DIALECT PRETERITES AND PAST PARTICIPLES IN THE

NORTH CENTRAL STATES AND UPPER MIDWEST:
A GENERATIVE ANALYSIS

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<u>Generative</u> <u>Analysis</u>. Master of Arts (English), August, 1973,
80 pp., 8 tables, bibliography, 10 titles.

The principles of generative-transformational grammar
may be used to characterize any aspect of a particular dialect.
Here, those principles are applied to the non-standard inflec-
tion of preterites and past participles reported by Virginia
McDavid in <u>Verb</u> <u>Forms</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>North</u> <u>Central</u> <u>States</u> <u>and</u> <u>Upper</u>
<u>Midwest</u> (1957). Other works of importance to the study of
verb inflection include "English Verb Inflection," by Bernard
Bloch (1947), <u>The</u> <u>Sound</u> <u>Pattern</u> <u>of</u> <u>English</u>, by Chomsky and
Halle (1968), and "English Verb Inflection: A Generative View,"
by Griggs and Rulon (forthcoming).

Chomsky and Halle have asserted that a variety of surface
forms may be derived from the same, or nearly the same, ab-
stract underlying representation. Readjustment and phono-
logical rules operate on the underlying representation to
produce the surface structure. A lexicon of the dialect forms
reported by McDavid is included to give each surface form and
the rules required to produce it.

Griggs and Rulon have observed that certain combinations
of readjustment rules divide standard verb paradigms into
seven classes: regular, weak, mixed, and three strong classes.

Dialect verb paradigms may be classified in the same manner. McDavid's data rarely reports complete paradigms. It is possible, however, to postulate a complete paradigm, which may then be classified, from the derivation of a single form. A second lexicon is included to give the possible paradigms and their classifications for each form in McDavid's data.

Problem forms such as pleonastics, invariable paradigms, and intransitive-transitive pairs require some adjustments in the derivational process; but in general, the evidence shows that Chomsky and Halle were correct: different surface forms may be derived from essentially the same underlying representation. Two lists are included: one to show the number of dialect classifications for a single verb, the other to show the number of paradigms in each classification. Since strong Class II paradigms are the most numerous, it appears that for these data, at least, speakers in the North Central States and Upper Midwest characteristically produce leveled preterite-past participle combinations.

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THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 <u>Earlier generative models</u>. Dialect verb forms, those
which are not generally considered standard in educated speech,
have always been an interesting phonological problem in Eng-
lish. They are interesting because their principal parts show
various forms of vowel gradation, consonant modification, and,
occasionally no apparent change at all. They are a problem
because there at first seems to be little system in these
changes. Recent theories of descriptive grammar, however, have
observed some systematic relationships among the forms of
dialect verbs. Bloch has proposed an item and arrangement
grammar to analyze standard English verb inflection by exam-
ining "every inflected form as a combination of morphemes in
a particular order" (1947:244). Item and process grammar,
however, comes the closest to capturing the systematic
inflection of pandialectal verb forms.

Such a grammar has been devised by Noam Chomsky and Morris
Halle in <u>The Sound Pattern of English</u> (1968). It is assumed
that the reader has a certain degree of familiarity with this
work (hereafter <u>SPE</u>) and with the terminology of transfor-
mational-generative grammar. It would be useful at this point,
however, to explain some of the basic aspects of item and
process grammar upon which this study rests.

1

According to Chomsky (1968), the syntactic component of
the grammar of any language generates abstract lexical repre-
sentations. Conventional orthography comes remarkably close
to the spelling of the lexical representations in English.
Chomsky and Halle note, "The fundamental principle of ortho-
graphy is that phonetic variation is not indicated where it
is predictable by general rule" (1968:49). Readjustment rules
and phonological rules operate on the lexical representation
to produce the final phonetic form.

The generative processes that produce standard forms of
English irregular verbs have been described by Griggs and
Rulon in "English Verb Inflection: A Generative View" (forth-
coming). They posit certain lexical features to be inserted
into an underlying syntactic segment. English verbs may be
marked with one of the following lexical features: ±regular,
±en, and ±mixed. Within the +en category are three classes.
This classification produces seven potential types of English
verbs. Each class is characterized by a distinctive lexical
marking of each of the forms of the verb paradigm: present,
preterite, and past participle. It is the lexical marking
that determines the structure of any surface form. Chomsky
points out that a single lexical representation may surface
as any of several phonetic forms: "It should be observed that
very different dialects may have the same or a very similar
system of underlying representations" (1968).

This paper will describe in some detail the processes of
derivation and consequent classification of certain dialect
verb forms. The dialect forms, most of them irregular, have
been supplied by "Verb Forms of the North Central States and
Upper Midwest," by Virginia McDavid (1957).

1.2 <u>Description of source</u>. McDavid's study is modeled
after a previous one by E. Bagby Atwood, <u>A Survey of Verb
Forms in the Eastern United States</u> (1953). Atwood's verb
forms were gathered by linguistic atlas fieldworkers in the
Middle and South Atlantic States. McDavid explains, "In order
to facilitate comparison with Atwood's book, I have followed
quite closely his order and classification of verb forms"
(1957:10). She uses Atwood's system of description, classi-
fying the forms as he does, under the headings "Tense Forms,"
"Personal Forms of the Present Indicative," "Number and
Concord," "Negative Forms," and "Infinitive and Present Parti-
ciple." Both studies focus on the regional and social distri-
bution of individual verb forms.

