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AUTHOR Shaver, Howard R.
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ABSTRACT

The concept of the chorophone forms the basis for this study of vowel differences between Southern Negro English and Southern white English. The author isolates chorophones for the speech community under study according to the occurrence of a particular segmental phoneme or corresponding phoneme sequences in a set of words, all of which contain the same segmental phoneme in the idiolects within the given speech community with relatively few exceptions. There is a discussion of the phones that appear within each chorophone and the differences apparent in Southern Negro and Southern white pronunciation. Several Gullah chorophones are also considered. A list of references is included. (VM)

THE STRESSED VOWELS OF NEGRO AND WHITE SPEECH OF THE SOUTHERN STATES: A COMPARISON

Howard B. Shayer
New York City

ABSTRACT

The vowels are described in terms of the chorophone, an overall pattern unit based on Daniel Jones's diaphone. Some of the closing diphthongs in Southern Negro speech tend to have starting and end points closer together and nearer to the perimeter of the vowel triangle than their correspondents in Southern white speech. Some monophthongs tend to be fronter in Southern white speech. The vowels of Southern Negro speech are much more likely to be nearer to the corresponding Gullah vowels than the vowels of Southern white speech are.

THE STRESSED VOWELS OF NEGRO AND WHITE SPEECH OF THE SOUTHERN STATES: A COMPARISON

Howard B. Shayer
New York City

This study deals with the stressed vowels of white and Negro speakers of English as spoken natively during the past forty years or so in the area which comprised the Confederacy.

This rather heterogeneous area includes all of Thomas's " Southern," about half of his " Southern Mountain," and a very small part of his "Central Midland" speech areas.[1] It includes almost all of Kurath and McDavid's "South" and much of their " South Midland" speech areas.[2] It also includes most of Baugh's " Southern Mountain," all of his "Virginia Piedmont" and "Eastern Carolina" speech areas,[3] and all of Henry Lee Smith's "Southern Tidewater," almost all of his "Southern Piedmont," and most of his "Southern Hill."[4]

The descriptions are based upon the present writer's own observations and the observations of others.

Our use of the term "Southern Negro speech" is not meant to include Gullah,[5] although Gullah is discussed.

We are not concerned in the present article with such Peninsular Florida resort areas as Miami-Fort

Lauderdale which, at least in its native white speech, is nearer to the speech of the North than of the South.[6]

The writer, of course, does not purport to present descriptions of the stressed vowels of all the white and Negro varieties of English as spoken by persons born and reared in the South; however, although some important details may have been omitted, I think the descriptions here are fairly representative of the English of the South.

The writer recognizes the importance of social and stylistic variations within Southern white and Southern Negro speech, but it is not within the scope of the present study to discuss them but very briefly.[7]

The phonetic descriptions here should be thought of primarily in auditory terms within the framework of the I.P.A. cardinal vowel system, and only secondarily, and then only very roughly, in terms of the position of the highest point of the tongue.[8]

In addition to the cardinal vowels, the following other I.P.A. vowel symbols are used with perhaps their most common auditory values among American writers on the English language.

[ɐ] Halfway between cardinal [ɛ] and cardinal [ɑ].

[ə] Mid-central, unrounded or rounded (stressed or

unstressed).

[ɚ] Mid-central with "r-coloring," unrounded or rounded (stressed or unstressed). The symbols [ə] and [ɚ] indicate ranges rather than points of vowel quality.

[ʊ̈] Central, between close and half-close, rounded, lax.

[ɐ] Central, halfway between open and half-open, unrounded.

[ɪ̈] Between close and half-close, between front and central, unrounded, lax.

[ɨ] Central, between close and half-close, unrounded, lax.

[ʊ̈] Between close and half-close, between back and central, rounded, lax. The vowel commonly transcribed [ʊ̈] tends to be "tenser" (more [u] -like) in British Received Pronunciation than in American speech.

The following non-I.P.A. symbols are also used in the present study:

[A] Halfway between cardinal [ɑ] and cardinal [ɑ].

[ɔ̞] Halfway between cardinal [o] and cardinal [ɔ].

[E] Halfway between cardinal [ɛ] and cardinal [e].[9]

The present writer is departing from orthodox cardinal vowel system practice in using the terms tense and lax

in the phonetic descriptions. The vowels commonly called "tense" -- [i] , [e] , [u] , etc. -- seem to have an auditory quality in common which they do not share with the vowels commonly called "lax" -- [ɪ] , [ɛ] , [ʊ] , etc. -- and vice versa.[10]

Although most vowels can probably be described adequately solely within the cardinal vowel framework without the necessity of using the terms tense and lax (not considering, of course, vowels which are "[r]-colored," nasalized, devoiced, etc.). Some vowels, e.g., [ɨ] , and [ə] [11] might better, perhaps, be additionally described in terms of the above two adjectives.[12]

In the present study the writer views diphthongs as unit phonemes, not as phonemic sequences -- but diphthongs beginning with [j] or [w] are regarded as phonemic sequences.

The writer does not follow the criterion of strong bi-uniqueness -- some phonemic overlapping is permitted.

The vowels are described within the framework of a single representation type of overall pattern, not the multiple representation type of Trager and Smith, Hockett, Gleason, Hill, and others. The basic unit of the overall pattern used in the present study is the CHOROPHONE (from Greek chōros 'place','region'), which is based on Jones's DIAPHONE. Jones states: "It is convenient to have a

name for a family of sounds consisting of the sound used by one speaker in a particular set of words (said in isolation) together with the corresponding though different sounds used in them by other speakers of the same language. Such a family may be termed a 'diaphone'." [13]

The chorophone differs from Jones's diaphone in the following ways:

1. The words do not necessarily have to be "said in isolation."

2. A SET consists of all words in a given regional and/or social speech community containing the same segmental phoneme (or phonemic sequence which corresponds to the phoneme[14]), but subject to the condition of GENERAL APPLICABILITY.

3. All the words in the set must have general applicability, i.e., they must contain the same segmental phoneme in the idiolects within the given speech community with "relatively few" exceptions. Of course, some arbitrariness will be involved in applying this last criterion.

The size of the speech community may be chosen ad hoc up to the size of an entire language area; e.g., if as the speech community, one chooses British Received Pronunciation English then the words catch, back, hat (together with many other words) will constitute a distinct set.[15] However, if we select as our speech

community white native New York City speech, then these words will not constitute a set because in this speech community catch is commonly pronounced with both the vowel phoneme of back, hat, etc., and the vowel phoneme of bet, deck, etc.

Some words aren't a member of any set in a particular speech community, e.g., the word catch, above, in New York City and much of the United States, the words can't, inch, head, on (among others) in the Southern states. If we take English as spoken natively throughout the entire continental United States as our speech community, then words such as bee, law, day and know, would be members of sets. Water, chair, fog, room and either would not be. Words such as food, dog, crop, and like would be borderline cases.

Some sets may have few members if the phonemes are only present in a relatively small number of words, such as the so-called New England "short O" in road, whole (but not rode, hole), stone, etc. Other sets may have thousands of members.

Some scholars, e.g., Pike, Smith, Kurath, and McDavid, have used the term diaphone, but not in Jones's sense.

The symbols for the chorophones are enclosed in double parallels.

The various phones and phonic sequences included in the chorophones are symbolized under the rubric phones

with the I.P.A. and other symbols discussed above. Broad phonetic transcription is used for the phones and phonic sequences listed under phones. Except for [ə̆] ,[16] diacritics are not used in these rubric listings. Narrow or broad transcription is used in the main body of the text and in the footnotes.

The end points of the diphthongs in the above listings have approximately the following values: [j] - (indicates closing diphthongs) [i] , [I] , [ɨ] , [ɨ̟] , [e] , or [ɛ] . In [ij] , the second symbol indicates a value nearer to cardinal [i] then the first symbol does. [w] -(indicates closing diphthongs) [u] , [ʊ] , [ʉ̞] , [ʉ̟] , [o] , and in the cases of the ‖ɔ‖ closing diphthongs ([ɑw], [ʌw], [ɒw]), besides closer phones, often [ɔ] , sometimes [ɒ] . In [uw] , the second symbol indicates a value nearer to cardinal [u] than the first symbol does. [ə̆] -(indicates centering diphthongs), very roughly mid-central, closer than [ʌ] and more open than [ɨ] . [ə̆] has varying degrees of prominence and at times constitutes the second syllable of a disyllable.

