in narrative form the cultural history of the region through the observations of the informants concerning the nonlinguistic cultural institutions of family, government, religion, education, and the arts, both fine and industrial;
- 4) to establish the central characteristics of the oral tradition through which the language and culture are preserved. All of these goals are dependent upon the tape-recorded field record. The 350 hours recorded in East Tennessee are preserved on magnetic tape at Emory University and will be made available for circulation in 1981.

1.1 Fieldwork under NCTE Support. Although the funds provided were generous, the plan to expand the atlas while the East Tennessee survey was underway made several adjustments necessary. The final sample of 70 records suggests the scope. Of these, 36 were done under the auspices of the NCTE grant. This required considerable expenditure of personal funds, but it made the later NEH grant possible.

These records were made during the first 24 months of the grant period:

A	001.01	Laurel Bloomery, Johnson County	8-14-71
A	001.02	Laurel Bloomery, Johnson County	8-16-71
A.	001.03	Shady Valley, Johnson County	8-15-71
	001.04	,	8-18-71
	004.01	Leesburg, Washington County	5-10-72
	004.02	by managedir country	5-11-72
B B		july of control	5- 9-72
C			5- 8-72
C	006.01	o and	8- 8-71
C			8- 9-71
C	006.03	Holston Valley, Sullivan County	8-10-71
C	000.04	Bluff City, Sullivan County	8-12-71
D	10.700	St. Clair, Hawkins County	5-12-72
D	009.01	Rankin, Cocke County	4-12-72
	009.02	Bat Harbor, Cocke County	4-10-72
D	010.01	Cosby, Cocke County	4-11-72
E			4-13-72
E	014.01	Little Sycamore, Claiborne County	5-23-72
F	014.02	Little Sycamore, Claiborne County	
F	015.01	Wear Valley, Sevier County	7-26-73
			7-28-73
E.	016.01	Maryville, Blount County	7-13-71
C	010.02	Maryville, Blount County	7-15-71
G	017.01	Knoxville, Knox County Knoxville, Knox County	3-30-72
G	017.04		3-28-72
G	017.03	Knoxville, Knox County	3-29-72
G	017.00	Knoxville, Knox County	3-31-72
H	019.01	Knoxville, Knox County	3-27-72
Н	019.01	LaFollette, Campbell County Jacksboro, Campbell County	5-26-72
I	021.02	Sweetwater, Monroe County	5-24-72
Ī	023.01	Lenoir City, Louden County	6- 9-71
K	028.01	Dayton, Rhea County	6-10-71
	028.02	Dayton, Rhea County	6-15-71
	031 01	Cleveland, Bradley County	6-17-71
T.	032.02	Cleveland, Bradley County	7- 7-71
كسد	002.02	creverand, bradiey county	7- 8-71

With the support of NEH and Emory University, the East Tennessee sample was ultimately enlarged to include 70 records, but the value of the data gathered under the NCTE grant cannot be overestimated. In addition to the evidence outlined in the present report, the following productions can be related directly to the NCTE grant:

- 1) A MANUAL FOR DIALECT RESEARCH IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, the LAGS manual, edited with Raven I. McDavid, Jr., C. William Foster, and Charles E. Billiard, published in its first edition by the College of Education at Georgia State University(1972), in a second edition by the University of Alabama Press(1974), and in a third edition by University Microfilms International(forthcoming);
- 2) "Tape/Text and Analogues," AMERICAN SPEECH 49(1974), 5-23, which outlines the methodology of the LAGS Project with particular respect to the use of the tape-recorded interview as a linguistic text. The data of this essay are drawn exclusively from East Tennessee fieldwork;
- 3) Four LAGS Project interim reports in AMERICAN SPEECH(1972, 1974, 1976, and 1978);
  - 4) "Sourmilk," AMERICAN SPEECH 50(1975), 49.
- 5) "The Dugout Dairy," TENNESSEE FOLKLORE SOCIETY BULLETIN 42:2(1977), 88-89;
- 6) A COMPOSITIONAL GUIDE TO THE LAGS PROJECT, a fullscale prospectus of the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States.

Indeed, it has been the success of the LAGS Project, all of which can be traced to NCTE support, that has long delayed the

composition of this report. To demonstrate the range and complexity of LAGS research in recent years, a copy of "Interim Report Four" (1979) is appended to the text submitted here.

1.2 An East Tennessee Sample. This description of East Tennessee folk speech offers a perspective on Southern Appalachian dialects within the framework of conventional linguistic geography. Based on data gathered during the past eight years in the LAGS project, the sample aims to provide even coverage of the territory, an adequate representation of the principal social groups that populate the farms, towns, and cities of the hill and valley regions of East Tennessee, and a basic inventory of the speech characteristics that distinguish the dialects of these people.

Folk speech is a descriptor that lends itself to several interpretations. Here it simply means those linguistic forms that have their immediate sources of authority in the oral tradition. Unlike other terms—colloquial, vulgate, and spoken English—folk speech implies the colloquial style of spoken English in a particular cultural context without reference to the arbitrary standards of correctness that underlie such prescriptive designations as nonstandard, substandard, and uneducated speech.

All of these terms suggest the question of linguistic correctness, but linguistic correctness as an operative concept—whether diagnostic, analytical, or pedagogical—depends upon descriptive accuracy. Where the oral tradition is the central consideration, as it is in all interpretations of colloquial speech, the linguistic habits of the oldest, least educated, and most provincial members of the society provide the strongest links with

the past. Much folk speech, however, is preserved in the usage of the rest of the community, and, for that reason, the LAGS survey extends across several generations of native Tennesseans to include all varieties that might reflect the range of cultural experience common to adult members of the society. Only infants, children, and young adolescents have been excluded because their social experience is usually narrow and incomplete.

General dialect surveys seek baseline information through inventorial research. 4 Linguistic geography today remains the only application of general linguistics that sustains an openended investigation of contemporary usage. Despite the frequent -- and often accurate--complaints of structuralists, sociologists. and educators, the work of linguistic geography continues to provide information that is essential to the specialized interpretations of associated disciplines. Without the description of the principal regional and social dialects of a community, autonomous generalizations necessarily follow, and these should have no place in responsible applications of general linguistics. Although less interesting to the structuralist than to the lexicographer and folklorist, inventorial research invariably yields a wide variety of data unsought by the investigator at the outset of his work, and such information will be found wherever the invesgator takes the time to listen and observe, however large or small the speech community.

That community may be a neighborhood, a village, an urban center, a county, a set of counties, a state, a region, or a nation. The aims and central operations of the linguistic geogra-

pher in any of these communities remain essentially the same. Their goal is a selective inventory of systematically contrastive data: units of phonology(both phonetic and phonemic), grammar (both morphological and syntactic), and vocabulary(both lexical and semantic). The information is gathered in a conversational interview that is developed around a core of 1500 items. All of these are identified in the MANUAL(1972/74) with sample frames with which the forms are elicited.

The selection of informants corresponds closely to the sociohistorical composition of the speech community, and this is possible only with a judgment sample. This is an essential approach to inventorial research if the principal varieties of speech in the community are to be identified. Unlike the sampling for political preference or other opinions, linguistic sampling reflects the shared characteristics of the community. Although random sampling is useful to refine inventorial observations, it would be unwise to attempt such an approach in an initial survey, where physically and psychologically unsuitable subjects must be avoided in these interview situations, the duration of which ranges from six to twelve hours.

1.21 Area Delimitation and the Social Foundations of East Tennesee. Of the six major physiographic regions of the state, two are confined within the boundaries of East Tennessee. These are the Unaka Mountains and the Great Valley of Tennessee. A third region, the Cumberland Plateau, extends well into Middle Tennessee. The area described here as East Tennessee includes all but three of the counties in the state that belong to the geography of Southern Ap-

palachia. 5 The social history of East Tennessee is closely tied to the distinctiveness of these three regions, their settlement and cultural development. The early patterns of migration follow a predictable course over the mountains and into the best lands of the Great Valley. Later developments of extractive industries--lumbering and copper mining in the east and coal and stone mining in the west--established working populations in the mountains through the exploitation of natural resources. manufacturing industries and the urban growth of Knoxville and Chattanooga in the central and southern reaches of the Great Valley has been recently matched to the north in the Tri-city territory of Bristol, Kingsport, and Johnson City, all of which indicates the inseparable composition of physical, historical, and social geography. Figure 1, "Physiographic Regions of East Tennessee," marks the domain of these natural divisions of the area.

The Unaka Mountains occupy a section approximately eight miles wide along the eastern border of the state. This western extension of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and North Carolina varies in breadth from two to twenty miles in East Tennessee and covers an area of approximately 2,600 square miles. During the migrations from the Pennsylvania and Delaware Bay areas(1725-1775), these mountains determined the course by marking the eastern boundary of the corridor that linked Pennsylvania and the Upper South. Palatine Germans, Scotch (Ulstermen, Lowland Scots, and Englishmen, with lesser numbers of Highland Scots), and southern Irishmen spread distinctive varieties of the English language

across the the interior regions of the Upper South. Later mingling with the speech forms from the east and south, these varieties ultimately emerged as the South Midland dialects.

The main migration route and best land lay along that corridor, as the Shendandoah Valley of western Virginia opens into the Appalachian Ridge and Valley region to the south and extends into East Tennessee, where it is called the Great Valley. Covering approximately 9,200 square miles, the Great Valley of East Tennessee is fifty-five miles wide at the Virginia border and approximately thirty-five miles wide at the Georgia-Alabama line. The lone geographical interruption here is Lookout Mountain, geographically a part of the Great Valley, but geologically an isolate of the Cumberland Plateau.

The entire Great Valley region surely would have been the first area settled in East Tennessee had not the agents of George III stopped the advancing pioneers in their tracks. To placate the Cherokees, the Treaty of Hard Labor was negotiated in 1763. This prohibited migration into the Great Valley south of a line running from the mouth of the Kanawha, south of that same river (called New River in Virginia and North Carolina), to the Blue Ridge at Chiswell's Mine, Virginia, and then southwest along the Blue Ridge to Tyrone Mountain at the border of the Carolinas. Although the treaty was soon violated, first by modification and later by successive revisions in 1768 and 1770, the southwestern course of the treaty line, the Proclamation Line of 1763, endures today as a rough approximation of the Tennessee-North Carolina border.

FIGURE 1: PHYSIOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF EAST TENNESSEE

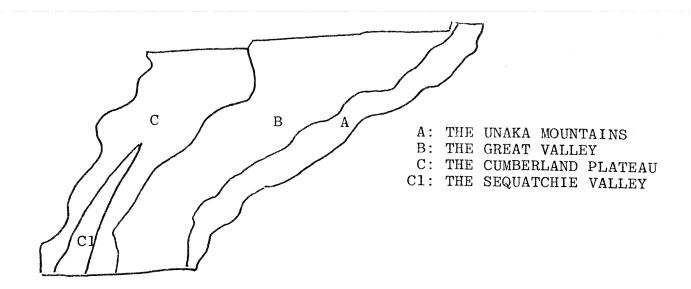
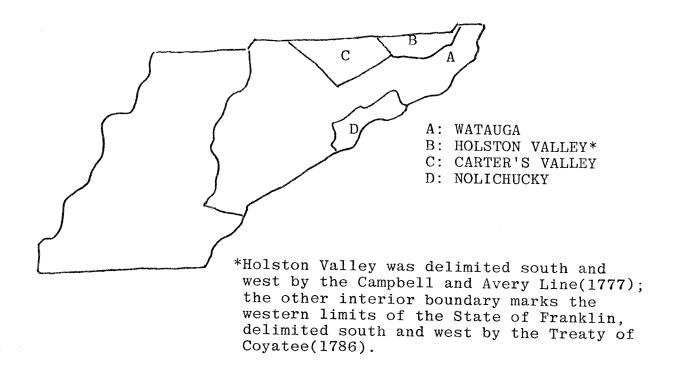


FIGURE 2: EARLY SETTLEMENTS



As a result of that treaty, pioneers were channeled over the mountains to the east, as, for example, south into the Yadkin Valley of North Carolina, where they met their westward advancing counterparts from the seaboard of the South Atlantic states. It was from the Yadkin Valley that the first settlers of East Tennessee came, establishing themselves in the Watauga Old Fields community, the present site of Elizabethton, Carter County, in 1768. As Abernethy(1932: 2) summarizes it:

In that year James Robertson, of Scotch-Irish descent, came over the mountains from Wake County, North Carolina, to spy out the land. He returned home during the same season and came west again with ten families of his North Carolina neighbors and kinsmen, including his brother Charles. Soon after these venturesome Carolinians had lighted the fires of their rude wilderness homes, other settlers were attracted to the neighborhood from Virginia. John Carter, with his son, Landon, and Valentine Sevier, with his son, John, were among the most prominent of these pioneers.

Although Robertson went on to greater adventures, none is more notable in the history of Tennessee than this founding of the state's first settlement. See Figure 2, "Early Settlements."

The first settlement in the Great Valley was the Holston Valley community, established three years later, on Long Island, north of the Holston River. Immediately thereafter, the Carter's Valley community, an extension of the Holston Valley settlement, was established in the west, where Rogersville in Hawkins County stands today. The fourth early East Tennessee settlement was the Nolichucky community, south of the creek for which it was named in Greene and Washington(now Unicoi) counties. As this second wave of settlers moved across the mountains, the social pattern of East Tennessee began to take shape. Lacy(1965: 11) describes the situation in these terms:

Of the residents of these areas, four-fifths lived in the valley. They were superior to the mountaineers in intelligence, wealth, and cultural attainments, and more comparable than their highland neighbors to the settlers in Middle Tennessee with respect to education, religion, and economic development. Almost entirely of English and Scotch-Irish ancestry, the early East Tennesseans migrated from the southern seaboard states, mostly from Virginia and North Carolina, bringing with them no small dislike for social rigidity and firmly Protestant religious convictions. Presbyterians had a plurality, trailed only slightly by Methodists and Baptists.

A more intimate illustration of early mountain culture in East Tennessee--its language and religion--is preserved by Eliason (1956: 125), part of a letter home to Pasquotock County, North Carolina, from a recent newcomer to Johnson County(then Sullivan County) in 1805:

...their was a terable uprorar amongst the Baptists hear but it has sorter couled of a little though I expect they have never got to such a hith with you as what they have bin hear. First they took what they call the Jurkin exercise from that to the dancing exercise the runing and Jumping and fitting exercise...they will begin to Jurk and to twitch and to Jump and stamp until you would think they would run mad their heds will Jurk back until they will allmost tuch the floar behind them they will beat their fists against the wall untill the blud will run...their was an old Irishman that tuck it...he would go in his shop thinking to work and he would be taken with it he would try to keep from it until he would seem as though he had the powerfullest ager as you ever saw and the swet would poar of him as though he was hard at work at last he would begin to dance he would start to his house and he danct all the way ...all manner of baudy talk can be thought of they will curs and sweir and everything that is bad the girls will ask the yung men to ly with them as good creadiabel girls as any that can be started.... The People in this Cuntery is gennarally kind and sevil but they air cheafly Dutch and Ireish....

The third region, the Cumberland Plateau, is quite distinct from those areas to the east in topography, history, and social organization. Its eastern boundary is Walden Ridge in the south, meeting Cross Mountain in Anderson County, and extending in a northeasterly direction beyond the tristate border of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, as the Cumberland Mountain. Immediately west of Walden Ridge is the Sequatchie Valley, a narrow tract of

fertile soil that borders the course of the Sequatchie River, from Crab Orchard Mountain in Cumberland County across the state line into Jackson County, Alabama. The Allegheny or Cumberland Front (the authoritative designation for the more usual Walden Ridge) rises to about 1,000 feet above the Great Valley to the east and the Sequatchie Valley to the west. In the west, the Cumberland Plateau merges with the Highland Rim of Middle Tennessee to bound the Nashville Basin region and the Tennessee Bluegrass, the richest farming land in the state.

After Dr. Thomas Walker's discovery of Cumberland Gap in 1750, these pioneers who had penetrated the Great Valley of Virginia and Tennessee, prior to the Treaty of Hard Labor(1763), swept into Kentücky to settle its fertile bluegrass region. No sensible farmer turned south upon the Cumberland Plateau at that time. After Daniel Boone cut the Wilderness Road in 1755, and Robertson showed the way to the Nashville Basin with an overland route, followed shortly thereafter with a river route, settlers entered Middle Tennessee without transversing the Plateau.

As the last major land region of East Tennessee to be settled, the Cumberland Plateau was first recognized simply as "The Road to Somewhere Else." With the parallel developments of Nashville in the west(1780) and Knoxville in the east(1792), the Old Walton Road was opened in 1795, and this—together with the alternate Nashville Road—provided the means to send thousands of settlers across the Plateau. Few, however, settled there. Only with the in-migration of Union veterans after the Civil War and the later development of the coal fields did the region gain a stable economic base. 9

At about this time, a reporter from the <u>Chicago Tribune</u> came to investigate the area and sent back an article, "Through the South: The Cumberland Land Table," Knoxville, Tenn., June 12(1869):

On arriving at Knoxville I found few who could inform me how I should reach it, although the Cumberland Mountains were in sight, but they stretch through East Tennessee into Virginia, a distance of several hundred miles (Krechniak and Krechniak 1974: 57).

After getting out there, he concluded his report:

Cropping out of the side of the mountain were coal and iron sufficient to give employment to all the people of Cumberland Mountain. And then out of a gulf came two mountaineers with dogs and guns and the hind quarters of a deer. They said they lived about seven miles down Walden's Ridge; that they had plenty of neighbors; that to their homes a wagon had never been, nor could be taken, and that they carried their corn to the mill on their backs or on the back of a steer. These are the independent Union men of East Tennessee. In the war they were unequaled as scouts, and when the war ended, they returned to their homeland unchanged. In many respects they resemble the North American Indians, and until the country is settled by another class of people, they will flourish. Their hogs run the mountains, living on the mast, and the deer are plentiful. Happy must the land be to these half-civilized people—where everlasting hogs abound and never-failing deer(Ibid.: 65-6).

And that romantic newsman was all too correct in his projection of the Cumberland's future. The economy was soon much more closely tied to the miseries of inner Appalachia with its script and companystore culture, usually associated with East Kentucky and West Virginia. 10

1.22 Informant Selection and the Social Composition of East Tennessee. Although early settlement history is an important consideration in planning a general dialect survey, recent history and population statistics are also essential factors in the organization of a research program concerned with contemporary linguistic usage. The implications of such facts for fieldwork must be balanced against the practical limitations of a project—its aims and resources, as well as a realistic schedule for the completion of the work. The present

investigation is an enterprise that should have been undertaken a generation ago, so every effort was made to expedite the research without sacrificing the standards of excellence established in earlier Atlas programs.

With the fieldwork begun in 1968 and concluded in 1979, the LAGS Project covered the Gulf states of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as the adjacent states of Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas in uniform fashion. These eight states are geographically unified by the Gulf Coastal Plains and historically bound by the common experience of regional settlement, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and a general insular detachment from the rest of the United States that endured well into the present century. To match the coverage of other atlas project, the LAGS sample for East Tennessee was initially set at 50, as a minimum requirement. With the support of NCTE, NEH, and other institutions, it was possible to gather 70 records in East Tennessee, and those comprise the evidence upon which the present report is based. The selection of these informants reflects an understanding of the historical and social factors outlined in this chapter.

As the Southwest Territory(Figure 3) was populated, both Unaka Mountain and Great Valley settlements were extended as far south and west as the Indian treaties would permit. By 1814(Figure 4), the Cumberland Plateau was reached by settlers of Powell's Valley, and from that time until the outbreak of the Civil War, the history of East Tennessee was marked by a fierce instinct for home rule and sectional independence. These tendencies led to a rapid reorganization of counties, and most of this tended to deepen the unity of subregional cultural patterns. In the tradition of the shortlived

State of Franklin(1784-8), for example, separate statehood for East Tennessee has been petitioned on several occasions. Andrew Johnson, like Alfred Martin before him, entered a resolution in 1842 for a new state of "Frankland," as a protest against the political domination of the state by Middle Tennessee politicians. The strongest movement for independent statehood emerged from a sectional clash on the issue of separation from the Union and representation in the Confederacy. The vote to ratify or reject that proposition on June 8, 1861, indicated the sectional differences in the state at that time(Folmsbee et al., 1969: 322):

	For Separation	Against Separation
East Tennessee	14,780	32,923
Middle Tennessee	58,265	8,923
West Tennessee	29,127	6,117
Military Camps	2,741	0
Totals	104,913	47,238

Only six East Tennessee counties supported separation—Sullivan, Monroe, Polk, Meigs, Rhea, and Sequatchie. The implications of this struggle are central to Lacy's discussion(1965), which concludes(p. 191) that as recently as 1959 and 1961, petitions for separation of East Tennessee to enter the Union as the State of Franklin have been proposed by James Quillen of Sullivan County.

Figures 5 and 6 illustrate the development of the county system of East Tennessee. By 1836(Figure 5), there were already 22 counties, all of which remain intact today. The steadily diminishing Indian Country in the southeast and southern borders of the

state were closed out completely with the Treaty of Removal in 1836. Immediately thereafter, Hamilton County was extended to the Georgia border to include the present site of Chattanooga. This became the pivotal component of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad system. linking the cotton culture of the South to the rapidly expanding manufacturing centers of the Great Valley of Tennessee. At the same time, the northern fringe of the Indian Country was divided among Blount and Monroe with the bulk of the territory providing the newly organized counties of Polk and Bradley. By 1860 (Figure 6), 31 of the present 34 East Tennessee counties had been established. the organization of Unicoi(from Washington), Hamblen(from Jefferson), and Loudon(from Monroe) counties during the decade 1870-80, the country structure of East Tennessee remained unchanged for the past The stability of these political boundaries is quite remarkable in a state that is approaching its bicentennial. 11

Since the Civil War, however, the populations of these 34 counties have undergone considerable change. From 1865 through 1940, East Tennessee had a population growth roughly comparable to the rest of the nation. This resulted in part from the development of extractive and manufacturing industries to compensate for the declining productivity of agriculture. Also, the Great Depression had the effect of stabilizing local populations because opportunities were equally slim elsewhere. The spectacular migrations from Appalachia between 1940-60, however, created a situation unparalleled in the history of American demography. The growth rate of the population in Southern Appalachia for the decade 1940-50 was only 7.8 percent, compared with 14.5 percent across the nation. As Belcher

#### FIGURES 3-6: EAST TENNESSEE, 1790-1860

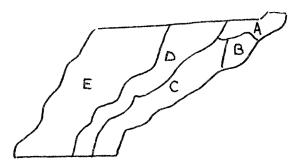


FIGURE 3: EAST TENNESSEE, 1790 IN THE SOUTHWEST TERRITORY

- A SULLIVAN COUNTY
- B WASHINGTON COUNTY
- C GREENE COUNTY
- D HAWKINS COUNTY
- E INDIAN COUNTRY

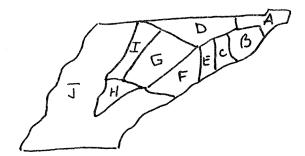


FIGURE 4: EAST TENNESSEE, 1814

- A SULLIVAN F JEFFERSON B WASHINGTON G KNOX
- C GREENE H BLOUNT
- D HAWKINS I POWELL'S VALLEY E SEVIER J INDIAN COUNTRY

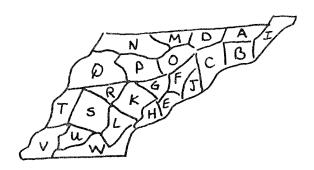


FIGURE 5: EAST TENNESSEE, 1836

A	SULLIVAN	M	CLAIBORNE
В	WASHINGTON	N	CAMPBELL
С	GREENE	0	GRAINGER
D	HAWKINS	P	ANDERSON
$\mathbf{E}$	SEVIER	Q	MORGAN
F	JEFFERSON	R	ROANE
G	KNOX	S	RHEA
Η	BLOUNT	$\mathbf{T}$	BLEDSOE
Ι	CARTER	U	HAMILTON
J	COCKE	V	MARION
K	MONROE	W	INDIAN COUNTRY

L MCMINN



FIGURE 6: EAST TENNESSEE, 1860

,	A	SULLIVAN	P	ANDERSON	AE CUM-
	В	WASHINGTON	Q	MORGAN	BERLAND
-	C	GREENE	Ř	ROANE	DEMEND
	D	HAWKINS	S	RHEA	
	E	SEVIER	Ψ	BLEDSOE	
	F	JEFFERSON	TT	HAMILTON	
4	G	KNOX	0	MARION	
1	H	BLOUNT		JOHNSON	
	Τ	CARTER		HANCOCK	
		COCKE			
	-	MONROE		SCOTT	
			Z	UNION	
-	L	MCMINN	AA	POLK	
	M	CLAIBORNE	AB	BRADLEY	
	N	CAMPBELL	AC	SEQUATCHIE	
(	О	GRAINGER		MEIGS	

(1962: 39/2) notes, "At no time since the first United States census in 1790 had the rate of increase for the region been as low as ten percent in a decade, except for the Civil War period when it was 9.7."

More than half of the counties in East Tennessee were below the Southern Appalachian regional average in population growth between 1940-60(Figure 8). Fourteen counties actually lost population during those years: Bledsoe, Campbell, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger, Hancock, Johnson, Meigs, Monroe, Morgan, Polk, Rhea, Scott, and Union. Four others were below the the 7.8 percent average for the region: Greene, Marion, Sevier, and Unicoi. These 18 counties include virtually all of the coal-producing area of the Cumberland, much of the territory bordering the Walden Ridge, and a large portion of the Unaka Mountain Range in East Tennessee.

During these same critical decades, Sullivan County increased its population nearly 60 percent with the expansion of Kingsport and Bristol. At the southern end of the Great Valley, Hamilton County and its principal satellite, Bradley County, underwent similar, though somewhat less dramatic, development. More than 40 percent increase was registered in the Knox County population at this same time, while Blount and Anderson counties, the other members of the Knoxville Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, experienced comparable expansion. In the mountain county of Blount, the enlargement was slight, as compared to the growth of Anderson County and its Oak Ridge complex.

Each of the fourteen counties that lost population during those 20 years had fewer than 25,000 residents in 1940, and this set includes all of those counties, except Sequatchie, 13 with exclusively

rural populations in 1970(Figure 9). The net result has been a general growth in the overall population of East Tennessee, ranking second only to North Georgia in population stability among Southern Appalachian subregions. The factors of recent tourism as an industry and the development of vacation housing are, of course, operative in both subregions, <sup>14</sup> but they have had little effect upon the depletion of the rural population and the acceleration of the process of urbanization. Much more important in both areas has been the exploitation of cheap labor by large manufacturers, who have established mills throughout Southern Appalachia.

The shift in the black population parallels the general trend of East Tennessee social history. In 1880(Figure 7), only the rural counties of Hawkins, Jefferson, Hamblen, Blount, McMinn, Loudon, Bledsoe, Bradley, and Marion had black populations in excess of 10 percent of the total population. Nowhere did the figure reach 20 percent in the rural counties, and even Knox County, the most heavily populated unit in East Tennessee, had a black population of less than 16 percent of its total. Only Hamilton County had a significant black population, scarcely 24 percent in 1880. By 1920, only Hamblen of the rural counties had a 10 percent black population, with that percentage of the population diminishing in Knox County and barely maintaining itself in Hamilton. By 1960, only Hamilton County had a black population in excess of 10 percent(21 percent), and five counties had five or fewer black citizens recorded in the 1960 census. These trends have continued according to the statistics drawn from the 1970 census in Figure 9.

FIGURE 7:
EAST TENNESSEE POPULATION STATISTICS, 1800-1880

County	<u>Grid</u>	1800	1820	1840	1860	1880
Johnson Carter	(A 001) (A 002)	 4509/208	 4835/349	2658/165 <sup>*</sup> 5372/374	5018/261 7124/396	7766/470 10019/628
Unicoi Washington Greene	(B 003) (B 004) (B 005)	 5821/533 7137/471	 9557/1051 11324/859	 11751/1151 16076/1157	 14829/1249 19004/1519	3645/119 16181/1577 24005/2152
Sullivan Hawkins Hancock	(C 006) (C 007) (C 008)	9710/491 5667/811 	7015/932 10949/1641 	10736/1232 15035/1627	13552/1243 16162/2119 7020/314	18321/1305 20610/2641 9098/482
Cocke Jefferson Hamblen	(D 009) (D 010) (D 011)	 8295/695 	4892/483 8953/923 	6992/793 12076/1414 	10408/926 16043/2266 	14808/1447 15846/2500 10187/1706
Grainger Union Claiborne	(E 012) (E 013) (E 014)	6871/496  	7651/855  5508/407	10572/1051  9474/709	10962/1235 6117/264 9643/919	12384/829 10260/218 13373/789
Sevier Blount	(F 015) (F 016)	3255/162 5240/345	4772/303 11258/1104	6442/394 11745/1081	9122/602 13270/1559	15541/693 15985/1705
Knox	(G 017)	11081/1268	13034/1908	15485/2107	22813/2793	39124/7244
Anderson Campbell Scott	(H 018) (H 019) (H 020)	 	4668/373 4244/151 	5658/440 6149/318 	7068/591 6712/431 3519/73	10820/903 10005/432 6021/157
Monroe McMinn Loudon	(I 021) (I 022) (I 023)	 	2529/178 1623/171 	12056/931 12719/1269 	12607/1708 13555/2005 	14283/1292 15064/2325 9148/1758
Roane Morgan Cumberland	(J 024) (J 025) (J 026)	 	7895/870 1676/46 	10948/1358 2660/126 	13583/3601 3353/161 3460/139	15622/1906 5156/289 4538/42
Meigs Rhea Bledsoe	(K 027) (K 028) (K 029)	 	 4215/214 4005/389	4794/296 3985/405 5676/666	4667/645 4991/464 4459/816	7117/814 7073/773 5617/747
Polk Bradley	(L 030) (L 031)			3570/321 7385/414	8726/465 11710/1231	
Hamilton	(M 032)			8175/677	13258/1611	
Marion Sequatchie	(N 033) e (N 034)		3888/169 	6070/412	6190/703 2120/202	10910/1369 2565/56

FIGURE 8: EAST TENNESSEE POPULATION STATISTICS, 1900-1960

County	Grid	1900	1920	1940	1960
Johnson	(A 001)	10589/368	12230/306	12998/193	10765/138
Carter	(A 002)	16688/661	21488/569	35127/503	41578/435
Unicoi	(B 003)	5851/130	10120/4	14128/11	15082/5
Washington	(B 004)	22604/2147	34052/2250	51638/3079	64832/2501
Greene	(B 005)	30596/1569	32824/1274	39405/1263	42163/1073
Sullivan	(C 006)	24935/1565	36259/1691	69085/2194	114139/2471
Hawkins	(C 007)	24267/2154	22918/1201	28523/1001	30648/1050
Hancock	(C 008)	11147/273	10454/256	11231/234	7757/99
Cocke	(D 009)	19153/1261	20782/849	24083/671	23390/712
Jefferson	(D 010)	18590/2174	17677/1428	18621/1088	21493/926
Hamblen	(D 011)	12728/1791	15056/1621	18611/1614	33092/2053
Grainger	(E 012)	15512/650	13369/447	14356/255	12506/177
Union	(E 013)	12894/79	11615/7	9030/2	8498/2
Claiborne	(E 014)	20696/729	23286/563	24657/515	19067/304
Sevier	(F 015)	22021/565	22384/318	23291/212	24251/184
Blount	(F 016)	19206/1607	28800/2675	41116/2108	57525/2760
Knox	(G 017)	74302/11777	112926/13310	178468/18196	250523/22709
Anderson	(H 018)	17634/1118	18298/595	26504/484	60032/1964
Campbell	(H 019)	17317/616	28265/1272	31131/504	27936/263
Scott	(H 020)	11077/335	13411/16	15966/1	15413/3
Monroe	(I 021)	18585/1222	22060/1187	24275/901	23316/908
McMinn	(I 022)	19163/1997	25133/1923	30781/1835	33662/1786
Loudon	(I 023)	10838/1360	16275/1037	19838/609	23757/445
Roane	(J 024)	22738/2625	24624/1918	27795/1408	39133/1610
Morgan	(J 025)	9587/600	13285/497	15242/414	14304/307
Cumberland	(J 026)	8311/572	10094/25	15592/1	19135/2
Meigs	(K 027)	7491/663	6077/449	6393/350	5160/254
Rhea	(K 028)	14318/1878	13812/901	16353/841	15863/639
Bledsoe	(K 029)	6626/475	7218/599	8358/574	7811/455
Polk	(L 030)	11357/303	14243/108	15473/83	12160/28
Bradley	(L 031)	15559/2085	18652/1732	28498/2000	38324/1994
Hamilton	(M 032)	61695/19490	115954/27120	180478/39607	237905/47241
Marion	(N 033)	17281/2105	17402/1683	19140/1416	21036/1339
Sequatchie	(N 034)	3326/37	3632/46	5038/8	5915/0

FIGURE 9:
POPULATION DENSITY, BLACK/WHITE, AND URBAN/RURAL
DISTRIBUTION, 1970, IN THE EAST TENNESSEE GRID\*

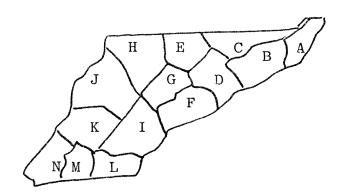
	**	and area	Popula-	Black/White	Population	Urban/Rural
	i	n sq mi	tion		per sq mi	Percentages
A	Johnson	293.4	11,569	111/11451	39.4	/100.0
	Carter	347.9	43,259	673/41864	124.3	28.8/ 71.2
В	Unicoi	185.0	15,254	7/15234	82.5	47.4/ 52.6
	Washington	323.5	73,924	3081/70719	228.1	45.7/ 54.3
	Greene	613.1	47,630	1342/46236	77.1	28.8/ 71.2
С	Sullivan	413.3	127,329	3235/123909	308.1	55.8/ 44.2
	Hawkins	480.1	33,726	1038/32649	70.2	29.4/ 70.6
	Hancock	230.0	6,719	91/6624	29.2	/100.0
D	Cocke	424.1	25,283	784/24479	59.6	29.0/ 71.0
	Jefferson	273.5	24,940	810/24089	91.2	20.5/ 79.5
	Hamblen	154.6	38,696	2358/36295	250.0	52.5/ 47.5
E	Grainger	282.2	13,948	192/13754	49.5	/100.0
	Union	212.1	9,072	1/9068	42.8	/100.0
	Claiborne	443.9	19,420	299/19108	43.7	/100.0
F	Sevier	597.4	28,241	222/28006	47.3	9.4/90.6
	Blount	575.5	63,744	2737/60947	110.8	42.2/ 57.8
G	Knox	507.6	276,293	23849/251691	554.3	68.9/ 31.1
Н	Anderson	335.0	60,300	2114/57959	180.0	56.1/ 43.9
	Campbell	450.8	26,045	226/25769	57.8	26.5/ 73.5
	Scott	543.8	14,762	66/14685	27.1	17.6/82.4
I	Monroe	659.6	23,475	980/22463	35.6	29.6/ 70.4
	McMinn	431.8	35,462	2137/33286	82.1	43.8/ 56.2
	Loudon	236.9	24,266	564/23660	102.1	37.3/ 62.7
J	Roane	349.9	38,881	1603/37182	111.1	53.5/ 46.5
	Morgan	539.0	13,619	292/13314	25.3	0.2/ 99.8
	Cumberland	678.1	20,733	105/20612	30.6	26.0/ 74.0
K	Meigs	190.7	5,219	240/4968	27.4	/100.0
	Rhea	312.1	17,202	643/16532	55.1	25.4/ 74.6
	Bledsoe	404.0	7,643	452/7083	18.9	/100.0
L	Polk	434.5	11,669	22/11638	26.9	/100.0
	Bradley	333.8	50,686	2313/48276	151.8	50.7/ 49.3
М	Hamilton	550.4	254,236	47416/206336	461.9	80.7/ 19.3
N	Marion	506.4	20,577	1244/19311	40.6	17.6/82.4
,	Sequatchie		6,331	4/6326	23.2	/100.0

\*From Currence, ed., <u>Tennessee Statistical Abstract</u>, 1971 (Knoxville, 1971), 549-59. Members of other races range in number from 1 in Sequatchie County to 762 in Knox County.