Two linguistic atlas projects furnish the material for
Virginia McDavid's study: the <u>Linguistic Atlas of the North
Central States</u> and the <u>Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest</u>
(now in press). The former, directed by Albert H. Marckwardt,
then of the University of Michigan, includes survey material
from Wisconsin, Michigan, Ontario, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky,
and Ohio. The <u>Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest</u>, directed
by Harold B. Allen of the University of Minnesota, includes

survey material from Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska.

1.3 <u>Scope of present study</u>. This paper is confined to that portion of McDavid's study labeled "Tense Forms." It includes preterites and past participles. Other forms that she reports are beyond the scope of this study. Attributive past participles are also systematically excluded, since the derivational processes are different for the past participle and the attributive past participle. McDavid reports the preterite form of twenty-six verbs, the past participle form of four verbs (attributives excluded), and both forms of seven verbs. When both the preterite and the participle are given for a single verb, she lists them separately in order of frequency of occurrence.

This paper will propose a generative analysis of McDavid's dialect verb forms. The concepts of Chomsky and Halle as presented in <u>SPE</u> form the framework for this study. The immediate basis of the theory of verb derivation presented here is found in the study by Griggs and Rulon. The background for this paper having been established, it is appropriate to next examine the operation of generative rules.

CHAPTER II

THE GENERATIVE FRAMEWORK

2.1 <u>Syntactic structure</u>. The first aspect of verb deri-
vation to be examined is the underlying syntactic structure
from which surface structure sentences are derived. Each
element in the framework is marked with certain distinctive
features. In the following simplified chart, the main syn-
tactic elements are noun phrase (NP), auxiliary (Aux), and
verb phrase (VP). The concern of this study is with those
forms marked (+V). The dialect forms that Virginia McDavid
reports are various phonetic manifestations of the forms
marked (+V), and further, that are syntactically marked with
either a past tense marker (+Past) or a perfective marker
(+Perf.). Those forms marked (+Past) are referred to as
preterites. Those marked (+Perf.) are past participles. The
following chart adapted from Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), illus-
trates the syntactic framework from which surface structures
are derived.

```
                              S
                          /   |   \
                        /     |     \
                      /       |       \
                   NP        AUX        VP
                    |         |          |
                    N                    VB

      ⎡+N      ⎤    ⎡        +Aux       ⎤    ⎡+VB    ⎤
      ⎢±Pro    ⎥    ⎢                   ⎥    ⎢±V     ⎥
      ⎢±PL     ⎥    ⎢                   ⎥    ⎢±Action⎥
      ⎢±FIRST  ⎥    ⎢                   ⎥    ⎢±Perf  ⎥
      ⎢±SECOND ⎥    ⎢     ±PAST         ⎥    ⎢±Prog  ⎥
      ⎢±THIRD  ⎥    ⎢     ±MODAL        ⎥    ⎣±Pass  ⎦
      ⎢  .     ⎥    ⎢     ⎡-Mod⎤        ⎥
      ⎢  .     ⎥    ⎢     ⎣-V  ⎦        ⎥
      ⎣  .     ⎦    ⎢                   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎡+Mod     ⎤   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢+V       ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢         ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢+can     ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢+may     ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢+shall   ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎢+will    ⎥   ⎥
                    ⎢     ⎣ . . .   ⎦   ⎥
                    ⎣                   ⎦
```
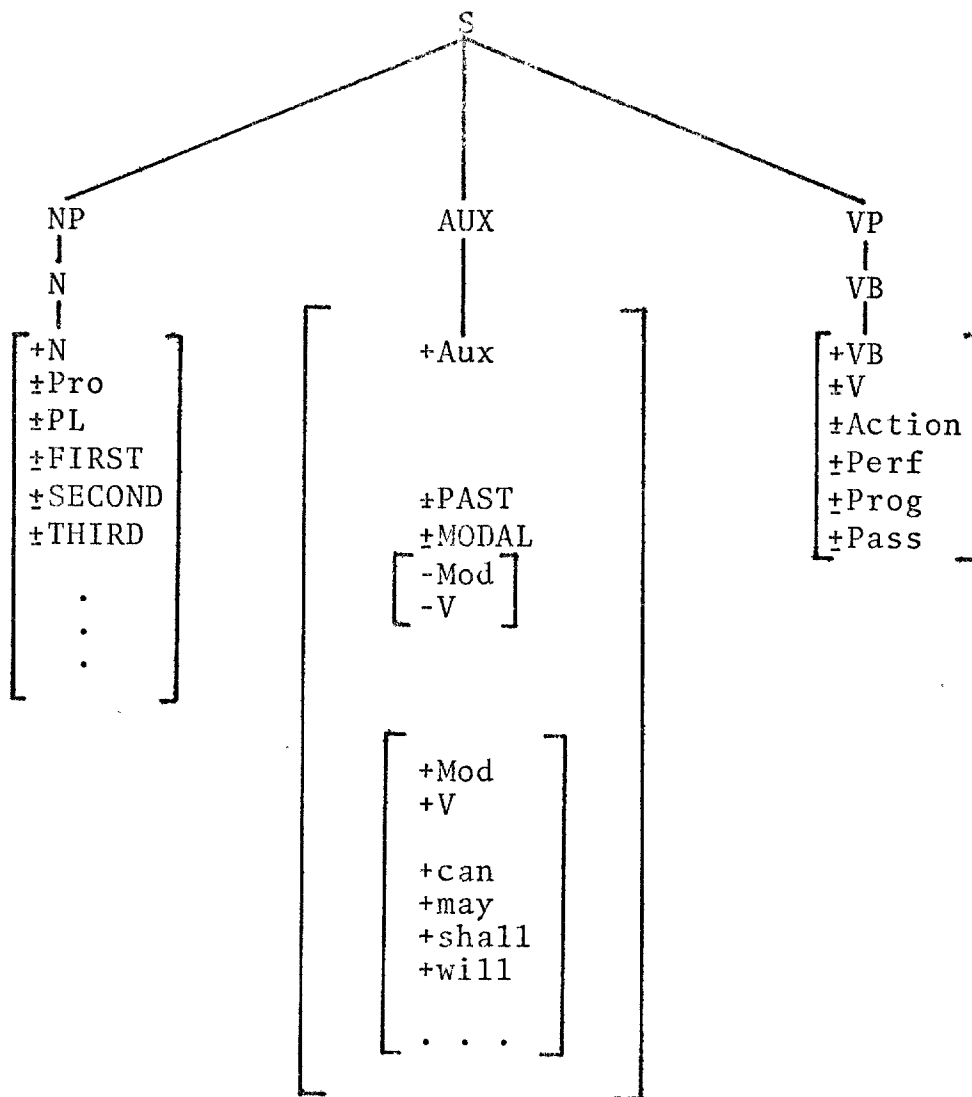
Fig.1--Syntactic framework