In the combinations [jw] and [wj] , [w] , and [j] indicate the second syllable of disyllables with the close or half-close values noted above.

In the present study, except for the phones and phonic sequences of the ‖ə-ɚ‖ , ‖ə‖ , ‖ʌj‖ ,

and ‖ɔj - əj‖ chorophones, [ɚ] , although a vocoid, is not considered to be an element of a diphthong nor is it considered (in our definition of the chorophone - see note 14, above) part of a "phonemic sequence which corresponds to the phoneme."

Under the rubric phones, the writer does not attempt to list all primary allophones[17] of very restricted regional and/or social occurrence nor all secondary allophones of even wide regional and/or social occurrence that he may know of.

In the cases where differences between Southern white and Southern Negro practice are not noted, either the differences are questionable or unknown to the present writer, or they do not seem striking.

The chorophone ‖i‖

as in heat, sea, etc.; it includes a monophthong and closing and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[i] , [ɪj], [ij], [ɨj], [iə̆] [18]

Although most white Southerners use ‖i‖ vowels of the approximate shapes, [ɪj] , [ij] , and possibly [i] , one notices an apparently increasing tendency to use

closing diphthongs with centralized starting points in syllable-final position, and perhaps in other positions also.[19] Among some speakers the starting points of these Cockney-like vowels reach [ɨ] or perhaps even a somewhat fronter position.

In contrast to Southern white speech, diphthongs with centralized starting points would seem to be rare - possibly unknown - in Southern Negro speech.

||ɪ|| as in bit, rid, sick, etc.; it includes monophthongs, centering diphthongs, and a disyllable.

Phones

[ɪ], [ɪ ə̆], [ɪ j ə], [ɨ], [ɨ ə̆]

In both Southern white and Southern Negro speech [ɪ] (as a monophthong and the starting point of [ɪ ə̆]) is sometimes considerably "tenser," i.e., in this case, closer and/or fronter, nearer to [i], than the [ɪ] found in the speech of the Northern states or in British Received Pronunciation. In some words, e.g., inch, big, fish, [i], [i j], or [ɪ j] sometimes occur instead of [ɪ],[20] therefore such words would have vowels not included in the ||ɪ|| chorophone.

In Southern white speech disyllabic [ˈɪ j ə]

(perhaps, also, [i ə̆] and/or [ˈi i̯ə]) can sometimes be heard in ‖I‖ words before [d] , especially under heavy stress in pre-pausal position.[21] In Southern Negro speech it would seem to occur rarely,[22] if at all, except before [ɬ] as in hill, where it is rather frequent in Southern Negro and Southern white speech.

The present writer does not wish to enter the controversy regarding the phonemic status of [ɪ̈] and [ɪ̈ ə̆] .[23] In the present discussion, however, we are considering them members of the ‖I‖ chorophone.

‖e‖

As in day, state, etc., it includes a monophthong, closing and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[e] , [e ə̆] , [e i̯] , [ɛ i̯] , [æ i̯] , [a i̯] , [E i̯]

The chief difference between Southern white and Southern Negro speech here seems to lie with the closing diphthongs. In Southern white speech the general range of the starting points is from about cardinal [e] to about cardinal [a] . The more open starting points are more likely to be heard in open syllables and before nasals. Starting points ranging from about cardinal [ɛ] to about [æˑ] also occur. These lowered and centralized, lowered starting points would seem to be

more common in Southern Mountain than in Southern Coastal type speech, and among younger than among older speakers. As in Cockney, these more open starting points occur in variation with the closer starting points. Such variation may be stylistic, positional, prosodic, and/or apparently free.

The open (i.e., more open than cardinal [ɛ]) starting points seem to be much rarer in Southern Negro speech, but they can be heard. The writer recently observed the speech of a Negro youth from Camden, South Carolina; he used the [ɑɛ] , cardinal [ɑ] , [ɑɛ˕] , and [ɛ˕] starting points in mostly positional and prosodic variation.

The fact of the rather common occurrence of open ||e|| diphthongs in the Southern states has been neglected in the literature. Thomas states in regard to American pronunciation that the most open ||e|| diphthong which he is familiar with is ||ɑɛI|| (his transcription), ocurring sporadically in Texas and Oklahoma.[24] Greet states that [eI] at times approaches [ɛI] (Greet's transcription) in <u>safe</u>, etc., in Tidewater Virginia.[25] Kurath and McDavid report that [ɛɪ] (their transcription) is concentrated in northeastern North Carolina (including Carteret County and Okracoke) and extreme western Virginia.[26] Bronstein feels that [eI] has evolved into

[ɛɪ] (Bronstein's transcriptions) rather generally throughout America. He does not mention [æɪ] or [ɑɪ] .[27] Lucia C. Morgan, however, reports [ɑɪ] (her transcription) in rain for some North Carolina speakers.[28]

‖ɛ‖

As in bet, chest, etc.; it includes monophthongs, centering diphthongs, and disyllables.

Phones

[ɛ], [ɛ̈], [ɛ̆ə̆], [ɛi̯ə], [ɛ̈i̯ə], [ɛ̈ə̆]

The chief difference here between Southern white and Southern Negro practice seems to be in the occurrence which is sometimes heard in Southern white speech of disyllables of the approximate shapes [ˈɛi̯ə] and [ˈɛ̈i̯ə] .[29] These disyllables would seem to be rare (possibly unknown) in Southern Negro speech.

‖æ‖

As in back, man, gas, jazz, etc.; it includes monophthongs, closing and centering diphthongs, disyllables, and perhaps triphthongs.

Phones

[æɛ] , [æɛj] , [æɛə̆] , [æɛjə] , [ɑj] [30]

and other vowels, including closing and centering diphthongs with starting points closer than [æɛ] .

The phonemic and phonetic status of some of the vowels of this chorophone is in doubt. As with the [ɨ] phones of ||I|| the writer does not wish to enter the controversy concerning the phonemic status of the various vowels under this rubric.[31] In the present discussion these vowels are considered as belonging to only one chorophone; ||æɛ|| has been set up as only a tentative chorophone.

Some scholars, e.g., Kenyon and Kurath,[32] have stated that the ||æɛ|| vowels are closer in the South than in the North. Although this may have been true in the past, the present writer is not convinced that it is, in general, true now.

Lucia Morgan reports the occurrence of [ɛ] (her transcription) in "a few interesting words on the North Carolina Outer Banks...."[33] She reports this vowel for fat, back, Hatteras, calico, captain, salad, black, and the second syllable of Atlantic.[34] However, Howren in his Ocracoke, North Carolina study makes no mention of [ɛ] occurring in place of [æɛ] ; he reports [æɛ] , [æɛə̆] , [æɛI] , (his transcriptions) as being the usual

allophones, and in his list of examples cites back with [æə] , not [ɛ] .[35] Jaffe reports [æə] or [æə˖] (her transcriptions).[36] The above Outer Banks studies are presumably of white speech. [ɛ] , [ɛ˖] , or [Eʳ] (or similar phones) are reported for uneducated Negro speech along the Savannah River southeast of Augusta, Georgia.[37]

In general, before voiceless stops, the closer ||æə|| vowels seem to be more common in Southern white speech than in Southern Negro speech.[38]

||A||

As in hot, rock, job, rod, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[A] , [ɑ] , [ɒ] , [ɒə̆] , [ɑə̆] , [Aə̆]

||A|| occurs only in the Southern " r -less" idiolects (but see note 39).

||a||

As in card, party, father, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ɑ], [ɑə̆], [ɒ], [ɒə̆], [ʌ], [ɔ], [ɔə̆]

||a|| occurs only in the Southern "r - less idiolects (but see note 39). There is considerable phonetic overlapping between ||A|| and ||a|| , but the phonemic distinction is generally clear. The present writer sees the chief differentia in the South between these two groups to be length. In similar environments the ||a|| vowels seem, in general, consistently longer than the ||A|| vowels. In other parts of the "r-less" English speaking world, vowel quality may combine with length as the differentiae; e.g., in New York City speech the ||a|| vowels are generally backer than the ||A|| vowels. In Boston speech and British Received Pronunciation, the reverse is generally true.

||A-a||

As in hot, job, father, card, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ɑ], [ɒ], [ʌ], [ʌə̆], [ɑə̆]

||A-a|| occurs only in Southern "r-ful" idiolects.[39] The vowels are generally backer before

pre-consonantal and word-final [ɚ] or [ɹ].