The 14 units of the East Tennessee Grid(Figure 10) were organized to reflect the social history of those 34 counties. A, B, and C include the earliest settlements: A(Watauga: Johnson and Carter counties), B(Nolichucky: Unicoi, Washington, and Greene counties), and C(North Holston and Carter's Valley: Sullivan, Hawkins, and Hancock counties). Units D and F include the other eastern counties occupied after the Treaty of Coyatee (1786) that limited settlement north of the Little Tennessee River: D(Cocke, Jefferson, and Hamblen counties) and F(Sevier and Blount counties), including the French Broad settlement beyond the Great Smoky Mountains and their western foothills. The later settlements of the Great Valley region are included in units E(bordering the Cumberlands: Grainger. Union, and Claiborne), I(bordering the Unakas: Monroe, McMinn, and Loudon), K(bordering the Cumberlands: Rhea, Bledsoe, and Meigs, and L(created after the removal of the Cherokees: Polk and Bradley). The settlements of the Cumberland Plateau are included in units H (the northern coal-producing counties: Anderson, Campbell, and Scott), J(the middle Cumberland counties: Roane, Morgan, and Cumberland), and N(the Sequatchie Valley counties: Marion and Sequatchie). The two standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of East Tennessee are represented here as units G(Knoxville, Knox County) and M(Chattanooga, Hamilton County). 15

The selection of informants within these units followed the plan of the LAGS Project, a close approximation of the sampling method used by Kurath and his associates in New England. In the Gulf States, the approach has been interpreted in this way:

#### FIGURE 10: THE EAST TENNESSEE GRID



#### UNITS WITH COUNTIES

A: JOHNSON CARTER

B: UNICOI WASHINGTON GREENE

C: SULLIVAN HAWKINS HANCOCK

D: COCKE JEFFERSON HAMBLEN E: GRAINGER UNION CLAIBORNE

F: SEVIER BLOUNT

G: KNOX

H: ANDERSON CAMPBELL SCOTT

I: MONROE MCMINN LOUDON J: ROANE MORGAN CUMBERLAND

K: MEIGS RHEA BLEDSOE

L: POLK BRADLEY

M: HAMILTON

N: MARION SEQUATCHIE

In each of the 157 grids, at least one elderly Type I[uneducated] Caucasian informant will be interviewed...and one Type II[highschool educated] Caucasian informant.... In each grid where the Negro population in 1930 exceeded 20 percent of the total citizenry, an elderly Type I Negro informant will be interviewed.... Negro Type II and Type III[college educated] informants, as well as Caucasian Type III informants, will be selected according to the judgment of the fieldworker, determined by the nature of the community and the availability of such speakers. 16

The communities and the informants that comprise the East Tennessee sample are identified in Appendix A. The social characteristics of these 70 natives of the region are summarized in Figure 11.

1.3 <u>Methodology</u>. In the following discussions, patterns of pronunciation, morphology, and vocabulary are related to the geographical, historical, and social factors outlined above, as concordance and variation among the 70 idiolects. Throughout this report, the aim is to provide general, baseline coverage in a description of the data gathered in 350 hours of tape-recorded interviews, conducted in East Tennessee during the years 1971-9.

Prior to the LAGS survey, the speech of East Tennessee had never been systematically investigated. Earlier discussions were limited to four kinds of linguistic interpretations: 1) overviews of Southern Appalachian language and culture, <sup>17</sup> 2) specialized accounts of phonological, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities, <sup>18</sup> 3) subregional studies of speech communities within East Tennessee, <sup>19</sup> and 4) descriptions of regional and social varieties of South Midland speech in the neighboring states of Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. <sup>20</sup> Much of that material is substantial and useful, but the absence of a systematic regional survey of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary has resulted in the perpetuation of errors in fact, mis-

FIGURE 11: SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS

Sub region Informants		Sex		Average	Type			Class		
		F	<u>M</u>	<u>Age</u>	Ī	II	III	<u>U</u>	M	<u>L</u>
Unaka Mountains	18	8	10	<u>67</u>	10	3	5	2	<u>6</u>	10
Upper Unakas	8 (#1-8)	4	4	73	5	1	2	0	2	6
Middle Unakas	7 (#19-21, 27-30)	3	4	65	3	2	2	1	4	2
Lower Unakas	3 (#55-57)	1	2	56	2	0	1	1	0	2
Great Valley	35	<u>15</u>	20	59	13	8	14	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	14
Upper Valley	10 (#9-18)	3	7	69	5	1	4	1	5	4
Middle Valley	12	6	6	52	3	3	6	2	6	4
Rural	4 (#22-24, 46)	1	3	53	1	1	2	0	3	1
Knoxville	8 (#31-38)	5	3	51	2	2	4	2	3	3
Lower Valley	13	6	7	59	5	4	4	2	5	6
Rural	4 (#44-45, 64-65)	2	2	62	3	1	0	0	1	3
Chattanooga	9 (#58-63, 66-68)	4	5	57	2	3	4	2	4	3
Cumberland Plateau 17		8	9	64	7	<u>6</u>	4	3	10	4
Upper Cumberland 7 (#25-26, 39-43)		3	4	63	3	2	2	1	5	1
Middle Cumberland 5 (#47-51)		3	2	69	2	2	1	1	3	1
Lower Cumberland 5 (#52-54, 69-70)		2	3	61	2	2	1	1	2	2
Totals:	<u>70</u>	31	<u>39</u>	61	<u>30</u>	<u>17</u>	23	10	32	28

representations of the historical process of linguistic change, and unreliable descriptions of the dialects spoken in this area.

Kephart(1922: 361-2) described the linguistic situation in familiar words:

Our highlander often speaks in Elizabethan or Chaucerian or even pre-Chaucerian terms. His pronunciation of hit antedates English itself, being an Anglo-Saxon neuter of he. Ey God, a favorite expletive, is the original of egad, and goes back to Chaucer. Ax for ask and kag for keg were the primitive and legitimate forms, which we trace as far as the time of Layamon. When the mountain boy challenges his mate: 'I dar ye-I ain't afeared!' his verb and participle are of the same ancient and sterling rank. Afore, atwixt, awar, heap o' folks, peart, up and done, usen for used, all these everyday expressions of the backwoods were contemporary with the Canterbury Tales.

Apart from his exclusion of Old English from the history of the English language, Kephart's facts are essentially correct, but the interpretation is quite misleading. It would be no more preposterous to suggest Old Norse endures in the speech of Norwegian immigrants and their descendants in Minnesota and Wisconsin, but this is an abuse of etymological research that is common in other parts of the world as well. 21

McDavid's review of Hall(1943: 184-95) is a classic statement of the limitations of unsystematic research. The delimitation of a region as an autonomous unit, the acquisition of data without a research instrument(neither a questionnaire nor a carefully designed interview situation), failure to identify the informants and their social characteristics, and the absence of a phonological framework severely restricted the usefulness of Hall's monograph(1942). At the same time, it should be noted that Hall collected valuable historical and phonetic information that has been quite helpful in the organization of the LAGS survey in East Tennessee.

Wood's checklist survey of the interior South(1970) included East Tennessee, but the organization of that report does not lend itself to easy interpretation. Conversely, the description of Kentucky phonology by Kruse(1972) is quite useful because it was prepared within the Atlas context. Preliminary research in Georgia shares some of the strengths and weaknesses of both Kruse and Wood: the central use of the Dialect Survey of Rural Georgia, with respect to the LAGS Project, was its clarification of field procedures, refinement of the questionnaire, and recognition of the efficacy of the tape recorder in conventional linguistic geography. 23

The enormous mass of data gathered in East Tennessee makes it quite impossible to provide an exhaustive analysis in a single report, prior to the organization of the atlas itself. Instead, the effort here is to provide a functional overview of East Tennessee speech, based on data that can be observed by the reader of this report, and to relate these generalizations to the aforementioned geographical, historical, and social characteristics. This will include: 1) phonological composition, the phonic ranges of the segmental phonemes, an identification of the suprasegmental phonemes and tentatively significant extra-segmental units, summarized in an outline of diaphonic and diaphonemic forms; 2) grammatical composition, restricted here to function words, plural markers, and the principal parts of several verbs, 3) lexical composition, an abbreviated word geography, developed in the form of the preceding two sections, and 4) sociolinguistic composition, a set of indices that distinguish the regional and social characteristics of East Tennessee speech.

- 1.31 The LAGS Idiolect Synopsis. The primary linguistic data for this report are recorded in 70 idiolect synopses, Appendix B. The synopsis is an innovation in conventional linguistic geography, a development of the vowel synopsis used by Kurath and McDavid(1961). In LAGS, the form is used to provide a maximum representation of data on a single page. The evidence from each idiolect is charted to illustrate incidence of 1) all segmental phonemes, 2) five complicated plural constructions, 3) five function words, 4) principal parts of eight verbs, and 5) 28 lexical items. See Figure 12.

  1.311 Segmental Phonemes. In the first 15 lines of the synopsis, 75 words are included to represent the principal environments in which the segmental phonemes occur. These are organized to accommodate the vowels in this order:
  - Column 1(whip, neck, glass, etc.) records stressed vowels before voiceless consonants;
  - Column 2(<u>crib</u>, <u>leg</u>, <u>bag</u>, etc.) records stressed vowels before voiced consonants or open juncture(May, ago, and cow);
  - Column 3(<u>tin</u>, <u>ten</u>, <u>hammer</u>, etc.) records stressed vowels before nasal consonants;
  - Column 4(<u>hill</u>, <u>Nelly</u>, <u>valley</u>, etc.) records stressed vowels before lateral consonants;
  - Column 5(<u>ear</u>, <u>merry</u>, <u>married</u>, etc.) records stressed vowels before retroflex consonants.

## FIGURE 12: IDIOLECT SYNOPSIS

## LINGUISTIC ATLAS OF THE GULF STATES IDIOLECT SYNOPSIS

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The 24 consonant phonemes are recorded in these syllabic environments:

	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
/p/	palm, poison, poor, pull, push	*wasps 24	crop, whip
/b/	bag, bean, beard, bulb, husband		bulb, crib
/t/	ten, tin, tooth	daughter, oy- sters, *posts, strain	coat, eight, joint, salt, write, yeast
/d/	daughter, dog,	*pounds	cold, field, married, ride, third, wood, wound
/k/	car, coat, cold, college, cow, crib, crop	* <u>desks</u>	<u>neck</u>
/g/	ago, girl, glass, gone	* <u>dragged</u>	bag, dog, leg
/f/	father, field, furrow		
/v/	valley	*dived	*drove
/0/	third, three		tooth
/8/	father		
/s/	oysters, salt, strain, sun	*desks, *posts, *wasps, yeast	*desks, glass, hoarse, horse, house, *posts, *wasps
/z/	poison		husband, miles, oysters
/š/	shut, sure		push
/ž/			(Baton) Rouge
/h/	hammer, hill, hoarse, home, horse, husband, house, whip		

	<u>Initial</u>	Medial	<u>Final</u>
/č/	church		church
/3/	joint		college
/m/	married, Mary, May, merry, miles, mule	* <u>shrimp</u>	hammer, home, palm, woman, worm
/n/	neck, Nelly, nine	joint, wound	bean, down, gone, nine, poison, strain, sun, ten, tin, woman
/ŋ/		*drink, *drank, *drunk	
/1/	lawyer, leg	bulb, field, flower, glass, miles, salt	<pre>College, girl, hill, mule, Nelly, oil, owl, pull, rail, valley</pre>
/r/	furrow, Mary, rail, ride, (Baton) Rouge, worry, write	beard, crib, crop, strain, three	car, ear, hoarse, horse, married, merry, poor, wire
/y/	yeast	<u>mule</u>	
/w/	whip, wire, woman, worm, wound,	whip(/hw/)	

1.312 Morphology. The next six lines of the synopsis(lines 16-21) record three sets of morphological structures. In each set, the forms are arranged in order of their occurrence in the LAGS work sheets. Line 16 includes the plural forms of post, pound, shrimp, wasp, and desk. Line 17 includes function words in phrasal structures or in isolation: quarter of/to (the hour), toward/s, ran across/into (someone, i.e., a chance meeting), (sick) at/on/to her/his/one's/the stomach, and wait for/on (someone). Line 18-21 include the principal parts of eight verbs: rise, and drive(line 18), drag and eat(line 19), drink and help(line 20), and dive and climb(line 21).

1.313 <u>Lexicon</u>. The final seven lines of the synopsis(lines 22-28) include 28 lexical forms that have synonyms with regional or social significance in the Gulf States. Like the morphological items (lines 16-21), the lexical items are also arranged according to their order of occurrence in the LAGS work sheets.

## CHAPTER 2: THE PRONUNCIATION OF PHONEMES

Compared to many regional and social dialects of the Lower South, East Tennessee speech is relatively uncomplicated and lends itself to a phonemic analysis that requires a small number of surface structure rules. Unlike the varieties of speech that distinguish the Tidewater regions of the Carolinas and Georgia, the isolated communities from the Sea Islands to the Florida Keys, and the Gulf Plains region from the Piedmont to the coast, the sociolinguistic composition of East Tennessee is quite close to the Appalachian modes of the neighboring highland cultures of western North Carolina and northern Georgia. the immediate influence of England nor the plantation system of caste and class prevailed long in East Tennessee. Although traces of the influence remain there today, the complicated structural problems of Lower Southern speech, e.g., vocalized /r/ and /1/, assimilation, and vowel nasality, are of very low incidence in the idiolects observed here.

For those reasons, it is possible to summarize the phonological data in a unitary phonemic interpretation. The following sketch identifies the principal noncontrastive(phonetic) and contrastive(phonemic) patterns that characterize these regional and social varieties of American English recorded in East Tennessee. Following Pike(1947), this report provides a systematic reduction of speech to writing in a consistent transcription that can be sustained through the subsequent discussions of morphology, syntax,

and vocabulary.

The phonemes of East Tennessee speech, the phonological composition of these 70 idiolects, can be adequately represented with 51 descriptive units. These abstract units(phonemes or sets) into which the concrete data(phones or members) are organzied according to the criteria of contrast, phonetic similarity, and structural distribution comprise the phonological system. These include 39 primary units(the segmental phonemes: consonants and vowels) and 12 secondary units(the suprasegmental phonemes: stress, pitch, and juncture).

Segmental phonemes are established by contrasting minimal pairs, such as  $\underline{\text{pin/tin}}$ , identifying /p/t/, or near-minimal pairs, such as  $\underline{\text{sitting room/Baton Rouge}}$ , identifying /m/ž/. The remaining 20 consonant phonemes are identified in these regularly elicited forms: /d/f/l/(dog/fog/log/), /b/y/(bellow/yellow), /g/k/j/(bug/bulk/bulge), /v/z/(have/has), /c/s/n/(chew/shoe/new), /s/g/(loss/long),  $/\text{\delta/h/(then/hen)}$ , and  $/\text{w/r/\theta/(one/run/thunder)}$ . The 15 vowel phonemes are similarly identified: /i/l/o/u/ai/(feet/fit/fought/foot/fight/), /s/e/(purse/pus), /u/o/(grew/grow), /a/e/(calm/came), /e/æ/(merry/married), and /au/oi/(owl/oil).

Suprasegmental phonemes of stress, pitch, and juncture include these 12 units:

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stress: /'/ (primary), /'/ (secondary), /'/ (tertiary), and /'/ (weak);
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pitch: /4/(highest), /3/(high), /2/ (medium), and /1/ (low); juncture: /#/ (terminal), /||/ (terminal-continuous), /|/ (continuous), and /+/ (continuous-close).

2.1 The Pronunciation of Consonants. Apart from the resonants /r/ and /l/ with their immediate constituents, the consonants of East Tennessee speech observed in this survey include the characteristics and habitual articulations of other major varieties of American English. Although no unique or distinctive articulations are observed elsewhere in the consonant system, the phonic variants are recorded here because they anticipate phonemic change and suggest the structural and social forces underlying such change.

Devoiced stops([b, d, g]), e.g., become interesting when found in idiolects in which  $/b \sim p/$ ,  $/d \sim t/$ , and  $/g \sim k/$  alternation occurs. Similarly, the alveolarized variant of [ $\int$ ], as in shrimp, is interesting in dialect areas in which  $/\tilde{s} \sim s/$  alternation recurs. These and similar features are recorded in this chapter to indicate the probable phonological trends of East Tennessee speech, some of which are documented in the following discussions of phonology and morphology.

2.11 Obstruent Consonants. The pronunciation of stops, affricates, and fricatives here includes a considerable variety of phonic alternation, all of which is inseparable from syllable structure. This is to say that all variation among obstruent consonants observed here is the product of phonological environment. In addition to the predictable allophones of the voiceless stops, distinguished by aspiration, other isolated and recurrent forms are observed within each of the three subsystems of stops, affricates, and fricatives.<sup>3</sup>

- 2.111 The Stop Consonants. Among the stop consonants, the alveolars /t/ and /d/ include far more numerous and complicated variants than those of both the labials and the velars combined. This pattern is consistent with the general instability of all alveolar consonants in East Tennessee. In the instance of alveolar stops, however, the problem is further complicated by their role in the tense system of the verbs, where they function as preterit and participial markers.
- 2.1111 The Voiceless Bilabial Stop /p/. Apart from single instances of aspirated final [p'] in crop(Idiolect #17, hereafter, #17) and weakly articulated [p] in wasps(# 60), the allophones of /p/ follow the expected pattern of complementary distribution. Indeed, this is the most predictable of all obstruent consonants in these 70 idiolects.
- 2.1112 The Voiced Bilabial Stop /b/. The allophones of /b/ include four variants. These include [b, b, b, b]. The tense and voiced bilabial stop [b] is recorded twice(#39 and 52) before a tense high front vowel in beard. The lax and devoiced [b] is recorded twice(#57 and 64) before the lax lateral in bulb. Weakly articulated [b] occurs in this same environment(#17 and 63), as well as after the lax vowel of crib(#58). The fourth of these variants is the palatalized [b] in beard, which occurs in the speech of l3 informants: #1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 13, 19, 28, 46, 50, 54, and 60. Whereas the tense, devoiced, and weakly articulated variants were well represented in younger and better-educated speech, the palatalized stop is restricted to the speech of the elderly, especially uneducated mountaineers.

2.1113 The Voiceless Alveolar Stop /t/. In addition to the usual pattern of aspirated, weakly aspirated, and unaspirated /t/ in initial, noninitial, and final positions, respectively, a voiced and tense [†] is predictable in heterosyllabic environments, as in daughter. This phone is recorded also in these tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic constructs:

quarter: #1, 2, 3, 5, 37, 40;
after: #4, 5, 21, 22;
oyster: #17;
helped: #17;
write:#54, 58, 63, 64;
eat:#54;
shut:#64.

It is striking that the commonplace forms in <u>quarter</u> and <u>after</u> are restricted to the northern quadrant of the region and that, with a single exception(# 17, <u>oyster</u> and <u>helped</u>), the voiced tense forms of the remainder of the list are limited in distribution to the southern quadrant of the region.

Three other allophones of /t/ suggest socially restricted patterns. The weakly articulated [ $^{\dagger}$ ] in dest for desks(# 9), yeast(# 17, 23, and 57), salt(# 17), coat(# 23), post(s)(#23, 41, 54, and 63), and joint(s)(# 25 and 59) are, with but a single exception, limited to rural Caucasian speech. Conversely, the aspirated [ $^{\dagger}$ 1] in the word-final position of ate(# 61), coat(# 60, and 61), eight (# 36, 60, and 61), helped(# 60), joint(# 60), shut(# 60), write (# 60), and yeast(# 36) is restricted to urban Negro speech. A single instance of /d/  $^{\dagger}$  /t/([ $^{\dagger}$ 1]) in dragged was found in urban Caucasian speech(# 62). Finally, the uncommon incidence of the

alveolar flap [r] in  $\underline{\text{daughter}}$  (# 17) and  $\underline{\text{widow}}$  (# 67) is limited to young informants.

A final set of variants of /t/ includes single instances of palatalized [†] in <a href="strainer">strainer</a>(# 4) and a fronted alveolar [†] in <a href="tired">tired</a>(# 65). Also to be noted here are five instances of unmodified [†], i.e., weakly aspirated, in <a href="daughter">daughter</a> among five informants # 20, 30, 35, 36, and 61, three of whom are black and four of whom have public-school teaching experience. This form may well parallel the strongly aspirated [†'] in final position and represent another hypercorrective form.

2.1114 The Voiced Alveolar Stop /d/. Several allophones are recorded here, the most common of which are the devoiced [d] and the weakly articulated [d] variants in final position. All of these are most common after alveolar consonants /1,r,n/, but follow other consonants and vowels as well. The devoiced allophone in final position is recorded in these contexts:

beard: #4, 34, 35, 42, 47, 58, 60;
climbed: #23, 42, 57;
cold: #66;
drank: #57;
field(s): #29, 57;
married: #6, 39, 42, 47, 58, 60;
ride: #60;
third: #35, 61;
tired: #63;
wood: #60.

Weakly articulated variants were recorded in these texts:

climbed: #17, 63;

cold: # 20, 57;

dragged: #17;

drank: # 42;

field: # 17, 23, 42, 43;

scared: # 64;

wood: # 64;

wound: # 1, 5, 40.

Two weakly articulated and devoiced variants were also recorded:  $\left[\frac{d}{d}\right]$  in third(# 1) and  $\left[\frac{d}{d}\right]$  in dived(# 62). Among these reduced forms, a sharp contrast is noted in their incidence among black informants. Whereas nine of 25 instances of the devoiced allophone were recorded in the speech of five blacks, only one of 15 instances of the weakly articulated allophone was recorded in this group.

Four other variants of /d/ include single instances of [?d] (glottalized) in drove(#7), [d](tense) in husband(#61), and [d] (advanced alveolar) in drove(#57), as well as three instances of [d](palatal) in drug(#61 and 68) and in drink(#61).

2.1115 The Voiceless Velar Stop /k/. Five allophones of /k/ are recorded in the synopses. Three of these are advanced velar and palatalized forms. The advanced velar [k] is not uncommon before high front vowels, as in keep, kin, and cake, where it is usually unmarked in transcription. Before back vowels, however, the phone is quite distinctive in these texts: car(# 4), coat(# 39), college (# 37, 44, 47, and 65), and crop(# 35). Although recorded only twice in the synopses, the palatalized sequence [k] in cow(# 49)

and kettle(# 12) is a good marker of uncultivated elderly folk speech in East Tennessee. Related to both of these is the palatal consonant [c]([k]) in cow(#64).

Sporadic occurrence of weakly articulated [k] and a single instance of hypercorrective [k'] in <u>desk</u> are the remaining realizations of this phoneme in the synopses:

[<sup>k</sup>] in <u>desk</u>: # 57;

<u>drank</u>: # 57;

drunk: # 60, 66;

[k'] in desk: # 60.

This final instance could be interpreted as compensatory aspiration to replace the lost plural marker, although # 60 has a record of excessive aspiration in the pronunciation of stop consonants.

2.1116 The Voiced Velar Stop /g/. Although a much wider variety of phonic variation among the allophones of /g/ is recorded in the East Tennessee corpus, only two allophones appear here:

- [g] in bag(#67), dog(#68), leg(#42), and rag(#43);
- [9] in dog(# 63)

As in other sets of alternation among stop consonants recorded here, the variants are shared by members of virtually all regional and social groups of the Valley and Cumberland subregions. Devoicing, especially, seems most uncommon in the Unakas subregions and most common in the Lower Valley and Cumberland subregions.

- 2.112 The Affricates. Although quite uncommon in the present sample, the affricates share the articulatory and distributional characteristics of both stops and fricatives: weak articulation and advanced position among the allophones of /č/ and weak articulation and devoicing among the allophones of /j/. Since the texts here are limited in the first instance to church and in the second, to college and joint, as well as sporadic variation in July, cabbage, joined, and Rouge—none of which is a primary context for the voiced affricate—a better measure of the phonic variation of these phonemes will require an exhaustive analysis of all LAGS texts, e.g., chiggers, children, chilly, chimney, chitterlings, and chop cotton, and jackleg, Jew's harp, joggling board, junk, and junkroom among lexical forms, as well as the phonological items, chair, Chattanooga, China, and January, judge, jelly, June, July, for initial position alone.
- 2.1121 The Voiceless Affricate /c/. Of these, the single context church yielded only two variants:

an advanced alveolar-palatal [tʃ]

a weakly articulated onset [T]

Both of these allophones are representative and frequently recurrent throughout the full corpus.

2.1122 The Voiced Affricate /j/. Several configurations emerge among these variants, all of which are related to devoicing and weak articulation:

initial unit [d3] in July(# 7);
final unit [d3] in college(# 45, 53, 57, 58,
62, 66);

in Rouge(# 58 and 62);

both units [d3] in cabbage(# 48), college(# 8, 13, 31, 32, 35, 47, 61, and 63), and Rouge

(# 44 and 61).

An additional instance of [†dʒ] in college(# 44) is characterized by a tense onset. Only two instances of weak articulation were recorded: [dʒ] in college(# 23) and [dʒ] in joined (# 53). However inconclusive this small sample must remain, the recurrence of these forms among younger and better-educated informants, especially in the Lower Valley, may suggest an incipient regional marker, rather than the social stigma usually assigned to devoiced obstruents in final position.

- 2.113 The Fricatives. As with other obstruent consonants, the most frequently occurring variants among the fricatives occur in consonant clusters, especially in final position. Of these units, the labio-dental and tip-dental fricatives are most unsatisfactorily represented. Again, this suggests no lack of evidence in the full corpus, but rather inadequate representation in the synopses.
- 2.1131 The Voiceless Labio-dental Fricative /f/. Although the texts are few here, <u>father</u>, <u>field</u>, <u>flower</u>, and <u>furrow</u>, a remarkable regularity of pronunciation is recorded. Unlike other areas of the Gulf States to the south, the bilabial fricative has no currency in East Tennessee. Variants are limited to single instances of [f] in <u>half past(# 10)</u> and [pf] in <u>furrow(# 17)</u>.

- 2.1132 The Voiced Labio-Dental Fricative /v/. Similarly, and surprisingly, unproductive in variants is the voiced set. Here, devoiced variants [v] are recorded only in the preterit forms of two verbs: dove(# 45) and drove(# 42 and 57).
- 2.1133 The Voiceless Tip-Dental Fricative  $/\theta/$ . Allophones of this fricative are restricted to four single instances of the following:

and two instances of  $[\theta]$  in  $\underline{father}(\# 17)$  and  $\underline{three}(\# 46)$ .

- 2.1134 The Voiced Tip-Dental Fricative /ð/. Although no alternants were recorded for the principal allophone [ð], several instances of co-articulation were recorded elsewhere in the East Tennessee sample:
- [do] in either (# 37 and 47) and mother (# 56).

  In addition to these, there are frequent instances of weakly articulated allophones in initial position, under weak stress, in extended syntactic sequences.
- 2.1135 The Voiceless Apico-Alveolar Groove Fricative /s/. Like the voiceless alveolar stop, this phoneme includes variants through retraction, anticipating palatalization, and weak articulation, anticipating consonant loss. Of these, the retracted forms are most common, especially in consonant clusters:

- [s]in hoarse(# 4 and 64), horse(# 27), horses(# 2), oysters

  (# 1, 5, 10, 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 28, 36, 52, 54, 61,

  64, 65, and 68), scared(# 64), shrimp(# 18, 23, 44,

  60, and 70), strain(# 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 14, 20, 22,27, 28,

  34, 40, 45, 47, 54, 55, and 70), strainer(# 4 and 11),

  strong(# 3), wasp(# 18), and yeast(# 1);
- [<sup>5</sup>] in <u>desks</u>(# 26 and 61), <u>horse</u>(# 54), <u>joints</u>(# 54), <u>posts</u>
  (# 4), and shrimps(# 62);
- [s] in <u>oyster</u>(# 7);
- $[s^{5}]$  in yeast(# 17);
- [s] in posts(# 29) and shrimp(# 16 and 49);
- [ $^{\S}$ ] in horse(# 64).