A syntactic form marked (+V) is further modified by the addition of lexical markers: ±regular, ±en, and ±mixed. The +en group has three distinct classes determined by the nature of the forms in the paradigm. The mixed group has one form of the paradigm marked +regular and the other marked -regular, thereby giving this group two classes. The lexical markings distinguish seven classes of English verbs: +reg., -reg.-en,

-reg. +en Class I, -reg.+en Class II, -reg.+en Class III, mixed -en, and mixed +en. The forms of the paradigm in each of these classes are additionally marked with an inflectional suffix. The classes will be more fully described later in the study.

Two kinds of phonological boundaries are important to this study: word boundary (#) and formative boundary (+). Phonological rules may operate across a formative boundary, but not across a word boundary unless it is expressly stated in the rule. Both the past tense marker and the perfective marker are attached in the lexical representation with a word boundary.

2.2 <u>Abstract</u> <u>lexical</u> <u>representation</u>. A summary of readjustment and phonological rules (Griggs & Rulon forthcoming) may be found in the appendix. Lexical representations are modified by readjustment rules. These rules block or trigger the action of certain phonological rules. Each phonological rule operates automatically in a given context. Both sets of rules used here are substantially the same as those formulated by Chomsky and Halle (1968) and expanded by Griggs and Rulon (forthcoming). Readjustment rules are numbered 1 through 17. The phonological rules are numbered 18 through 56.

Underlying lexical representations are given in double phonemic virgules. An intermediate form between the underlying form and the final phonetic form is given in single

virgules. Phonetic realizations are given in square brackets.

The underlying representation is necessarily an abstract form, not always fully specified. The tense markers are // d// and // n// . The inflectional suffix is // d// in the preterite, whether the verb is regular or irregular. The inflectional suffix for a participle is // d// in regular verbs and in -en irregular verbs, but is // n// in +en irregular verbs. Both // d// and // n// are attached to the verb stem with // #// in the underlying form. Nasals, clustering with a consonant, are another abstract form that need not be fully specified in the lexical representation, since a phonological rule will convert // N// to the appropriate surface structure. It is the readjustment rules, however, that modify the information provided by the lexical representation for insertion into the system of phonological rules.

2.3 Individual readjustment rules. A few of the major readjustment rules deserve detailed comment here. Rule 1 replaces // #// with /+/ and does not operate on regular verbs. In most irregular verbs, however, Rule 1 does operate in both the preterite and the participle form. After the application of Rule 1, the inflectional suffix may be deleted by Rule 3 or Rule 4. Some verbs in which this process operates are preterites blew, came, dove, drank, and froze and participles drunk, drove, ate, grew, and rode. The inflectional suffix may be retained and if it is // d// , may be devoiced later by a phonological rule. When this occurs, the main vowel is

commonly laxed by a phonological rule. Some examples of this
derivational path are preterites <u>dreamt</u> and <u>knelt</u> and parti-
ciple <u>writ</u>. Occasionally, Rule 1 does not apply in some
participle forms, thus allowing the vowel to remain tense, as
in <u>taken</u> and <u>droven</u>.

The preterites and past participles of some verbs are
modified by the application of Rule 9 (Ablaut). Ablaut
switches the backness of the vowels shown in the following
illustration.

i ⟷ u
ɨ
e ⟷ o
æ ⟷ ɔ
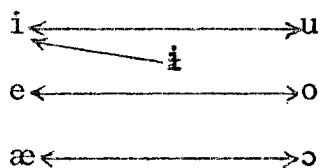
Fig.2--Operation of Ablaut

Some forms in which Ablaut applies are preterites <u>blew</u>, <u>brung</u>,
<u>clum</u>, <u>drove</u>, <u>ran</u>, and <u>shrunk</u> and participles <u>clum</u>, <u>drunk</u>,
<u>irove</u>, <u>rode</u>, and <u>took</u>.

Rule 10 (Lowness Adjustment) operates on some forms to
contribute to making them acceptable input for the system of
phonological rules. The lowness of certain vowels is switched
as shown below.

i   u
e   o
æ   ɔ

Fig.3--Operation of Lowness Adjustment

Some of the forms adjusted by Rule 10 are preterites <u>began</u>,
<u>brang</u>, <u>came</u>, <u>swam</u>, and <u>took</u> and participles <u>drank</u>, <u>droven</u>,
<u>ate</u>, <u>rode</u>, and <u>took</u>.