‖ɒ‖

As in talk, card, cord, bark, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ɒ], [ɔ], [ɔə̆], [ɒə̆]

This chorophone is set up to account for the occurrence of the above-type words with the same vowel phoneme. ‖ɒ‖ is common (but not universal) in New Orleans white speech.[40] It would seem to be less common in Southern Negro speech than in Southern white speech.[41]

‖ɔ‖

As in talk, saw, horse, etc.; it includes monophthongs and closing and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ɔ], [ɒ], [ʊ], [ɔə̆], [ɒə̆], [ʊə̆], [ɔw], [ɒw], [aw], [Aw]

[Aw] (as a ‖ɔ‖ diphthong) seems to occur much less frequently in Southern Negro speech than in Southern white speech, and perhaps the ‖ɔ‖ closing diphthongs as a group are less frequent in Southern Negro speech.

Wise cites [ɔʊ] (his transcription) as occurring sometimes in ||ɔ|| words in "substandard" Southern pronunciation.[42] Such a diphthong in ||ɔ|| words would seem rare, indeed, for the South as a whole, if we take Wise's [ɔ] to be a value near cardinal [ɔ] .

On the periphery of our area, Putnam and O'Hern report [oʊ] (their transcription) as replacing [ɔ] in warm, forty, off, small, and dogs, but not in all, talking, water, and for, which have [ɔ] (their transcription).[43]

Morgan in her Ocracoke Island, North Carolina study cites [oʊ] (her transcription) as occurring in called, ball, and presumably in other ||ɔ|| words also. However, Howren in his Ocracoke (village) study reports [oᵀ·ə] or [oᵀ:] (Howren's transcriptions) for the above words and for ||ɔ|| words in general. Perhaps Howren and Morgan are transcribing the "same" sounds differently.[44]

There is evidence that the traditional /ɔ/ - /o/ opposition before historical [r] may be breaking down in the South to some extent.[45]

||ʌ||

As in love, sun, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ʌ], [ʌə̆], [ə], [ɔ], [ɔə̆] [46]

Under heavy stress in pre-pausal position, the ||ʌ|| vowels are sometimes heard as extremely long in Southern white speech; this would seem to be rare or perhaps unknown in Southern Negro speech. There is also a greater tendency for Southern white speakers to use more centralized vowels here.[47]

||ow||

As in coat, low, four, etc., it includes monophthongs, closing and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[o], [ow], [ɑw], [ɔw], [ʌw], [ɛw], [əw], [ɛw], [ɑ], [oə̆][48]

In white speech there appears to be an increasing tendency throughout the Southern states to use more fronted starting points for the ||ow|| closing diphthongs (and probably, among many speakers, for the end points also). These fronted vowels seem to be more common in North Carolina than in other Southern states.[49] They appear to be uncommon in the New Orleans area, at least among the working, middle, and "lower" classes. They are not uncommon in Atlanta, and apparently widespread among

younger speakers in Savannah. They have been reported from southeast Texas and Tidewater, Virginia.[50]

At its frontest, the starting point may be fully front or almost fully front, between half-close and half-open and perhaps (with some speakers) rounded.[51] It resembles those commonly found in the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh areas -- among others.[52]

Closing diphthongs with starting points of central position or fronter seem rare in Southern Negro speech, and the more fronted they are the rarer they seem. Even in northeastern North Carolina, where the fronted vowels are well-established in white speech, Avis, working with records of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada project did not find them among any of the Negro informants.[53]

There is some evidence that the monophthong [o] and centering diphthong [oə̆] may occur more frequently in Southern Negro speech, at least among older speakers in the eastern Southern states.[54]

Except in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, the fronted ||ow|| diphthongs seem to be rare (possibly absent) before tautosyllabic or intervocalic [l] or [ɹ].[55] The fronting is reported as only moderate in this position, however,

The present writer is treating the reflexes of

Middle English [o:], [ɔ:], and [u:] (all before [r]), before tautosyllabic or intervocalic [ə] or [ɹ] as members of the ||ow|| chorophone. When word-final, or before [ə] (whether or not [ə] constitutes the end point of a diphthong or a separate syllable) as members of the ||o||, ||o:ə̆||, and ||oə̆||, chorophones (which see). As a ||ow|| phone [ʊ] seems to occur only before tautosyllabic or intervocalic [ɹ] or [ə].

||o||

As in court, coat, floor, show, etc.; it includes a monophthong, closing diphthongs, and perhaps a centering diphthong as a positional allophone (in pre-consonantal position).

Phones

[o], [ow], and perhaps [oə̆], [ɔw], [ʊw], [ʌw]

This chorophone accounts for the occurrence of above-type words with the same vowel phoneme in the same "r-less" idiolects.

‖o:ə̆‖

As in boa, bore, Samoa, more, etc.; it includes a centering diphthong and a disyllable.

Phones

[oə̆], [oʷə]

‖o:ə̆‖ accounts for the occurrence of the above-type words with the same vowel phoneme or (in the case of the disyllable) phonemic sequence in the same "r-less" idiolects.

‖oə̆‖

As in bore, door, Ford, court, hoarse, etc.; it includes a monophthong, closing and centering diphthongs and disyllables.

Phones

[oə̆], [ʌə̆], [o], [oʷ], [oʷə], and perhaps [ɔʷ], [ʌʷ], [ɛʷʊ], [ɛʷɔ], [ʌʷə]

||oə̆|| accounts for the occurrence of the above-type words with the same vowel phoneme or phonemic sequences in the same "r-less" idiolects.

||oə̆|| also accounts for the non-occurrence of the above-type words with the same vowel phoneme or phonemic sequence as in boa, Samoa, etc., and as in coat, show, or rode, etc., in the same "r-less" idiolects; i.e., in the idiolects which have this chorophone (not considering free or stylistic variation) pairs such as floor and show, boa and bore do not rhyme.

The ||oə̆|| vowels occurring in closed syllables, e.g., court, could justifiably be placed in the ||o:ə̆|| chorophone instead.

||ʊ||

As in book, pull, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ʊ], [ʊ̈], [ʊə̆], [ʊ̈ə̆]

The ||ʊ|| monophthongs and the starting points of the ||ʊ|| diphthongs are generally fairly back in Southern Negro speech, i.e., [ʊ] . Although the above vowel is very common in white Southern speech also, perhaps predominant, there is a tendency to use fronter vowels

for ||ʊ|| in Southern white speech than in Southern Negro speech, and, as in the case of ||ow|| and ||u|| , the more fronted the vowels, the less common they seem to be in Southern Negro speech than in Southern white speech.

The most fronted ||ʊ|| monophthong or starting point of the diphthongs is (as a phonemic norm) rounded, central, between close and half-close, i.e., [ʉ̞] . It resembles the vowel in the Norwegian (Bokmål) word suppe and (more distantly) cardinal [ɵ] .

In Southern Negro speech ||ʊ|| vowels as fronted as [ʉ̞] would seem to be rare, possibly absent, at least as phonemic norms.

||u||

As in moon, move, two, etc.; it includes monophthongs, centering and closing diphthongs.