In 40 of the 70 East Tennessee idiolects, some modification in the articulation of /s/ was observed. Among the remaining 30, six are natives of Knoxville(# 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, and 38) and four are natives of Chattanooga(# 59, 60, 63, and 67). Thirteen others are better-educated, common or cultivated speakers(# 12, 21, 24, 30, 39, 42, 43, 46, 50, 51, 53, 57, and 58). Only seven are rural folk speakers(# 6, 9, 25, 41, 48, 56, and 69), several of whom are self-educated. This distribution strongly suggests the incipience of the unmodified consonant, irrespective of environment, emerging through the influence of urban and cultivated speech.

2.1136 The Voiced Apico-Alveolar Groove Fricative /z/. A part of that same pattern is sustained in the patterning of the lax groove fricatives. Palatalized variants [z] are recorded in six texts:

ears(# 27), girls(# 2 and 55), hammer(# 27), hills(# 53), risen(# 10),

and <u>strainer</u>(# 4), all of which are from elderly folk and common speakers, none of whom are residents of Knoxville and Chattanooga.

The much more common devoiced allophone [7] was recorded 77 times in 23 texts: bags(# 58), beans(# 42, 60, and 66), beards(# 60). cows(# 4), daughters(# 4, 54, 62, and 66), deskes(# 63), dogs(# 58), fields(# 29 and 35), flowers(# 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 30, 32, 33, 34, 42, 44, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, and 62), furrows(# 57 and 60), girls(# 3 and 66), his(# 57, 62, and 63), husband(# 35, 46, and 61), kneels(#66), lawyers(# 35), miles(# 45), mules(# 28, 34, 54, 57, and 58), oysters (# 18, 23, 33, 35, 57, 59, 60, and 64), owls(# 42), pounds(# 17, 35, 36, 42, 45, 57, 58, 60, and 61), risen(# 51 and 62), waspers(# 25), and worms(#3, 4, 17, 57, 60, 62, and 64). Forty of these 77 instances are recorded in the metropolitan counties of Knox and Hamilton. In Knoxville, 10 of 11 instances occur in the speech of the four black informants # 33(2), 34(2), 35(5), and 36(1), with a single instance in the speech of a middleaged well-educated white # 31. Conversely, in Hamilton County, only 11 of 29 instances recorded there occur in black speech: # 60(6), 61(3), and 63(2). The remaining 37 occurrences appear sporadically across the entire region with a rather large proportion recorded in the speech of younger, better-educated informants (# 17, 23, 30, 42, 44, 51, and 57). Those seven informants provide 16 of the 37 rural instances of the allophone, but eight of these can quite properly be assigned to the urban centers of Knoxville(# 30: 1) and Chattanooga (# 57: 7) because Maryville and Cleveland are suburbs of those respective cities.

Finally, all of the remaining four instances of complex devoicing--i.e., combined with another feature of articulation--

are also recorded among the young and better-educated:

- [ $\stackrel{\text{Z}}{\circ}$ ] in miles(# 44) and pounds(# 31).
- [z<sup>S</sup>] in <u>furrows</u>(# 17),
- [ $\stackrel{z}{\circ}$ ] in oysters(# 42).

All of this suggests the emergence of an articulatory habit in the region that is strengthened by its incidence in three expanding social groups: the better-educated, the blacks, and the urban informants.

- 2.1137 The Voiceless Blade Pre-Palatal Groove Fricative /š/. Although members of this phoneme comprise one of the most complicated
  sets of data in the Gulf States, a comparatively small number are
  recorded in East Tennessee. They suggest three features of phonological distribution:
  - 1) The incompatibility of  $/\check{s}/ + /r/$  or  $/3/([\mathfrak{F}])$  in <u>shrimp</u>  $[^{S}]]$  (# 1, 2, 5, 9, 33, 53, and 65) and  $[]^{S}]$  (# 34), <u>sure</u>  $[^{S}]$  (# 2), and <u>three</u>, where  $/\check{s}/$  alternates with  $/\theta/$ , (# 65);
  - 2) The instability of /s̄/ in initial position in shut[ʃ](# 17 and 42), as well as the foregoing instances in shrimp, sure, and three;
  - 3) The instability of  $/\check{s}/$  in medial position in  $\underline{\text{oyster}}[\int]$  (# 44, 57, and 61).

Conversely, in the 64 instances of /s/ recorded after the high back vowels in <u>push</u>, <u>pushing</u>, and <u>pushed</u>, not a single variant of these kinds occurred. In each instance, the unmodified [ʃ] appeared.

2.1138 The Voiced Blade Pre-Palatal Groove Fricative  $/\check{z}/$ . Allophonic variation within this set is difficult to evaluate because the phoneme itself occurs only as a phonotactic reflex in much folk speech, where  $/\check{j}/$  replaces  $/\check{z}/$  in garage, measure, rouge, and television, because the phoneme is limited to postvocalic postion in English, and because the phoneme is systematically investigated in the LAGS sample only in the text Baton Rouge. The recorded variants include five instances, all of which involve devocalization in final position:

- [3] in  $\underline{\text{bulge}}$ (# 58),  $\underline{\text{college}}$ (# 27), and  $\underline{\text{Rouge}}$ (# 54);
- [3] in <u>oysters</u>(# 58);
- [3<sup>5</sup>] in Rouge(# 28).

All of these instances occur in the middle and lower sectors of the region, with the youngest of these informants (# 58) at age 59.

2.1139 The Voiceless Reduced Laryngeal Fricative /h/. Of the six variants observed among the pronunciations of /h/, three are palatalized [h<sup>X</sup>] in horse(# 6), [h<sup>J</sup>] in heard(# 6), and [h] in hill (# 10), one is labialized [h] in whip (# 11), another is distinctively voiceless and lax [h] in hammer(# 39), and the final form is weakly articulated [h] in whip(# 23, 29, and 63). All of these are recorded in the upper and middle sectors of the region.

- 2.12 Resonant Consonants. The nasal, lateral, and semi-vocalic frictionless continuants include remarkable regional and social markers in East Tennessee, although virtually all of these are limited to the diaphones of /1/ and /r/. Elsewhere, but especially among the nasals, phonemic alternation is much more important than phonic variation in the diagnosis of this subsystem.
- 2.121 The Nasals. Although distinctive(i.e., phonemic) vowel nasality is occasionally observed in East Tennessee speech, the incidence is quite rare. In the synopses, single instances are limited to the alveolar and velar nasals /n/ and /ŋ/, which, like all variants among nasal phonemes recorded here, occur in the speech of the three emergent groups: better-educated, black, and urban informants.
- 2.1211 The Bilabial Nasal Continuant /m/. Although uncomplicated in the texts provided here, viz., a single variant—a weakly articulated phone [m] in home(#66), the bilabial nasal is involved in several other patterns among these idiolects. These include the dramatic variants recorded among grunts of affirmation and negation, where glottalization and devoicing often accompany the articulation of the consonant, heterosyllabic gemination in hammer, and homorganic /p/ in something, where stoppage of the air stream is virtually inseparable from the nasality of the preceding continuant.
- 2.1212 The Alveolar Nasal Continuant /n/. Restricted here to single instances of palatalization [n] in Nelly(# 51) and vowel nasality  $[g\tilde{o}_{\wedge}\tilde{o}^{<}]$  in gone(# 64), allophones of /n/ parallel those of /m/ in those same grunts of affirmation and negation, as well as the emergence of the nasalized alveolar flap  $[\tilde{r}]$  in place of /nt/ in mantel and other texts and gemination of /n/ in mantel(piece).

- 2.1213 The Velar Nasal Continuant /ŋ/. A single instance of this phoneme realized as vowel nasality occurs in the pronunciation of  $\underline{\text{drunk}}(\#\ 31)$ . Another Knoxville informant( $\#\ 37$ ) uses this same signal in pronunciations of  $\underline{\text{skunk}}$  and  $\underline{\text{chipmunk}}$ , neither of which is included in the synopsis. Another commonplace of Southern speech, the palatalized nasal, often occurs—as a phonological compromise in words such as  $\underline{\text{bacon}}$ ,  $\underline{\text{Macon}}$ , and  $\underline{\text{taken}}$ , where /ŋ/ sometimes occurs, but where most varieties of English have /n/.
- 2.122 The Lateral Consonants. With only one phoneme /1/ involved here, the remarkable variation among the allophones of this unit are paralleled in East Tennessee speech only by the allophones of /r/.  $^5$
- 2.1221 The Apico-Alveolar Lateral Continuant /1/. The four principal allophones of /1/ are [I, L, ł, w]. Each of these is positionally restricted:
  - [1] is the lax, voiced apico-alveolar lateral continuant with central vowel, or <u>neutral</u>, timbre, occurring regularly in initial position, as in <u>leg</u>, frequently in final position after a front vowel, as in <u>hill</u>, somewhat less frequently in medial(heterosyllabic) position before a front vowel, as in <u>college</u>, and rarely in final position after a back vowel, as in <u>pull</u>;
  - [5] is the lax, voiced apico-alveolar lateral continuant with front vowel, or clear, timbre, occurring regularly in medial(heterosyllabic) position between front vowels, as in Nelly and valley, less frequently after a back vowel, as in college, and rarely in final position, as

in rail;

- [i] is the lax, voiced apico-alveolar lateral continuant with back vowel, or dark, timbre, occurring regularly in final position after back vowels, as in pull and salt, frequently in final position after the centralized diphthongs of miles and oil, and not infrequently in field, when the syllabic nucleus has been neutralized with a centralizing glide [i];
- [w] is a lax or tense lateralized semivowel continuant with back vowel, or <u>dark</u>, timbre, occurring most frequently after back vowels, as in <u>bulb</u> and <u>salt</u>, and rarely in other postvocalic contexts, as in <u>hill</u>, <u>field</u>, <u>girl</u>, and <u>miles</u>.

In each of these texts, however, considerable variation is recorded.

In hill, eight allophones are observed:

- [1] #1, 2, 3 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 45, 46, 51, 55, 56, 59, and 69;
- []] #23 and 52;
- [1] #26, 43, 47, 50, 53, 54, 63, 65, and 70;
- [4] #17;
- [1] #5, 8, 20, 24, 25, 38, 39, 40, 44, 48, 49, 61, 62, 67, and 68;
- [1] #29;
- [1] #35 and 37;
- [w] #42, 57, 58, 60, 64, and 66.

These include several sharp subregional and social contrasts. Whereas eight(# 30-37) of nine Metropolitan Knoxville informants have [I] or [I], only one(# 59) of 11 Metropolitan Chattanooga informants has [1]. And, whereas ten (#58, 60-68) of 11 Chattanooga informants have[1, 1, w]; only one Knoxville informant(# 38) has a velarized variant [1]. Further, 23 of 30 instances of [1] occur in the speech of informants over age 60, with only a single instance(# 51) under age 40. With the velar variants dominant in the Lower regions, both rural and Chattanooga, and the alveolar variants dominant in the upper regions, both rural and Knoxville, the speech of younger informants deserves closer attention, if a pattern of incipience is to be noted. For example, of the 15 instances of [1], 11 occur in the speech of informants under age 60, with six of these(# 5, 24, 38, 44, 67, and 68) under age 40. important, these six informants include natives of the upper and lower regions, as well as both Knoxville and Chattanooga.

In Nelly, pallet, and valley, only five allophones occur:

- [6] in Nelly (# 1, 2, 4-11, 13, 15-21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34-40, 44, 45, 50-54, 58-64, 66, and 68);
  - in <u>pallet</u>(as a synopsis substitute for <u>valley</u>)(# 5, 6, 11, 13, 21, 27-29, 32, 35, 48, 49, 56, 60, 61, 63-66, 68-70);
  - in <u>valley</u>(# 1-4, 7-9, 14-20, 25, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 44-47, 52-55, 58, 59, and 62);
- [i] in Nelly(# 14, 24, 33, and 70);
  in pallet(# 10, 22, 23, 24, 31, 36, 39, and 50);
  in valley(# 43 and 51);

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[|] in Nelly(# 22 and 31);
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- [|] in <u>valley</u>(# 57);
- [1] in Nelly(# 57);

in valley(# 42 and 67).

Although the alveolarized, <u>clear</u>, allophones are overwhelmingly dominant throughout the region in this environment, the few instances of retracted[] and velarized [] forms are consistent with the aforementioned pattern: all are recorded in the speech of informants under age 40, and none is recorded in Knoxville.

The velar variants are most common in bulb, pull, and salt:

- [1] in <u>bulb</u>(# 2, 5, 16, 29, 30, 38, 40, 51, 52, 57, and 68); in <u>pull</u>(# 2, 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26-30, 34, 38, 40, 44, 49, 51-53, 57, 58, 62, 67, and 68);
  - in <u>salt(# 1, 5, 7, 13,-17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 30, 33, 37-40, 43, 45-47, 49-53, 55, 59, 63, 66-68, and 70);</u>
- [ $^{1}$ ] in salt(# 57);
- [ł] in in <u>pull</u>(# 10 and 25);
- [ \frac{1}{2} ] in \( \text{bulb}(\pi \) 53);
  in \( \text{pull}(\pi \) 32, 36, and 59);
- [w] in <u>bulb</u>(# 3, 6, 15, 24, and 34);
  - in <u>pull</u>(# 14 and 42);
  - in <u>salt</u>(# 3, 11, 34, and 64);
- [w] in <u>bulb</u>(# 1, 18, 27, 61, 64, and 66); in salt(# 42, 54, 61, and 62);
- [w ]in pull(# 35);
- ["|]in <u>bulb(# 37);</u>

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[1] in bulb(# 17, 21, 26, and 31);
  in pull(# 1, 3, 4, 7, 16, 31, and 45);
  in salt(# 9, 56, and 65);
[1] in bulb(# 23, 47, 58, and 62);
  in pull(# 19, 23, 33, 37, 43, 50, 54, 63, 69, and 70);
  in salt(# 69);
[1] in pull(# 9, 18, and 22);
  in salt(# 4);
[1] in salt(# 23);
[1] in pull(# 39, 46, 47, 55, 60, 64, and 66);
[2] in pull(# 65).
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The pattern of distribution among the allophones of /1/ after back vowels in <u>bulb</u>, <u>pull</u>, and <u>salt</u> is clearly social. In <u>bulb</u>, where the phoneme is lost in 29 of the 61 texts, only two informants under age 40 delete the lateral(# 22 and 42), both of whom are very young residents of isolated areas. The dominant allophones in bulb are the velarized forms [ł, ļ, wl, ł]. Six of 11 instances of [ł] occur in the speech of informants under age 40(# 5, 38, 51, 52, 57, and 68), and nine of these 11 are better educated(Types II and III). Conversely, the lateralized semivowel(labio-velar and unrounded)[w, w] prevails in elderly folk speech in nine of 11 instances. In <u>pull</u>, 10 of 12 instances of /1/ are realized as [ł] among informants under age 40, with the remaining two realized in close proximity [l]. In <u>salt</u>, this pattern is even more forcefully confirmed with nine instances of [ł] and a single instance of [l] recorded among the younger informants(under age 40).

- 2.123 The Retroflex Consonants. The allophones of /r/ comprise the largest set of variants among the phonemes of these East Tennessee idiolects. Seventeen allophones of /r/ are observed in this region, but, as with the variants of /l/, emphasis here is placed on variation of the resonant consonant in postvocalic position. <sup>6</sup>
- 2.1231 The Voiced Apico-Alveolar Retroflex Frictionless Continuant /r/. The allophones of postvocalic /r/ include several recurrent variants in tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic environments. The tautosyllabic texts included here are beard, ear, flowers, hoarse, horse, poor, sure, and wire. The heterosyllabic texts include furrow, married, Mary, and merry.

Allophones of tautosyllabic /r/ include several recurring variants in addition to the dominant [#], the fully retroflex form, which prevails among all groups but which is the overwhelming favorite of younger informants, under age 40. The recessive variants include:

- [e] in <u>beard</u>(# 15), <u>ear</u>(# 15), and <u>hoarse</u>(# 20);
- [ə] in <u>beard</u>(# 23), <u>ear</u>(# 23, 34, and 37), <u>flowers</u>(# 35, 37, and 46), horse(# 30), and sure(# 1, 61, 64, and 65);
- [ $^{\circ}$ ] in beard(# 17) and poor(# 60).

The very strongly retroflex phone [e], often associated with mountain speech, is less common than expected in the synopses, although a much larger set of examples can be drawn from the full corpus. Suffice it to say here, as the examples of #15 and #20 suggest, the pronunciation is a relic form preserved in folk speech.

The weakly retroflex phone [a] anticipates the substitution of /a/ for /r/, discussed in the next chapter. Of the 12 instances in the synopses, six occur in black speech(# 34, 35, 37[twice], 61, and 65), in both Chattanooga and Knoxville. One of two instances of the weakly articulated variant [a] was also recorded in black speech(# 60).

The allophones of /r/ in the heterosyllabic environmemnts are considerably more complicated. In addition to [a], the dominant form in all four texts, these variants are recorded:

- [e] in <u>furrow</u>(# 15, 20, 27, 46, an 47) and in <u>merry</u>(# 3, 4, and 36);
- [s.] in furrow(# 18, 21, 22, 45, 49, and 54);
- [ $\ni$ ] in <u>married</u>(# 39 and 70), in <u>Mary</u>(# 66), and in <u>merry</u>(# 23 and 43);
- [r] in <u>furrow</u>(# 53, 58, 60, 61, 62, 68, and 69), in <u>married</u>
  (# 37, 39, 40, 41, 52, 53, and 68), in <u>Mary</u>(# 39, 40, 53,
  and 68), and in merry(# 38, 39, 64, and 68);
- [r] in Mary(#22, 25, 46, and 52);
- [ $\sigma$ ] in married(# 46), Mary(# 35), and merry(# 25, 37, and 63);
- $[\frac{1}{2}]$  in merry (# 26, 27, and 28).

In addition to these, are fronted variants in  $\underline{\text{furrow}}$ , [ex.](# 70) and [ex.](# 52), which are best interpreted here as additional evidence of the lengthened phone.

As in the tautosyllabic environments, heterosyllabic /r/ as a strongly retroflex variant [a] is restricted to the elderly and/ or folk speakers. The [r] variant—which can be contrasted with [a] in roar [roa]—has no currency in the Unakas or Upper Valley;

the phone is rare in the Middle Valley, sporadic in the Cumberlands, but almost commonplace in the Lower Valley. Because this phone emerges in idiolects where the loss of postvocalic /r/ leads to the articulation of the consonant as the onset of the succeeding syllable, it is consistent with the regional distribution of East Tennessee speech: Upcountry Lower Southern forms are most common in the Lower Valley, common in the Middle Valley, and most strongly resisted in the Unakas. The Cumberland region is complicated by social factors and other neighboring dialects to the north and south, as well as its peculiar history of settlement, so little can be made of the instances of [-r-] there.

The labialized variants[r, a, a] are, with the exception of two Middle Unakas informants(# 27 and 28), in Sevier County adjoining Knox, limited to the same pattern of distribution as the [r] forms. Perhaps the best social marker among these variants is the lengthened consonant in <u>furrow</u>, recorded exclusively in the speech of elderly informants(# 18, 21, 22, 45, 49, 52, 54, and 70) in all regions except the Upper Unakas and Upper Cumberland subsections.

2.124 <u>The Semivowels</u>. The phonemes /y/ and /w/ are distinguished from other resonant consonants by their limited privilege of incidence, occurring only in prevocalic position. They are further specialized by their close affiliation with vowels: /y/ and /r/, especially in contexts such as <u>humor</u>, <u>mules</u>, and <u>music</u>, where the semivowel is interpreted as a unit phoneme rather than the onset of a diphthong /yu/, not /ru/, and /w/, where postvocalic labiovelars [w, v] are interpreted here as allophones of /1/.

2.1241 The Fronto-Palatal Frictionless Continuant /y/. Apart from the incidence of [J] after obstruents in prevocalic position, few variants of /y/ are recorded in the synopses. All of these are limited to a single text, the pronunciation of the phoneme before the front vowel in yeast:

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[J] (# 6, 38, 46, 47, 56, and 64);
[J] #(# 45).
```

Six of these eight informants are elderly folk and common speakers; two(# 38 and 39) are younger and better educated. Among the elderly, the weakly articulated allophone [J] points toward the loss of the phoneme in this context, a recurrent feature in East Tennessee folk speech. The other two allophones, both of which are characterized by pronounced tension, may reflect a compensatory effort to avoid the deletion of the consonant, i.e., a very careful, if not hypercorrective, form.

2.1242 The Labio-Dorso-Velar Frictionless Continuant /w/. The paucity of variants in the pronunciation of this phoneme reflects the phonemic interpretation of this report. Since the weakly articulated voiceless variant is recorded here as [hw] in whip and similar structures, instead of [w], the allophone is not recorded. The lone alternant here is a single instance of the strongly labialized phone [w] in swum(# 58).

- 2.2 The Pronunciation of Vowels. With the criteria of phonemic contrast and phonetic similarity already outlined in general terms, the pronunciation of vowels in East Tennessee can be discussed here from the perspective of structural distribution, viz., the function of the vowels within the structure of the syllable. Thus, vowels are summarized here under four rubrics: 1) checked vowels, 2) free vowels, 3) weakly stressed vowels, and 4) vowels before /r/. All of the general South Midland features reported by Kurath and McDavid(1961: 18-9) were observed in East Tennessee, but considerable fluctuation between South Midland and Upper Southern phonic characteristics was also noted.
- 2.21 The Checked Vowels /1,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\varpi$ ,  $\upsilon$ ,  $\Lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ /. These include virtually all lax monop hth ongs and most lax diphthongs, but the distinctive characteristic of these phonemes is their restriction to syllables that are closed, or checked, by a consonant. The allophones of the high vowels /I, U/ are usually ingliding diphthongs, before voiceless stops and fricatives and lengthened monophthongs before resonant consonants--nasals, laterals, and semivowels. Before voiced obstruents, both sets of allophones are common. similar pattern is observed among the mid vowels / $\epsilon$ ,  $\wedge$ /, with a very important exception. In all environments, but especially before voiced velar stops, the allophones of these phonemes tend to be distinctly upgliding. The low vowels /æ, a/ share some of the distributional features of the other four checked vowels: allophones of /æ/ include upglides, inglides, and lengthened monophthongs in the same patterns of distribution as those of the high and mid checked vowels; allophones of /a/ are restricted to

ingliding diphthongs and lengthened monophthongs. The low checked vowels are distinguished from the rest of this subset by the distinctive features of tenseness(occasionally in allophones of /æ/), range of position, lip rounding, and privilege of occurrence(occasionally in allophones of  $/\alpha/$ ).

2.211

The Lax High-Front Vowel /1/. The vowel of whip, crib, tin, and hill includes several predictable, or usual, positional variants. The ingliding diphthongs [ $i^{\theta}$ ], occasionally prolonged [ $i^{\theta}$ ] and often raised  $[i, \theta, i]$ , prevails before voiceless and voiced stops. Before the nasal of tin and drink retracted and lowered monophthongs and diphthongs recur. Indeed, these allophones are common before all resonant consonants, but especially the alveolar nasal, where the alternation of /1/ and / $\epsilon$ / is most frequently observed. 2.212 The Lax High-Back Vowel /u/. The high-back vowels are much more frequently centralized and much less frequently raised than were the allophones of /I/. Centralized monophthongs are usual before the voiceless and voiced stops of push and wood. Before the usually velarized /1/ of pull, the ingliding diphthongs prevail. The fragmentary evidence concerning this vowel before /m/, as in woman, suggests the influence of the resonant on back vowels as well, manifested in the phonemic alternation of poor and sure, discussed below under phonemic incidence.

In the speech of nine informants(# 8, 11, 13, 14, 21, 30, 55, 65, and 70), a palatal glide develops before the prepalatal groove fricative of push. Although restricted to informants over age 50 and not occurring in either Knoxville or Chattanooga, this relic feature is recorded among all other social groups, especially

in the mountains.

The Lax Mid-Front Vowel  $/\epsilon/$ . The allophones of this vowel 2.213 in neck, leg, ten, and Nelly include short and long monophthongs with raised, lowered, fronted, and centralized variants in all combinations. Diphthongs include ingliding and upgliding forms with lengthened, lowered, raised, fronted, and centralized onsets in the same combinations as those of the monophthongs. voiceless stops, the monophthongs are more common than the diphthongs, although both inglides and upglides are recorded. Before voiced stops, however, the pattern is much more complicated. gliding diphthongs prevail before labial and alveolar stops, but upgliding diphthongs are predictable before the voiced velar stop of leg(egg or keg), whether the vowel is an allophone of /e/, / $\epsilon$ /, or /x. Before /1/, the phoneme is realized as any of the aforementioned allophones, but the dominant pattern is similar to that of other checked vowels in this position. Before the usually neutral /1/ of yellow, the lowered or unmarked allophone is common, the ingliding diphthong is less common, and the upgliding diphthong is quite rare. Before the usually velarized allophone of /1/ in well, the ingliding diphthong is usual; the monophthong, Before the usually alveolarized allophone of /l/ in Nelly, the raised monophthong is usual, unmarked monophthongs are common, and upgliding and ingliding diphthongs are rare. nasals, as in ten, the retracted and lowered monophthong, sometimes accompanied by vowel nasality is common, especially in pen.

- 2.214 The Lax Mid-Central Vowel /^/. The allophones of this vowel in shut, husband, sun, and bulb include a number of variants that parallel the monophthongs and diphthongs of the other checked vowels. Before voiceless stops, as in shut, the fronted, and sometimes raised, variant is much more common than either the unmarked vowel or the ingliding diphthong. The same pattern is sustained before the fricative of husband and the lateral of bulb. A distinctive diphthong is recorded in these contexts, especially in husband. This is the up and back gliding diphthong [ $^{\gamma}$ ], often accompanied by faucal tension, and singularly remarkable, especially in the Upper South.
- 2.215 The Lax or Tense Low-Front Vowel /æ/. The allophones of this vowel in glass, rag, hammer, and valley are a unique set without parallel among checked vowels. In all four of these environments, upgliding diphthongs prevail. The short glide  $[æ^{ε}]$  prevails before voiceless stops, nasals, and the lateral; the long glide  $[æ^{ε}]$ , before the voiced velar stop of rag, although both of these, as well as the monophthongal variants, are observed in the four environments.
- 2.216 The Lax Low-Central Vowel /a/. The allophones of this vowel in crop, father, palm, and college are usually retracted, often lengthened, especially before voiced consonants, and occasionally diphthongized, especially before nasal consonants. The retracted monophthong is the dominant allophone in crop, father, and college, where it competes with lengthened, as well as lengthened and retracted variants. The ingliding diphthong is most common before the nasal of palm. In all of these texts, the lowback

unrounded vowel  $[\sigma]$  is recorded, with several modifications of length and position. All of these phones are interpreted as allophones of  $/\alpha$  because they are always unrounded and never upgliding diphthongs, features that are characteristic of the free vowel  $/\alpha$ .

Since the most distinctive characteristic of the checked vowels is the monophthongal versus diphthongal structure and since these are most effectively illustrated before voiceless stops and fricatives, the stressed vowels of whip, neck, glass, push, shut, and crop in these East Tennessee idiolects are suggestive of status of these units. Of the 420 contexts in the idiolect synopses, #1-70, 214 of the vowels are monophthongs, and 209 are diphthongs. The distribution offers a nearly perfect linguistic variable, which is worth examining from several perspectives.

In the nine subregions, the following incidence was recorded:

	Monophthongs	Diphthongs
Upper Unakas	24	24
Middle Unakas	20	22
Lower Unakas	8	10
Upper Valley	29	31
Middle Valley	40	26
Lower Valley	46	38
Upper Cumberlands	19	23
Middle Cumberlands	14	16
Lower Cumberlands	14	16
Total	214	206

These figures show that only in the Middle and Lower Valley regions are the monophthongs dominant, no doubt from the urban influence in Knoxville and Chattanooga, respectively. In those cities, the frequency of the monophthong is even higher than in the respective subregions as units:

	Monophthongs	Diphthongs
Middle Valley	40	26
Rural	11	7
Knoxville	29	19
Lower Valley	46	38
Rural	10	14
Chattanooga	36	24

Distribution according to age groups includes these figures:

Age Groups	Monophthongs	Diphthongs
Under Age 40(13)	48	30
Under age 70(21)	59	67
Over age 70(36)	107	109

Here only the young informants show a clear preference for the monophthong, with the highest frequency of the diphthong accurring among the middleaged group. The old informants are approximately evenly divided.

Distribution according to education includes these figures:

Education	Monophthongs	Diphthongs
Elementary(Type I) (31)	82	104
High School(Type II)(16)	49	47
College(Type III) (23)	83	55
Total	214	206

Statistics drawn from a judgment sample are never to be given the authority of conclusions drawn from a systematic sample, but the evidence is nevertheless suggestive. In this instance, it seems probable that the monophthong of checked vowels before voiceless consonants is spreading at the expense of the diphthong and that this process is being led by younger, well-educated, urban residents of the region.

- 2.22 The Free Vowels /i, e, u, o, 3, o, ai, au, oi/. These include all stressed vowels that occur in both free and checked positions. The allophones of four of these phonemes /i, e, u, o/ regularly share features of duration(length) and tenseness. The high vowels /i, u/ usually have a lax onset and a tense offset; the mid vowels /e, o/ usually have a tense onset and a lax offset; the low vowel /o/ is usually lax in both phases of articulation. Of these the high and mid vowels tend to be centralized, often lowered, and occasionally ingliding. Like the allophones of /o/, the variants recorded among the other four stressed vowels /3, a1, au, o1/ are predominantly lax in articulation, and these monophthongs and diphthongs introduce several structural problems of phonemic interpretation and overlapping. Of all the free vowels, /o, ar, au, or/ are most complicated and most interesting in terms of both phonic composition and social distribution.
- 2.221 The Tense High-Front Vowel /i/. The allophones of the syllabic nucleus in <u>yeast</u>, <u>three</u>, <u>beans</u>, and <u>field</u> include four recurrent positional variants. Centralized diphthongs, always retracted and sometimes lowered, are dominant in <u>yeast</u> and <u>three</u>.

Before voiced fricatives, only sporadically represented in the synopses, a very short glide prevails. Elsewhere in the field records, this variant [1,1] is recurrent in either, neither, greased, and greasy. The third significant variant [11] is recorded in all four of the texts, but this allophone is dominant only in beans, where the short glide also recurs. Finally, the ingliding diphthongs [ $i^{\theta}$ ,  $i^{\theta}$ ,  $i^{\theta}$ ] are most common before the lateral in field, where it seems to precipitate the alternation of the lax vowel in this text as well as in wheelbarrow and real. The Tense High-Back Vowel /u/. In tooth, two, wound, and mule, the allophones of this phoneme generally parallel the variants of /i/. The rounded high-back vowels are, however, more nearly systematic in their tendency to centralize, although less frequently ingliding  $[u^{\theta}]$  than were the allophones of /i/. centralized diphthongs [u<u<, ਚਚ, ਚ,ਚ, u;u;] precipitate the palatal phonemic sequence /yu/, regularly realized in mule(s), sometimes in tooth and two, and even in wound([ft]). that phone is limited to the speech of one informant(# 68), a young, well-educated native of Hamilton County, three closely related variants should also be noted in the speech of four other inform-The phones [gu](# 38 and 39), [gu.](# 44), and [ $\tilde{v}\tilde{v}$ ](# 52) in wound all anticipate /ru  $\rightarrow$  yu/, and, like # 68, all four of these speakers are younger(the males<#38 and 52 are age 17) and (the females < # 39 and 44 > are ages 38 and 50) and better-educated. Elsewhere in the corpus, where /u/ follows /y/, as in beautiful, ewe, and music-less frequently in blew, chew, due, dues, new, and suit, the centralized diphthongs are always dominant.

2.223 The Tense Mid-Front Vowel /e/. The variants of the stressed vowel in eight, May, strain, and rail include four sets of allophones: [eī ~ eɨ ~ eṣɨ, ~ e<sup>ð</sup>]. In all four words, the upgliding diphthong [e1] is quite recessive, and the lowered and centralized  $[e \wr f]$  has slight dominion over the competitive all phone [e f]. Although no clear pattern of social distribution can be inferred from the incidence of these forms, a regional pattern is certainly The lowered and retracted variant is recorded throughout the region, but its incidence, especially in eight, May, and strain, is strongest in both rural and urban subregions of the Great Valley, as well as the suburban and rural subregions of the Lower Unakas and Middle Cumberlands. The form is competitive in the Upper and Middle Unakas, while clearly recessive in the Upper and Lower Cumberland areas. This suggests a peculiar variant has already taken hold in the centers of cultural influence(the Tri-Cities, Knoxville, and Chattanooga) and has gained dominion in the satellite subregions.

The fourth allophone  $[e^{\theta}]$  is restricted to the text <u>rail</u>, where it precedes the lateral. Although the form seems to have a higher incidence in the Lower Unakas, Valley, and Cumberlands, including Chattanooga, this commonplace pronunciation is difficult to assign to either regional or social configurations.

2.224 The Tense Mid-Back Vowel /o/. The allophones of the stressed vowel in coat, ago, home, and cold are usually centralized diphthongs [o< $\forall$  ~ 6 $\forall$  ~ 0 $\forall$  ~ 0 $\forall$  ~ 0 these, the non-lowered variants prevail in all 12 of the subregions, with the highest incidence of the lowered variant recorded before the resonants of home and cold.

Of these allophones, the fully centered diphthongs [60 ~ 60] are surely the most distinctive in social distribution. Of the 11 informants using these vowels in the four texts, 10 are female, seven of whom are college educated: #5 in coat, ago, home, and cold; #16 in coat and ago; #17 in home; #19 in home; #26 in coat; #30 in home; #38 in ago; #39 in home; #49 in coat and home; #51 in coat, ago, home, and cold; #70 in home. Nine of these 11 informants are under age 65, suggesting the incipience of the forms in East Tennessee.

2.225 The Lax or Tense Mid-Central Vowel /3/. The allophones of this phoneme, illustrated in the texts church, third, worms, and girls, are mid-central vowels, characterized by several degrees of retroflection. The most distinctive regional diaphone is a remarkably strong retroflex continuant that is restricted, apparently, to oldfashioned folk speech. The dominant diaphone, however, is the fully retroflex continuant [a] that shares the acoustic and articulatory features of usual Inland Northern and all Midland varieties observed to date. Less frequent are the weakly retroflex continuants [a a 3] and the ingliding diphthones [a a 3]. All of these are occasionally marked by lip rounding, but none of the recessive forms seems widespread enough to provide the substance of a pattern. Least common of all are those diphthones [a a 3 a a 4] that show no lingual constriction whatsoever.

2.226 The Lax Low-Back Vowel / o/. The four remaining free vowels /o, or, ar, au/ are distinguished by the most complicated patterns of allophonic distribution of all stressed syllabics in East Tennessee speech. Ingliding variants [5 ~ 5] occur as allophones of both / o / and /or/, while ingliding and upgliding diphthongs  $[a^{\theta} \sim a^{\theta} \sim a.^{\theta} \sim a.^{\theta} \sim a.^{\theta}] \sim [a^{\tilde{\tau}} \sim a^{\tilde{\tau}} \sim a.^{\tilde{\tau}} \sim a.^{\tilde{\tau}}]$  --as well as lengthened monophthongs--occur as allophones of the free vowels /ai/ and /au/ and the checked vowel /æ/. Although inglding diphthongs with low-back onsets recur as allophones of both /o/ and /oi/, they are rarely identical, i.e., overlapping, in the speech of a single informant. Similarly, low-back monophthongs are recorded as allophones of both phonemes with distinctive phonetic distribution. Where the allophones are identical in a single idiolect, of course, phonemic alteration is indicated. speech of all 70 informants, however, at least one phone occurs as a distinctive representative of each of these five phonemes, indicating that none of these idiolects lacks the full complement of 15 stressed vowel phonemes.

The allophones of /o/in <u>daughter</u>, <u>dog</u>, <u>gone</u>, and <u>salt</u> are regionally and socially restricted diaphones—monophthongs versus diphthongs. The diphthongs are quite predominant and include two distinctive varieties:

- 1) those beginning as rounded low-back vowels and terminating at a higher(rounded and lax) position [ $vo_{\lambda} \sim v_{\lambda} \sim v^{U}$ ];
- 2) those beginning in the same positions, but terminating as unrounded mid-central vowels  $[v^{\theta} \sim v^{\theta} \sim v^{\theta}]$ .

The ingliding and/or delabialized diphthong is clearly recessive in East Tennessee, but its distribution is remarkable. In these four texts, it is limited to informants #35 in daughter, #43 in strong(substituted for gone), #52 in daughter and dog, #53 in daughter, #68 in gone, and #70 in gone. With the exception of the single black speaker from Knoxville(#35), the remaining five are all of the Lower Cumberland and Lower Valley regions, reinforcing the generalization that these subregions are most resistant to South Midland influence and the strongest repositories of Upcountry Lower Southern forms.

With the upgliding diphthongs dominant in all four texts, the incidence of the monophthongs offers the best clue to current trends in the pronunciation of this phoneme. Of the 13 instances of monophthongal units in daughter, six occur in Knoxville(# 31. 32, 33, 36, 37, and 38), two occur in Chattanooga (# 65 and 67). and two are well-educated, rural, female informants(#17 an 51). Although no clear pattern of distribution by gender is apparent. the Chattanooga and Knoxville informants include the youngest representatives from both communities. The 11 instances of the monophthongs in dog include three Knoxville informants(#31, 32, and 37), no Chattanooga informants, and two younger, well-educated rural informants(# 17 and 23). None of the six monophthongs recorded in gone was found in the Cumberlands(Upper, Middle, or Lower) or the Lower Valley (including Chattanooga). The status of the monophthong seems associated with younger modern speech, but its future cannot be predicted without a better indication of stability or change, especially in the urban centers. In salt, e.g., 27 monophthongs are recorded, but nearly half of these are linked to the

incidence of /l/ realized as [w], which, in articulatory--rather than syllabificational--terms results in diphthongs.

2.227 The Upgliding Diphthong(Back to Front) /oi/. The allophones of this phoneme in oyster(s), poison, joint, and oil are positionally, regionally, and socially distributed. The upgliding diphthong prevails over the ingliding diphthong before the voiceless fricative in oysters(38/24) and the voiced fricative in poison (34/29); the ingliding diphthong prevails before the resonants /n/ in joints(35/42) and /l/ in oil(54/13). Of these, only in oil is the preference really overwhelming. Twelve of those 13 instances are recorded in the speech of common and cultivated speakers, with the lone instance in folk speech recorded in the Lower Cumberland region(# 69). Not a single instance of the upglide in oil was recorded in the upper zone(Unakas, Valley, or Cumberland).

The social features of age and education, however, seem to be much more relevant to distribution of these vowels than is the regional factor. The distribution of ingliding/upgliding diphthongs according to age group includes:

under age 40: 19/33

ages 40-60: 15/15

over age 60: 109/69

The distribution of ingliding/upgliding diphthongs according to formal education includes:

Type I(elementary school): 74/32

Type II(some high school): 34/30

Type III(some college): 35/55

The distribution of the ingliding/upgliding diphthongs on the basis of urbanization includes:

urban speech	32/42
Knoxville	11/19
Chattanooga	21/23
rural speech	111/75

The pattern here seems clearer than among any of the other units discussed to this point: the upgliding diphthong, the feature shared by most urban inland Northern and Midland dialect speakers, is beginning to challenge the inglide across the entire region and has already established itself firmly in Knoxville as the dominant form. The most important social factors seem to be the speech of the young (under age 40) and the college-educated. 2.228 The Upgliding Diphthong(Front to Central) /ai/. The allophones of this diphthongal phoneme include monophthongs and diphthongs in the four texts, write, ride, nine, and miles. These include three distinctive sets of diaphones: 1) low-front monophthongs and short diphthongs [a ~ a. ~  $a^{\varepsilon}$  ~ a.  $^{\varepsilon}$ ]; 2) ingliding diphthongs, beginning in the low-front range and gliding to the mid-central position  $[a^{\theta} \sim a.^{\theta}]$ ; 3) upgliding diphthongs, beginning in the low-front range and gliding to the high-central position [at ~ a.t ~ at ~ at ~ a.t]. Whereas the third set of variants is usual in most Northern and North Midland dialects, in East Tennessee the monophthongs and short diphthongs of the first set clearly prevail. The distribution of these phones does, however, reflect regional and social features. Even more important are the contexts which signal very definite patterns of complementary distribution: before voiceless stops, as in write, the monophthongs of the first set prevail in most subregions and among most age and education groups. The regional exceptions occur, predictably in the Middle and Lower Valley, especially among Knoxville and Chattanooga informants:

s:	[a~a <sup>E</sup> ]	[a <sup>3</sup> ]	[aŧ]	
the vowel of write in Upper Unakas:	5	1	2	
Middle Unakas	4	1	1	
Lower Unakas	2	1	0	
Upper Valley	6	1	3	
Middle Valley	3	2	7	
Lower Valley	5	1	7	
Upper Cumblds	7	0	0	
Middle Cumblds	1	2	2	
Lower Cumblds	3	0	2	

Only among informants under age 61 does the third set of variants, the upgliding diphthongs, have currency in write:

under age 40	7	0	6
ages 40 to 60	5	0	5
ages 61 to 80	16	6	8
ages 81 to 99	4	3	4

In <u>ride</u>, <u>nine</u>, and <u>miles</u>, the monophthongs and short diphthongs prevail among all groups with a single interesting pattern of distribution among Type III(college educated) informants. Among these 23 speakers in all nine subregions, this pattern emerges:

in <u>write</u>	9	0	14
ride	15	0	8
nine	8	3	12
miles	13	6	2

This is to illustrate the complete resistance of the ingliding diphthong before obstruents(in <u>write</u> and <u>ride</u>) and the less dramatic, but clear, pattern of monophthongs and short glides occurring much less frequently before voiceless obstruents than voiced obstruents. The most distinctive characteristic of cultivated usage in the pronunciation of this phoneme, however, is the incidence of the long diphthong in <u>nine</u>, which might strike a listener as hypercorrective, especially if that observer has listened to a good deal of Southern speech.

The evidence from the synopses on this phoneme suggests that, although the trend toward Inland Northern pronunciation of some phonemes in East Tennessee speech is apparent, this unit is resisting that influence in the speech of these 70 informants. The strongest inroads of Northern influence are observed among the young and better-educated urban dwellers, but this pattern is not nearly as strong in this instance as it has been in the pronunciation of other consonants and vowels.

2.229 The Upgliding Diphthong(Front to Back) /au/. The allophones of this phoneme in house, cow, down, and owl can be arranged in four sets of diaphones [au ~ wu ~ au ~ wu]. The shorter upglide [wu](frequently [wo]) prevails in all four texts with its highest incidence in cow:

In	cow.		[a⊌]	[æ <b>ʊ</b> ]	[aə]	[æə]
in	<u>house</u>		17	39	2	12
in	cow		10	44	2	13
in	down		27	37	1	5
in	ow1		12	40	6	16
		Totals	66	160	6	41

The distribution of the recessive variants is related to regional and social factors of age, education, and racial caste. The raw regional distribution is as follows:

8
3
6
5
2
1
0
7
7
2

The extremely low incidence of [aw] in the Middle and Lower Unakas, as well as the rural Middle Valley, presents an interesting paradox. This vowel is clearly recessive in East Tennessee, but it has its impetus from two sources. It is clearly oldfashioned, having given way to the shorter upglide in most areas, except in the relic areas of the Upper Unakas and the Upper Cumberlands. At the same time, the vowel is modern in that it conforms with the norms of Inland Northern and North Midland(what some call "General American"). This accounts for its high incidence in both the relic areas and the two urban centers.

Among the distinctly recessive allophones [aə ~ æə], the former is restricted to the Middle and Lower Valley, and the latter has its highest concentration of incidence in the Unakas and Cumberlands, comprising 33 of its 41 occurrences. With a single exception, #24, a young, well-educated female from Morristown, all occurrences of [æə] phone in the Valley regions occur in elderly speech.

Indeed, the only instances of [##] in these four texts in the speech of any informant under age 40 occur in the pronunciation of down and owl by #24. Among the 13 informants under age 40(#5, 17, 23, 23, 37, 38, 42, 44, 51, 52, 57, 67, and 68), these vowels are recorded in the four texts: 14 instances of [##], 35 instances of [##] a single instance of [##], and two instances of [##]. In sharp contrast, the insular folk speakers, most of whom are over age 70(# 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 25, 27, 33, 34, 40, 41, 45, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56, 59, 64, 66, and 69) record 24 instances of [##]. 61 instances of [##] two instances of [##], and 18 instances of [##].

Allophones of /au/ also provide a rare instance in East Tennessee of distinctive distribution according to racial caste. To a greater extent than in any regional or any other social group, the high preference of the diaphone [au] among black speakers is at once remarkable and historically explainable. These include:

	in house	cow	down	<u>owl</u>
#34(Knoxville)	[æਚ]	[æe]	[a世]	[æʊ]
#35(Knoxville)	[aə]	[a世]	[a⊌]	[a世]
#36(Knoxville)	[a世]	[aə]	[a⊌]	[a⊌]
#37(Knoxville)	[a#]	[a⊌]	[a+]	[aə]
#60(Chattanooga)	[a⊎]	[a <b>⊎</b> ]	[a#]	[æʉ]
#61(Chattanooga)	[a⊌]	[a <b>⊎</b> ]	[aʊ]	[æʊ]
#63(Chattanooga)	[a⊌]	[a世]	[aʊ]	[æʊ]
#65(Rural Hamilton	Co.) [æਚ]	[æʁ]	[aə]	[es]

These offer 20 instances of [at], seven instances of [æt], four instances of [at], and only one instance of [æt]. The high incidence of the long diphthong provides an important source in this sample for the frequency of the form in the cities, the source of which is surely older Upcountry Southern speech, where virtually all of the black informants interviewed in East Tennessee had their origins. If this assumption is valid it may relate also to the incidence of the diphthong in the relic areas, where several other oldfashioned Southern forms are preserved. Finally, the high incidence of the extremely recessive [at], including four of the six instances recorded in the entire sample, suggests a phonological reflex [at at] that parallels the mountain form [æt at], only one instance of which is recorded in black speech.

## CHAPTER 3: THE INCIDENCE OF PHONEMES

The incidence of phonemes in East Tennessee speech is distinguished here as systematic or individual alternants. Systematic alternants are confined either to certain environments, e.g., the incidence of /1/ and / $\epsilon$ / before nasal consonants, as in tin and ten, or certain predictable historical developments, e.g., / $\alpha$ / and / $\alpha$ / as reflexes of the Middle English / $\alpha$ / in crop and dog. Individual alternants in the incidence of phonemes are those that can be explained by neither phonological environment nor historical development, as the alternation of / $\alpha$ / and / $\alpha$ / in yeast or the alternation of / $\alpha$ / and / $\alpha$ / in yeast or the alternation of / $\alpha$ / and / $\alpha$ / in yeast or the alternation of / $\alpha$ / in (Baton) Rouge.

Since most of the forms recorded in the synopses reveal systematic, rather than individual, differences of incidence, the emphasis here is placed upon those predictable features or patterns of incidence. These include the vowels before tautosyllabic /r/ in ear, sure, and poor, as well as hoarse and horse, the vowels before heterosyllabic /r/ in married, Mary, and merry, the vowels before the alveolar nasal in ten and tin, the incidence of /hw/ and /w/ in initial position, as in whip, the incidence of /r/ in final position, as in sure and poor, and the incidence of alveolar stop consonants /t/ and /d/ in final position preceded by alveolar continuants, fricatives, nasals, and laterals, as in yeast, wound, husband, field, and cold. Individual differences are limited to the aforementioned alternation in yeast and Rouge.

- 3.1 <u>Vowels before /r/.</u> Potentially crucial regional and social markers can be expected in the distribution of vowel phonemes before /r/ in both tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic environments because both of these structures have been associated with a variety of vowel alternation in American English. In both environments it is necessary to consider the composition of the /r/ phoneme, or its reflex /g/, as well as the vowels, and, in other situations, such as in the case of <u>ear, beard</u>, and <u>car</u>, an intrusive glide /y/ must be reckoned with.
- 3.11 <u>Vowels before Tautosyllabic</u> /r/. The vowels before /r/ in <u>ear</u>, <u>sure</u>, <u>poor</u>, <u>hoarse</u>, and <u>horse</u> include three sets of problems. These include vowel alternation with occasional consonantal modification in <u>ear</u>, vowel alternation or reduction in <u>poor</u> and <u>sure</u>, and vowel homophony in hoarse and horse.

The remarkable variety of forms recorded here in the pronunciation of ear is simplified considerably by the fact that virtually all of these recessive variants occur in the speech of elderly, usually folk, informants. This suggests a solidification of the pronunciation already completed among the younger informants from a process of bewildering complexity among the older speakers in the region. All informants under age 40(# 5, 17, 23, 24, 37, 38, 42, 44, 51, 52, 57, 67, and 68) have the sequence /rr/. Not a single instance of the five variant forms is recorded in the speech of an informant under age 40, only two among informants under age 60(# 19 and 29), and only one more(# 64) under age 70, all three of whom are folk speakers.

The variant patterns include these pronunciations of ear:

```
/ir/ in the speech of # 19;

/IP/ in the speech of # 63;

/Er/ in the speech of # 3, 13, and 18;

/EP/ in the speech of # 65;

/JIr/ in the speech of # 8, 9, 27, 28, 29, 41, 43, 45,

48, and 64.
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None of these is recorded in Knox County, and of the three in Hamilton County(#63, 64, and 65), only one is in Chattanooga (# 63), the others being rural residents of the outlying extraurban areas. Furthermore, the form recorded in the speech of # 63 indicates alternation of /r/  $^{\sim}$ / $_{\odot}$ /, not of the syllabic nucleus. This feature, usually associated with speech south or east of the Midland domain, is found here only in the speech of two black informants # 63 and The other simple variant /ir/(in the speech of # 19, a 43year-old illiterate folk speaker of the Middle Unakas) is merely an extension of the dominant raised allophone [1,] that is usual in this position in East Tennessee speech. The remaining variants are /εr ~ εθ/ and /jir/. The former set occurs in three of four instances in the Valley, whereas eight of 10 instances of /jir/ occur in the Unakas and Cumberlands. The latter form offers an instance of a relic form preserved in both mountain areas and virually lost in the Great Valley, occurring only in the speech of rural folk speakers (# 9 and 64) at either end of the Valley.  $/\epsilon/$  forms are part of a larger phonological process, the laxing, lowering, and often merging of front vowels before the resonant nasals /m, n,  $\eta$ / and the frictionless continuants /r, 1/. Although

most widespread in folk speech, the process can be observed in the speech of virtually all regional and social groups listed in this survey.

Some of this is apparent in the alternation of vowels before tautosyllabic /r/ in poor and sure. These include:

```
in the speech of # 25, 26, 42, 46, and 57;
/por/
        in the speech of # 38, 45, 49, 56, and 59;
/rcq/
        in the speech of # 61 and 63;
/gug/
        in the speech of # 65;
/po/
        in the speech of \# 22, 48, and 54;
/sor/
```

in the speech of # 27, 56, and 59;

/sor/

in the speech of # 3, 35, 37, and 60. /šua/

Again, these recessive vowels before tautosyllabic /r/ are most common in the mountains, including four of five instances of /o/ in poor(# 25, 26, 42, and 57), two of three instances of /o/ in sure(# 48 and 54), and two of three instances of /o/ in sure(# 27 and 56). Of the four patterns of simple vowel lowering, only in the pronunciation /por/ is the distribution ambiguously shared by several regional and social groups, including a young well-educated Knoxville informant(# 38). Of the three sets involving /r/ loss or reduction to /e/, six of seven occur in black speech(# 35, 37, 60, 61, 63, and 65), including all four of the Hamilton County black informants and both of the younger Knoxville black informants.

Conversely, the vowels before hoarse and horse are of historical significance in that their distribution reflects patterns associated with source dialects to the east and north. Whereas in much of the Lower South and the urban north, the /o/ ~ /o/ distinction is lost, in East Tennessee--as in most South Midland dialects
--the contrast is preserved in these words. In 57 of the 69 informants responding, the contrast prevails, and these include
members of all regional and social groups. The 12 speakers having
no contrast in these words include instances of these vowels:

/o/ in <u>hoarse</u> and <u>horse</u>: # 5, 6, 38, 46, 52, 53, 56, and 67; /o/ in hoarse and horse: # 24, 39, 42, and 68.

Although this evidence is far from conclusive, it is useful to note that five of 13 informants under age 40 are included here (# 38, 52, 24, 42, and 68) and that all four instances of /o/ in both words are restricted to informants age 50 and under, none of whom is a folk speaker.

3.12 <u>Vowels before Heterosyllabic</u> /r/. In the pronunciation of <u>merry, married</u>, and <u>Mary</u>, the usual vowels before /r/ in these texts in East Tennessee are  $(\epsilon/, /\varpi/, \text{ and }/\epsilon/, \text{ respectively})$ . That pattern, however, is recorded in the speech of only 32 informants, including three partial sets, because it is challenged by both relic and innovative forms. Those speakers preserving the dominant pattern include respresentatives of all regional and social groups: # 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 60, 63, and 67. Three other informants, # 41, 48, and 56, have only the single text <u>married</u> recorded, and all of these are also  $/\varpi/$ .

The Seaboard pattern of merry  $/\epsilon$ /, married /æ/, and Mary /e/ is restricted to the speech of four informants, # 36, 44, 54, and 70. Since there is no evidence of this ever having currency in East Tennessee, it can justifiably be identified as a relic set.

Including only one instance in black speech(#36), this pattern cannot be assigned to that social group, nor to cultivated speech, with only one other instance(#70) recorded in the region. Its source in East Tennessee can be traced to several sources: 1) Seaboard(Lower) Southern through black speech, 2) Seaboard(Lower) Southern through emulation of the formerly prestige dialect of the South, 3) phonological changing(raising of a tense  $/\epsilon/$  to /e/ in the direction of  $/\epsilon/$ , or 4) individual peculiarities.

Three relic forms recur in these texts:

- /3/ in merry in the speech of # 6, 19, 23, 27, 35, 40, 58, and 61;
  - in married in the speech of # 1 and 6;
  - in <u>Mary</u> in the speech of # 5, 6, 19, 23, 28, 29, 64, 66, and 69;
- /1/ in merry in the speech of # 1, 31, and 64; in Mary in the speech of # 3 and 62;
- These 27 instances occur in the speech of # 19, 25, and 26.

  These, four are from the Upper Unakas(# 1, 3, 5, and 6), four are from the Middle Unakas(# 19, 27, 28, and 29), three are from the Upper Cumberlands(# 25, 26, and 40), and one is from the Lower Cumberlands(# 69). These 12 informants provide 17 of the 27 instances, again demonstrating the mountains as the principal relic areas in East Tennessee. Only two of the informants(# 5 and 23), both rural, are under age 40, and all instances recorded in Knoxville and Chattanooga are limited to black speech(# 35, 61 and 62) or white folk speech(# 64 and 66), with the single exception of #31, whose pronunciation of merry /mirt/ is a dramatic departure

from the social conventions of East Tennessee speech.

The innovative pattern with vowel homophony /ɛ ~ ɛ ~ ɛ/ in all three words occurs in the speech of 11 informants: # 4, 9, 11, 18, 20, 38, 42, 43, 51, 59, and 68. Innovation here means moving in the direction of other American English dialects, not the initiation of a unique pattern. Five of six elderly informants(# 4, 9, 11, 18, and 20) are from the Upper Valley or Upper or Middle Unakas, suggesting perhaps an older source of the forms in East Tennessee, a relic pattern that has now gained new force from the speech of younger informants who follow the emerging national habit of pronouncing these three words without distinction(# 38, 42, 51, and 68). It is notable that this pattern has no currency in either Knoxville or Chattanooga beyond those aforementionedsingle instances in the speech of # 38 and 68, respectively.

3.2 <u>Vowels before Nasals</u>. The alternation of /1/ and  $/\epsilon/$  before the alveolar nasal in <u>tin</u> and <u>ten</u> provides a good example of East Tennessee speech distributed on the basis of age. Five sets are recorded here, including three contrastive and two noncontrastive patterns:

```
/1/ in tin and /e/ in ten: # 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14,

15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 30,

32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 45,

46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 59,

63, 64, 66, and 70;
```

```
/r/ in \underline{\text{tin}} and /æ/ in \underline{\text{ten}}: # 12;
```

 $/\epsilon$ / in tin and /r/ in ten: # 24;

/I/ in tin and /I/ in ten: # 5, 16, 17, 19, 29, 38, 42, 44, 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, and 69;

/ $\epsilon$ / in  $\underline{\text{tin}}$  and / $\epsilon$ / in  $\underline{\text{ten}}$ : # 3, 8, 22, 26, 31, 37, and 44.

Eleven of 13 informants under age 40 have no contrast in these texts(# 5, 17, 37, 38, 42, 44, 51, 52, 57, 67, and 68). A twelfth younger informant (# 24) has the unique pattern of  $/\epsilon$ / in tin and  $/\tau$ / in ten, suggesting confusion that often precedes a vowel merger. The single instance of a young informant sharing the dominant pattern of the region with older informants occurs in the speech of the rural informant from the Middle Valley(# 23), who preserves several other features of older speech in his idiolect.

It is also notable here that apart from the two youngest Knoxville informants (# 37 and 38) all others preserve the contrast of /1/ in tin and /tin in tin and /tin in tin and /tin in tin and /tin in tin and tin informants, representing all social groups, share in the pattern /tin in tin and /tin in tin. This feature is clearly a characteristic of modern Southern speech and suggests a distinction between the two East Tennessee cities, with Knoxville preserving some oldfashioned Southern forms and less receptive to the incipient forms, which are more common in Chattanooga.

3.3 Systematic Alternation of Consonants. Recurrent alternation in predictable environments is limited here to the incidence of 1) /hw/ and /w/ in whip, 2) the alternation of /t/ $^{\sim}/^{\circ}/^{\circ}$  before the nasal in wound and husband and before the lateral in field and cold, and 3) the alternation of /t/ and / $^{\circ}/^{\circ}/^{\circ}$  before the

voiceless alveolar fricative in yeast.

- 3.31 /hw/ and /w/ in Whip. The representation of only a single text in the synopses is inadequate here because the alternation of these phonemes relates to several patterns, historical, regional, and social, requiring much more evidence than is described below. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the incipient American pattern, the emergence of /w/ in whip and similar words, is limited to the speech of seven East Tennessee informants, none of whom is a folk These include five urban informants: (#37 and 38), i.e., the youngest of the Knoxville sample, and (# 61 and 67), an elderly cultivated black and a younger cultivated white from Chattanooga, as well as a middleaged urban speaker from Hamilton County(# 58). These urban speakers include four of the five speakers under age 60 in the set; the other, # 42, is an 18-year-old, Type II, from the Upper Cumberlands. All of this suggests the incipient American pattern is current in this region only among the young, and especially urban, informants.4
- 3.32  $/t/\sim/d/\sim/\phi/$  after Nasal /n/. Apart from a single instance of /t/ in wound(# 23), the phonemic alternation in husband and wound is limited to the incidence of /d/ or / $\phi$ /, i.e., "zero," deleted /d/, in these texts. These forms provide a sharp contrast in distribution that is clearly determined by stress. Under weak stress, the loss of /d/ is overwhelmingly dominant in husband, occurring only twice in the speech of two well-educated, if not hypercorrective, speakers # 39 and 61. Under primary stress, in wound, however, the incidence is much more complicated:

/d/ in wound: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 57, 60, 62, 66, 67, 68, and 70;

/Ø/ in wound: # 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 43, 45, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, 63, 65, and 69.

In this text, 35 of the informants pronounce the final stop, and 29 delete the /d/, offering a very good diagnostic variable. In the Upper Unakas, the reduced form occurs only in elderly folk speech, and this pattern prevails throughout the rural subregions of East Tennessee, with most of these exceptions occurring in the speech of a well-educated middleaged informant(# 26) and a younger informant (# 24), as well as the aforementioned instance of /t/ in the speech of # 23. In the cities, the distribution is even more sharply defined along social lines. All four instances in Knoxville occur in the speech of black informants(# 34 and 35) and white informants over age 60(# 32 and 33). Similarly, the five instances recorded in Hamilton County(Chattanooga and its environs) include three black speakers(# 61, 63, and 65) and two white speakers ages 59(#58) and 62(# 60). On the basis of education, the forms are distributed as follows:

in wound	/d/	/Ø/
Elementary school	10	15
High school	10	8
College	15	6

The incidence of final /d/ in husband and wound suggests no clear social marker is evident here, unless it is the distinctively recessive and peculiar articulation of /d/ under weak stress in husband, as a hypercorrective form. Despite the fact that black speakers use the reduced forms to a greater extent than their white counterparts in both urban and rural areas, there is no evidence to suggest the commonplace deletion is anything more than a typical pronunciation of East Tennessee speech, shared by members of all age, education, and caste groups in all subregions.

- 3.33 /d/~/Ø/ after Lateral /1/. A much more probable indicator of caste-related dialects is the incidence of deleted /d/ after the lateral in field and cold. Here the reduced forms are severely restricted by age groups, with only two instances of 41 occurring among informants under age 40, #38 in field and #37 in cold, both of whom are from Knoxville. In field, the loss of /d/ is limited largely to the speech of informants over age 60, with 16 of 21 instances confined to that group(#4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20, 33, 46, 48, 49, 50, 54, and 64). In cold, the 20 instances reveal essentially the same pattern, with an even higher incidence among black speakers, including all four Hamilton County representatives (#60, 61, 63, and 65) and both younger black informants from Knoxville(#35 and 37).
- 3.34 /t/ ~  $/\emptyset$ / in yeast. This form is included here to demonstrate the virtual absence, rather than the presence, of a social or regional marker in these dialects. Although in the voiced alveolar environments illustrated above, the voiced alveolar stops were commonly

lost, the parallel structure of voiceless fricative followed by voiceless stop at the alveolar position in <u>yeast</u> is limited to a single instance. Although three informants(# 17, 23, and 28) have weakly articulated stops in this context, only one(# 64) deletes the phoneme in final position in <u>yeast</u>. Equally significant is the fact that all four of these speakers are members of the white caste and represent all three education groups.

- 3.4 Individual or Nonsystematic Alternation of Consonants. Two commonplace markers of Southern folk speech are included here. These consonantal features offer a sharp contrast of incidence with one, the loss of the initial consonant in yeast, largely restricted to elderly insular speech and the other, the affricate /j/ in Baton Rouge, much more closely tied to education than to either age or subregion.
- 3.41 /y/ ~  $/\phi$ / in yeast. Nineteen informants in East Tennessee delete the initial consonant in yeast, pronouncing the word hommophonously with east. These include informants # 2, 3, 4, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 34, 40, 45, 53, 62, and 64. None of these informants is under age 40, and only three are under age 65(# 19, 26, and 64), two of whom are over age 55. All three better-educated informants(# 2, 16, and 26) are natives of the insular subregions of the the Upper tier of the territory. The pattern of relic preservation in mountain speech is also illustrated here with 10 of these 19 informants representing these subregions:

Upper Unakas:#2, 3, and 4;
Middle Unakas:#19, 27, and 28;

Upper Cumberlands: #25, 26, and 40;

Lower Cumberlands: #53.

 $3.42 \ / z / \sim / J /$  in Baton Rouge. Apart from two instances involving loss of the final fricative, / ru / (# 32) and / rud / (# 45), the pronunciation of Baton Rouge in East Tennessee reveals a distributional pattern that underscores the differences of speech on the basis of education, caste, and residency. The 44 informants with fricatives in final position include these instances:

/ž/ in <u>Baton Rouge</u>: # 2, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 50, 51, 54, 57, 68, and 70;

/j/ in <u>Baton Rouge</u>: # 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 33, 34, 35, 40, 43, 44, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, and 62.