Some forms need still further modification. Rule 11
alters the tenseness of the main vowel in some. Examples are
preterites <u>duv</u>, <u>came</u>, and <u>gave</u> and participles <u>druv</u> and <u>driv</u>.
Other readjustment rules are necessary to account for all
verb forms, but Rules 1, 3, 4, 9, 10, and 11 are the most
frequently applied. The charts that follow illustrate the
application of the major readjustment rules in both preterites
and past participles.

TABLE I

READJUSTMENT RULE APPLICATIONS

		PRETERITES	
	blowed	dove	gave
Underlying Lexical Representation	// bloy^W#d//	// dīv#d//	// giv#d//
Rule 1		dīv+d	giv+d
Rule 3		dīv+ϕ	giv+ϕ
Rule 9		dūv	
Rule 10		dɔ̄v	gæv
Rule 11			gǣv
Phonological Form	bloy^W#d	dɔv	gǣ v
Phonological Rules			
Phonetic Form	[blōwd]	[dōwv]	[gēyv]

TABLE II

READJUSTMENT RULE APPLICATIONS

PAST PARTICIPLES			
	et	druv	wrote
Underlying Lexical Representation	// ēt#d//	// drīv#n//	// wrīt#n//
Rule 1	ēt+d	drīv+n	wrīt+n
Rule 4		drīv+∅	wrīt+∅
Rule 9		drūv	wrūt
Rule 10			wrɔ̄t
Rule 11		druv	
Phonological Form	ēt+d	druv	wrɔ̄t
Phonological Rules			
Phonetic Form	[et]	[drʌv]	[rōwt]

2.4 Description of lexicon. The lexicon that follows illustrates the uses of readjustment rules in the derivation of the dialect forms reported by Virginia McDavid. The verbs are listed alphabetically in traditional orthography. Beside each is the underlying lexical representation in double phonemic virgules. All of the varients listed under it may be derived from that underlying form. If a variant lexical form must be proposed to account for some dialect forms, it

is labeled "lexical variant," and the forms listed beneath
are derived from it.

Virginia McDavid (1957:20) uses both ". . . traditional
'dialect spellings' where such exist . . ." and International
Phonetic Alphabet transcription. This author has used
McDavid's dialect spellings and devised spellings for those
she gives in I.P.A.

Beside each dialect form listed in the lexicon are the
readjustment rules required for proper input to the system
of phonological rules. It is not necessary to list the
phonological rules and some of the readjustment rules since
they will yield the appropriate form automatically. Occa-
sionally, however, a rule fails to apply, or applies in a
manner not stated in the context of the rule. When this is
the case, it is noted in the lexical entry. Since regular
forms are not affected by readjustment rules, they are marked
simply +Reg in the lexicon. The surface structure of each
form is given in phonetic transcription to the right. McDavid's
I.P.A. has been changed to correspond with Chomsky and Halle's
usage in SPE. The lexicon shows the readjustment rules that
operate in each of McDavid's reported dialect preterites and
past participles. Each form is fully marked for readjustment
rules and any idiosyncracies of phonological rules.

2.5 <u>Lexicon</u>.

1. begin // be+gin//

    Preterite // be+gin#d//

        a. began +R1 +R3 +R10   [bəgæn]

        b. begin +R1 +R3   [bəgin]

        c. begun +R1 +R3 +R9   [bəgʌn]

    Preterite // gin#d// lexical variant

        d. gin +R1 +R3   [gin]

2. bite // bīt//

    Participle // bīt#n//

        a. bitten +R1   [bitən]

    Participle // bīt#d//

        b. bit +R1   [bit]

3. blow // bloɣ^W//

    Preterite // bloɣ^W#d//

        a. blew +R1 +R3 +R9   [blūw]

        b. blewed +R9   [blūwd]

        c. blowed +Reg   [blōwd]

4. bring // breNɣ//

    Preterite // breNɣ#d//

        a. brought +R1 +R9   [brɔʌt]

        b. brang +R1 +R3 +R10   [bræŋ]

        c. bring +R1 +R3   [briŋ]

        d. brung +R1 +R3 +R9   [brʌŋ]

5. catch // kæ xɛ//

    Preterite // kæ xɛ#d//

        a. caught +R1 +R9   [kɔ̄ʌt]

        b. ketched +R10   [kečt]

        c. catched +Reg   [kæ čt]

        d. kitched +R10 +R39   [kičt]

    Preterite // kæ č kæ č#d kæ č#d// lexical variant

        e. kotch(ed) (+R1+R3)+R9   [kāč(t)]

6. climb // klīNb//

    Preterite // klīNb#d//

        a. climbed +Reg -R24 III   [klāymd]

        b. clahm +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10 -R31   [klām]

        c. clam +R1 +R3 +R10   [klæm]

        d. clim +R1 +R3   [klim]

        e. climb +R1 +R3 -R24 III   [klāym]

        f. clome +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10 -R24 III [klōwm]

        g. clom +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [klɔ̄ʌm]

        h. clum +R1 +R3 +R9   [klʌm]

        i. clume +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10 -R24 III
             double application of R39   [klūwm]

    Participle // kliNb#d//

        j. climbed +Reg -R24 III   [klāymd]

    Participle // klīNb#n//

        k. clahm +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10 -R31   [klām]