Phones

[u], [ʉ̞], [uə̆], [ʉ̞ə̆], [ʊw], [ʉ̞w], [uw], [ɵw], [ɪw]

There is a very widespread tendency in Southern white speech to use more or less fronted vowels here of the approximate shapes [ʉ̞] , [ɪw], [ʉ̞w] , [ɵw] , [ɵə̆] (not using diacritics). But fairly back vowels (approximately [u] , [uw] , [ʊw], [uə̆] (not using diacritics) also occur. In the writer's experience, the more fronted the ||u|| vowels are, the less common they are in Southern Negro than in Southern white speech. In the

case of the diphthongs, the starting point alone may be fronted or both the end point and the starting point. Among the most fronted types is a long monophthong which seems somewhat fronter and considerably tenser than cardinal [ʉ] . It resembles the vowel in such words as hus in Norwegian (Bokmål). This is probably what is meant by the symbol [ʉ˂] for the vowel in tooth as said by a white woman from Beaufort, South Carolina as reported by Kurath and McDavid.[56] Such a fronted monophthong seems to be rare or possibly unknown in Southern Negro speech, but is not uncommon in Southern white speech. Fronted closing diphthongs and fairly fronted monophthongs occur in Southern Negro speech but they appear to be uncommon -- in the writer's experience, certainly less common than in Southern white speech.[57] In the Negro speech of Memphis, Tennessee, however, fairly fronted monophthongs and fronted closing diphthongs are reported as occurring more frequently than the back varieties.[58]

‖ə-ɝ‖

As in shirt, her, furry, bird, burred, etc.; it includes monophthongs and centering diphthongs -- both types with and without "ɹ-color."

Phones

[ə] , [ɝ] , [əə̆], [əɝ]

Some ‖ə-ɝ‖ words, e.g., first, bird, and nurse, are pronounced by some whites and Negroes -- especially older and less-educated speakers with [ʌ]-like vowels, apparently using the same vowel phoneme as in their pronunciation of words like bud, sun, cup, etc. It is, therefore, problematic whether first, bird, nurse and other words in which this substitution takes place are to be considered as having vowels which are members of the ‖ə-ɝ‖ chorophone.

‖ʌj‖

As in bird, work, turn, dirt, etc.; it includes closing diphthongs.

Phones

[əj] , [ʌj], [ɝj], [ɔj]

These vowels apparently never occur in word-final position.

A ‖ʌj‖ diphthong with a rather short starting point of about cardinal [ɔ] value can be heard among some older whites and Negroes of New Orleans.[59] The chorophone is apparently recessive in New Orleans, at least among the whites.

||ə||

As in her, hers, burred, furry, blurred, etc.; it includes monophthongs and a centering diphthongs -- both types with and without "ɹ -color."

Phones

[ə], [ɚ], [əə̆], [əɚ]

This chorophone is of wide geographic distribution throughout the urban and rural South. In white speech, it seems to be more prevalent in New Orleans than in any other large urban center in the South.

||ə|| does not occur without ||ʌj|| , or ||əj-ɔj|| in the same idiolect in the South. Whether or not ||ʌj|| or ||əj-ɔj|| can occur without ||ə|| in the same idiolect in the South would involve phonemic problems whose solutions are beyond the scope of the present study.

||əj-ɔj||

As in shirt, bird, point, voice, etc., it includes closing diphthongs and apparently monophthongs.[60] This chorophone is set up to account for the occurrence of the above-type words with the same vowel phoneme.

The ||əj-ɔj|| vowels apparently never occur in

word-final position. In the South, this chorophone can be heard among some white speakers in the New Orleans area. The present writer cannot report on the extent of its occurrence among Negroes.

||ɔj||

As in voice, boy, coil, etc.; it includes closing and centering diphthongs, a monophthong and disyllables.

Phones

[ɔj], [oj], [Ωj], [ɔə̆], [ɔ],

[əj], and/or [ʌj], and disyllables.

||ɔj|| disyllables have been reported as occurring in speakers from Madison County, Virginia (about [owj]),[61] East Central Alabama (about [ɔwj], [Ωwj], and [owj]),[62] Monroeville, Alabama (about [awj], or [Awj], or [ɑwj]),[63] Florida (about [ɔwj],[64] and Greenville, South Carolina (about [ɔwj], [Ωwj], and [owj]).[65] They presumably occur in other parts of the South also. The writer cannot report on their use among Negroes.

A [əj]-like member of ||ɔj||, generally contrastive with the ||ʌj|| members in the idiolects in which it occurs, has been reported as common in the

white speech of Williamsburg, Virginia.[66]

In many words which generally have ||ɔj|| vowels, some less-educated Southern speakers, white and Negro, use the same vowel phoneme that they use in their ||ɑj|| words.

||ɑj||

As in high, light, etc.; it includes monophthongs, closing diphthongs, and centering diphthongs.

Phones

[ɑj] ,[ɑə̆] , [ɑ] , [Aj] , [Aə̆] , [ʌj] , [əj] ,[ɐj] ,[67]

[A] ,[aj] , [ɒj] ;[68] [æj] , [æə̆] , [æ] [69]

||ɑj|| monophthongs, closing and centering diphthongs occur before both voiced and voiceless consonants and in word-final position in Southern white and Southern Negro speech, but the monophthongs and centering diphthongs (and also the closing diphthongs with relatively faint and/or open end points) are less likely to occur before voiceless consonants in closed syllables than the closing diphthongs with relatively close, prominent end points. There is evidence that greater degrees of stress tend to favor the use of the closing diphthongs in Southern white speech.[70]

The use of the ||aj|| monophthongs before voiceless consonants in closed syllables seems to have been, until rather recent years, largely confined to less-educated persons.[71]

In Southern Negro speech the use of the ||aj|| monophthongs before voiceless consonants in closed syllables seems much less common than in Southern white speech.[72]

||aw||

As in loud, about, etc.; it includes closing and centering diphthongs, a disyllable, and possibly a triphthong.

Phones

[æw] , [aw], [Aw], [ɛw] , [ʌw] , [æjw]

[æə̆] , [əw] [73]

||aw|| diphthongs with a [æ] starting point, except as an allophone before [n] in closed syllables (and possibly following [n] also) seem to be rare in Southern Negro speech,[74] but are very common in Southern white speech.[75] Besides [æw], Southern white speech generally has (as a phonemic norm) [aw], less commonly [Aw] , Southern Negro speech generally

has (as a phonemic norm) [æW], less commonly [AW].

A possibly triphthongal form is sometimes heard in Southern white speech (apparently rarely, if at all in Southern Negro speech) which has an initial section similar to that of the moderately raised members of the ||æ|| chorophone. As was suggested earlier, these phonic sequences might be [ɛ æ] and [ɛ æ ə̆]. Some possible types might be: [ɛ æ ʊ], [ɛ˖ æ ʊ], [æ˖ æ ʊ]. These transcriptions would seem preferable to [ɛ ʊ], which is sometimes mentioned as occurring in ||æw|| words in the Southern states, but perhaps refers to the above-type vowels instead.[76]

A disyllabic form, about ['æ ɪ ʊ], and/or [æ ɪ ʉ], is sometimes heard in Southern white speech. The writer has not encountered this form in Southern Negro speech.[77]

||Iw||

As in duty, tune, etc.; it includes closing diphthongs.

Phones

[Iw], [iw]

In words of the above-type [Iw], [iw], or the ||u|| vowels may all occur in the South. [j]

commonly precedes the ||u|| vowels, resulting in such phonemicizations as /ju/ , /juw/ , etc. There is evidence that the use of [j] , [Iw] , or [jw] in such words is not universal in the South, as is generally stated, and may be decreasing.[78]

Some classes of words constitute special problems which are discussed below.

It is doubtful whether the vowels in words of the type: poor, sure, etc., can be placed in a chorophone, since they so often occur as members of different phonemes.