Of the 17 informants with  $/\check{z}/$ , 12 are college-educated, four are highschool-educated, and only one(# 54) is limited to elementary-school education. Both instances of  $/\check{J}/$  in cultivated speech in Chattanooga occur in black speech(# 60 and 62), and two of three instances of the phoneme in Knoxville are also restricted to black speech. Indeed, with a single exception(# 62), an 82-year-old well-educated native of Chattanooga, all instances of the affricate are limited to black speech and folk speech. The high incidence of the affricate in rural folk speech and its low incidence in cultivated speech offer further evidence of the importance of the education factor in evaluating East Tennessee dialects. The comparatively

high incidence of the affricate in black speech, irrespective of age and education, is further evidence of the caste dialect serving as a respository of relic forms. In this respect, mountain speech and black speech share an important characteristic, although the features themselves are frequently different. Whereas, more often than not, mountain speech preserves South Midland relics, and black speech preserves Upcountry Lower Southern relics, on several occasions, as in the present instance, a general Southern folk form is shared by both groups.

In the synopses, plural markers, function words, and the principal parts of several verbs are charted to illustrate the regional and social distribution of these forms in East Tennessee. To a much greater extent than among the foregoing phonological evidence, the morphological data indicates a much more clearly defined distinction among age and education groups in the region and a much less distinctive pattern of subregional boundaries. This in no way suggests the absence of morphological differences among American regional dialects; instead, it seems to suggest the solidarity of folk speech across the region. In this respect, some very clear markers of South Midland speech emerge in these patterns, all of which contrast with the dominant patterns of both American English in general and American English in the Southern States in particular.

4.1 <u>Plural Markers</u>. Excluding the distribution of forms in <u>shrimp</u> because it involves semantic complexity and the distinction of mass and count nouns, four noun plural markers are included here. Three of them, <u>post/s</u>, <u>wasp/s</u>, and <u>desk/s</u>, involve the morphophonemic complexities of voiceless alveolar consonants in postvocalic clusters. The fourth instance, <u>pound/s</u>, offers an example of the same structural pattern among voiced consonants.<sup>2</sup>

4.11 /sts/ in posts. Four forms of the plural of post are recorded in the synopses, three of which are recurrent, and one of which-postes-is limited to the speech of a middleaged folk speaker in the Middle Unakas(# 19). The other forms are these:

post: # 1, 3, 5, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 35, 40, 46, 49, 51, 53,
55, 62, 66, 68, and 69;

posts: # 41, 44, 52, 54, and 57.

The plural post is largely restricted to folk speech, with four of five instances (# 23, 24, 51, and 68) in cultivated speech found among speakers under age 40. This suggests an unfulfilled effort in the direction of posts, three of five instances of which are in the speech of informants under age 40(# 44, 52, and 57). The clearly dominant form in East Tennessee is pos/pos/, reflecting the assimilation  $/\text{sts}/ \rightarrow /\text{ss}/ \rightarrow /\text{s}/$ . This can be substantiated by the high incidence of lengthened consonants in the structure, which could be very well interpreted as a phonemic differential if length were admitted as a distinctive feature at that level of the analysis. Suffice it to say here that simplification of consonant clusters through total assimilation of /t/ in this form is certainly no marker of folk speech or nonstandard usage.

4.12 /sps/ in wasps. Far more complicated than the postvocalic sequences in posts and desks, the structures recorded in wasps are large in number and diversified in form. Nine different plurals of wasp are found among these idiolects:

wasps: # 7, 16, 18, 30, 31, 38, 39, 47, 50, 51, 52, 54, and 61;
wasp: # 1, 3, 5, 10, 14, 24, 28, 32, 35, 37, 42, 49, 59, 62,
65, and 66;

waspers: # 2, 11, 25, and 40;

wasper: # 19, 22, and 26;

was /was/: # 9, 15, 67, and 68;

wasts: # 27;

wast: # 45 and 53;

waps: # 60;

wastes/wastfz/: 69.

Despite this variety and with few exceptions, all of the recessive forms are most common in folk speech. Two cultivated speakers (# 2 and 26) offer waspers and wasper, respectively, as folk forms they use in lighthearted conversation, and two young speakers in Chattanooga(# 67 and 68) use the fully assimilated was. Elsewhere, the recessive forms are restricted to elderly folk and common speech of the rural areas. Of the seven instances of the wasper/s forms, five are recorded in the mountains(# 2, 19, 25, 26, and 40), and none is found in Knoxville or Chattanooga. Similarly, the three instances of wast/s are restricted to elderly folk and common speakers, two of whom are mountain folk speakers. And the single instance of wastes is also limited to mountain folk speech.

Although no clear pattern of regional distribution is apparent in the incidence of wasps and wasp, the social factor of education is an evident differential. Of the 13 instances of wasps, three occur in folk speech, three in common speech, and seven in cultivated speech. Conversely, the 16 instances of wasp include six folk speakers, six cultivated speakers, and four common speakers, of all age groups, suggesting the general currency of the dominant form.

4.13 /sks/ in desks. The most distinctive social pattern among the three consonant clusters, voiceless fricative + voiceless stop + voiceless fricative, occursin the plurals of desk. Here, seven forms were elicited:

<u>desks</u>: # 7, 21, 26, 30, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 47, 51, 52, and 61;

<u>desk</u>: # 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 28, 35, 42, 45, 46, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 66, and 68;

des/des/: # 2, 10, 31, 32, 50, and 70;

dest: #8, 9, 25, 34, 43, 54, and 55;

deskes/desktz/: # 19, 40, 49, 63, and 69;

dests: # 65;

destes/destaz/: 67.

The dominant form <u>desk</u> is shared by members of all social groups, with currency in all regions except a single instance(# 35) in Knoxville, a black common speaker. The remaining forms are all socially distinctive in their distribution. Eight of 11 instances

of <u>desks</u> occur in cultivated speech(# 21, 26, 30, 36, 37, 39, 51, and 61), and three of the remaining six are in the speech of common speakers under age 40(# 38, 44, and 52). Five of six instances of <u>des</u> occur in cultivated speech(# 2, 10, 31, 32, 50, and 70) with the lone exception(# 50) being a common speaker. Thus, <u>des</u> does not occur in folk speech in this sample. Five of seven instances of <u>dest</u> occur in folk speech(# 9, 25, 34, 54, and 55) with single instances in cultivated(# 8) and common(# 43) elderly speech in the Upper Unakas and Upper Cumberlands, respectively. Both unique forms <u>dests(# 65)</u> and <u>destes</u> are limited to Hamilton County folk and common speakers.

4.14 /ndz/ in <u>pounds</u>. Unlike the voiceless alveolar clusters, the voiced structure of pluralization offers a simple and dramatic pattern of incidence of three forms:

pound/nd/: # 19 and 43.

Here, the overwhelming majority of cultivated speakers(# 14, 16, 17, 21, 24, 26, 30, 31, 37, 39, 51, 57, 60, 61, 62, 68, and 70) articulate the plural marker; whereas only three(# 2, 10, and 32) are included among the users of poun(d), and none among the users of pound. The future strength of the dominant form is foreshadowed by the fact that all occurrences of the plural among informants under age 40(with the single exception of # 32) are /nz/.

the synopses, four offer distinctive distributional patterns.

These include the prepositions in the phrase quarter til/to/of
the hour, the prepositional forms toward/s, the prepositions
at/on/to/in/from in the phrase sick ... the/his stomach, and
the prepositions for/on in the phrase wait ... you. Although
there is sporadic incidence of variation in the phrase ran into/
across/etc., the form is omitted here for the sake of economy.

Similarly, the potentially interesting incidence of +/- article/
pronoun the/his in sick at/on/to/in/from ... stomach is not analyzed because the distribution was not systematically investigated.

4.21 Prepositions in Quarter...the Hour. Three recurrent forms
are recorded in this context with til as the clearly dominant
preposition and with both to and of as distinctly recessive:

<u>til</u>: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 59, 66, 69, and 70;

to: # 13, 16, 17, 27, 42, 49, 63, 65, and 68;

of: # 21, 32, 38, 45, 52, and 54.

Of these, only <u>til</u> is a distinctively regional, South Midland, form. According to Kurath's analysis(1949: 50-1), <u>to</u> is dominant in the South, and <u>of</u> is a newer form replacing <u>til</u> in much of the Midland territory. This interpretation reinforces earlier observations on the East Tennessee sample, notably the differences between the speech of Knoxville and Chattanooga. Here, three of eight

Chattanooga informants have Southern  $\underline{to}$  with no instances of Midland  $\underline{of}$ , whereas  $\underline{two}$  Knoxville informants have  $\underline{of}$  with no instances of Southern  $\underline{to}$ .

4.22 The Prepositions toward/s. A striking instance of education as the differential among prepositional forms occurs in the pronunciation of toward/s. Whereas elsewhere in the morphology of East Tennessee there is considerable freedom in the distribution of folk, common, and cultivated forms, in this instance, only two of 13 occurrences of the recessive form are found in cultivated speech:

toward: # 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 30, 44, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 68, and 70; towards: # 8, 10, 25, 34, 38, 43, 45, 49, 52, 59, 63, 67, and 69.

Among the latter group, only the single instances(# 8 and 10) among elderly cultivated speech in the rural Unakas and Valley keep the towards form from total exclusion in educated usage. Equally instructive is the fact that 11 of these 13 informants, including both # 8 and 10, are designated as insular(A) types, as opposed to worldly(B) types. At the same time, it should be noted that three of these informants(# 38, 52, and 67) are very young highschooleducated representatives of Knoxville, the Lower Cumberlands, and Chattanooga, respectively.

4.23 <u>Prepositions in Sick...his/the Stomach</u>. The prepositions <u>at/from/in/on/to</u> are distributed in this phrase along educational and age lines as well. Whereas 35 instances of <u>at</u> occur among all age and education groups and in all subregions of the territory,

the other prepositions show a much more limited range of incidence:

at: #1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 44, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, and 68;

from: # 28 and 40;

in: #24, 33, 43, 54, 60, 61, and 69;

on: #2, 20, and 21;

to: #5, 14, 23, 30, 37, 38, 51, and 70.

The to form that Kurath(1949: 78) identified with young, cultivated, urban speech is restricted to those groups in East Tennessee with six of eight instances occurring in cultivated speech and the other two(# 5 and 38) in the speech of informants under age 40. Conversely, the in form occurs in the speech of only three informants, two of whom(# 60 and 61) are black, suggesting the preservation of the relic Southern preposition. The on form, also quite oldfashioned, is even more severely limited to elderly speakers(# 2, 20, and 21), all of whom are over age 70. The instances of from, also limited to elderly speech(# 28 and 40) are not documented by Kurath.

4.24. <u>Prepositions in Wait...You.</u> In the phrase, <u>I will...you</u> the prepositions <u>for</u> and <u>on</u> recur in East Tennessee with a predictable incidence of social distribution:

 Of the 14 instances of <u>on</u>, only one occurs in cultivated speech (# 37), a young black native of Knoxville, and only one other is recorded in the speech of an informant under age 40(# 42). Thus, the phrase <u>wait on you</u>, instead of <u>wait for you</u>, is clearly an oldfashioned folk form, although it remains current in both rural and urban areas of the Unakas, Valley, and Cumberlands subregions.

- 4.3 <u>Verb Morphology</u>. The principal parts of eight irregular verbs are illustrated in the synopses, and each of these reveals social correspondence. Although the most productive and effective way to study English irregular verbs is to consider them paradigmatically, this procedure is not always possible because many forms are difficult to elicit from folk speakers. The internal pattern, the gradation series, will be followed when possible, but elsewhere it will be necessary to consider the units as autonomous preterits and past participles without reference to the full sets.
- 4.31 The Principal Parts of Rise. This verb is one of the least complicated of the irregular sets observed in East Tennessee.

  Apart from sporadic instances of infinitive raise for rise in the speech of two informants(# 12 and 33), both insular types, the distinctiveness of forms here is limited to the incidence of preterit and past participial riz and past participial rose:

<u>rise/rose/risen</u>: # 1, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 50, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 68, and 70;

---/rose/risen # 1, 15, 17, 23, 32, 45, 46, and 60;

---/<u>rose</u>/--- # 66;

<u>rise/rose/---</u> # 34 and 53;

```
---/---/risen: # 2;

rise/rose~riz/--- # 47;

rise/riz/risen: # 11;

---/riz/risen: # 59;

---/riz/--- # 4;

---/riz/riz: # 25;

rise/riz/---: # 19, 22;

rise/rose/rose: # 69

raise/rise/risen: # 33;

raise/rose/---: # 12;

---/rose/arosen: # 14;

rise/---/rised: # 49.
```

Of these, only <u>riz</u> and <u>rose(pp)</u> are diagnostically useful. All eight informants using these forms are quite elderly, and six of them reside in the mountains. The regularity of the dominant form, <u>rise/rose/risen</u>, is even more remarkable here with 20 of 41 instances (including partial patterns) occurring in cultivated speech. More than half the instances of the preferred set occur in folk and common speech.

4.32 The Principal Parts of Drive. Although somewhat less regularity occurs among the principal parts of <u>drive</u>, variation is quite infrequent and less interesting than the incidence of <u>rise</u> forms. These include:

```
drive/drove/driven: # 18, 24, 30, 32, 38, 39, 42, and 44;
drive/drove/---: # 2, 43, and 69;
drive/---/driven: # 50;
```

```
---/drove/---: # 4, 28, and 48;
---/drove/driven: # 14, 17, 20, and 35;
drive/drove/drove~driven: # 46;
---/drove~driv/driven: # 1;
---/---/drove: # 3;
---/driv/driven: # 11;
---/drove/drove: # 29 and 66;
---/drove/drove: # 34;
drive/drove/drove: # 55 and 59;
drive/---/drove: # 40;
drive/drove/droven: # 62.
```

These include four deviations from the usual pattern: preterit driv(# 1 and 11), preterit druv(# 34), past participial drove (# 3, 29, 40, 55, 59, and 66), and droven(# 62). Nine of these informants are folk speakers, representing mountain and valley speech, as well as both urban centers. Only # 62, an elderly black, is classified as an educated speaker.

4.33 The Principal Parts of Drag. The preterit and past participial forms of drag include the regionally acceptable drug, thereby linking East Tennessee with the rest of the South and distinguishing from other dialects to the north and west. The patterns include:

```
---/drug/drug: # 51;
---/---/drug: # 7;
drag/drug/drug~dragged: # 61;
---/drug~dragged/---: # 69 and 70;
drag/drug/drugged: # 42;
drag/drug~dragged/---: # 2;
drag/drug~dragged/drug~dragged: # 8;
drag/drug~dragged/drug: # 30;
drag/drug~dragged/dragged: # 58;
drag/dragged/drug: # 17, 49, 55, and 67;
drag/dragged/dragged: # 38 and 62;
drag/dragged/---: # 39 and 54;
---/dragged/---: # 23;
drag/dragged----: # 53;
drag/dragged----: # 57;
```

Here, no regional or social pattern can be discerned, but an instance of grammatical uncertainty is quite apparent. Six of seven informants offering alternant forms of the preterit or past participle are common or cultivated informants(# 2, 8, 30, 53, 61, and 70). Elsewhere, no clear pattern of preference for the dragged forms can be identified, with drug remaining dominant, however uncertain its future in East Tennessee.

4.34 The Principal Parts of Eat. Although the forms of eat are more numerous than those of rise, drive, or drag, a greater consensus for the usual pattern is found here:

eat/ate/eaten: # 8, 9, 10, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39,
44, 52, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, and 68;

```
eat/ate/---: # 2 and 43;
---/ate/eaten: # 15, 16, 21, and 55;
eat/---/eaten: # 40;
---/eaten: # 36;
eat/et/eaten: # 34, 47, and 59;
eat/ate/eaten~eat: # 7, 20, 42, and 66;
eat/eat/eat: # 11 and 54;
eat/---/eat: # 27 and 28;
eat/ate/eat: # 17 and 25;
eat/---/eaten~eat: # 46;
eat/eat/---: # 5 and 41;
---/---/eat: # 3, 18, and 22;
---/eat/eat: # 56;
---/ate/ate~eat: # 1;
eat/---/ate-eat: # 6 and 45;
eat/---/aten: # 65;
---/ate/eat~aten~eaten: # 13;
eat/---/aten~eat: # 14.
```

With but two exceptions (# 14 and 17), all users of recessive forms are folk and common speakers, invariably elderly, and in Knoxville and Chattanooga, these informants are exclusively folk speakers. Of these recessive forms, uninflected eat is clearly the most popular, but this shows no clear subregional pattern.

4.35 The Principal Parts of Drink. The forms here, as well as those of help, dive, and climb, are discussed as isolated preterits and past participles because the patterns are too disparate and too frequently incomplete to provide useful illustrations. In the case of drink, the problem is further complicated by variation in the pronunciation of the front vowel in the inflected forms /1 ~  $\epsilon$  ~  $\epsilon$ / in both preterit and past participial structures:

# Preterit Forms:

<u>drank</u>: # 1, 7, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 49, 51, 54, 57, 60, 61, 66, 68, 69, and 70;

drunk: # 20, 27, 45, 58, and 64;

drank~drunk:#52;

drenk/drεηk/: # 8, 9, 11, 24, 25 35, 50, and 63;

drinked: # 65;

# Past Participial Forms:

<u>drunk</u>: # 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 21, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 39, 42, 44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 60, 61, 66, 68, 69, and 70;

drank: # 1, 10, 14, 16, 18, 58, and 59;

drank~drunk: # 20;

drinked~drunk: # 3;

drinken~dranken: # 57;

<u>drinked~drenk</u>: # 34;

drenken: # 15 and 25;

drunken: # 50;

drenk: # 24;

drink: # 35.

Although no clear pattern of regional or social distribution is apparent here, the forms of <u>drink</u> in East Tennessee are interesting on four counts. First, the extremely high consensus for the usual American English pattern of <u>drink/drank/drunk</u>. Second, the lack of social or regional criteria for the incidence of preterit <u>drunk</u> and past participial <u>drank</u>. Third, the comparatively high incidence of deviant forms <u>drinked</u>, <u>drinken</u>, <u>dranken</u>, and <u>drink</u> among younger informants. And, finally, the occurrences of the <u>drenk</u> forms are quite probably variants of <u>drank</u>, but the wide regional and social distribution of the form suggests a pattern that complicates inflectional distinctiveness in a nasal environment: /æ/ → /ε/ → /1/.

4.36 The Principal Parts of Help. The preterit and past participal forms of help are complicated by the presence of relic inflections, holp and hope, and the loss of /I/ after back vowels in these idiolects. As a result, the forms include instances of:

## Preterit Forms:

<u>helped</u>: # 5, 13, 17, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 32, 38, 42, 46, 51, 52, 55, 60, 62, and 68;

hept/hεpt/: # 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 35, 40, 53, 69, and 70;

 $\underline{\text{hoped}}/\text{hopt/:} \# 7, 47, \text{ and } 65;$ 

hope/hop/: # 18, 25, 40, and 59;

<u>help</u>: # 8;

holp/holp/: # 48;

<u>hep</u>/hεp/: # 25.

## Past Participial Forms:

<u>helped</u>: # 1, 8, 17, 23, 24, 30, 31, 38, 42, 51, 52, 55,

60, 62, and 68;

hept /hept/ #3, 7, 14, 22, 26, 35, 40, 46, and 70;

hope /hop/: # 7, 11, 20, and 65;

hep: # 15;

help: # 16, 57, and 61;

holp/holp/: # 33.

With the single exception of uninflected <u>help</u> as a past participle (# 57), all informants under age 40 uniformly offered <u>helped</u> in both preterit and past participial situations. The other widely used form, <u>hept</u>, has no currency among younger informants, but this assimilated form is quite common in the speech of older common and cultivated speakers, although restricted to rural communities.

The archaic forms, preterit <u>hoped</u>, <u>hope</u>, and <u>holp</u> and past participial <u>hope</u> and <u>holp</u>, are restricted to the speech of ll informants. All of these are elderly, <u>nine</u> are folk speakers, and only two are highschool-educated representatives(# 20 and 47).

Finally, it is interesting that all four instances of uninflected <u>help</u>, as either preterit or past participle, occur in
cultivated speech, informants of ages from 21 to 74. The form obviously remains current, however rare, and cannot serve locally
as an indicator of nonstandard speech.

4.37 The Principal Parts of Dive. Another remarkable feature of East Tennessee morphology is the considerable agreement in the inflected forms of <u>dive</u>. Although several variants are recorded, the great majority of informants share the dominant pattern of other American English dialects. The distribution includes:

## Preterit Forms:

# Past Participial Forms:

 $\underline{\text{div}}$  /div/: 54 and 66;

<u>divd</u> /drvd/: # 66;

diven /drvn/: 10 and 59.

Despite the high preference for <u>dived</u> in both preterit and past participial contexts, the incidence of <u>dove</u>, especially as a preterit form among young informants(# 17, 37, 44, 51, 52, and 68), as well as older cultivated informants(# 21, 26, 39, and 62)

indicates a considerable foundation for the form and its currency in the future.

Another notable regional configuration is the incidence of div, occurring in the speech of four folk speakers, two of whom used it in both preterit and past participial situations. All of these informants are residents of Chattanooga or, in one instance, of the Lower Cumberland subregion. Atwood(1953: 9) associates the form with coastal and mountain speech in the South, where relic features are preserved. In the same entry, Atwood notes the uninflected dive is occasionally observed in black speech, but in East Tennessee it is found only in white speech in the mountains.

4.38 The Principal Parts of Climb. Here, the occurrence of the usual forms, climb/climbed/climbed is so commonplace their incidence is not worth recording. The rare occurrences of variant forms are restricted to these structures:

## Preterit Forms:

<u>clum</u>: # 3, 7, 13, 15, 18, 25, 45, 51, 53, and 69;

clim: # 1, 11, 47, 54, and 66;

#### Past Participial Forms:

clim: # 11, 59, 66, and 69;

clum: # 7, 14, and 64;

clam: # 54.

Virtually all of these instances occur in elderly folk speech. Three exceptions include an elderly cultivated speaker in the Upper Valley(# 14), using clum, pp., a young cultivated speaker in the Middle Cumberland(# 51), using clum, pret., and an elderly common

speaker in the Middle Cumberland(# 47), using clim, pret.

As among other verb forms preserving relic features, the variants in <u>climb</u> are limited to the speech of the elderly folk speakers and show no promise of gaining any currency in the speech of younger informants, whether common or cultivated speakers.

The regional vocabulary of East Tennessee is a stronghold of South Midland forms. Given its pivotal location at the northern corner of the interior South and its distinctiveness as a relic area, this region offers a splendid example of the form and content of South Midland speech. None of this is more remarkable than its lexicon.

Since the purpose here is to consider both regional and social implications of the local language, considerable attention is given to the distribution of these forms among the well-educated, the young, and the urban informants. Collectively, these speakers offer the best suggestions about the future of the local dialects.

Toward those ends, 23 of the 28 lexical items charted in the synopses are discussed here. The five excluded sets are those with no regional currency or variety: <a href="lagniappe">lagniappe</a>, <a href="mush">mush</a>, <a href="mush">chiggers</a>, <a href="mush">makeshift lamp</a>, and <a href="mush">rowboat</a>. Of these, only the lagniappe concept has no local currency; the other terms lack interesting configurations of regional and social distribution. <a href="mush">Chiggers</a>, e.g., is the only term recorded in the synopses for the small insect, which is called <a href="mush">red</a> bug in the Lower Gulf States region. The others, <a href="mush">makeshift lamp</a>, <a href="mush">mush</a>, and <a href="mush">rowboat</a>, show no variety in East Tennessee. Here, as elsewhere in this report, the forms are discussed in the order of their occurrence in the LAGS work sheets. <a href="mush">1</a>

5.1 Andirons. The terms for andirons recorded in East Tennessee include nine variants, five of which are recurrent. The distinctive South Midland term dog irons is the overwhelming favorite among all age and education groups outside Knoxville, where andirons prevails:

dogs: # 14 and 48;

dog fire: # 42;

grate: # 17;

iron props: # 67;

log dogs: # 39.

Excluding dog fire(as doubtful), iron props(as a general descriptor), and grate(as a different artifact), andirons stands in contrast to the folk forms dog irons, fire dogs, dogs, fire irons, and log dogs. In addition to the Knoxville informants(# 31, 32, 35, 36, and 38) and the suburban Maryville informant(# 30), the remaining four users of andirons are common or cultivated speakers, two of whom(# 23 and 51) are under age 40. The sporadic incidence of the remaining forms prevents any statement on the currency of dogs and fire dogs, the latter of which might be associated with Carolina speech to the east and south(Kurath 1949: 51).

5.2 <u>Mantelshelf</u>. The shelf over the fireplace has six names in East Tennessee. These include the dominant South Midland term, <u>fireboard</u>, outnumbered here by <u>mantel</u> and challenged by <u>mantel</u>piece:

<u>fireboard</u>: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 40, 46, 49, 54, and 56;

mantelpiece: # 34, 36, 47, 58, 60, 61, and 65;

chimney shelf: # 30;

shelf: # 35;

stove mantel: # 62.

Apart from stove mantel, which is a different artifact, and the shelf forms, both of which are recorded in the Metropolitan Knox-ville area(# 30 and 35), the three principal variants show a clear pattern of distribution. Occurring to the exclusion of fireboard in both cities, mantel and mantelpiece are reinforced by the speech of the young in the first instance and in the speech of blacks in the second. Of the 23 instances of fireboard, 17 are recorded in the mountains, 12 of which are from residents of the Unakas.

5.3 <u>Cow Pen</u>. Of the 22 variants recorded here, few are recurrent and several are inappropriate. Excluding the responses <u>field(# 19)</u>, <u>barn(# 43)</u>, <u>a manger place(# 49)</u>, <u>lot(# 53 and 66)</u>, <u>cow lot(# 55)</u>, <u>porch(# 62)</u>, <u>dairy(# 67 and 69)</u>, <u>milking barn(# 51)</u>, <u>milk house</u> (# 10 and 58), barnyard(# 64), shed(# 41), stalls(# 42, 44, and 61),

cow stall( # 50), and milking parlor(# 32, 52, and 54), seven
synonyms remain:

milk gap: #4, 5, 9, 11, 18, 20, 21, 26, 40, 45, and 56;

milking gap: # 3;

cow gap: # 7;

gap: # 27, 33, and 47;

milk pen: # 1, 28, and 29;

milk lot: # 14, 15, and 25;

cow pen: # 16, 22, 57, and 68;

pen: # 27.

All of these are appropriate because they refer to an outside enclosure specifically designated for milking, adjoining the cow barn or shed. The South Midland gap forms are largely restricted to mountain speech with only a single instance(# 33) in the metropolitan areas. Similarly, the pen and lot forms occur in the same territory with low incidence among younger urban speakers.

5.4 Stone Fence. A clear pattern of rural/urban distribution appears in the incidence of synonyms for these field fences. According to Kurath(1949: 55), stone fence is general Midland, stone wall is Northern, rock fence is Southern, and rock wall is a North Carolina word. In East Tennessee, rock fence is in close competition with three other recurrent variants also observed:

<u>rock fence</u>: # 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 39, 40, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56, and 69;

<u>rock wall</u>: # 5, 7, 11, 14, 15, 17, 23, 26, 33, 34, 37, 46, 55, 59, 60, 61, 66, 68, and 70;

stone wall: # 10, 12, 13, 31, 44, 53, 57, 62, and 67;

stone fence: # 24, 30, 38, 41, and 51;

wall: # 32 and 35.

The dominant <u>rock fence</u> has no currency in either Knoxville or Chattanooga and only a single instance in the speech of informants under age 40(# 52). Again, the dominant folk form has its greatest strength in the mountains among elderly folk speakers. The closely competitive <u>rock wall</u> is more representative of valley speech, with 15 of 19 instances occurring in that subregion, including eight occurrences in Knoxville and Chattanooga. The other forms—<u>stone wall</u>, <u>stone fence</u>, and <u>wall</u>—have no currency in the Unakas, apart from a single instance of <u>stone fence</u> in the Knoxville suburb of Maryville. The <u>stone</u> forms and simplex <u>wall</u> are typically found in the speech of young, better—educated urban informants, often with little or no familiarity with the concept beyond a literary or historical association.

5.5 Paper Bag. One of the most distinctive elements in the vocabulary of East Tennessee is paper poke and poke as synonyms for paper bag. More occurrences of these forms are recorded than the combined incidence of paper bag, paper sack, bag, and sack:

paper poke: # 11, 13, 19, 21, 26, 29, 30, 33, 46, 54, 56, 59,
and 70;

paper bag: # 6, 17, 32, 38, 61, and 63;

paper sack: # 23, 47, and 65;

bag: # 37, 42, 58, and 60;

sack: # 24, 62, 64, and 66.

In this instance, the <u>poke</u> forms sharply contrast the speech of rural East Tennessee and urban Knoxville with Chattanooga, where the folk form has virtually no currency. Single instances of <u>poke</u> (# 68) and <u>paper poke(# 59)</u>, with both informants having rural backgrounds, are the only occurrences in Chattanooga and Hamilton County, whereas <u>poke</u> forms recur among all age and education groups to the north, east, and west. Of course, the form is recognized as an oldfashioned folk form in Knoxville and among the younger rural speakers, but it endures in their active vocabularies.

5.6 <u>Burlap Bag</u>. Another strong regional marker is <u>tow sack</u>, called a North Carolina term by Kurath(1949: 57). In the present sample it prevails in all subregions and most social groups:

tow sack: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20,

21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36,

39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56,

57, 59, 62, 64, 66, 69, and 70;

tow: # 18, 46, and 60;

burlap bag: # 32, 37, and 43;

burlap sack: # 15, 38, and 68;

<u>burlap</u>: # 17 and 18;

croker sack: # 61 and 65;

feed sack: # 42;

grass sack: # 26;

gunny sack: # 52;

bag: # 67;

sack: # 24;

chop bag: #5.

All but one of 13 informants under age 40 resist the tow sack form, although the form has wide currency in both cities.

5.7 <u>Harmonica</u>. Four synonyms are recorded for this artifact, offering a much more socially restricted distribution than many other lexical sets in the region:

French harp: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 62, 64, 69, and 70;

harmonica: # 5, 17, 23, 24, 31, 32, 51, 58, and 67;

harp: #8, 35, 37, 42, 59, 60, 61, 65, and 66;

mouth harp: # 57 and 68.

As in other forms, the strong South Midland marker, French harp, dominates throughout the region, except in Chattanooga. Six of nine instances of harmonica occur in the speech of informants under age 40, with the remaining three restricted to informants age 60 and under in cities of Knoxville and Metropolitan Chattanooga. Five of nine instances of harp are found in black speech, and both instances of mouth harp are recorded in the vicinity of Chattanooga in the speech of young informants.

5.8 Seesaw. A surprising observation in the distribution of East Tennessee lexical forms is the low incidence of Midland ridy-horse and the virtually total acceptance of seesaw. Whereas Kurath(1949: 58-9) suggests ridy-horse as the Appalachian and Southern regional term to stand in contrast with Northern teeter forms, in the present sample, seesaw dominates all subregional and social groups. Of 67 responses, 58 are seesaw, and these include all informants in Knoxville and Chattanooga. The recessive variants include:

saw buck: # 1;

see horse: # 9 and 53;

ridy-horse: # 22, 49, and 50;

seesaw horse: # 41;

teeter-totter: # 51;

teeter-plank: # 59.

The <u>horse</u> forms are restricted to the speech of six informants, all over age 70, four of whom are from the Cumberland Mountains and two from the Upper and Middle Valley regions, offering another instance of the Cumberlands as a relic area.

5.9 <u>Wishbone</u>. As throughout most of the South, <u>pulley bone</u> is the usual form here. Apart from a single instance of <u>breastbone</u> (# 1), all responses are distributed between the two terms:

<u>wishbone</u>: # 3, 8, 14, 17, 21, 24, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 42, 47, 57, 58, 60, 61, and 67.

Eleven of 19 instances of <u>wishbone</u> are recorded in cultivated speech, and, of the remaining eight, five are from residents of Knoxville and Chattanooga. Thus, the strength of <u>wishbone</u> is best evaluated as incipient, rather than recessive, with more than half of these informants under age 60.

pancakes. A considerable number of variants are recorded under this semantic concept, and some of these are ambiguous. Since the form sought is "a wheat cake cooked on a griddle" (Kurath 1949: 69), some of the elicited terms are inappropriate and deleted from consideration, specifically, cornmeal flitters (# 13 and 54), corn fritters(# 39), and hoecakes(# 53), although the flitter/fritter forms are interesting in reinforcing the implications of flitters below:

flitters: # 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 15, 19, 20, 21, 25, 28, 40, 44, 45, 49, 56, 59, and 66;

pancakes: #2, 7, 11, 17, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 42,
43, 51, 52, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 67, and 69;

buckwheat cakes: # 6, 8, and 10;

hotcakes: # 55;

fritters: # 16;

battercakes: # 18, 22, 36, 46, and 60;

flapjacks: # 33, 61, 63, 68, and 70;

paddy cakes: # 34;

stack cakes: # 47;

griddle bread: # 50.