1. clam +R1 +R4 +R10   [klæm]

m. clim +R1 +R4   [klim]

n. climb +R1 +R4 -R24 III   [klāym]

o. clome +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10 -R24 III   [klōwm]

p. clom +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10   [klɔ̄ʌm]

q. clum +R1 +R4 +R9   [klʌm]

r. clume +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10 -R24 III
       double application of R39   [klūwm]

7.   come // kum//

   Preterite // kum#d//

   a. came +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10 +R11   [kēym]

   b. come +R1 +R3   [kʌm]

8.   dive // dīv//

   Preterite // dīv#d//

   a. dive +R1 +R3   [dāyv]

   b. div +R1 +R3 +R11   [div]

   c. dove +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [dōwv]

   d. duv +R1 +R3 +R9 +R11   [dʌv]

   e. dived +Reg   [dāyvd]

   f. divd +R1   [divd]

9.   do // dōɣ^Wɛ//

   Preterite // dōɣ^Wɛ#d//

   a. did +R1 +R9 +R39   [did]

10. draw // drɔɣ^Wɛ//

    Preterite // drɔɣ^Wɛ#d//

        a. drew +R1 +R3 +R9   [drūw]

        b. drawed +Reg   [drɔ̄ʌd]

11. dream // drēm//

    Preterite // drēm#d//

        a. dreamed +Reg   [drīymd]

        b. dreamt +R1   [drempt]

        c. drimpt +R1 +R54   [drimpt]

        d. drimp +R1 +R54 +R56   [drimp]

12. drink // driNk#d//

    Preterite // driNk#d//

        a. drank +R1 +R3 +R10   [dræŋk]

        b. drink +R1 +R3   [driŋk]

        c. drunk +R1 +R3 +R9   [drʌŋk]

        d. drinked +Reg   [driŋkt]

    Participle // driNk#n//

        e. drank +R1 +R10   [dræŋk]

        f. drink +R1 +R4   [driŋk]

        g. drunk +R1 +R9   [drʌŋk]

    Participle // driNk#d//

        h. drinked +Reg   [driŋkt]

13. drive // drīv//

    Preterite // drīv#d//

        a. drive +R1 +R3   [drāyv]

      b. driv +R1 +R3 +R11   [driv]

      c. drove +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [drȫwv]

      d. druv +R1 +R3 +R9 +R11   [drʌv]

      e. drived +Reg   [drāyvd]

   Participle // drīv#n//

      f. drive +R1 +R4   [drāyv]

      g. driv +R1 +R4 +R11   [driv]

      h. driven +R1   [drivən]

      i. druv +R1 +R4 +R9 +R11   [drʌv]

      j. drove(n) (+R1 +R4) +R9 +R10 [drȫwv(ən)]

14. eat // ēt//

   Preterite // ēt#d//

      a. ate +R1 +R3 +R10   [ēyt]

      b. eat +R1 +R3   [īyt]

      c. et +R1   [et]

   Participle // ēt#n//

      d. ate +R1 +R4 +R10   [ēyt]

      e. eat +R1 +R4   [īyt]

      f. aten +R10   [ēytən]

      g. eaten   [īytən]

   Participle // ēt#d//

      h. et +R1   [et]

15. fetch // fečc//

   Preterite // fečc#d//

      a. fetched +Reg   [fečt]

      b. fotch +R1 +R3 +R9   [fãč]

16. fight // fext//

    Preterite // fext#d//

        a. fought +R1 +R3 +R9   [fɔ̄ʌt]

        b. fit +R1 +R3 -R32V   [fit]

        c. fout +R1 +R3 +R9 -R38   [fāwt]

17. fit // fit//

    Preterite // fit#d//

        a. fit +R1   [fit]

        b. fitted +Reg   [fitəd]

18. freeze // frēz//

    Preterite // frēz#d//

        a. froze +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [frōwz]

        b. freezed +Reg   [frīyzd]

        c. frozed +R9 +R10   [frōwzd]

19. give // giv//

    Preterite // giv#d//

        a. gave +R1 +R3 +R10 +R11   [gēyv]

        b. give +R1 +R3   [giv]

        c. gived +Reg   [givd]

20. grow // groɣ^W//

    Preterite // groɣ^W#d//

        a. grew +R1 +R3 +R9   [grūw]

        b. growed +Reg   [grōwd]

        c. grewed +R9   [grūwd]

    Participle // groɣ^W#n//

       d. grew +R1 +R4 +R9   [grūw]

       e. grown   [grōwn]

    Participle // groɣ^W#d//

       f. growed +Reg   [grōwd]

21. hear // xēr//

     Participle // xēr#d//

       a. heard +R1   [hʌrd]

       b. heerd +Reg   [hī̄ʌrd]

     Participle // xēr#n//

       c. heern   [hī̄ʌrn]

22. kneel // nēl//

     Preterite // nēl#d//

       a. kneeled +Reg   [nī̄yld]

       b. knelt +R1   [nelt]

       c. kneel +R1 +R3   [nī̄yl]

       d. kneelt +R1 -R24 III   [nī̄ylt]

       e. knailt +R1 -R24 III -R39   [nēylt]

23. learn // lern//

     Preterite // lern#d//

       a. learned +Reg   [lʌrnd]

       b. learnt +R1   [lʌrnt]

       c. larned +R10   [lā̄ʌrnd]

       d. larnt +R1 +R10   [lā̄ʌrnt]