The vowels in such words as ear, air, squares, there, etc., exhibit such a complex distribution in the lexicon in the Southern states that it is doubtful whether they too can be placed in chorophones. Among some speakers, particularly in coastal South Carolina, pairs such as ear and air would be leveled. This leveling might possibly extend into all monosyllabic words with front vowels before historical r . Among other speakers, there will be two or three contrasts in the front vowel range. Some speakers, chiefly older and less-educated ones, might use a back, open vowel in a few words, e.g., there. In this usage, pairs such as car and there will rhyme. Still others rhyme the above few

words with words like fur. The vowels in such polysyllabic words as Mary, various, area, carry, etc., are also characterized by a complex lexical distribution in the South.

In Southern white speech, such words as fair are sometimes heard as disyllabic -- approximately [ˈɑɪə] . This seems much less common, possibly absent, in Southern Negro speech.

The vowels in such words as flower, flour, sour, coward, tire, liar, lyre, etc., were not sufficiently investigated for the present study to be discussed, nor were the diphthongs resulting from the vocalization of [ɫ] , as in help, talcum, etc.[79] and the omission of [ɹ] as in carry, very, etc.

C. M. Wise states: "Southern Negro voice quality appears with many speakers to come from a consistent elevation of the blade of the tongue in the direction of the hard palate or of the juncture between the hard and soft palates. All vowels are consequently something less than open and free. Some front vowels tend to take on a kind of [e]-resonance; [æ] and [ɛ] do so especially."[80] Judging from the illustration on p. 43 of his Applied Phonetics, Wise's definition of the "blade of the tongue" is different from that of probably most other American

and British phoneticians. Wise's "blade" would be equivalent to the "front," "center," or "middle" of these other phoneticians.

Wise would seem to be saying that fully open vowels do not occur among many Southern Negro speakers, and/or that the vowels of Southern Negro speech are less open than the corresponding vowels of Southern white speech, and that this results in a distinctive voice quality. The present writer thinks this to be quite doubtful.

In regard to the vowels [æ] and [ɛ], Wise states: " [æ] appears exactly where it would appear in Southern white speech, but suffers the flattening previously referred to under the discussion of the raised tongue. As a result, its resonance becomes practically [eɪ], [81] and may be so represented. CAN'T may thus become [keɪnt] .... [ɛ] acquires the [e] -resonance often. Ex., LEGS [leɪgz], EGGS [eɪgz], EDGE [eɪdz]." [82, 83] However, in another article of the same year Wise states, in reference to Southern white speech: "[æ] sometimes is elevated almost to [eɪ], as in MAN [meɪn], occasionally [me(ɪ)jən];" [84] and more recently, Wise states: (1) " [ɛ] ~ [eɪ] in a few words, such as <u>egg</u> [eɪg], <u>leg</u> [leɪg], <u>edge</u> [eɪdʒ]." [85] (2) " [æ,a,ɑ] ~ [eɪ] in a few words, such as <u>can't</u> [keɪnt], <u>aunt</u> [eɪnt], <u>man</u> [meɪn]." [86]

The above word examples would seem to be inadequate evidence of the "vowel flattening" process at work. A distinctive American Negro voice quality, insofar as it exists, does not seem to be explained by "vowel flattening." The recognition of the existence[87] of a distinctive voice quality among both Northern and Southern Negro speakers does not, of course, imply that it is universal or almost universal in American Negro speech.[88]

Some of the Gullah[89] chorophones are: ||i|| , ||e|| , ||o|| , ||ʊ|| , ||u|| , and ||ʌ|| . The first five of these chorophones correspond to the chorophones of the Southern states described previously with the same vowel symbols. Gullah ||ʌ|| corresponds to the Southern states ||ʌ|| , ||ə-ɚ||, ||ʌj|| , and ||ə|| chorophones.

The members of the above Gullah chorophones are: ||i|| - [i] , ||e|| - [e] , ||o|| - [o] , ||ʊ|| - [ʊ] , ||u|| - [u], [u˕] , ||ʌ|| - [ʌ˕] . All are reported as monophthongal.[90] [i] , [e] , [o] , and [u] are about cardinal. [u] and [u˕] are positional allophones of the same phoneme; Turner describes [u˕]: "After an alveolar consonant it is advanced somewhat from a back position."[91] [ʌ˕] is fronter than cardinal [ʌ] which is fully back, but apparently much nearer to back than to central. [ʊ] resembles the fairly back varieties common in the white

and Negro speech of the Northern and Southern states.

Gullah vowels are much more likely to be nearer to the corresponding vowels of Southern Negro speech than to the corresponding vowels of Southern white speech.

References

1. Charles K. Thomas, Introduction to the Phonetics of American English (2nd ed.; New York, 1958), p. 232.

2. Hans Kurath and Raven I.McDavid, Jr., The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 580-581.

3. Albert C. Baugh, A History of the English Language (2nd ed.; New York, 1957), pp. 438-442.

4. For Smith's early delineation of American English speech areas see Ernestine K. Taggard, "Where Are You From?", Scholastic, XXXVII (Nov. 18, 1940), 19-20.

5. The creolized English spoken by some Negroes in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia.

6. See Raven I. McDavid, Jr. "Needed Research in Southern Dialects" in Perspectives on the South; Agenda for Research, ed. Edgar T. Thompson (Durham, N.C., 1967), p. 119; See Thomas, op. cit., pp. 195, 225; Thomas, "Florida Pronunciation," Southern Speech Journal, XXXIII (1968), 223-229.

The speech melody of some native New Orleans white speech seems to resemble more closely the speech melodies of the native white speech of New York City and Providence, Rhode Island than those of the Southern areas.

R.I. McDavid, Jr. and Virginia Glenn McDavid report that "...educated Negroes in such Southern communities as Greenville and Atlanta tend to avoid the forms having prestige in local white speech in favor of their conception of New England speech." See their "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites," American Speech, XXVI (1951), 12.

7. For a discussion of the general neglect of social variation in American dialect studies see Glenna Ruth Pickford, "American Linguistic Geography: a Sociological Appraisal," Word, XII (1956), 220-224. For a discussion of the relationship between stylistic variation and social class, see William Labov, Social Stratification of English in New York City (Washington, D. C., 1966). ch. iv, et passim.

8. See Peter Ladefoged, Three Areas of Experimental Phonetics (London, 1967), pp. 51-62, 75-142; Ladefoged, "The Value of Phonetic Statements,"

Language, XXXVI (1960), 387-396; Ladefoged, "The Classification of Vowels," Lingua, V (1956), 113-128; The Principles of the International Phonetic Association (London, 1949); Daniel Jones, An Outline of English Phonetics (9th ed.; Cambridge, Eng., 1960), pp. 28, 30-36. A. C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English (London, 1962), pp. 36-41; David Abercrombie, Elements of General Phonetics (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 151-162.

The Linguaphone Institute (New York and London) publishes two phonograph records (ENG. 252-255) of the cardinal vowels pronounced by Daniel Jones in 1955. A booklet written by Jones accompanies the records.

For Hockett's apparent misunderstanding of the cardinal vowel system see Charles F. Hockett, A Manual of Phonology (Indiana University Pub. in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 11, Baltimore, 1955), p. 193; Abercrombie, p. 176; Ladefoged, Three Areas, p. 77.

[ʌ] in the cardinal vowel system signifies a half-open and fully back vowel, thus differing from the more centralized value often given to this symbol.

9. Trager and Smith use [E] to represent a somewhat more open vowel -- nearer to cardinal [ɛ]. See George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure, Studies In Linguistics, Occasional Papers 3 (Norman, Okla., 1951), pp. 11, 12. [Ω] is also used by the above writers (p. 11).