As with the <u>corn flitter</u> forms, <u>flitters</u> is a term largely restricted to the relic idiolects of folk speakers in the mountains with virtually all instances in cultivated speech occurring in these same subregions. <u>Pancakes</u> is the dominant form among the young and well-educated, especially in the cities. The Southern form <u>battercakes</u> is restricted to the speech of elderly informants without regard to subregion.

5.11 <u>Souse</u>. East Tennessee speech, irrespective of age and subregion, is characterized by the use of <u>souse meat</u> instead of the forms <u>souse</u> and <u>hog's head cheese</u>, terms that are dominant elsewhere in the South. Here, four terms were elicited:

souse meat: # 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22,
25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 42,
43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, 61,
62, 64, and 66;

<u>souse</u>: # 1, 4, 10, 13, 32, 41, 54, 56, 57, 65, 68, 69, and 70; hog's head cheese: # 36;

head souse: # 47;

mincemeat: # 36.

Although recorded across the territory, seven of 12 instances of souse are recorded in the lower regions of the Unakas, Valley, and Cumberlands, suggesting a possible association here with dialects to the south, as, for example, in Georgia and Alabama.

5.12 <u>Cottage Cheese</u>. Although <u>cottage cheese</u> is clearly the dominant form, seven other variants are recorded in the sample, including several isolated instances. These include:

<u>clabber(ed) cheese</u>: # 2, 3, 4, 10, 13, 14, 18, 21, and 53;

smearcase: # 9;

milk cheese: # 11;

curdled cheese: # 15;

clabbered-milk cheese: # 25;

cream cheese: # 60;

cheese: # 7, 19, and 50.

Among these forms, all instances of the recessive forms are limited to the speech of informants over age 40 and, with a single exception (# 60), to rural informants.

5.13 Clingstone Peach. As Kurath(1949: 72) notes, clingstone is the Midland form, cling is typical in Western North Carolina, and plum is common in the Virginia Piedmont. All three of these terms recur in East Tennessee and offer in their incidence an emblem of the migratory crosscurrents that characterize the history of the region:

cling-seed(peach): # 5 and 61;

yellow cling peach: # 59;

plum(peach): # 3, 4, 15, 21, 22, 25, 40, 46, 49, 54, 66, and 69; stone peach: # 19.

Virtually all instances of <u>plum peach</u> occur among folk speakers, especially those over age 75, suggesting a Piedmont relic. The dominion of <u>cling peach</u> suggests the importance of the Western North Carolina influence, evidenced in other forms, e.g., <u>tow sack</u> above and <u>open-stone peach</u> below. The <u>clingstone</u> form is recessive and especially rare in the speech of the young, suggesting, perhaps, that the shorter form is preferred in current speech at the expense of the Midland term.

5.14 <u>Freestone Peach</u>. The synonyms here are less complicated, revealing a simple contrast between the recessive Western North Carolina term <u>open-stone peach</u> and the general currency and dominant <u>freestone peach</u>:

clear-seed(peach): # 65.

Open-stone is dominant among all social types in the Upper Unakas and has considerable currency in the Middle Unakas among oldfashioned speakers. In the Upper Valley and Upper Cumberlands, the term is restricted to very oldfashioned folk speech. Open-stone has no cur-

rency in the Middle or Lower Valley regions, neither rural nor urban communities, and is missing as well from the Lower Unakas and Middle or Lower Cumberlands.

5.15 <u>Peanuts</u>. Three recurrent forms are recorded in this set, including close competition between <u>goobers</u> and <u>peanuts</u> with <u>goober peas</u> in 10 of 11 instances restricted to the speech of informants over age 75 and only in rural communities:

Ignoring the single instance of goobler as a unique variant, one finds the distribution of the three variants turns primarily on the factor of age. Goober peas is typical of the very elderly, goobers, of middleaged and elderly informants, and peanuts, of the young, middleaged, and, especially, the better-educated.

5.16 <u>Small Tomato</u>. This tomato, usually designated <u>cherry</u> or <u>salad tomato</u>, is called <u>tommyto</u> in East Tennessee by most members of all regional and social groups outside Knoxville:

tommyto: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40, 41 42,

46, 47, 50, 51 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, and 70; cherry tomato: # 9, 10, 31, 37, 43, and 49;

salad tomato: # 35;

small tomato: # 16.

5.17 String Beans. Beside generic beans and specific pole beans and Kentucky wonders, three varieties recur. These include the general string beans, the South Midland green beans, and Southern snap beans:

snap beans: # 3, 8, 15, 16, 22, 49, and 63;

string beans: # 7, 9, 36, and 70.

Southern <u>snap beans</u> offers another instance of a relic of these dialects preserved in oldfashioned elderly speech across the entire territory but without currency in the cities. <u>String beans</u> is even less frequent with <u>green beans</u> enduring as the overwhelming choice among most informants in all kinds of communities.

5.18 <u>Crayfish</u>. Although colloquial <u>crawfish</u> has dominion over all forms, including literary <u>crayfish</u>, several interesting variants recur:

<u>crawdads</u>: # 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 17, 18, 26, 27, 30, 38, 40, 42, and 68;

crayfish: # 50, 52, 60, 61, and 70;

<u>crawdabs</u>: # 9, 10, 13, 19, 22, 25, and 28;

crawdaddies: # 57;

crabfish: # 66;

The incidence of <u>crawdad</u> is most common in the mountains, especially in the Upper Unakas, where it prevails over all other forms. <u>Crawdabs</u> is narrowly limited to the valley region with single instances recorded in the adjacent Upper Cumberland and Middle Unakas subregions. <u>Crayfish</u> occurs in the speech of five informants, including two well-educated blacks from Chattanooga and three better-educated representatives of the Middle and Lower Cumberlands.

5.19 <u>Woodpecker</u>. Several variants are recorded to describe the woodpecker, especially the very large bird. Deleting two of these that seem to be names for specific varieties—<u>ivory bill</u> (# 30) and <u>sapsucker</u>(# 25 and 54), one finds these synonyms:

woodpecker: # 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 24, 31, 35, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 66, 67 and 68;

woodchuck: # 3, 9, 11, and 27;

wood hen: # 1 and 40;

wood bird: # 14;

wood bunker: # 49;

wood hammer: # 41;

hammerhead: # 59.

Of these, a regional contrast appears among the recurrent forms--woodpecker, peckerwood, woodchuck, and wood hen. Although peckerwood(28 instances) is more common than woodpecker(24 instances), the former has no currency in the Upper Unakas but is common throughout the three valley regions and in the western and southern extensions of the mountains, as well as the metropolitan areas. Conversely, with a single exception in Chattanooga(# 64), all instances of woodpecker in folk speech are restricted to the Unakas (# 4, 6, 7, 55, and 56). Elsewhere, the great majority of folk speakers use peckerwood, especially in the valley regions. Instances of woodchuck, wood hen, wood bird, wood bunker, and wood hammer are restricted to the speech of the very elderly, and with one exception, # 14, all are folk speakers.

5.20 <u>Dragonfly</u>. Here, the overwhelming favorite is the Midland <u>snake feeder</u> with the Virginia Piedmont <u>snake doctor</u> even more popular than the general term <u>dragonfly</u>. In addition to these are single instances of <u>feeders(#32)</u>, taken as a shortened form of <u>snake feeder</u>, <u>mosquito hawk(#68)</u>, a Lower Southern form, and <u>snake widow(#66)</u>, which is perhaps a guess. The principal variants are distributed in this way:

snake feeder: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16
17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,
33, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53,
54, 55, 56, 59, 69, and 70;

snake doctor: #30, 35, 37, 58, 61, 62, and 64;
dragonfly: #31, 38, 42, 52, 60, and 67.

Not a single instance of snake doctor or dragonfly is recorded in the Unaka subregions. Indeed, all occurrences of those two recessive forms are limited to the speech of residents of the metropolitan areas—Knoxville(# 30, 31, 35, 37, 38) and Chattanooga (# 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, and 67)—with single instances of dragon—fly occurring in the speech of an Upper Cumberland speaker(# 42) and a Lower Cumberland speaker(# 52), both of whom are age 18 or under.

5.21. <u>Earthworm</u>. The synonyms for <u>earthworm</u> also distinguish the Upper Unakas from the rest of the region. All four instances of relic <u>fishworm</u> are recorded there, although the dominant regional form red worm is also present:

<u>red worm</u>: # 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 64, 65, 69, and 70;

fishworm: # 1, 2, 3, 5;

fishing worm: # 62;

earthworm: # 6, 17, 37, 67, and 68;

night crawler: #7;

ground worm: # 63;

worm: # 24, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 51, 57, 60, and 65.

Four of five instances of <u>earthworm</u> occur in the speech of informants under age 40; indeed, only one of these is as old as 31. The incidenc of <u>fishworm</u>, limited as it is to the Upper Unakas, is another example of a Western North Carolina term that characterizes the subregion as a distinctive relic area in East Tennessee.

5.22 <u>Land Turtle</u>. <u>Terrapin</u> is the clear favorite term in the region, but several alternate forms recur in fairly distinctive patterns:

terrapin: # 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 33, 34, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, and 70;

dryland terrapin: # 1, 4, and 22;

dryland turtle: # 3, 44, and 62;

land turtle: # 31;

tortoise: # 14, 23, 24, 30, 32, 37, and 51;

turtle: 5, 20, 35, 52, 53, and 57;

mud turtle: # 43.

Five of six of the <u>dryland-</u> forms are found in the speech of very old folk speakers. All seven instances of <u>tortoise</u> occur in the speech of informants either under age 40 or college-educated; similarly, three of six instances of <u>turtle</u> occur among these young informants with none occurring in folk speech.

5.23 Shivaree. The term used to describe a noisy celebration after a wedding is usually called a shivaree in and west of the Appalachian Mountains and a serenade in the mountains and to the east of them.

It is, therefore, interesting that serenade prevails in all subregions except the Upper Unakas, where shivaree occurs in the speech of five of eight informants:

serenade: # 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22,
27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 40, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54, 59, 61,
62, 63, 64, and 70;

shivaree: # 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 26, 39, 43, 49, and 50;

shivalee: # 25;

reception: # 35, 38, 44, 57, and 60;

gala: # 52;

pranks: # 31;

gang bang: # 67.

Although none of the other recessive forms can be contrasted with the pair shivaree and serenade, it is useful to note the general ignorance of the obsolete ritual, especially among younger urban informants. Ten of the 11 instances of shivaree occur in the mountain subregion, and even the single exception(# 16) is at the very edge of the Unakas.

#### CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The dialects of East Tennessee include regional, subregional, and social patterns that combine to unify these 70 idiolects as an interrelated set of local speech habits. As expected, the principal element of unification is the South Midland dialect that prevails across the entire area, modified by a considerable number of relic features from both Midland and Southern sources. Much more remarkable, however, are the configurations of subregional and social distinctiveness, such as the urban speech of Knoxville and Chattanooga and the social dialects of the welleducated, especially the younger, natives of those cities and rural places across the entire region. 1

Considerable evidence has been outlined in the preceding chapters to suggest the ranges of variation in East Tennessee speech. In this chapter, that outline is refined in two ways:

1) the regional, subregional, and social features are combined in a summary form, and 2) the sociohistorical factors that relate to these patterns of distribution are identified and defined in the context of the local dialects. These considerations will reveal frequent overlapping of regional and social distinctiveness and even more uncertainty with respect to the sources and ultimate course of colloquial speech in East Tennessee. As stated at the outset, this work in conventional linguistic geography is best understood as inventorial research, an effort to establish a baseline for comparison and contrast.

- 6.1 Regional, Subregional, and Social Features. Nearly 100 linguistic features have been reviewed in the preceding pages, and these identify the central characteristics of the phonology, morphology, and lexicon of East Tennessee speech. The following summary aims to classify these features as regional and social indicators and to report them as evidence. This section will be followed by a brief discussion of that evidence in relation to the sociohistorical factors that underlie the regional and social patterns.
- 6.11 Regional Features. The South Midland dialect of East Tennessee is characterized by distinctive features in all of its components. As a great transition area between the Northern and Southern dialects of American English, Midland speech shares features with both of the neighboring areas in direct relationship to the immediacy of its constituents. In the case of East Tennessee Midland speech, the immediate neighbors are the Southern speech of the Virginia Piedmont and its extensions to the south and west, the western extension of Coastal Southern, and the northern extensions of Upcountry Southern from the Ridge and Valley regions of North Georgia.

These neighboring dialects add to the intrinsic distinctiveness of South Midland speech, set apart from the Southern speech
area in a number of ways, especially in its phonological and lexical
composition. These features include:

# Features Shared with Northern and North Midland Dialects:

# Phonological:

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strongly retroflex, postvocalic /r/ in tautosyllabic and
     heterosyllabic constructions;
 low-central vowel /a/([a]) in car, father, crop, etc.;
 lax mid-front vowel /\epsilon/ in <u>care</u>, <u>Mary</u>, and <u>merry</u>;
 raised onset in /au/ [wu ~ wo] in house, cow, and down;
 alternation of /a ~ o/ in want, wasp, and swamp;
 monophthongs [I, \epsilon, \alpha, U, \Lambda, \alpha] of /I, \epsilon, \alpha, U, \Lambda, \alpha/,
     in cultivated and young, especially urban, speech;
 long diphthongs [a.1, &u, oi] of /ai, au, oi/ in culti-
    vated and young, especially urban, speech;
Morphological:
 preterits see, dove, and et(Chiefly Northern);
 preterits seen, clum, and dogbit (Chiefly Midland);
Lexical:
 fishworm (Northern);
 green beans(Midland):
 rock fence(Midland);
 open-stone peach(Midland);
poke(Midland);
 shivaree(West Midland);
 French harp (Midland):
dog irons(Midland);
flitters(Midland);
crayfish(Northern).
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## Features Shared with Southern Dialects:

# Phonological:

- ingliding diphthongs of checked vowels  $[\tau^{\vartheta}, \epsilon^{\vartheta}, \pm^{\vartheta}]$ ,  $[\tau^{\vartheta}, \alpha^{\vartheta}]$  of  $[\tau, \epsilon, \pm, \lambda, \alpha]$ ;
- ingliding diphthongs of free vowels [ $s^{\theta}$ ,  $a^{\theta}$ ,  $a^{\theta}$ ] of /si, ai, au/;
- vowels [i', i', v, vu] of /i, i, v, u/;
- front gliding diphthong [v<sup>†</sup>] of /v/ in <u>push</u>, <u>bush</u>, and similar words;
- upgliding diphthongs [vo, oo] of /o/ especially before stops in daughter, dog, etc.
- "clear 'l'" between high vowels, as in <u>Billy</u> and Nelly;
- labialized "1" after back vowels, as is <u>salt</u>, <u>pull</u>, and bulb;
- monophthongal [a., a.] before voiced consonants(and distinguished from much Southern speech by occurring before voiceless consonants as well, as in ride as well as write);

# Morphological:

preterits <u>div</u>, <u>holp</u>, and <u>riz</u>(Chiefly Southern):

preterits <u>heered</u> and <u>eat(Midland and Southern);

plurals <u>waspers</u>, <u>wastes</u>, <u>postes</u>, and <u>destes</u>;

<u>quarter to the hour</u>

sick in the stomach;</u>

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Lexical:
       snap beans;
       peckerwood;
       harp/mouth harp;
       earthworm;
       battercakes;
       snake doctor;
       cling peach;
       plum peach;
       dryland terrapin;
       goobers,
       goober peas;
       slop bucket;
       chiggers;
       serenade;
       crawdads;
South Midland Features:
  Morphological:
   quarter til the hour;
   preterit and past participial drug(also in South);
   wait on(for wait for, also in North Midland);
  Lexical:
   fireboard;
   red worm;
   milk gap
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towsack;

clabbered milk;

tommytoes;

woodchuck(large woodpecker);

wood hen(large woodpecker)

As these features suggest, South Midland speech in East Tennessee is clearly a Southern dialect, sharing most of its linguistic features with other Southern and Midland speech areas. Despite these numerous concordances, the incidence of these features combined with the distinctively South Midland forms—especially those derived from Western North Carolina—creates a regional dialect of a highly specialized sort. When these features are combined with those that mark the social dialects of East Tennessee, the pattern becomes much more complicated, but no less distinctive.

6.12 <u>Subregional Features</u>. Eleven subregions can be geographically distinguished in East Tennessee. These include the Upper, Middle, and Lower Unakas, the Upper, Middle, and Lower(Rural) Valley, and the Upper, Middle, and Lower Cumberlands, as well as the discrete Middle and Lower Urban Valley places of Knoxville and Chattanooga.

The distinctiveness of the speech of these subregions is elusive because their affiliations vary from word to word. In general the Unakas and the Cumberlands are relic areas, as is much of the Upper Valley. The rest of the Valley, however, as well as much of the Middle Unakas and Middle and Lower Cumberlands, is often strongly influenced by the focal areas of Knoxville and

Chattanooga. The subregions, therefore, are more usefully discussed collectively, distinguishing each in its turn, when a distinctive feature emerges.

6.121 Relic Speech of the Mountain Subregions. Several forms recur throughout the mountain regions of the Unakas and Cumberlands, and most of these are limited to the speech of the oldest and least educated informants. These include:

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Phonological Features:
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[b] in beard;
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[k<sup>J</sup>] in <u>kettle</u>;

/yır/ in ear;

 $[x^{\theta}]$  for /au/;

/3/ in married, Mary, merry;

/I/ in Mary;

/a/ in married;

/d/ loss in field(also elsewhere in folk speech);

/y/ loss in yeast(also elsewhere in folk speech);

# Morphological Features:

div preterit and past participle(also elsewhere in folk speech);
towards(essentially among insular informants);

eat preterit and past participle)

hope, holp preterit and past participle(also elsewhere in folk
speech);

post, wasper(s), and destes as plurals of post, wasp, and desk,
respectively(also elsewhere in folk speech);

wait on you(also elsewhere in folk speech);

#### Lexical Features:

milk gap

open-stone peach(in Upper Unakas);
fish worm (in Upper Unakas);
shivaree(in Upper Unakas);

Almost as interesting are the forms rejected in the mountains.

Invariably, the mountaineers said <a href="rise/rose/risen">rise/rose/risen</a>, and each informant in the Upper Unakas offered <a href="woodpecker">woodpecker</a> or another variant, but never <a href="peckerwood">peckerwood</a>. In general, the speech of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Unakas folk speaker is distinguished from the Cumberland mountaineer and the Middle and Lower Valley informants by the resistance to Southern forms in the Unakas and their acceptance to the south and west.

6.122 Southern Inroads in the Great Valley. Although the aforementioned Southern features in East Tennessee speech are, for the most part, widespread, several are generally restricted to the dialects of the Great Valley. These include relics of old enduring forms, Southern forms brought into the area more recently by inmigrants, and habitual pronunciations that have emerged in the speech of younger Southerners, shared also by their counterparts in East Tennessee.

Among the older Southern forms preserved in the Great Valley are the rejection of the monophthong before voiceless consonants, as in <u>write</u>, the rejection of the raised onset [x] in the diphthongs of  $\underline{cow}$ ,  $\underline{house}$ , and similar words, and the substitution of  $\underline{/e/}$  for postvocalic  $\underline{/r/}$ , especially in tautosyllabic environments.

The high incidence of Southern div(preterit and past participle of dive) is narrowly limited to the Lower Valley, especially Chattanooga, with sporadic incidence in the adjoining Lower Cumberland area. Lexical items, such as battercakes, mantelpiece and plum peach are especially common in the Valley, and other Southern terms, such as snake doctor, mosquito hawk, clear-seed peach, hog's head cheese, mouth harp, and cream cheese, however sporadic, are restricted to the Valley.

Several of the aforementioned terms, <u>snake doctor</u>, <u>mouth harp</u>, and <u>mantelpiece</u>, as well as <u>earthworm</u>, <u>croker sack</u>, and <u>peckerwood</u>, have extremely high incidence in the Valley. In fact, in the case of <u>snake doctor</u> and <u>mantelpiece</u>, the forms have led to the virtual loss of <u>snake feeder</u> in both Knoxville and Chattanooga and the exclusion of <u>fireboard</u> in both places. Distribution indicates that much of this is related to black speech, which becomes an important source of folk varieties in the urban centers. With most East Tennessee blacks having in-migrated from the east or south, the currency of the terms in their idiolects is predictable.

Among the incipient Southern features shared by young natives of the area, none is more dramatic and widespread than the collapse of /1/ and /ɛ/ in tin and ten. Like the Southern preference for the inflected forms of drag as drug, the clear "1" between high vowels, and the general acceptance of pulley bone over wishbone, the homophony of the front vowels before nasal /n/ is fast becoming a hallmark of Southern speech.

6.123 <u>Urban Speech and the Young Informants</u>. One of the most remarkable and recurrent patterns in East Tennessee is the linguistic concordance among cultivated urban speakers in Knoxville and Chattanooga with young common and cultivated speakers in the outlying rural area, from the Upper Cumberland to the Lower Unakas. At the same time, historical coincidence has distinguished the speech of the two cities; a number of features can be identified that set the two apart.

In general, Knoxville and Chattanooga speech shares more of the phonology, grammar, and lexicon with the urban North than do any of the adjoining rural areas. Phonological features, such as the rising diphthong in write, the rejection of retracted allophones of /s/, morphological features—such as conventional American English verb forms—and lexical features, such as the rejection of fireboard, the currency of dragonfly, andirons, seesaw, and pancakes, all suggest the emergence of an urban Southern dialect to be shared in time by both cities.

On the other hand, some interesting distinctions occur at all levels of the language, suggesting a stronger impetus of folk Southern speech in Chattanooga and a greater resistance to it in Knoxville. This can be attested to by the higher incidence of all the aforementioned examples in Knoxville, as well as several others. Most striking among these, perhaps, is the total rejection of Southern rock fence in Knoxville and the resistance to the ingliding diphthongs as allophones of the checked vowels. Also the recessive incidence of modern to in Knoxville and of Southern of in Chattanooga in the sick... stomach forms should be noted.

Those distinctions, however, are not to be explained away simply by the fact that Chattanooga is closer to the South than In terms of dialects, Upcountry Southern is not much is Knoxville. closer to Chattanooga than the Virginia Piedmont is to ville. As the Piedmont lies just to the east the Western Carolina dialect, the Upcountry Lower Southern endures south of the Chattahoochee River at Atlanta. The historic development of the two cities underlies these differences. Knoxville preserves some oldfashioned Southern cultivated forms, which were, if not still are, prestigious in the South. Long the closest approximation to a cultural center south of Bristol and north of Atlanta, Knoxville has also been the largest and most important city in the region. formerly as a rail junction with the Lower South, Chattanooga seriously challenges the authority of Knoxville, attracting large numbers of rural folk--black and white--from all directions to do the labor of its industries. As a result, both cities preserve Southern features, indeed Southern folk features, but in Knoxville the forms seem relic and recessive, and ,in Chattanooga, they seem innovative and incipient.

Against all of this must be compared the speech of the young and well-educated East Tennessean, whose speech is less "country" and more "General American." Some of this relates to education, some, no doubt, to an embarrassment with regional speech, and perhaps, mainly, to the general urbanization of the area. As education enlarged the experience of the rural children, industry has replaced agriculture, and with it much of the old vocabulary. These seem to be the central factors in an evaluation of East Tennessee speech today.

- 6.2 Sociohistorical Factors in East Tennessee Speech. Underlying regional, subregional, and social differences in the dialects of East Tennessee, the sociohistorical factors outlined in the first chapter of this report are central considerations in an evaluation of the linguistic situation today. In addition to urbanization and early settlement, factors discussed above, the criteria of racial caste, age, and education seem to be the most significant in an evaluation of current trends among these South Midland dialects.
- 6.21 <u>Racial Caste</u>. Black speech in East Tennessee is not easy to evaluate because, as illustrated in the tables in Chapter 1, the emergence of blacks as a large and distinctive social group in the region is a phenomenon of the present century. As a result, characteristic features of black speech in the area are restricted to three sets of forms, all of which concern the phonology. No discrete grammatical and lexical features are observed in East Tennessee black speech, but those that recur are usually Upcountry Lower Southern and Virginia Piedmont forms, both of which are shared with elderly white, especially folk, speakers.

The phonological features recurring almost exclusively in black speech reflect three aspects of black experience in East Tennessee social history. These include General Southern forms, indicating the source speech area from which virtually all of these black informants come, Southern folk forms, indicating the social status of these migrants, and, finally, hypercorrective forms, suggesting an especially insidious aspect of the caste

factor in American public education.

Among the General Southern forms recurring in black speech are these:

- [aw] instead of [xw] in cow, house, etc.;
- [at] instead of [a.~  $a^{\epsilon}$ ] in write and other voiceless obstruents;
- [a] instead of [r] in ear, flowers, and sure;
- [a] instead of [r] in poor, sure, etc.
- /d/ devoiced after alveolar nasal in monosyllabic words;
- /d/ lost in final position after alveolar nasal or lateral, as in wound and cold;
- /z/ devoiced after alveolar nasal in monosyllaic and disyllabic words.

To this list could be added the high incidence of Virginia Piedmont and Upcountry Lower Southern lexical items as well, e.g., snake doctor, battercakes, croker sack, harp,hogshead cheese, and serenade, but this would be misleading. The dominant characteristic of black speech in East Tennessee as well as elsewhere is its freedom from regionalisms, local and otherwise. The occasional relic vocabulary items elicited in black speech are usually drawn from the passive vocabulary, and these do not represent the core of the black urban lexicon. The kinds of words that are diagnostically relevant in black speech are those that developed in the city, and, although some of these have their source in rural Southern speech, they were not systematically investigated in this regional survey.

Forms in East Tennessee black speech that are restricted elsewhere in the Gulf States to Southern folk speech include:

/r/ loss, especially in monosyllables, as in <u>poor</u> /po/;  $[a.^{\theta}]$  for /au/ in cow, house, etc.

Apart from these forms, the social dialect is primarily distinguished by its resistance to South Midland grammatical and lexical forms in favor of general forms that are shared by most speakers of American English.

An exaggeration of that effort to join the mainstream of American speech is observed in several hypercorrective forms, almost all of which occur in black speech. As summarized earlier(2.1113 and 2.1115), a strongly aspirated final alveolar stop is recorded in word final position in ate, coat, eight, helped, joint, shut, write, and yeast and even a single instance of strongly aspirated /k/ in desk, all recorded exclusively in speech of better-educated blacks. Since all of the well-educated blacks interviewed in East Tennessee had been involved, at one time or another, in teaching, it is quite possible that the practice reflects an orthoepistic effort to avoid the commonplace deletion of the final stops. The irony of this in East Tennessee is that speakers of all classes frequently do delete final consonants and simplify postvocalic consonant clusters, especially in disyllabic words, such as husband, where the /d/ is lost in all but the most careful, if not hypercorrective, speech. 6.22 Education. A more important factor in East Tennessee speech is the general impact of formal education. Drawn from all components of the language, linguistic features identify the well-educated more clearly than any other group. Although many of these are shared by younger speakers, especially in the valley subregions, several of these forms are most common among the well-educated. These forms in-

#### clude:

monophthongs for all six checked vowels, usually diphthongized

by lesser educated informants;

[cv] as the principal allophone of /o/;

/ž/ instead of /j/ in Baton Rouge;

sick to the stomach,

preterit dove instead of dived;

alternation of dragged and drug as inflected forms of drag;

andirons instead of dog irons;

wishbone instead of pulley bone;

harmonica instead of flitters;

pancakes instead of crawfish.

As stated earlier, much of the lexical variation can be related to urban influence, where forms of general currency seem to take over and dominate the rural regionalisms in the city and in its immediate environs. The grammatical preferences also seem to move in the direction of other educated American English dialects, and the pronunciation features also withdraw from the folk forms of the region.

6.23 Age. More dramatically than in most observed American English dialects, the speech of the young in East Tennessee is rapidly moving away from the regional norms of the past. Speakers under age 40 in East Tennessee share features with older well-educated natives, with Southerners of their age group across the Gulf States, and with the majority of other speakers of American English across the country.

Features that characterize the speech of these younger informants include:

- [r] in daughter, instead of usual [†] in most speech and hypercorrective [†] in some black speech;
- [1] in hill, instead of [1, ], w];
- /1/ after back vowels, as in <u>pull</u> and <u>salt</u>, instead of  $/\emptyset/;$
- [64] as a recurrent allophone of /o/;
- [ $\psi \omega$ ] as a recurrent allophone of /u/;
- [aɪ, æ⊌, ɔɨ] as recurrent allophones of /ai/, /au/, and /ɔɪ/; monophthongal allophones of the six checked vowels, rejecting the ingliding diphthongs;
- /o/ in hoarse and horse;
- /w/ in wheat;
- /i/ in ten and tin;
- and better-educated informants, e.g., preterit <u>dove</u> of <u>dive</u>
  and preterit and past participle drug of drag;
- general rejection of rural relic lexical items, especially tow sack, French harp, and rock fence, replaced by various terms for the sack, harmonica, and stone wall or wall.

As those features suggest, the developing dialect in East Tennessee is by no means an approximation of those Inland Northern dialects often called "General American." Although these young speakers share many of those features, especially the morphological and lexical forms, the distinctive centralization of back vowels /u/ and /o/ and the homophony of lax front vowels, as in ten and tin, are much more com-

mon among younger educated speakers across the South than with any other social groups elsewhere in the country. When those features are combined with the common South Midland features, such as the centralization of front vowels, the raised onset in the /au/ diphthong, and the preservation of /æ/ in married, a significant socioregional pattern emerges. Whether this will prove, ultimately, to be shared with all other major groups of younger speakers across the South, however improbable, is another matter. The best generalization that can be made at this time is that South Midland speech endures in East Tennessee, but its characteristics are being most sharply modified by the speech of younger informants. These changes include features peculiar to the region, features shared with other younger speakers across the country, and mainly features shared with other speakers of this age group in the Southern states.