24. lie // leɣɛ//

    Preterite // leɣɛ#d//

        a. lay +R1 +R3 +R10   [lēy]

        b. laid +R10   [lēyd]

    lay // læɣ// lexical variant

    Preterite // læɣ#d//

        c. lay +R1 +R3   [lēy]

        d. laid + Reg   [lēyd]

25. ride // rīd//

    Participle // rīd#n//

        a. ridden +R1   [ridən]

        b. rode +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10   [rōwd]

    Participle // rīd#d//

        c. rid +R1   [rid]

26. run // run//

    Preterite // run#d//

        a. ran +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [ræn]

        b. run +R1 +R3   [rʌn]

        c. runned +Reg   [rʌnd]

27. rise // rīz//

    Preterite // rīz#d//

        a. rose +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [rōwz]

        b. rised +Reg   [rāyzd]

        c. riz +R1 +R3 +R11   [riz]

        d. raised +R10   [rēyzd]

28. see // sēɣɛ//

    Preterite // sēɣɛ//

        a. saw +R1 +R3 +R9   [sɔ̄ʌ]

        b. see +R1 +R3   [sīy]

        c. seed +Reg   [sīyd]

29. shrink // srĭNk//

    Preterite // srĭNk#d//

        a. shrank +R1 +R3 +R10   [šræŋk]

        b. shrunk +R1 +R3 +R9   [šrʌŋk]

        c. shrinked +Reg   [šriŋkt]

30. sit // sit//

    Preterite // sit#d//

        a. sat +R1 +R3 +R10   [sæt]

        b. sit +R1   [sit]

        c. sot +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [sāt]

        d. set +R1 +R3 double application of
                                    R10   [set]

   set // set// lexical variant

    Preterite // set#d//

        a. sat +R1 +R3 +R10   [sæt]

        b. sit +R1 +R3 +R39   [sit]

        c. sot +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [sāt]

        d. set +R1   [set]

31. sweat // swet//

    Preterite // swet#d//

      a. sweat +R1 +R3   [swet]

      b. sweated +Reg   [swetəd]

32.   swim // swim//

    Preterite // swim#d//

      a. swam +R1 +R3 +R10   [swæm]

      b. swum +R1 +R3 +R9   [swʌm]

      c. swim +R1 +R3   [swim]

      d. swahm +R1 +R3 +R9 +R11   [swãʌm]

      e. swom +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [swɔ̃ʌm]

      f. swimmed +Reg   [swimd]

33.   take // tæk//

    Preterite // tæk#d//

      a. took +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10   [tuk]

      b. tuck +R1 +R3 +R9 +R10 reorder
             R51 before R39   [tʌk]

      c. take +R1 +R3   [tēyk]

      d. taked +Reg   [tēykt]

    Preterite // tækn#d//   lexical variant

      e. takened +Reg   [tēykənd]

    Participle // tæk#n//

      f. taken   [tēykən]

      g. took +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10   [tuk]

      h. tuck +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10 reorder
             R51 before R39   [tʌk]

      i. take +R1 +R4   [tēyk]

    Participle // tæk#d//

        j. taked +Reg   [tēykt]

    Participle // tǣkn#d// lexical variant

        k. takened + Reg   [tēykənd]

34. teach // tēxɛ//

    Preterite // tēxɛ#d//

        a. taught +R1 +R9   [tɔ̄ʌt]

        b. teached +Reg   [tīyct]

35. throw // θroɣ^W//

    Preterite // θroɣ^W#d//

        a. threw +R1 +R3 +R9   [θrūw]

        b. throwed +Reg   [θrōwd]

36. wake // wǣk//

    Preterite // wǣk#d//

        a. woke +R1 +R3 +R9   [wōwk]

        b. waked + Reg   [wēykt]

    Preterite // wǣkn#d// lexical variant

        c. wakened +Reg   [wēykənd]

37. write // wrīt//

    Participle // wrīt#n//

        a. written +R1   [ritən]

        b. wrote +R1 +R4 +R9 +R10   [rōwt]

    Participle // wrīt#d//

        c. writ +R1   [rit]

CHAPTER III

SYSTEMATIC CONJUGATION

3.1 <u>Classes</u> <u>of</u> <u>standard</u> <u>verbs</u>. The derivational paths
of the forms given in the preceding lexicon are fully speci-
fied. Every readjustment rule needed to produce the form is
given. A more useful lexicon may be compiled, however, if it
is observed that certain patterns emerge from the combinations
of readjustment rules used to produce each form. These pat-
terns may be used to classify the forms. Griggs and Rulon
(forthcoming) have pointed out that certain readjustment rules
are characteristic of each verb class. The classes of English
verbs are here characterized in some detail.

<u>Regular verbs</u>. -- The inflectional suffix for both the
preterite and the past participle is // d// . Rule 1 does not
operate as it does in irregular verbs; thus the /d/ is retained
(though perhaps devoiced) in the surface structure. Rules 9,
10, and 11 do not operate. The preterite and past participle
surface with the vowel stem identical to the present form.

<u>Weak verbs</u>. -- Both the past tense marker and the past
participle marker are // d// . These verbs are therefore
classified -en. Rule 1 typically operates to replace // #//

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with /+/. Since Rule 1 does operate, one usually finds a devoiced final consonant and a lax vowel in the preterite and past participle.

Strong verbs. -- There are three classes of strong verbs, reflecting three different relationships among the forms of the paradigm. If the stem of the participle and the stem of the present are the same, or differ only in the laxness or tenseness of the vowel, the conjugation is Class I. If the stem of the participle and the stem of the preterite are the same, the conjugation is Class II. If all three stems are different, the conjugation is Class III.