10. For some differing views of tenseness and laxness, see Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (New York, 1968), pp. 324-326; Morris Halle and Roman Jakobson, "Tenseness and Laxness" in In Honor of Daniel Jones, eds. David Abercrombie et al. (London, 1964), pp. 96-101; R. - M. S. Heffner, General Phonetics (Madison, 1950), pp. 95-98; Jones, op. cit. (above, note 8), pp. 39-40; Hockett, op. cit. (above, note 8), pp. 31-32; Martin Joos, Acoustic Phonetics (Language, Monograph, No. 23. Supplement To Language, XXIV, No. 2, 1948), p. 97; Ladefoged, Three Areas, p. 141; Ladefoged, "Value," p. 396; Ladefoged, A Phonetic Study of West African Languages: An Auditory-Instrumental Survey (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Eng., 1968), pp. 36-40; Ilse Lehiste, Acoustical Characteristics of Selected English Consonants (Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, No. 34, 1964), pp. 4-5; Joseph S. Perkell, "Cineradiographic Studies

of Speech: Implications of a Detailed Analysis of Certain Articulatory Movements," Reports of the Fifth International Congress of Acoustics, A32, Vol. 1 a ed., Daniel E. Commins (Liege, Belgium, 1965), pp. 2-3; Henry Sweet, A Primer of Phonetics (3rd ed., Oxford, 1906), pp. 19-20; Claude M. Wise, Applied Phonetics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1957), pp. 61-62.

11. Hans Kurath (Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England , [Providence, 1939], p. 125) states: " ə is used rather rarely, chiefly in eastern Massachusetts....It denotes a mid-central vowel considerably higher and slightly more advanced than ɜ , usually very tense."

12. Trager and Smith (Outline, p. 26) state: "In bird, first, etc., is found /ɨh/, with a very tense substandard allophone in Providence and Boston." For the difficulty of accounting for the differences among the vowels of some West African languages without using such oppositions as tense/lax see Ladefoged, Phonetic Study, pp. 36-40.

13. Daniel Jones, The Phoneme (3rd ed.; Cambridge, Eng., 1967), p. 195.

14. Such as the disyllabic vowels in joy, voice, etc.,

as pronounced by some speakers in the Southern states.

15. See Daniel Jones, An English Pronouncing Dictionary (11th ed.; London, 1956), p. 73.

16. Daniel Jones uses this symbol with its diacritic in "Falling and Rising Diphthongs in Southern [British] English" In Miscellanea Phonetica, II (International Phonetic Association, London, 1954), p. 1, et passim.

17. I.e., Pike's phonemic norm, Jones's principal member(s) of a phoneme; secondary allophone(s) - Jones's secondary member(s) of a phoneme.

18. For [i ə̆] (in complementary distribution with [i]) see Hans Kurath, A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English (Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 98; Kurath and McDavid, op. cit. (above, note 2), pp. 22, 105.

19. In his study of the presumably white speech of a North Carolina Outer Banks village, Howren reports the ||i|| closing diphthongs occurring with a [ɨ] starting point in all positions except after [k] , [g], and [ʃ] . See Robert Howren, "The Speech of Ocracoke, North Carolina." American Speech, XXXVII (1962), 167, 169.

20. For a list of such words see George P. Wilson, "Some Unrecorded Southern Vowels," American Speech, IX (1934), 210.

21. But it has been reported in other positions also. Wise, (op. cit. [above, note 10], p. 213; Southern American Speech, VIII [April 1933], 42) reports it as occurring in bit and sit.

22. However, [I ə̆] with the tenser [I] mentioned above seems to be common in Southern Negro speech before [d], as in kid.

23. See, e. g., Eva Sivertsen, Cockney Phonology (Oslo, 1960), p. 195; William G. Moulton, "The Short Vowel Systems of Northern Switzerland," Word, XVI (1960), 180, n. 24; H. A. Gleason, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics (2nd ed., New York, 1961), pp. 322-323.

24. Thomas, op. cit. (above, note 1), p. 207.

25. William Cabell Greet, "A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia," American Speech, VI (1931), 167.

26. Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, p. 106, Maps 18 and 19.

27. Arthur Bronstein, "Trends in American Pronunciation," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVIII (1942), 454-455.

28. Morgan, " North Carolina Accents: Some Observations," North Carolina Journal of Speech, I (1967), 6; Morgan, " North Carolina Accents," Southern Speech Journal, XXXIV (1969), 178; Anne H. Wells (" Transcription of a Phonograph Record...made by William Cabell Greet in the Blue Ridge Mountains near Old Rag, Madison County, Virginia, September, 1932. The speaker was 17 or 18 years old.", American Speech, VIII [Dec. 1933], 66-67) reports [ɑI] in blaze (p. 66, Col. 2, Line 2 from bottom) and later (p. 66, Col. 2, Line 10 from bottom) but [eˑ: I] (reportedly disyllabic, not diphthongal -- ibid., p. 66) and [eI] (Wells's transcriptions) in the few other ||e|| words (pp. 66-67) reported. Howren (op. cit., pp. 167, 169) reports [3I] (his transcription) as being the most common ||e|| vowel in Ocracoke (village), North Carolina. Morgan (" The Speech of Ocracoke, North Carolina: Some Observations," Southern Speech Journal, XXV [1960], 314-322), however, does not report such a vowel for Ocracoke Island, North Carolina.

29. We are not referring to those cases in which these

disyllables end with [ɚ] or occur before [ɹ] .

30. In the white speech of Knoxville, Tennessee [ɑ·I] is commonly heard in the first syllable of magazine and perhaps in other ||aj|| words also. A very similar dip hthong also commonly occurs in ||e|| words in the white speech of Knoxville. See discussion under ||e|| above.

31. On the phonemic status of these vowels see, e.g., Hockett, op. cit. (above, note 8), pp. 192-193; Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, pp. 103-104; Kurath, Phonology, p. 88; Gleason, pp. 33-34.

Trager and Smith cite [ɛ^ə] (their transcription) in items like bad, pan, pass, jazz, for many American speakers. Various other scholars mention "tenseness," "diphthongization," "raising," etc., in referring to the common substitutes for [æ] among the ||æ|| words. Paul Delattre (Comparing the Phonetic Features of English, French, German, and Spanish [London, 1965], p. 67) in a cineradiographic study transcribes bat as [bɛæət] for American English. (He might be referring to a "western American" variety since he includes a description of "western American [ɹ] " in the same study.) It would seem that some of these sounds are monophthongal, while others are diphthongal

and triphthongal, and some perhaps disyllabic. The more open sounds might very well be triphthongal or disyllabic near to [ɛæə̆] as in Delattre's study, and also diphthongal or disyllabic near to [æə̆] . These might have fully front starting points, and some of them might be described meaningfully as "tenser" than [æ] . The present writer suggests that the closer sounds may not be fully front, however. The closest sounds may be between [I] and cardinal [i] with a centering glide, i.e., [I˕ə̆] and perhaps in some cases disyllabic. Less close sounds would be more back than cardinal [e] but more front than [I] , i.e., [e˕ː] ,[e˕ː] , [e˕ː] ,[e˕ːə̆],[e˕ːə̆],[e˕ːə̆], etc. The centering variants above sound to the writer quite distinct from the centering ‖e‖ vowels in such words as lake, etc., as may be heard in Charleston, South Carolina, which seem to have fully front starting points near to cardinal [e] , or the centering Norwegian (bokmål) "long [e] " as in te, whose starting point is between cardinal [e] and cardinal [ɛ] . The degree of pharyngeal contraction might also perhaps be meaningfully invoked in describing some of the ‖æ‖ vowels.

The present writer dissents from the commonly

held view that in American English ||æ|| words, [ɛ:ə̆] can commonly be heard in addition to [æ] and other vowels. The [ɛ:ə̆] supposedly occurs often in certain types of words, e.g., bad, gas, bag, man, etc., and with a much greater regional, social, and idiolectal restriction in others, e.g., bat, back, tap, habit, animal, Africa, etc. A true [ɛ:ə̆] sound (perhaps sometimes with the schwa constituting a separate syllable) may be heard from many speakers in various parts of the country, e.g., the Southern states, the West, the Midwest, New England, in many ||ɛ|| words. This sound is quite distinct from the various sounds that usually may be heard in American English in the ||æ|| words. If [ɛ:ə̆] is found in the [æ] words, its occurrence would be unusual for American speech as a whole.