#### FOOTNOTES

### Chapter 1:

- 1. The orginal NCTE grant was quite adequate for the sample projected in the proposal, but, as the work progressed, additional communities and informants were added. The 36 field records identified in the next paragraph represent 150 days of research that required the per diem support. During those 21 weeks, it was necessary to drive more than 9,000 miles, including local travel in East Tennessee and 14 round trips from Atlanta. Supplies(150 reels of tape @ \$3.00, tape recorder maintenance, telephone calls, and other incidental expenses in the field), per diem, and mileage exceeded \$4,000 in expenses. This excludes any consideration for the additional 720 hours needed to transcribe these records and the further time needed to prepare this report.
- 2. The aims and methods of the LAGS Project are summarized in Pederson et al.(1972, 1974: 1-30). The progress of the LAGS Project is summarized in four interim reports published and forthcoming in American Speech, the most recent of which is appended to this report.
- 3. The notions of simple, provincial, uneducated, and oldfashioned varieties of peasant speech were appropriate concepts in the application of the German term Volk(as in Volkskunde and Volksprache), and these were preserved by Kurath(1949: 7-8). For all the provinciality of the agriculturally-dominated East Tennessee culture, the present report recognizes virtually all of the common and cultivated speakers as users of several social dialects, including local folk speech.
- 4. See "Interim Report Four" for the present plans for integrating this material in the establishment of a baseline and the presentation of that information in the format of a historical dictionary.
- 5. See Ford(1962). East Tennessee is delimited here according to the old tripartite division of the state. The Grand Divisions, the "Three States of Tennessee," have a long history. They were recognized 12 years before Tennessee entered the Union as the sixteenth state in 1796. To stop the abuses of the "Great Land Grab" (1783-84), the North Carolina legislature closed the land offices in its western territory and divided the area into three districts, corresponding with the present regions of East, Middle, and West Tennessee(Abernethy 1932: 29). Despite the efforts of some politicians to minimize that sectionalism, the physical geography, social and political history, and the divisions of the Eastern and Central "Time Zones" have reinforced the distinctiveness, especially between The western boundary of East Tennessee East and Middle Tennessee. has been changed several times by the state legislature. County, for example, is presently designated a Middle Tennessee unit, although it was organized from Marion County(its southern neighbor), which, like Bledsoe on Sequatchie's northern border, is

- currently recognized as an East Tennessee county. For the history of the Sequatchie River and its valley, see Ralston and Livingood (1974). The inclusion of Sequatchie here as an East Tennessee county conforms with the physiographic and sociopolitical history of the area, rather than the prevailing winds from Nashville.
- 6. See Billington(1963), esp. Chapter 5, "The Old West: 1700-1763," 80-102; Chapter 7, "British Western Policy: 1763-1776," 132-53; Chapter 8, "Settlement Crosses the Mountains: 1763-1776," 154-73.
- 7. Following the footsteps of his Yadkin Valley neighbor, Daniel Boone, James Robertson was later commissioned to explore the Cumberland Valley for Judge Richard Henderson. Like Henderson's former employee, Boone, Robertson in 1779 followed the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, but there he turned south, back into Tennessee, to establish the overland route to French Lick, where Fort Nashborough was constructed the following year. See Folmsbee et al.(1969: 73-4). For Robertson's later exploits in the Spanish Intrigue, as a brigadier general in the Southwest Territory, and as the neutralizer of the Chickamaugas, see Matthews(1934) and Putnam(1859). The best history of early East Tennessee settlements is Williams(1937).
- 8. This is the title of Chapter 1 in Krechniak and Krechniak (1956: 1-19).
- 9. <u>Ibid.</u> 68. "The first few years after the Civil War a whole wave of immigration swept over the Plateau, bringing almost 150 Union veterans and their families to settle on land they had bought from various land and development companies(locally known as 'Land and Divilment Companies')."
- 10. As an extension of East Kentucky and West Virginia varieties of Appalachian culture, the current plight of these Tennesseans can be understood from a Kentucky perspective through Caudill(1963) and from a West Virginia perspective through Weller(1965). The best overview is Ford(1962). An early instance of trouble in the mining industry was the Coal Creek Rebellion of July, 1891, in Anderson County, Tennessee. This found its place in oral history through Sam McGee's "Buddy Won't You Roll Down the Line," a protest song that was made a banjo classic by Uncle Dave Macon(Brunswick 292, 1930).
- 11. See McDavid(1972, 1974: 37-8) in Pederson et al.(1974).
- 12. In contrast to the territorial integrity of those East Tennessee units, Georgia has dissolved two counties and added 24 more during the past 70 years. Campbell and Milton were absorbed by Fulton (1932), and these new counties were organized: Atkinson(1917), Bacon (1914), Barrow(1914), Ben Hill(1906), Bleckley(1912), Brantley (1920), Candler(1914), Cook(1918), Crisp(1905), Evans(1914), Grady (1905), Jeff Davis(1905), Jenkins(1905), Lamar(1920), Lanier(1920), Long(1920), Peach(1924), Seminole(1920), Stephens(1905), Tift(1905), Toombs(1905), Treutlen(1917), Turner(1905), and Wheeler(1912).

For a further discussion of the implications of stability and slow population growth, see Brown and Hillery(1962: 54-78).

- 13. The slight rise in the population of Sequatchie County must be attributed to its close proximity to Chattanooga and Hamilton County. Although certainly no dormitory suburb yet, the rapid development of the Lower Valley and the geographic proximity of the two counties seem to point in that direction.
- 14. See Morris(1962: 136-48).
- 15. The decision to exclude Anderson and Blount counties from Metropolitan Knoxville was based on the distinctly different cultural histories of those places. Like Knox, Blount County borders(and is included in)the Middle Unaka subregion, but Anderson County verges on the Cumberland Plateau to the west.
- 16. Pederson(1972, 1974: 17). The ellipses delete references to "long" and "short" work sheets, distinctions that have since been dropped.
- 17. Campbell(1921), Combs(1931), Kephart(1922), and Williams(1961a).
- 18.Boykin(1972), Hall(1942; 1972), and Wise(1957). Although the discussion of George Washington Harris' hero(Boykin 1972) is based on Atlas data from North Carolina, and Sut Lovingood was born in the Copper Hill region of Polk County, the paper points to one of the richest sources of literary dialect data to be found in American fiction.
- 19. Farr(1936; 1937; 1939), Bailey(1979), and Thomas(1939).
- 20. Davis(1971; 1973), Kruse(1972), Pederson(1972), Williams(1961b), and Wood(1970).
- 21. Haugen(1969: 360): "Native Norwegians listening to A[merican] N[orwegian] speakers naturally notice these archaisms that have clung in their dialects, and fail to notice novations that they themselves have also adopted, unless these novations are in the direction of English, which is often the case. It is therefore exaggerated to say, as often has been said, that the Norwegian settlements in America are the best places to find Norwegian dialects spoken in their ancient purity."

An equally important consideration in such faulty observation is its failure to recognize the fact that much of the standard language has undergone little change during the past six centuries. Chaucer's morphology, syntax, and vocabulary remain close enough to contemporary English that most of it can be understood without recourse to a glossary. No one, however, suggests members of the dominant culture are speaking Chaucerian English when they use those venerable constructions and words.

- 22. Pederson(1973).
- 23. Pederson(1974).
- 24. Forms preceded by an asterisk in the list are drawn from the morphological sections of the idiolect synopses, i.e., the plurals and the verb forms.

#### Chapter 2:

- 1. Although Kruse(1972: 89-101) has demonstrated the efficacy of a binary interpretation of vowels for the South Midland dialects of Kentucky, a unitary organization is presented here. In this report, a phoneme is a class of minimally distinctive sounds or intonation units that contrast with all other classes of phonological units in the language, dialects, and idiolects under consideration.
- 2. The inclusion of suprasegmental phonemes in this report merely suggests the complex problems and structural functions of prosody in East Tennessee speech.
- 3. See Pederson(forthcoming) in the H. B. Allen Festschrift for a survey of the entire obstruent system in neighboring North Georgia.
- 4. This palatalization seems to be the last vestige of those old-fashioned forms identified by Mark Twain and other dialect writers with the orthographic sequence  $\underline{ky}$  in  $\underline{cards}$  and  $\underline{gy}$  in  $\underline{garden}$ . See Pederson(1967).
- 5.The postvocalic allophones of /l/ closely parallel their counterparts in /r/. Besides the vocalized allophone [ $\omega$ ], alternating with "dark 'l'" in pull, phones of /l/ in postvocalic position demonstrate the same palindrome effect in Lil and lull that has been noted of /r/ in rear and roar. With laterals, however, the phenomenon is acoustically obscured by the vowel resonance created by the syllabic nucleus, but in these instances the articulations of /r/ and /l/ seem inversely identical.
- 6. Other forms in the LAGS corpus for East Tennessee showing V + /r/ , /3/ introduce other problems, and these are discussed below under the incidence of phonemes.
- 7. LAGS fieldwork in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas shows the feature to be widespread throughout the Gulf States, but especially in South Midland territory. Norman(1956: 76), speaking of the Beaumont-Port Arthur focal area, found the feature in competition with the lower onset [a], with younger informants using [#v] "considerably more than anyone else, in a ratio of five to one with regard to [av]."

### Chapter 3:

- 1. It is important to recognize that the forms selected for the synopsis are limited to those that provide allophones of a given phoneme.
- 2. In addition to the discussion in Kurath and McDavid(1961: 115-27), this problem is closely studied in Van Riper(1958).
- 3. See Kurath(1940).
- 4. McDavid and McDavid(1952).
- 5. Wise(1957: 205-20; 293-302; 303-21).

#### Chapter 4:

- 1. In addition to Atwood(1953), see also Mencken(1963: 509-71) for extensive bibliographical information.
- 2. McDavid and McDavid(1963).
- 3. Williams(1962; 1964).
- 4. Kurath(1949: 30, 47, 50).
- 5. Avis(1953) and Allen(1957).

## Chapter 5:

- 1. Although many sources can be found to demonstrate the ranges of regional and subregional incidence among many of these sets of synonyms, the work of Kurath(1949) is so comprehensive and accurate in its details that the best of these other works will lead back to the Kurath study. Virtually all of the subregional designations used in this chapter are drawn from that source. In a few instances, in this chapter and in the conclusion that follows, an occasional observation will be made on distribution derived from LAGS fieldwork. Invariably, these occur in the Interior South.
- 2. McDavid and Davis(1949).

## Chapter 6:

1. For the interrelationships of grammar and the lexicon, see Pederson(1977c).

APPENDIX A: COMMUNITIES AND INFORMANTS

#### APPENDIX A: COMMUNITIES AND INFORMANTS

- JOHNSON COUNTY: Bounded N by VA, E and SE by NC. Stone and Iron mountains, Watauga River, Watauga Reservoir, Cherokee Natl Forest. Lumber, tobacco, truck, fruit, livestock. Seat at Mountain City. Created 1836 from Carter Co. 1850: 3,705 (220), 1880: 7,766 (470), 1910: 13,191 (377), 1930: 12,209 (301), 1950: 12,278 (178), 1970: 11,569 (104).

  LAUREL BLOOMERY: Community near VA and NC line, E of Iron Mountains. Population growing; most residents in-migrants.

  NEVA: Community near NC line, Roan Creek. Settlers from VA. SHADY VALLEY: Community between Iron and Holston mountains.
  - .01 MLY 82 lA: b. Laurel Bloomery; farmer, timber, public work; Methodist;
    7th gr; 2 trips to ID. Father: b Laurel Bloomery; little ed; farmer.

    PGP: near Zionville, NC. Mother: b Laurel Bloomery; little ed; hw.

    Wife: b near Laurel Bloomery; 78; Methodist; little ed. Soft-spoken,

    literate, tobacco-chewing mountaineer. Intelligent, cooperative folk

    speaker. Moderate to low pitch, moderate to slow tempo. LP/71:LP/71

    7.5 hr.
  - .02 FMY 38 3A: b Laurel Bloomery; retired teacher; Presbyterian; E TN State
    College; 4 yr in W VA. Father: b Laurel Bloomery; literate; farmer.

    PGF: b Gentrys Creek; English ancestry. Mother: b Ashe Co., NC; literate;
    hw. MGP: Ashe Co., NC. Intelligent, talkative, and relaxed; effective
    rural teacher, more concerned with effective communication than with
    linguistic etiquette. LP/71:LP/71 5.0 hr.
  - MMY 79 lA: b Shady Valley; farmer; Church of Christ; 5th gr (age 15); worked in TN, NC, KY. Father: b VA; little ed; farmer. PGM: b Mountain City. Mother: b Wilkes Co., NC; little ed. Wife: 71; no ed; parents raised in valley; grandparents from NC. Old-fashioned folk speaker with

- wide work experience in region. Moderate tempo, low pitch. LP/71:LP/71 4.5 hr.
- FLY 99 lA: b between Neva and NC border; hw; Christian Church; 8th gr. .04 Father: b Sand Springs; literate; farmer. Mother: b Corn Creek. MGP: near Mountain City. Husband: deceased; 8th gr. Extremely soft-spoken rural matriarch. Remarkable recollection of early days. Many phonological, grammatical, and lexical relics. Slow tempo. LP/71:LP/714.5 hr.
- FLY 38 2A: b Laurel Bloomery; hw; Methodist; 2 yr hs; worked 5 yr in .05 clothing factory. Father: b NC; little ed; farmer. PGP: NC, moved to Shouns. Mother: b Russell Co., VA; little ed; hw. MGP: Russell Co., VA. Husband: raised Shouns; 43; local ancestry. Cooperative; good recall; younger folk speech. MMc/75:LP/75 4.0 hr.
- CARTER COUNTY: Borders S and SE on NC. Unaka and Roan mountains, Watauga A 002 and Doe rivers, Watauga Reservoir, Cherokee Natl Forest. Timber, tobacco, grain, livestock, fruit, iron-ore deposits. Seat at Elizabethton. Created 1796 from Washington Co. 1820: 4,835 (351), 1850: 6,296 (385), 1880: 10,019 (628), 1910: 19,838 (660), 1930: 29,223 (528), 1950: 42,432 (407), 1970: 42,575 (382).

CARTER: Community 12 mi N Elizabethton. Low to middle income, mostly WASP, Republican.

- MLY 67 lB: lives in Carter; plant caretaker; Baptist; 7th gr; church .01 activities. Father: b Carter Co.; 3rd gr; sawmill, farmer. PGP: western NC; Welsh ancestry. Mother: b Carter Co.; 4th gr; hw. MGP: VA. Wife: 63; Baptist; l yr hs; parents b Carter Co.; Scotch-Irish; Welsh ancestry. Pleasant and personable; well-read and self-educated. DAC/71:LP/71 4.5 hr.
- FLY 72 lA: b near Shell Creek; hw; worked in cannery; Baptist; 8th gr. .02

- Father: b Carter Co.; little ed; farmer. PGP: Crabtree. Mother: b

  Carter Co.; little ed; hw. MGP: Carter Co. Husband: deceased; Baptist;

  little ed; preacher; shop laborer; parents from Carter Co. Inhibited folk

  speaker; soft-spoken, slow tempo. TC/72:LP/72 6.0 hr.
- MMY 72 3A: b Shell Creek; retired teacher; Baptist; 2 yr college; taught gr 1-4 in one-room school. Father: b Shell Creek; 5th gr; farmer. PGF:
  Union Army. PGGF: settled area; ran grocery store. Mother: b Mitchell
  Co., NC; 5th gr; hw. MGP: original settlers, moved back to NC. Wife:
  62; Baptist; 8th gr; hw; parents from Avery Co., NC. Little concern for correctness, talkative, much richer in folk forms than sister-in-law
  (A 002.02). Low pitch, moderate tempo. TC/72:LP/72 7.5 hr.

#### B 003 UNICOI COUNTY

- WASHINGTON COUNTY: Bounded NE by Watauga Reservoir. Great Appalachian Valley. Nolichucky River, Cherokee Natl Forest. Fruit, tobacco, corn, hay, livestock, dairying, iron ore, lead, zinc, manganese, limestone, hardwood. Seat at Jonesboro. Industry at Johnson City. Created 1777 from North Carolina. 1790: 5,872 (547), 1820: 9,557 (1,051), 1850: 13,861 (1,190), 1880: 16,181 (1,577), 1910: 28,968 (2,267), 1930: 45,805 (2,798), 1950: 59,971 (2,893), 1970: 73,924 (2,833).
  - .01 MMY 79 lA: b Leesburg; farmer; Presbyterian; 8th gr (age 17); 2 trips to IN; little reading. Father: b Washington Co.; elem school; farmer.

    PGP: from NC to Washington Co. before Civil War. Mother: b Leesburg; elem school; hw. MGP: from NC to Washington Co. before Civil War.

    Wife: deceased; Presbyterian; hs; librarian. Cooperative but rather self-conscious about correctness. LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.
  - .02 MMY 82 3A: b Fairview; farmer (90 acres); Methodist; 10th gr equiv; 1 yr Maryville College; travel to MO, CO. Father: b near Bowmanville; 5th gr; gristmill and sawmill owner. PGP: b Leesburg; ancestors from Ireland

- to PA to NC to TN. Mother: b near Sulphur Springs; 5th gr; hw. MGP: from Scotland to N Ireland to PA to TN; Secessionists. Wife: deceased; Dunkard; hs; b in area; family from England through PA. Lives alone in trailer; failing in health; made a decent effort to cooperate. Softspoken, low pitch, slow to moderate tempo. LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.
- GREENE COUNTY: Bounded SE by NC. Bald Mountains, Nolichucky River, B 005 Cherokee Natl Forest. Tobacco, fruit, corn, hay, livestock, dairying, oak, pine. Seat at Greeneville. Created 1783 from Washington Co. 1790: 7,741 (494), 1820: 11,324 (859), 1850: 17,824 (1,298), 1880: 24,005 (2,152), 1910: 31,083 (1,369), 1930: 35,119 (1,154), 1950: 41,048 (1,411), 1970: 47,630 (1,137).
  - MLY 66 1A: b Jackson Chapel; farmer; Baptist; 7th gr; limited travel in .01 TN, KY, NC. Father: b Greene Co.; little ed; farmer. PGP: Greene Co. Mother: b Greene Co.; little ed; hw. MGP: Parrottsville, Cocke Co.; farmers. Wife: 65; Baptist; no formal ed; family from Greene and Cocke co. Alert and outgoing; knows his own mind and maintains a very pleasant philosophical outlook; unaffected folk speech. LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.
  - MLY 75 2A: b the Cove, near Greeneville; farmer; Lutheran; hs grad. Father: .02 b Cove section; 8th gr; farmer. PGP: to PA to NC to TN before Civil War. Mother: b Cove section; 8th gr; hw. Wife: 71; Lutheran; 6 yr school; b Sunnyside, Greene Co. Frail health, weak voice. Wife insisted the interview would be too hard on him. LP/72:LP/72 1.5 hr.
- SULLIVAN COUNTY: Bounded N by VA. Great Appalachian Valley, S Fork of C 006 Holston River, South Holston Dam, Cherokee Natl Forest. Tobacco, corn, fruit, hay, truck, dairying, livestock, lumber, limestone, iron-ore deposits. Seat at Blountville. Industry at Kingsport and Bristol. Created 1779 from VA. 1790: 4,447 (404), 1820: 7,015 (932), 1850: 11,742 (1,139), 1880: 18,321 (1,305), 1910: 28,120 (1,535), 1930: 51,087 (1,799), 1950: 95,063 (2,323), 1970: 127,329 (2,432).

BIG CREEK: Small settlement near Holston Lake Dam, 8 mi SE Bristol; now flooded.

HOLSTON VALLEY: 1 mi S of VA line; bounded by Holston Mountain and River. BLUFF CITY: town on South Fork of Holston River, 21 mi NNE Johnson City. 1970: 947 (67).

KINGSPORT: Industrial city near VA line on Holston River, 22 mi NNW Johnson City. Settled 1761 (Ft. Robinson), chartered 1915. 1970: 31,938 (1,473).

- TVA flooded the community in 1943; travel limited to E TN. Father: b

  Big Creek; literate; farmer. PGP: Big Creek. Mother: b Big Creek;

  literate; hw. MGP: Big Creek. Husband: 77; Baptist; little ed; farmer;

  family from VA. Splendid folk speaker, somewhat reserved but thoroughly

  reliable in memory. Soft-spoken, full range in pitch and tempo. LP/71:

  LP/71 5.0 hr.
- MUY 79 3B: b Holston Valley; farmer; Presbyterian; elem school (age 18);

  3 yr King College at Bristol; president of telephone company; deputy
  sheriff; county magistrate 39 yr, chairman soil erosion control committee;
  6 mo in OR, travel to VA, GA. Father: b Sullivan Co.; hs; farmer. PGP:
  from PA; German ancestry. Mother: b Sullivan Co.; hs; hw. MGP: from PA;
  settled in Ruthton; Scotch-Irish. Wife: 73; Presbyterian; 2 yr college;
  parents b Holston Valley. Pivotal common speaker, with long and close ties
  to community; fine memory; friendly and talkative. Moderate pitch, slow
  tempo. Interesting mixture of relic and innovative lexical forms. LP/71:
  LP/71 6.0 hr.
- .03 MLY 58 lA: b Holston Valley; farmer (40 acres); Presbyterian; 8th gr; active in church; goes to Bristol twice a week; no clubs; travel to NY,

  IN. Father: b Sullivan Co.; 6th-7th gr; farmer. PGP: b Holston Valley.

  Mother: b Sullivan Co.; 6th-7th gr; hw. MGP: between Holston Valley and

Bluff City. Wife: 52; Presbyterian; 8th gr; family from Hickory Tree, 8 mi south. Friendly and talkative younger folk informant. LP/72:LP/72 3.0 hr.

- .04 FMY 73 3A: b Bluff City, lives in Dentons Valley community; factory inspector; teacher for 8 yr; Baptist; l yr college. Father: b Bluff City; 4th-5th gr; farmer and photographer. PGP: VA; PGF fought for Union. Mother: b Bluff City; 4th-5th gr; hw. MGP: VA. Husband: deceased; Baptist; 8th gr; farmer; ancestors settled Dentons Valley. Mixture of folk forms, standard English, and spelling pronunciations. LP/71:LP/71 4.0 hr.
- .05 FMY 19 3A: b Kingsport; pre-nursing student; Christian; college soph; travel to Washington, D.C., and FL; Latin Club in hs; Bible study and prayer groups; waitress 2 summers. Father: b near Abingdon, VA; hs; machinist. PGP: VA; literate. Mother: b Kingsport; hs; cafeteria worker. MGM: IN. MGF: Sullivan Co.; worked in brick plant. Reserved but cooperative; self-conscious; not sophisticated. LD/75:LD/75 6.5 hr.
- C 007 HAWKINS COUNTY: Bordered N by VA. Clinch and Bays mountains, Appalachian ridges, Holston River, Cherokee Reservoir. Hardwood, tobacco, corn, hay, livestock, dairying. Seat at Rogersville. Created 1786 from Sullivan Co. 1790: 6,970 (875), 1820: 10,949 (1,641), 1850: 13,370 (1,803), 1880: 20,610 (2,641), 1910: 23,587 (1,805), 1930: 24,117 (1,069), 1950: 30,494 (1,062), 1970: 33,726 (992).
  - .01 MMY 84 1A: b Clouds Creek (Bulls Gap), lives in St. Clair; farmer; Baptist; country school to age 17, a few months per yr; limited travel. Father: b Clouds Creek; free school; farmer. PGF: b Clouds Creek; family from NC. Mother: b Clouds Creek; free school; hw. MGF: b Clouds Creek. MGM: b Hawkins or Jefferson Co. Wife: 87; no church; local school; Hawkins Co. ancestry. Alert mind; candid in all respects. LP/72:LP/72 4.0 hr.

D 009 COCKE COUNTY: Borders SE on NC. Great Smoky and Bald mountains along state line. Great Smoky Mountains Natl Park, Cherokee Natl Forest, Douglas Reservoir. French Broad, Pigeon, and Nolichucky rivers. Corn, tobacco, fruit, dairy products, livestock, iron, granite. Seat at Newport. Created 1797 from Jefferson Co. 1820: 4,892 (483), 1850: 8,300 (799), 1880: 14,808 (1,447), 1910: 19,399 (1,051), 1930: 21,775 (726), 1950: 22,991 (643), 1970: 25,283 (699).

BAT HARBOR: Small farming community, valley on rim of Yellow Springs Mt. COSBY: On Cosby Creek, settled 1787; noted for moonshining.

RANKIN: Small farming community on Morristown Highway.

- .01 FIY 43 lA: b Rankin; Baptist; takes care of mother; 6th gr; born and raised on poor farm. Father: b Rankin; 4th gr; farmer and preacher. PGP: Cocke Co.; farmers. Mother: b Rankin; little ed; hw. Talkative and open; remarkable preservation of folk forms in so young an informant. LP/72:

  LP/72 4.5 hr.
- MMY 76 2A: b Bat Harbor; farmer, teacher, postal clerk; Church of God;
  8th gr but certified to teach; l yr in France with army in WWI. Father:
  b Cocke Co.; little ed; farmer. PGF: Confederate sergeant. PGM: b Denton
  section. Mother: b Laurel Co., KY; little ed; hw. MGF: b Carter Co.;
  Union Army. MGM: b Cocke Co. Wife: 66; Baptist; 8th gr; b Del Rio;
  father b NC; blacksmith; mother b Del Rio; GP from Walnut Creek, NC.
  Cheerful, relaxed, and straightforward; good memory; mixture of folk
  forms and "preferred usage." LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.
- .03 MMY 72 3A: b Cosby; teacher; Baptist; 4 yr college in Jefferson City; taught in NC, Cosby, Newport. Father: b Cosby; 2 yr college; teacher, farmer. PGP: Old Fort, NC (near Kings Mt). Mother: b Cosby; grammar school; hw. MGGP: from VA; fought in Revolution. MGF: slaveholder; fought with Confederacy. Wife: 67; Baptist; Furman grad; taught English;

Home Demonstration Club; b Anderson, SC; father b Jackson Co., SC; mother b Greenville. Forthright and responsible; slow tempo; careful pronunciations. A model of educated mountain speech. LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.

- D 010 JEFFERSON COUNTY: Great Appalachian Valley, Bays Mountains. Holston and French Broad rivers, Cherokee and Douglas reservoirs. Livestock, dairying, tobacco, fruit, corn, hay, zinc mines, limestone quarries. Seat at Dandridge. Created 1792 from Greene and Hawkins co. 1820: 8,953 (923), 1850: 13,204 (1,746), 1880: 15,846 (2,500), 1910: 17,755 (1,639), 1930: 17,914 (1,276), 1950: 19,667 (977), 1970: 24,940 (797).

  NEW MARKET: Village 23 mi ENE Knoxville, 7 mi from Jefferson City. Set-
  - .01 MMY 81 1B: b Talbott; farmer; Church of God; 3rd gr (to age 15); worked on RR in KY, IL, FL. Father: b Jefferson Co.; little ed; farmer. PGP: SC. Mother: b Jefferson Co.; little ed; hw. MGP: Jefferson Co. Married twice; both wives from Jefferson Co. Realty speculation and farming have brought him in touch with many varieties of local speech. LP/72:LP/72 4.5 hr.

tled 1788.

- MMY 21 3A: b New Market; student (psychology); Methodist; plans to attend grad school; little travel; worked at children's camp in Birmingham and at psychiatric hospital in NC; editor of college newspaper. Father: b New Market; 8th gr; zinc miner. PGP: E TN; grade school; farmers. Mother: b New Market; half of 12th gr; school cafeteria manager. MGF: E TN; grade school; farmer. MGM: KY; grade school; factory work. Cooperative and well-informed; familiar with farming; independent in lifestyle and plans. LD/74:LD/74 8.0 hr.
- D 011 HAMBLEN COUNTY: Great Appalachian Valley, Bays Mountains, Holston and Nolichucky rivers, Cherokee Reservoir. Tobacco, corn, potatoes, truck, poultry, dairy products, livestock. Seat at Morristown. Created 1870 from Grainger, Jefferson, and Hawkins co. 1880: 10,187 (1,706), 1910:

13,650 (1,610), 1930: 16,616 (1,687), 1950: 23,976 (1,849), 1970: 38,696 (2,086).

MORRISTOWN: City 42 mi ENE Knoxville. Tobacco, dairy products, poultry, small industry. Settled 1783, inc 1855. 1970: 20,318 (1,776).

.01 FMY 22 3B: b Knox Co., moved to Morristown as a small child; teaches home ec; Methodist; Univ of TN; professional organizations; prominent family. Father: b Wear Valley, Sevier Co.; hs; owns stores in Morristown and Maryville. PGP: Wear Valley area; farmers; worked for Park Service. Mother: b Wear Valley; hs; telephone co. MGP: Wear Valley area; farmers; owned service station. Husband: 23; Baptist; Univ of TN; accounting firm; mother from Greene Co.; father from W TN. Relaxed, cooperative, not self-conscious. Good example of E TN educated female speech. Urban. GB/78:

- E 012 GRAINGER COUNTY
- E 013 UNION COUNTY
- CLAIBORNE COUNTY: Bounded N by KY and VA, S by Clinch River. Powell River, Norris Reservoir. Cumberland Mountains, Appalachian ridges. Coal mining, lumber, woodworking, corn, livestock, tobacco. Seat at Tazewell. Created 1801 from Grainger and Hawkins co. 1820: 5,508 (407), 1850: 9,369 (759), 1880: 13,373 (789), 1910: 23,504 (819), 1930: 24,313 (573), 1950: 24,788 (355), 1970: 19,420 (272).

  LITTLE SYCAMORE: Rural middle-class community, 14 mi E Tazewell, 25 mi

SE Cumberland Gap. Declining in population.

.01 MMY 80 lA: b Little Sycamore; farmer; Baptist; 8th gr; lived 8 months in OR. Father: b Little Sycamore; local school; farmer. PGGM: Sullivan Co. Mother: b Howards Quarter; local school; hw. MGP: Howards Quarter. Wife: 79; Baptist; more than 8th gr; b Grainger Co. Intelligent, candid, and good-natured; authoritative folk speaker, little affected by cultivated

relatives. LP/72:LP/72 6.0 hr.

- FUY 56 3B: b Little Sycamore; now lives in Tazewell; directs county agency; Baptist; Carson-Newman College, Jefferson City; travel to CA, FL, WI, Hawaii, Canada; former teacher and school supt; various clubs. Father: b Claiborne Co.; 8th gr; farmer. PGP: b Claiborne Co. PGF: ancestors were first settlers in valley. Mother: b Grainger Co.; hs; taught 5 yr. MGF: b Lone Mt., Claiborne Co. MGM: b Grainger Co. MGGF: attended Carson-Newman (then Mossy Creek College). Husband: 58; Baptist; 2-3 yr college; teacher, bank cashier, bank president; Chamber of Commerce; trustee of E TN St Univ; hospital board; family from Lone Mt. area. Highest social class in community; certain about her own usage and clear recollection of forms used as a child in the county. LP/72:LP/72 3.5 hr.
- F 015 SEVIER COUNTY: Bounded E and SE by NC. Great Smoky Mountains, French Broad and Little Pigeon rivers, Douglas Dam, Douglas Reservoir. Lumber, livestock, fruit, tobacco, corn, hay. Seat at Sevierville. Established 1785, created 1794 from Jefferson Co. 1790: 3,619 (229), 1820: 4,772 (303), 1850: 6,920 (470), 1880: 15,541 (693), 1910: 22,296 (378), 1930: 20,480 (211), 1950: 23,375 (215), 1970: 28,241 (133).

WEAR VALLEY: 13 mi SE Sevierville. Originally Crowsons Cove, then Wears Cove or Wears Valley.

ALLENSVILLE: Small community near Jefferson Co. line, now under lake created by Douglas Dam.

.01 MMY 76 lA: b Wear Valley; farmer; Methodist; 8th gr; committeeman for district; never been to Chattanooga; reads newspapers. Father: b Wears Cove; public school; grocer. PGP: lst settlers in valley, 1794, prob from NC. Mother: b Gatlinburg; public school; teacher. MGP: settled in Gatlinburg and Greenbrier. Wife: 72; Methodist; public school; b Wear Valley; family prob from NC. Genial but suspicious; gifted conversationalist,

- without pretense of concern for standards of correctness. Full range of pitch and tempo. LP/73:LP/73 7.5 hr.
- MUY 76 2A: b Allensville; now lives in Sevierville; farmer; Baptist; 3 yr hs; travel to FL, IL, IN; road commissioner, coroner, school board, now bank vice-president. Father: b Jefferson Co.; 8th gr; farmer, merchant.

  PGP: Jefferson Co., VA. Mother: b Allensville; free school; hw. MGP:

  Allensville. Wife: 73; Baptist; 3 yr hs; b 14 mi from Sevierville; mother from KS; father from Sevier Co. Unaffected; a model of rural, insular common speech. LP/73:LP/73 3.0 hr.
- BLOUNT COUNTY: Bounded SE by NC, SW by Little TN River, NW by Ft. Loudon Reservoir. Great Smoky Mountains. Lumber, marble, livestock, dairying, corn, tobacco, hay. Seat at Maryville. Industry at Alcoa and Maryville. Created 1795 from Knox Co. Early settlers from VA, NC. 1820: 11,258 (1,104), 1850: 12,424 (1,211), 1880: 15,985 (1,705), 1910: 20,809 (1,221), 1930: 33,989 (2,842), 1950: 54,691 (2,864), 1970: 63,744 (2,505).

  MARYVILLE: City 15 mi SE Knoxville near Great Smoky Mountains Natl Park. Settled around Ft. Craig, 1785; inc as town 1907, as city 1927. Maryville College (1819). 1970: 13,808 (329).
  - FLY 59 lB: b rural Maryville; domestic; Baptist; 8th gr; no clubs.

    Father: b Cades Cove; grade school; farmer. PGF: b Claiborne Co. Mother: b Cades Cove; grade school; hw. MGP: Cades Cove; Dutch-Irish. Husband: deceased; Baptist; grade school; public work; from Blount Co.; family from Happy Valley. Unaffected; a good representative of suburbanized rural folk speech. Inhibited by third person in room, but rich in conversation.