Rule 1 typically replaces // #// with /+/. Rule 3 usually operates in the preterite to delete /d/. Since the participle marker is // n// , this class of verbs is marked +en.

Mixed verbs. -- This classification accounts for paradigms that surface with one form +regular and one form -regular. Since the regular form may be either the preterite or the past participle, there are two classes of mixed verbs. If the regular form surfaces as the past participle, the participle marker will necessarily be // d// and the class is marked +Mxd -en. If the regular form surfaces as the preterite, the participle marker will necessarily be // n// , and the class is marked +Mxd +en.

3.2 _Possible verb paradigms_. The following examples may be used to illustrate the possible classifications of the verb _bring_. These variants of _bring_ are found in McDavid's dialect material.

1.	bring	bringed	bringed	+regular
2.	bring	brought	brought	weak -en
3.	bring	brang	bring	strong +en +I
	bring	brung	bring	
4.	bring	brang	brang	strong +en +II
	bring	brung	brung	
5.	bring	brang	brung	strong +en +III
6.	bring	brang	bringed	+Mxd -en
	bring	bringed	brung	+Mxd +en

There follows a diagram of the seven classes of English verbs. The verb paradigms are from Virginia McDavid's study. Although she lists preterites and past participles separately in most cases, she does report these paradigms as occurring in the speech of an individual informant.
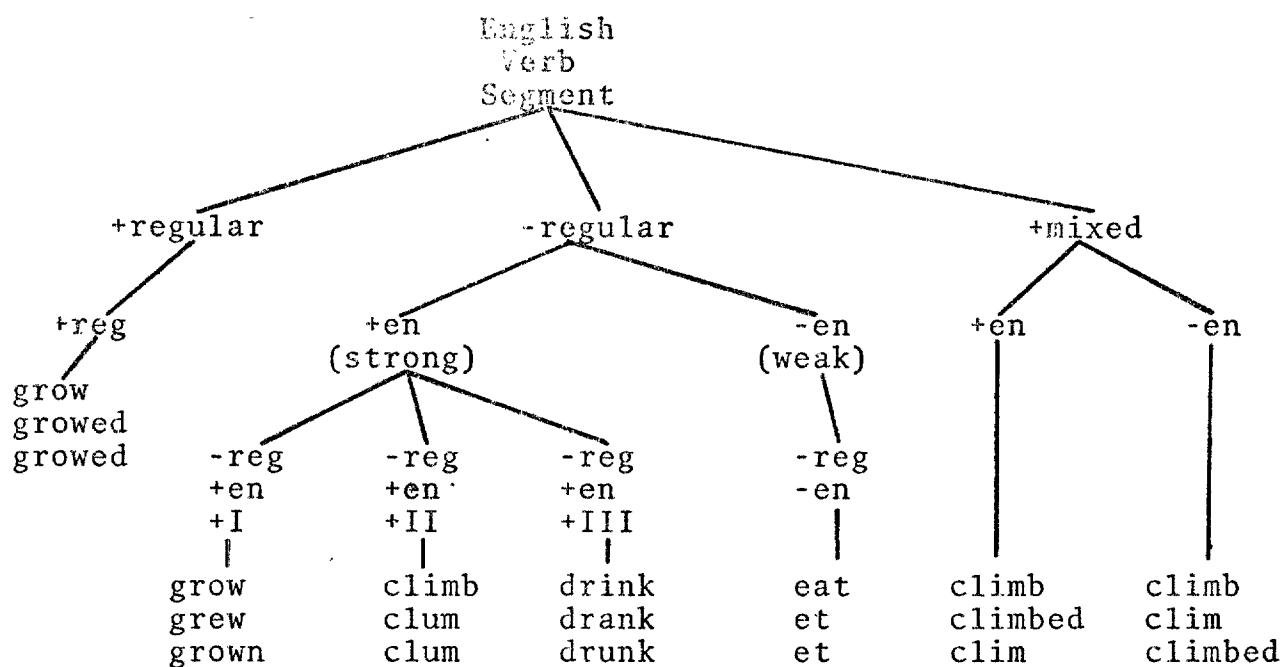
English
Verb
Segment

```
        +regular              -regular                      +mixed

     +reg          +en                    -en          +en          -en
                 (strong)                (weak)
   grow
   growed
   growed   -reg    -reg    -reg         -reg
            +en     +en·    +en          -en
            +I      +II     +III
                                          |            |            |
            grow    climb   drink        eat          climb        climb
            grew    clum    drank        et           climbed      clim
            grown   clum    drunk        et           clim         climbed
```

Fig.4--The seven classes of English verbs

3.3 <u>List of standard irregular verbs</u>. Griggs and Rulon's
list (forthcoming) of irregular verbs in standard academic
English, mainly those reported by Bloch (1947), is included
here. This list will be expanded later with the addition of
dialect forms from McDavid's data. Some verbs have more than
one possible conjugation. Parentheses around the word mark
an alternate regular conjugation. The whole list of mixed
verbs is enclosed in parentheses since they all may have regular
conjugations. Alternate irregular conjugations are marked by
the appropriate Roman numeral for a strong conjugation, <u>W</u> for
weak, and <u>M</u> for mixed, each in parentheses.