32. John S. Kenyon "A Guide to Pronunciation," in Webster's New International Dictionary (2nd ed.; Springfield, Mass., 1934), p. xl; Kurath, Phonology, p. 88.

33. Morgan, "North Carolina Accents," Southern Speech Journal, p. 175.

34. Ibid., p. 176; Morgan, "Ocracoke" (above, note 28), p. 317. Morgan (ibid., p. 318) reports [æ+] (her

transcription) for cast and last.

35. Howren, op. cit., (above, note 19), p. 166.

36. Hilda Jaffe, The Speech of the Central Coast of North Carolina: The Carteret County Version of the Banks "Brogue" (Michigan State University dissertation, 1965), p. 31.

37. Elisha K. Kane ("The Negro Dialect Along the Savannah River," Dialect Notes, Part VIII [1925], p. 355) states: " All pronounce short A as in fat, like open E in bet."

38. This is not true of all areas in the United States. See, e.g., Kane, loc. cit. New York City "Inner City" type Negro speech often has somewhat raised ||æ|| vowels before voiceless stops. White New York City speech usually has [æ] in this position, if we don't consider the use of [t] for [θ] in bath, etc.

39. If " r -ful" idiolects of the South should show a contrast between the ||a|| and ||A|| vowels, as in Bloomfield's Chicago " r -ful" idiolect, then the scheme for the setting up of the ||a|| , ||A-a|| , and ||A|| chorophones must be revised. See, Gleason, pp. 320, 321.

40. McDavid reports the homonymy of pairs such as card and cord, farm and form in East Texas and parts of Louisiana and much less often, and only among the uneducated, in Georgia, South Carolina, and other Atlantic Seaboard states. See McDavid, "Dialect Labels in the Webster 'Third'"), Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 47 (1967), p. 4; McDavid, "Some Social Differences in Pronunciation," in Aspects of American English, eds. Elizabeth M. Kerr and Ralph M. Aderman (New York, 1963), p. 248 (originally published in Language Learning, IV (1952-1953).

41. See Wise, Phonetics (above, note 10), p. 298; James W. Abel's study of Louisiana Negro college students, "About the Pronunciation of Six Freshmen from Southern University," Southern Speech Journal, XVI (1953), 266-267.

42. C. M. Wise, Phonetics (above, note 10), p. 214.

43. George N. Putnam and Edna M. O'Hern, "The Status Significance of an Isolated Urban Dialect," Supplement to Language, XXXI, No. 4, Part 2 (1955), 9. The above is a study of Washington, D. C. "Inner City" type Negro speech.

44. Morgan, "Ocracoke" (above, note 28), p. 318; Howren, op. cit. (above, note 19), pp. 168-169. Morgan reports [ɛU] (her transcription) for ||ow|| words (monosyllables and stressed syllables). Jaffe does not mention an especially raised [ɔ] for the ||ɔ|| words. See Morgan, loc. cit.; Jaffe, p. 35. These North Carolina Outer Banks studies are presumably of white speech.

45. See McDavid, " Needed Research" (above, note 6), p. 118; Juanita V. Williamson, "A Phonological and Morphological Study of the Speech of the Negro of Memphis, Tennessee, "Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 50 (1968), p. 12; Jaffe, p. 43; Grace Ingledue, A Study of the Speech of Three Generations of the Three Different Families in Monroe, Louisiana (Louisiana State University dissertation, 1938), p. 304.

The present writer has heard some Southern white speakers pronounce corner with ||ow|| diphthongs -- about [ɔo] or [ʌo] (without tautosyllabic [ɚ] or [ɻ]). These diphthongs sounded shorter and qualitatively quite distinct from the ||ɔ|| diphthongs of the [ɔw], [ɒw] type. In a spectrographic study of their own ||ow|| sounds, Peterson and Coxe state: "The Back diphthongs shown here originate in the

[ʌ] and/or [ɔ] region and terminate near [o] " (see G. E. Peterson and M. S. Coxe, "The Vowels [e] and [o] in American Speech," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIX [1953], 35); Delattre (op. cit. [above, note 31], p. 68) in his cineradiographic study transcribes American English know as [hʰnɔːːːoow]. This is perhaps a "western" variety of American English (see the discussion under ||æ|| above).

46. [ɔ̈], [ɔə̆], are used for those ||ʌ|| vowels, sometimes heard in Southern white and Southern Negro speech, which seem nearer to cardinal [ɔ] than to cardinal [ʌ].

47. In Ocracoke, North Carolina the ||ʌ|| vowels are reported as being between front and central in most phonetic environments. See Howren, op. cit., pp. 167, 170.

48. For [oə̆] (in complementary distribution with [o]) see Kurath, Phonology, p. 114; Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, pp. 22, 106; McDavid, "The Position of the Charleston Dialect," Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 23 (1955), p. 43.

49. Kurath and McDavid (PEAS, pp. 20, 106), report these ||ow||

fronted diphthongs only for northeastern North Carolina (as far as the Southern states as defined previously are concerned). However, in the experience of the present writer and others, they would seem to have a much wider distribution throughout North Carolina. See Morgan, NCJS (above, note 28), p. 7.

50. Arthur M.Z. Norman, "A Southeast Texas Dialect Study," Orbis, V (1956), 75 (reprinted in Readings in American Dialectology, eds. Harold B. Allen and Gary N. Underwood, [New York, 1971]); Greet, op. cit. (above, note 25), p. 164.

51. Kurath and McDavid (loc. cit.) also do not report these fronted diphthongs as having starting points fronter than mid-central in North Carolina; but the present writer, as stated above, and others have observed front or almost front starting points. See Morgan, NCJS, p. 7; Morgan, "Ocracoke," p. 319; Howren, pp. 168, 170-171.

52. The ||OW|| closing diphthongs of these areas and the South when fronted (i.e., having starting points of [ə] or fronter) seem to differ from much but perhaps not all of the corresponding British Received Pronunciation diphthongs in having more prominent

and/or closer end points.

53. Walter S. Avis, The Mid-Back Vowels in the English of the Eastern United States (University of Michigan dissertation, 1956), p. 36.

54. Ibid., pp. 34, 36.

55. See Jaffe, pp. 28, 42; Howren, pp. 168, 171.

56. PEAS, p. 94.

57. These "fairly fronted" monophthongs range from about halfway between back and central to about central, apparently nearer to close than half-close, all distinctly tenser than cardinal [ʉ] .

58. See Williamson, op. cit. (above, note 45), pp. 9, 10. Williamson's study is the only one that the present writer is familiar with that reports these fronter ||u|| vowels in Southern Negro speech; e.g., although on the periphery of our area, Putnam and O'Hern (op. cit. [above, note 43], p. 9) do not report it in their Washington, D.C. study. Oma Stanley ("Negro Speech of East Texas," American Speech, XVI [1941], 6) writes: " [u] This sound is slack, not tense or fronted." But in reference to the white speech of this area (" The Speech of East Texas," American

Speech, XI [1936], 29), he states: "The East Texas [ʊ] is usually somewhat fronted and tense...."

59. Wise ("Southern American Dialect," American Speech, VIII [April 1933], 40, n. 5) states: "New Orleans has something very like [ɒɪ] or even [ɔɪ]." The present writer is not familiar with the [ɒɪ] variant in present-day New Orleans speech, if [ɒ] is taken to have a value near cardinal [ɒ].

60. The writer cannot present a more precise account of the nature of the ‖əj-ɔj‖ vowels. Wise (Applied Phonetics, p. 216) reports the rare occurrence in New Orleans of [ɚ] in words like spoil.

61. Wells, op. cit. (above, note 28), p. 66 (col. 1, line 4 from bottom).

62. James B. McMillan, Phonology of the Standard English of East Central Alabama (University of Chicago dissertation, 1946), p. 57. These disyllables are reported as the usual members in this study (of presumably all white speech). Madie W. Barrett (A Phonology of Alabama Speech [University of North Carolina dissertation, 1948]) in her study of perhaps, also, all white speech does not mention the use of ‖ɔj‖ disyllables at all. Her study covers southeastern Alabama.