    LP/71:LP/71 1.5 hr.
  - .02 FAY 51 3B: b Maryville; housewife, has been secretary for TVA; Presbyterian;
    B.A. from Univ of TN; book club, church women's association, sorority;
    lived in Knoxville 1 yr; travel on vacations. Father: b Maryville; college

grad; lumber dealer. PGP: Germany. Mother: b Blount Co.; college grad; hw. MGP: Blount Co.; college grads; ancestors in Revolution; Scotch-Irish to NC. Husband: 51; Presbyterian; college; b Birmingham; raised Meridian, MS; prosperous attorney and realtor, claims adjustor for Southern RR; father b Jefferson Co.; mother b Knox Co. A fine example of highly cultivated ET speech, proud of ET heritage. Good recollection of folk forms, many of which are preserved in her speech. Moderate to slow tempo; moderate to low pitch. Urban. LP,GB/71,78:LP/71,79 6.0 hr.

G 017 KNOX COUNTY: Great Appalachian Valley, Tennessee and Clinch rivers, Ft.

Loudon Reservoir. Livestock, dairying, corn, hay, tobacco, fruit, zinc
and coal mines, marble quarries. Seat at Knoxville. Created 1792 from
Greene and Hawkins co. 1820: 13,034 (1,908), 1850: 18,807 (2,422), 1880:
39,124 (7,244), 1910: 94,187 (12,709), 1930: 155,902 (19,198), 1950: 223,007
(21,502), 1970: 276,293 (23,277).

KNOXVILLE: Commercial and industrial city, 100 mi NNE Chattanooga. Between Great Smoky and Cumberland mountains. Textiles, furniture, chemicals, plastics, aluminum, foundry products, flour, feed, marble, timber, tobacco, tourism. Administrative center for TVA. Univ of TN (1794), Knoxville College (1863). Settled 1786, named 1791, inc 1815. Capital of TN 1796-1812, 1817-19. 1970: 174,587 (22,157).

FUY 44 3B: b Knoxville; hw; former secretary; Presbyterian; Univ of TN; home ec; lived 3 yr in Philadelphia; worked for Univ of TN personnel office and air lines. Father: b Waco, TX; hs grad; bank secretary-treasurer.

PGP: b Houston, TX. PGF: beekeeper, worked for RR. Mother: b Greenback, Loudon Co.; l yr college; secretary. MGP: from Greenback. MGF: possibly from KY; Scotch-Irish. Husband: Presbyterian; college grad; landscape architect; ancestors from Jackson, MS. Expressed wish to get rid of her E TN speech. Urban. LP,GB/72,78:LP/72,79 5.5 hr.

- MUY 60 3A: b Knoxville; farmer; Presbyterian; college at MIT, UT; always lived in Knox Co. apart from 4 yr school in MA. Father: b Knoxville; college grad; physician. PGP: Germany; PGF in Confederate Army. Mother: b outside Knoxville; some college; hw. MGF: farmer. MGGF: doctor, farmer. MGM: slaveowner. Husband: 60; Presbyterian; secretary at mill, newspaper work; family from Knoxville and Jefferson Co. Little influenced by formal education; completely absorbed with farm work. Good memory of early rural characteristics of Knoxville. Soft-spoken. TC/72:LP/72 3.0 hr.
- on farm and in city; 3 mo in OH; church group. Father: b Anderson Co.; hs grad; insurance work, grocery store. PGP: Irish ancestry. Mother: b Grainger Co.; 6th gr; textile mill worker. MGP: English ancestry. Husband: divorced; 63; Baptist; streetcar and bus driver; 5th gr; b Jefferson Co.; father Irish and Cherokee Indian; mother from Jefferson Co. Good model of millworkers' speech. Strongly rural and old-fashioned. Very high pitch, rapid tempo. TC/72:LP/72 6.0 hr.
- MLX 71 1A: b Knoxville; passenger train porter; Church of God, Holiness;
  6th-7th gr (age 16-17); travel with RR to Washington, Chattanooga. Father:
  b Greensboro, NC; 6th gr; RR brakeman. PGP: slaves. Mother: b Jonesboro, TN; little ed; teacher in Kingsport. MGP: slaves, prob from VA.
  Wife: 68; Church of God; 2 yr college; mother b Roane Co.; father b.
  Anderson Co. Alert, intelligent, sense of humor. Modified plantation
  speech; few mountain forms. Some cultivation; wholly urbanized. LP/72:
  LP/72 4.5 hr.
- .05 FLX 44 2A: b Knoxville; library aide; Baptist; hs to age 15; later hs certificate; worked as crossing guard and at mill; lived in Detroit 2 yr. Father: b McCormick, SC; 5th-6th gr; department store. PGP: b SC; moved to Asheville. Mother: b McCormick; 8th gr; mill worker. MGP: b SC. Husband: Holiness; 2 yr college; works at aluminum plant; b Cleve-

land, TN; mother from Cleveland; father from OK. Pleasant and self-assured; working to educate herself. Many inflections omitted. Urban. LP,GB/72,78: LP/72,79 5.0 hr.

- .06 FMX 75 3B: b Knoxville; retired teacher; Presbyterian; 2 yr Knoxville

  College; vacation travel in US, Mexico, Canada. Father: b Knox Co.; college; teacher. PGP: b TN; slaves, farmers. Mother: b Knox Co.; public school; practical nurse. MGF: b Abingdon, VA; settled in Solway, Knox

  Co.; slave, farmer. Intelligent and well-read; slight stroke affects speech; hypercorrective pronunciations. LP/72:LP/72 3.0 hr.
- FMX 31 3A: b Knoxville; college instructor; Church of God; college grad.

  Father: b N AL; elem school; RR work. PGP: N AL; farmers. Mother: N AL; elem school; hw. Husband: 31; hs grad; b Knoxville; father b GA; mother b SC. Intelligent, quick, and dependable. Fine model of young cultivated black speech, preserving many folk forms. Medium to low pitch, slow tempo. Urban. LP,GB/72,78:LP/72,79 5.5 hr.
- MMY 17 2B: b Knoxville; freshman at Univ of TN; Methodist; sings in church choir; member of UT marching band. Father: b Jackson, TN; l yr college; steel salesman. PGF: b W TN. PGM: b OK. Mother: b Knoxville; 2 yr college; hw. MGP: Blowing Rock, NC, near Boone. Good-natured; rather insular in views and experience for an urban speaker. Moderate pitch, slow tempo. Urban. MMc,LP/75:LP/75 6.0 hr.

#### H 018 ANDERSON COUNTY

H 019 CAMPBELL COUNTY: Bounded N by KY, SE by Clinch River. Cumberland Mountains, Norris Reservoir. Coal mining, lumber, livestock, fruit, tobacco, corn, hay. Seat at Jacksboro. Created 1806 from Anderson and Claiborne co. 1820: 4,244 (151), 1850: 6,068 (417), 1880: 10,005 (432), 1910: 27,387 (1,887), 1930: 26,827 (606), 1950: 34,369 (421), 1970: 26,045 (158).

- LA FOLLETTE: 30 mi NNW Knoxville near Norris Reservoir. Coal mining, lake resort, agriculture. Inc 1897. 1970: 6,902 (84).

  JACKSBORO: 28 mi NW Knoxville. Coal mining. 1970: 689 (0).
- EMY 50 3B: b La Follette; director of vocational ed for Campbell Co.;

  Baptist; B.S. from Univ of TN; lived in GA 1 yr, Lake City 3 yr; travel to NY, CA, TX, FL. Father: b Campbell Co.; hs grad; oil distributor.

  PGF: Methodist minister, teacher; from Madisonville. PGM: near Bristol, VA. Mother: b Andersonville, Anderson Co.; 2 yr college; taught 2 yr.

  MGF: from Anderson Co.; physician. MGGF: UT grad. Husband: deceased; Baptist; electrical engineer; UT grad; Lions Club; father from Wales. Intelligent, pleasant, sensitive to dialect differences and standards of correctness. Model of Cumberland Mountain cultivated speech. LP/72: LP/79 3.0 hr.
- MLY 80 lA: b Cove Creek, lives in Jacksboro; farmer, carpenter, RR worker; Methodist; grade school to age 17; trip West at age 18. Father: b Campbell Co.; 8th gr; surveyor, farmer. PGGF from Germany via England and PA, early settler in Campbell Co. Mother: b Campbell Co.; little ed; hw. MGP: early Campbell Co. settlers. Wife: Baptist; 8th gr; b Cove Creek; local ancestry. Cooperative; slow tempo; hard of hearing. Interesting attitude toward women, refusing to acknowledge their work or speech. LP/72:LP/79 4.5 hr.
- SCOTT COUNTY: Bordered N by KY. South Fork Cumberland River, New River, Cumberland Mountains. Lumber, coal and clay mining, corn, fruit, tobacco, hay, livestock, vegetables. Seat at Huntsville. Created 1849 from Anderson, Fentress, Campbell, and Morgan co. 1850: 1,905 (37), 1880: 6,021 (157), 1910: 12,947 (97), 1930: 14,080 (15), 1950: 17,362 (9), 1970: 14,762 (1).

ELGIN: Small community in SW part of county. Farming, quarrying, mining.

ROBBINS: Brickmaking.

ONEIDA: Largest city in county, 46 mi NW Knoxville. Shipping of timber, coal, farm products, livestock. Settled 1868, inc 1914. 1970: 2,602 (0).

- .01 MMY 87 lA: b Elgin; blacksmith, farmer, logger, stone quarry supt, carpenter; began 4th gr; well known in community. Father: b near Elgin; little ed; farmer. PGP: Scotland, then N Ireland to PA; Scott Co. after Civil War; farmers. Mother: b VA; little ed; hw. MGP: VA. Wife: deceased; little ed; parents from Morgan Co. Cooperative and relaxed but almost deaf. Chiefly directed conversation. GB/78:GB/78 1.0 hr.
- .02 FMY 18 2A: b Robbins; freshman at Univ of TN; Baptist; 4-H Club, school clubs; travel in South. Father: b Robbins; hs; mechanic. PGP: b near Robbins; less than 4th gr; farmers. Mother: b Robbins; hs; nurse. MGP: near Robbins; less than 4th gr; gunsmith and hw. Patient and cooperative; not very knowledgeable. Urban. GB/78:SL/79 4.0 hr.
- MMY 70 2A: b Oneida; retired barber, insurance agent, member of school bd; Baptist; hs grad; barber college. Father: b Oneida; grade school; farmer, storekeeper. PGP: Oneida; farmer. Mother: b Oneida; grade school; hw. MGP: Oneida; farmer. Wife: 65; Baptist; some hs; from Scott Co. Self-made man; cooperative and unselfconscious. Wide experience with working-class life. Soft-spoken. GB/78:MP/79 4.5 hr.
- Monroe County: Bounded E and SE by NC; NE by Little Tennessee River.
  Unicoi Mountains, Cherokee Natl Forest. Lumber, livestock, fruit,
  tobacco, corn, hay, dairying, barite mines. Seat at Madisonville.
  Created 1819 from Hiwassee Purchase. 1820: 2,529 (178), 1850: 11,874
  (1,251), 1880: 14,283 (1,292), 1910: 20,716 (1,167), 1930: 21,377 (974),
  1950: 24,513 (798), 1970: 23,475 (868).

SWEETWATER: City 41 mi SW Knoxville on Sweetwater Creek. Settled ca 1850, inc 1875. 1970: 4,340 (416).

- .01 FMY 38 2B: b Sweetwater; asst reporter, police radio operator; Baptist;
  hs grad; trips to FL, TX, IL, Washington. Father: b Niota, raised Sweetwater; 5th gr; maintenance; carpenter. Mother: b Lenoir City; 8th gr;
  school cafeteria worker. MGP: Athens, TN. MGF: worked on RR. Husband:
  deceased; Baptist; hs; raised locally; refrigeration, draftsman. Intelligent and interested; implicit concern for correctness. LP/71:SL/79 3.5 hr.
- I 022 MCMINN COUNTY
- LOUDON COUNTY: Bounded NW by Clinch River. Great Appalachian Valley.

  Little Tennessee and Tennessee rivers, Ft. Loudon Reservoir. Corn, tobacco, hay, fruit, livestock, dairying, timber. Seat at Loudon. Mfg at Loudon and Lenoir City. Created 1870 from Blount, McMinn, Monroe, and Roane co. 1880: 9,148 (1,758), 1910: 13,612 (964), 1930: 17,805 (677), 1950: 23,182 (533), 1970: 24,266 (471).

  LENOIR CITY: On Tennessee River, 23 mi SW Knoxville. Lumber, foundry

products, agriculture. Founded 1840. 1970: 5,324 (5).

- .01 MLY 82 lA: b Loudon Co., 14 mi from Sweetwater; barber, woolen mill, weaver;
  Baptist; 6th gr; Odd Fellows, Jr Chamber of Commerce, farmers union; 2
  trips to IL. Father: b Loudon Co.; little ed; night watchman at mill,
  farmer, RR work. PGP: German and Irish; farmers. Mother: Loudon Co. MGP:
  Loudon Co. First wife: Cherokee, NC. Second wife: Sweetwater. Talkative
  rural barber, old-fashioned usage; good humor; no concern for correctness.
  LP/71:LP/71 5.5 hr.
- O24 ROANE COUNTY: Tennessee River Valley. Clinch River, Watts Bar Reservoir.

  Coal and iron mines, limestone quarries, lumber, fruit, tobacco, corn, wheat, livestock, dairying. Seat at Kingston. Industry at Harriman and Rockwood. Created 1801 from Knox Co. 1820: 7,895 (870), 1850: 12,185 (1,660), 1880: 15,237 (1,906), 1910: 22,860 (2,366), 1930: 24,477 (1,453), 1950: 31,665 (1,526), 1970: 38,881 (1,568).

- KINGSTON: 34 mi WSW Knoxville, on arm of Watts Bar Reservoir. 1970: 4,142 (200).
- .01 MLY 89 2A: b Cedar Grove community, rural Kingston; road repair, farmer;

  Presbyterian; 10th gr; taught in county schools; travel in SE states.

  Father: b near Kingston; literate; farmer. PGM: b Roane Co. PGF: b NC.

  Mother: b Roane Co.; literate; hw. MGP: Roane Co. Wife: deceased;

  Presbyterian; some ed; Roane Co. family. No teeth—interferes with stops,

  fricatives, and affricates. Excellent conversation and recollection of

  old folkways. SB/73:LP/79 8.5 hr.
- MORGAN COUNTY: On Cumberland Plateau. Lumber, corn, hay, tobacco, fruit, vegetables, livestock, dairying. Seat at Wartburg. Created 1817 from Roane Co. 1820: 1,676 (46), 1850: 3,430 (129), 1880: 5,156 (289), 1910: 11,458 (691), 1930: 13,603 (478), 1950: 15,727 (343), 1970: 13,619 (211). WARTBURG: 40 mi WNW Knoxville in Cumberlands. Settled 1845 by Swiss and Germans. 1970: 541 (0).

LANCING: Small mountain community. Mines, farms, stone quarries.

- assessor, county historian; Presbyterian; one summer at E TN Teachers
  College; l term Univ of TN. Father: b Wartburg; elem school; farmer,
  butcher, blacksmith. PGF: Switzerland. PGM: Saxony, Germany. Mother:
  b Anderson Co.; blueback speller; hw. MGP: NC. Husband: deceased;
  Presbyterian; teacher, barrel maker, lumber, bank cashier; family from
  IN. Local historian; straightforward about usage although rather careful in selection. Frail health reflected in voice. EC/73:LP/73 6.0 hr.
- MMY 81 1A: b Morgan Co., lives in Clear Creek (Lancing) community; farmer, stone quarry worker; Baptist; 8th gr; worked in IN 7 yr. Father: b Cumberland Co.; little ed; farmer. PGP: Cumberland Co. Mother: b Morgan Co.; little ed; hw. MGP: Morgan Co.; farmers. Alert, open, and honest; good

example of folk speech of the area. GB/78:GB/78 1.0 hr.

- Stone quarries, coal deposits, timber, corn, hay, potatoes, livestock.

  Seat at Crossville. Created 1856 from White, Van Buren, Bledsoe, Rhea,
  Roane, Morgan, and Putnam co. 1880: 4,538 (42), 1910: 9,327 (63), 1930:

  11,440 (70), 1950: 18,877 (12), 1970: 20,733 (2).

  SEQUATCHIE VALLEY: Head of valley on Hench Mt., highest point in county.

  CROSSVILLE: Town 25 mi E Sparta. Founded ca 1856, inc 1901. 1970:
  5,381 (1).
  - Methodist; 8th gr (3 mo per yr); lived 54 yr at Hench Mt., now lives in Crossville; never out of TN. Father: b Sequatchie Valley; little ed; farmer. Mother: b Sequatchie Valley; little ed; hw. Husband: deceased; family from Hench Mt. Avid newspaper reader. Verbal and perceptive; uninhibited by grammar rules but possessing insights into etymology.

    BR/72:LP/72 6.5 hr.
  - MUY 70 2B: b Tabor, 5 mi N Crossville; retired postmaster, prosperous stone quarry owner; formerly Baptist and Church of Christ; 9th gr; now county historian; 4 yr in navy; taught briefly, metal worked in Nashville, RR worker at Crossville; lived in OH l yr; owns block and building supply plant. Father: b Tabor; 3rd gr; chair maker, blacksmith. Mother: White Co.; 3rd gr; wool spinner. Wife: 66; French/Shawnee Indian; Church of Christ; hs; hw. Talkative, self-made man. BR/73:LP/74 7.5 hr.
  - Ollege; lived 1 yr WA. Father: b Cumberland Co.; medical school; doctor. PGF: around Chattanooga. PGM: Hamilton Co. Mother: Haleyville, AL; nursing school; nurse, hw. MGP: AL. Husband: 28; Baptist; law school; attorney and mayor; b Hamilton Co. Good natural responses from a cultivated informant. MMc/75:LP/74 4.0 hr.

- K 027 MEIGS COUNTY
- RHEA COUNTY: Tennessee River, Watts Bar Reservoir, Chickamauga Reservoir.

  Fruit, corn, truck, hay, dairy products, livestock, lumber, coal mining.

  Industry at Dayton and Spring City. Seat at Dayton. Created 1807 from

  Roane Co. 1820: 4,215 (357), 1850: 4,415 (464), 1880: 7,073 (773), 1910:

  15,410 (1,316), 1930: 13,871 (746), 1950: 16,041 (711), 1970: 17,202 (585).

  DAYTON: Near Tennessee River, 35 mi NNE Chattanooga. Originally Smiths

  Crossroads; founded as Dayton 1884. Scopes Trial in 1925. 1970: 4,361 (370).
  - SPRING CITY: Town near Watts Bar Reservoir, 50 mi NE Chattanooga. Established 1878. Settlers from VA, NC, SC, TN. 1970: 1,756 (171).
  - .01 MMY 17 2B: b Dayton; part-time at supermarket, student; Baptist; hs grad; editor of school paper; Young Republicans. Father: b Rhea Co., hs; 1st Sgt Natl Guard. PGP: prob Dayton. Mother: b Tennessee City; business college; part-time nurse, hw; raised Sale Creek. Intelligent, with good control of folk speech in passive vocabulary. LP/71:LP/79 4.0 hr.
  - MUY 77 2B: b Dayton; hardware dealer, farmer; Baptist; 3 yr hs; Rotary Club, mayor, city commission, purchase and finance commission, draft bd; travel in NY, MD, CA, TX, South. Father: b near Dayton; school at Sale Creek; taught 10 yr; farmer. PGF: raised S of Dayton; farmer. Mother: b Graysville; some ed; hw. MGF: Presbyterian minister. Wife: 71; Baptist; hs; from Memphis; ancestors from NC. Friendly, good-natured, and talkative; hard of hearing and some memory loss. A perfect small-town businessman; much old-fashioned speech. LP/71:LP/71 4.5 hr.
  - .03 MLY 78 lA: b near Spring City; farmer; Baptist; 8 yr school; active in church; travel to KY, NC, SC. Father: b Rhea Co.; little ed; farmer.

    PGF prob b Rhea Co.; literate; farmer. Mother: b Rhea Co.; 6th gr; hw.

    MGF b NC; little ed; farmer. Wife: 66; Baptist; elem school; b Wayne

    Co., KY. Alert and cooperative; slightly hard of hearing. Speech less

distinct after he lights his pipe. SL/78:SL/78 3.5 hr.

- K 029 BLEDSOE COUNTY
- POLK COUNTY: Bounded E by NC, S by GA. Unicoi Mountains, Hiwassee and Oconee rivers, Cherokee Natl Forest. Lumber, corn, cotton, hay, soybeans, livestock, dairying. Created 1839 from McMinn and Bradley co. Seat at Benton. 1850: 6,338 (454), 1880: 7,269 (344), 1910: 14,116 (284), 1930: 15,686 (152), 1950: 14,074 (90), 1970: 11,669 (4).

  RELIANCE: Rural community between Copper Hill/Ducktown and Etowah.
  - .01 FLY 69 1A: b near Reliance; dept store clerk; Baptist; finished grammar school. Father: b Polk Co.; some ed; farmer. Mother: b Polk or Bradley Co.; grammar school; hw. MGP: b out West. Husband: deceased; Baptist; Responses deferential but reliable and representative. Strong notions of correctness. LP/72:LP/72 6.0 hr.
- BRADLEY COUNTY: Bounded S by GA, N by Hiwassee River. Cherokee Natl Forest. Timber, corn, cotton, hay, fruit, livestock. Seat at Cleveland. Created 1835. 1850: 12,259 (781), 1880: 12,124 (1,845), 1910: 16,336 (1,717), 1930: 22,870 (1,852), 1950: 32,338 (1,777), 1970: 50,686 (2,280). CLEVELAND: Industrial city, 26 mi ENE Chattanooga. Trade center for timber and farm area. Lee College (1918). Inc 1838. 1970: 20,651 (1,324).
  - .01 MLY 78 1A: b Prospect community near Cleveland; highway dept laborer and foreman, sawmill worker; Presbyterian; 5th gr. Father: b near Knoxville; 5th gr; farmer. PGP: b Ireland. Mother: b White Oak Mt., Bradley Co.; 5th gr; hw. MGP: b White Oak Mt.; ancestors from England. Wife: 77; Presbyterian; from Monroe Co.; family from NC. Excellent isolated folk speaker; suspicious toward interview. LP/71:LP/71 3.0 hr.
  - .02 MUY 21 3B: b Cleveland; senior at Univ of TN at Chattanooga (business); summer work at bank; Methodist; extensive vacation travel in US. Father: b Bradley Co.; hs; owns grocery store. PGP: b N GA; grocery store; English

or Dutch ancestry. Mother: b Madisonville; hs; hw. MGP: from E TN; farmers. GGF: doctor in Civil War. Straightforward but not very responsive. Family representative of new extra-urban leisure class. LP/71:SL/79 3.0 hr.

M 032 HAMILTON COUNTY: Bounded S by GA. Tennessee River, Hales Bar and Chickamauga reservoirs, Walden Ridge, Lookout Mountain, Chickamauga and Chattahoochee Natl Military Park. Livestock, corn, hay, fruit, tobacco, coal, iron, timber. Seat at Chattanooga. Created 1819 from Rhea Co. Absorbed James Co. in 1919. 1820: 821 (55), 1850: 10,075 (859), 1880: 23,642 (7,399), 1910: 89,267 (26,026), 1930: 159,497 (36,155), 1950: 208,255 (42,556), 1970: 254,236 (46,397).

CHATTANOOGA: Industrial city and port of entry on Moccasin Bend of Tennessee River at GA line, 100 mi NNW Atlanta. Great Appalachian Valley, E of Cumberlands. Iron and steel products, farm implements, textiles, chemicals, iron and coal mines. TVA hq since 1935. Univ of TN at Chattanooga (1886), TN Temple College (1946), Chattanooga St Tech Inst (1963). Originally Ross's Landing; inc as town 1841, as city 1851.

HIXSON: Near Chattanooga, mostly white and rural. 1970: 6,188 (13). OOLTEWAH: Former seat of James Co. Small rural community.

- .01 MMY 59 2A: b Chattanooga, lives in Hixson; truck driver; Baptist; hs grad. Father: b GA; 10th gr; telegraph worker. PGF: b GA, son of Dutch immigrant. Mother: b MO; hs; seamstress. Wife: 57; Baptist; hs; manages restaurant; Cherokee Indian ancestry. Intelligent but responses not always authentic. Some replies guarded. CWF/70:SL/79 2.5 hr.
- .02 MLY 62 lA: b Alton Park, E Chattanooga; dye maker at mill; Baptist; 5th gr; lived in Daisy 20 yr; warehouse laborer in Chattanooga, picked cotton in Buck Mt. Valley. Father: b near Berlin, Germany; literate; saddle maker. PGP: Germany. PGF came to Philadelphia. Mother: b War-

- renton, GA; literate; hw. MGP: Irish and Indian, from GA. Wife: deceased; Church of God; 6th-7th gr. Raised in orphanage after flu epidemic of 1917. Good model of insular urban folk speech. TC/72:LP/72 6.0 hr.
- FUX 67 3B: b Chattanooga; elem school teacher; Baptist; B.S. from TN St Univ; workshops at Peabody College; travel in US on vacations; active in women's clubs, church clubs, YWCA bd, bridge club. Father: b Chattanooga; 8th gr; foundry work. PGF: Tullahoma, TN. Mother: b Chattanooga; 8th gr; hw. MGF: elem school janitor; community leader, Sunday School supt, Baptist deacon; from NC. MGM: hw. First husband: Baptist; 1 yr college; insurance agent; prob b Chattanooga. Second husband: 65; Baptist; 2 yr college; electric power bd. Cooperative but not very interested. Careful pronunciations and guarded speech throughout. BR/73:SL/79 4.5 hr.
- FUX 74 3B: b Chattanooga; retired elem school teacher; Catholic; 3 yr college, teaching certificate; travel in Canada, Mexico, US; nursing home auxiliary, trustee of legal aid society, bargain mart chairman, women's club. Father: b near Dalton, GA; literate; school custodian.

  PGF: GA; stonemason, son of slaveowner; possible Indian ancestry. PGGP: slaves. Mother: b Chattanooga; literate; domestic. First husband: Methodist; hs; parents from VA. Second husband: deceased; stonemason; from Chattanooga. Alert, intelligent, and interested. Speech prob influenced by wide travel; knowledge of other dialect areas. Concern for correctness. BR/73:SL/79 6.0 hr.
- .05 FMY 82 3A: b Chattanooga; worked in cafeteria, hw; Baptist; 2 yr Univ of Chattanooga (home ec); travel in FL, GA; lived in Chicago 2 yr, in Sale Creek 6 yr; Senior Neighbors group, church activities. Father: b Chattanooga; hs; wood turner. PGP: Chattanooga; owned and dealt in property on Signal Mt. Mother: b Evansville, IN; hs; hw. MGP: IN; some ed. MGF:

- painter. Husband: deceased; Baptist; grammar school; family from OH and PA. Talkative and cooperative; minor memory problems. Concern for correctness; many nonstandard grammatical forms. BR/73:SL/79 5.0 hr.
- MMX 72 2A: b Chattanooga; butler and restaurant worker; AME Church; 2 yr hs in Salisbury, NC; lived in Cincinnati at age 25; worked as janitor; draws and sells pictures, washes cars. Father: b Chattanooga; 8th gr; worked in stores. Mother: b Chattanooga; 8th gr; hw. Wife: separated; 12th gr; now lives in Chicago; family from Chattanooga. Tedious and slow-paced; informant not alert or interested. Urban. TC,MP/72,75: SL/79 6.0 hr.
- .07 MLY 60 lA: b Chattanooga; produce, horses, farming; illiterate. Wife: Church of God; seamstress. Good-natured and cooperative; potentially a good folk informant. Unconcerned with correctness. DBT/72:SL/79

  3.0 hr.
- .08 FLX 68 lB: b Ooltewah; domestic; Baptist; 4th gr; travel with employers; lived briefly in GA. Father: little ed; mechanic. Mother: little ed.

  MGP: prob b Acworth, GA. Distinctly Southern features. Some travel while tending children of well-do-to enlarged her experience. MS/73:

  LP/73 5.0 hr.
- .09 FLY 52 lA: b Chattanooga; nurse's aide, children's hospital; 6th gr.

  Husband: divorced. Somewhat apprehensive and reserved; no evident concern with correctness. DBT/72:SL/79 3.0 hr.
- .10 MLY 20 2A: b Chattanooga; factory worker; Baptist; technical school; travel to FL, GA, Nashville. Father: b Aragon, GA; no ed; upholstery work.

  PGP: German ancestry. Mother: b Chattanooga; 10th gr; hw. MGP: both b Chattanooga; Irish and Indian ancestry. Good example of urban lower-class speech, uninhibited and uneducated. Urban. EH/75:LP/75 4.0 hr.

.11 MMY 24 3B: b Chattanooga; graduate student (English); Baptist; 3 yr
Univ of TN at Chattanooga; B.A. UT Knoxville, 2 yr grad school UT Knoxville, 1 yr Emory Univ; athletics in college; travel in New England, IN,
South. Father: b Sale Creek; 2 yr college; insurance salesman. PGP:
prob b Sale Creek; elem school; farmers. Mother: b Dayton; hs; key punch
operator, restaurant worker. MGP: b Dayton (Garrison community); elem
school; farmers; English/Scottish/Irish ancestry. Good model of young
educated South Midland speech; excellent recall of urban and rural vocab.
Amusing dialogue throughout; fine repertoire of salty diction. Urban.
MB/78:LP/79 9.0 hr.

#### N 033 MARION COUNTY

- N 034 SEQUATCHIE COUNTY: Partly in Cumberlands; Walden Ridge in SE. Sequatchie River. Coal, lumber, livestock, feed, fruit, tobacco. Seat at Dunlap. Created 1857 from Hamilton Co. 1880: 2,565 (56), 1910: 4,202 (139), 1930: 4,047 (11), 1950: 5,685 (8), 1970: 6,331 (1).
  - DUNLAP: City on Sequatchie River, 23 mi N Chattanooga. 1970: 1,672 (1).
  - .01 FLY 71 1A: b Dawes, lives in Dunlap; farm worker, hw; Church of Christ; 6th gr; church worker. Father: b New Hope, Marion Co.; 5th-6th gr; RR worker.

    PGP: Sequatchie Co. Mother: b Logan, AR; 3rd gr; hw. MGP: Sequatchie Co.

    MGF: immigrant. Husband: deceased; Church of Christ; 6th gr; from Dunlap.

    Initially responsive and talkative; straightforward. Moderate tempo.

    BR/73:MB/79 5.0 hr.
  - .02 FMY 62 3A: b 6 mi from Dunlap; elem school teacher; Methodist; Cookville College, teachers college; Eastern Star, educational sorority; little travel; visits to Yellowstone Park and TX. Father: b Sequatchie Co.; medical school; country doctor. PGP: Sequatchie Co.; farmers. PGGP: NC. Mother: b Sequatchie Co.; hs; hw. MGP: Irish ancestry; raised Sequatchie Co. MGF fought in Civil War. Husband: deceased; Methodist; hs grad; b

Sequetchie Co.; Mason. Relaxed educated speech, mixing local and bookish forms. Sensitive of old-fashioned words, pronunciations, and grammatical forms. BR/73:LP/73 4.5 hr.

APPENDIX B: IDIOLECT SYNOPSES

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ET LAUREL BLOOMERY
A 001.01

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MMY 72 3A TC/72:LP/72

ET SHELL CREEK A 002.03

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MMY 79 1A LP/72:LP/72

ET LEESBURG
B 004.01

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MMY 82 3A LP/72:LP:72 ET LEESBURG B 004.02

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MLY 66 1A LP/72:LP/72

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ET JACKSON CHAPEL

B 005.01

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FLY 73 lA LP/71:LP/71

ET BIG CREEK C 006.01

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MUY 79 3B LP/71:LP/71 ET HOLSTON VALLEY C 006.02

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MLY 58 1A LP/71:LP/71

ET HOLSTON VALLEY

C 006.03

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FMY 73 3A LP/71:LP/71 ET BLUFF CITY C 006.04

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ET KINGSPORT C 006.05

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