63. Henry Lee Smith, Jr., review of Daniel Jones, The Pronunciation of English, Language, XXVIII (1952), 146-147. Smith's phonemicization of this disyllable is /ɔwɨ/ . Monroeville is in Monroe County, between Montgomery and Mobile.

64. Thomas, "Florida," SSJ (above, note 6), p. 227.

65. Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, p. 97; McDavid, review of Joseph S. Hall, The Phonetics of the Great Smoky Mountain Speech, Language, XIX (1943), 190, n.21. Forms like Joey and joy, cawin' and coin, jawin' and join would tend to be homonymous among many speakers who use the ‖ɔj‖ disyllables.

66. Greet, op. cit.(above, note 25), pp. 164-165.

67. For [əj] ,[ɛj] , and [ʌj] see Kurath, Phonology, (above, note 18), p. 103; Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, pp. 19, 20, 22, 110; Argus Tresidder, "The Sounds of Virginia Speech," American Speech, XVIII (1943), 269; W. E. Farrison, The Phonology of the Illiterate Negro Dialect of Guilford County, North Carolina (Ohio State University dissertation, 1937), p. 136.

68. In the white speech of the Outer Banks of North Carolina (or at least in some parts of this area) a diphthong with a starting point near cardinal [ɒ]

occurs. The end points are around [I] , [ɨ] . The writer cannot report on the occurrence of this diphthong in Southern Negro speech (aside from a similar diphthong in Gullah). See Jaffe, op. cit. (above, note 37), p. 36; Howren, pp. 168-169; Morgan, NCJS (above, note 28), pp. 5, 6; Morgan, "Ocracoke," p. 315; Morgan, " Accents," SSJ, pp. 176-177; Lorenzo D. Turner, Africanisms in The Gullah Dialect (Chicago, 1949), p. 21; Turner, " Notes on the Sounds and Vocabulary of Gullah," Publication of the American Dialect Society, No. 3 (1945), pp. 17, 18.

69. For these rather rare ||ɔj|| vowels, see Harry S. Wise, A Phonetic Study of the Southern American (ɔI) Phoneme (M. A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1937), pp. 99e, 100, 101, C. M. Wise, "Southern American Dialect," p. 40; Trager and Smith, op. cit. (above, note 9), p. 23. See also the discussion regarding like under note 72 below.

70. See C. M. Wise, W. Scott Nobles and Herbert Metz, "The Southern American Diphthong [ɔI] ," Southern Speech Journal, XIX (1954), 308-309.

71. McDavid, "Needed Research" (above, note 6), p. 120; McDavid, "A Checklist of Significant Features for Discriminating Social Dialects" in E. L. Evertts, ed.

Diamentions of Dialect (Champaign, Illinois, 1967), pp. 8,9. (reprinted in Readings in American Dialectology [above, note 50]).

72. Like appears to be an anomalous word here and may be heard with a monophthong from some white and Negro Southern speakers who otherwise use the closing diphthongs before voiceless consonants in closed syllables. In some idiolects like has the phoneme of cat, match, etc., rather than that of time, bite, etc. Evans ("Southern 'Long I,' " American Speech, X[1935], 190) writes: "Like, though it has a voiceless consonant, is certainly often pronounced [la·k], not [laɪk] , possibly because as a preposition (and conjunction!) it occurs so frequently in an unstressed position. It is often confused with lack -- it is never confused with lock." Katherine E. Wheatley and Oma Stanley ("Three Generations of East Texas Speech, " American Speech, XXXIV [1959], 90) report that one of their nine Nacogdoches County Informants" ...substituted [ɑɛ] for [ɑI] in like." Sumner Ives working with records of the Linguistic Atlas of The United States and Canada project reports [ɑɛ] (his transcription) in like in the speech of some elderly white men of central Georgia. See Ives, "The Phonology of the Uncle Remus Stories, "Publication of the

American Dialect Society, No. 22 (1954), pp. 4, 14. Putnam and O'Hern in their study of Washington, D.C. "Inner City" Negro speech (op. cit. [above, note 43], p. 11) report like as [laɪk], [lɑɪk], and [la:k] (their transcriptions). C.M. Wise reports like as [lɑk] and [lak] (Wise's transcriptions) for Southern Negro speech. For [lɑk] see his Applied Phonetics, p. 298 (under the rubric, "Features of Substandard Negro Speech Held in Common with Substandard Southern Southern White Speech"). For [lak] see his "Negro Dialect," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XIX (1933), 525.

73. For [ɐw], [ɔw], and [ʌw] see Kurath, Phonology, p. 107; Kurath and McDavid, PEAS, pp. 19, 20, 21, 22, 110, 111; Tresidder, op. cit. (above, note 67), p. 368; Guy S. Lowman, "The Treatment of aU in Virginia" in Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences, eds. Daniel Jones and D.B. Fry (Cambridge, Eng. 1936), pp. 122-125; Farrison, op. cit. (above, note 67), p. 137; Greet, op. cit. (above, note 25), p. 167.

74. But they have been reported. See Wise, Applied Phonetics, p. 297; Wise, "Negro Dialect", p. 525.

75. However, they do not seem common in New Orleans. [ɑW] and [AW] are in general use there, [AW] being particularly common among older-generation speakers (at least older-generation white speakers).

76. For a description of rather similar triphthongal vowels occurring in Cockney now, etc., see Sivertsen, op. cit. (above, note 23), p.67.

77. [ɑɛʊ] and [ɑʊ] are not uncommon in Southern white speech, but would seem to be rare in Southern Negro speech. Morgan (NCJS, pp. 5, 6; "North Carolina Accents," SSJ, pp. 177-179) reports [ɑI] (her transcription) in ||ɑW|| words in some North Carolina speech. Morgan reports its range as extending from the Outer Banks to about two hundred miles inward. Whether it overlaps with the ||ɑj|| and ||ɛ|| vowels is problematic. Thomas (op. cit. [above, note 1], p. 212) states: "The fronting is also evident in eastern Maryland and eastern North Carolina, where house is sometimes [hɑüs]; and out [ɑüt], almost [ɑIt]." Down is transcribed [dɑ:In] (said to be disyllabic -- p. 66) and house, about, out are transcribed with [ɑY] (p. 66-67), in addition to other diphthongs with back end points, for a Madison County, Virginia speaker as reported in Wells, op. cit. (above, note 28).

78. See McDavid, "Needed Research" (above, note 6), p. 118; Norman, op. cit. (above, note 50), p. 77; Williamson, op. cit. (above, note 58), p. 9.

79. See James Sledd, "Breaking, Umlaut, and the Southern Drawl," Language, XLII (1966), 28-30, 39.

80. Applied Phonetics, p. 294. A slightly different version appeared much earlier in Wise, "Negro Dialect," (1933), p. 524.

81. Wise uses a somewhat different symbol for [I] here.

82. Wise apparently meant [eɪdʒ].

83. "Negro Dialect," p. 525.

84. "Southern American Dialect," p. 40.

85. Applied Phonetics, p. 297 (under the rubric: "Features of Substandard Negro Speech Held in Common with Substandard American Speech in General"). "...the symbol(≈) means 'corresponds to.'" (p. 258, n. 12).

86. Ibid., p. 298 (under the rubric: "Features of Substandard Negro Speech Held in Common with Substandard Southern White Speech").

87. See Margaret Roberts, Pronunciation of Vowels in Negro Speech (Ohio State University dissertation, 1966), p. 74.

88. McDavid, "American Social Dialects," College English, XXVI (1965), 258; Wise, Applied Phonetics, p. 294.

89. Our description of Gullah is based on Turner, Africanisms (above, note 68), pp. 15-17, 19, 20, 246, 247; and Turner, "Notes" (above, note 68), pp. 16-18.

90. But Turner records [ʌI] (his transcription) as the vowel in bird for a James Island, S. C. Gullah speaker; See Turner, Africanisms, p. 280 (lines 6, 10 from top).

91. Ibid., p. 19.