Weak verbs. -- bend, (bereave), (beseech), bet, bid (I),
bite (I), bleed, (blend), breed, bring, build, (burn),
(burst), buy, can, cast, catch, (chide (I)), (cleave (II)),
clothe, cost, creep, cut, deal, (dream), (dwell), feed, feel,
(fit), flee, (gild), (gird), have, hear, hide (I), hit, hurt,
keep, (kneel), (knit), lead, (lean), (leap), (learn), leave,
lend, let, (light), lose, make, may, mean, meet, (pen), (plead),
put, quit, read, (rend), (rid), say, seek, sell, send, set,
shall, shed, shit, (shoe), shoot, shut, sleep, slide, (slit),
(smell), (speed), (spell), spend, (spill), spit (I), (split),
(spoil), spread, stand, (sweat), sweep, teach, tell, think,
thrust, tread (II), use, (wed), weep, went, (wet), will,
(work/wreak).

Strong verbs, Class I. -- be, (bid (W)), blow, come, do,
draw, drive, eat, fall, forsake, give, go, grow, know, ride,
rise, run, see, shake, (shrive), take, (thrive), throw, write.

Strong verbs, Class II. -- bear, beat, (bide), bind,
bite(W), break, (chide(W)), choose, (cleave(W)), cling, dig,
(dive(M)), fight, find, fling, freeze, get, grind, hang,
(heave), hide(W), hold, lie, (shear(M)), shine, shrink(III),
sink(III), sit, sling, slink, smite(I), speak, spin,
spring(III), (stave), steal, stick, sting, stink(III),
stride(I), strike, (string), swear, (swell(M)), swing(III),
tear, (tread(W)), (wake), wear, weave, win, wind, wring.

Strong verbs, Class III. -- begin, drink, fly, ring,
shrink(II), sing, sink(II), spring(II), stink(II), swim,
swing(II).

Mixed verbs. -- (crow, dive(II), hew, lade, melt, mow, prove, rive, saw, sew, shear(II), show, sow, strew, swell(II)).

3.4 Readjustment rule application by classes. Each class of verbs is characterized by certain combinations of readjustment rules. This is reflected in the relationship between the inflectional suffix and the preceding boundary. In some cases Rule 1 operates to replace // #// with /+/, and in some it does not. The following chart shows the suffixes and preceding boundaries in the major verb classes after the operation of readjustment rules.

TABLE III

INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES AND PRECEDING BOUNDARIES IN
THE MAJOR VERB CLASSES

	Preterite	Participle
Regular	/#d/	/#d/
Strong	/+d/	/+n/, /#n/
	/+ø/	/+ø/
Weak	/+d/	/+d/
Mixed	/#d/	/+n/
	/+ø/	/#d/

Readjustment rules do not normally apply to regular verbs.
Rule 1 usually operates in both preterite and participle forms
of all irregular verbs. Rule 3 operates in the preterite of
the three classes of strong verbs. Rule 9 applies to the
preterite of Class I and Class II strong verbs and to the
participle of Class II and Class III verbs. Rule 10 applies
to the preterite of Class I and Class III strong verbs. Of
course, other readjustment rules may apply, but these occur
in characteristic combinations. It may be explained in chart
form as follows:

TABLE IV

CHARACTERISTIC COMBINATIONS OF READJUSTMENT
RULES IN THE MAJOR VERB CLASSES

	Preterite	Participle
Weak Verbs	+R1	+R1
Strong Class I	+R1 +R3 +R9 +R10	+R1
Strong Class II	+R1 +R3 +R9	+R1 +R9
Strong Class III	+R1 +R3 +R10	+R1 +R9

It is possible to classify a form by the combination of readjustment rules used in its derivation. The occurrence of certain combinations is thus a redundant feature of the form's classification. The characteristic combinations have been formulated by Griggs and Rulon (forthcoming) as conjugation rules. These rules, which are listed below, may be read in the conventional manner, with but one exception. Single and double vertical lines separate information given about the three forms of the paradigm. The present form is represented to the left of the single vertical line. Between the double and single vertical lines is the preterite form. The past participle form is to the right of the double line.

3.5 Conjugation rules.

(a)
$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow +R1 \quad / \quad [\text{-reg}] \quad \underline{W} \left| \overline{} \atop \underline{X} \right\| \overline{} \atop \underline{Y}$$

(b)
$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow +R3 \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-reg} \\ \text{+en} \end{bmatrix} \quad \underline{W} \left| \overline{} \atop \underline{X} \right\| \underline{Y}$$

(c)
$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow +R9 \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +II \end{bmatrix} \quad \underline{W} \left| \overline{} \atop \underline{X} \right\| \underline{Y}$$

$$[+III] \quad \underline{W} \left| \underline{X} \right\| \overline{} \atop \underline{Y}$$

(d)
$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow +R10 \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +III \end{bmatrix} \quad \underline{W} \left| \overline{} \atop \underline{X} \right\| \underline{Y}$$

$$\text{(e)} \quad \phi \dashrightarrow \begin{matrix} \prec R9 \\ \beta R10 \\ \gamma R11 \end{matrix} \Bigg/ \begin{bmatrix} -reg \\ -en \\ +II \end{bmatrix} \underline{W} \left\| \begin{matrix} \prec R9 \\ \beta R10 \\ \gamma R11 \end{matrix} \right\| \frac{}{\underline{Y}}$$
$$\underline{X}$$

3.6 <u>Conjugation</u> <u>of</u> <u>incomplete</u> <u>paradigms</u>. The conjugation rules were designed to classify complete paradigms. Complete paradigms are not available, in most cases, from Virginia McDavid's data. However, it is possible to postulate the whole paradigm from the classification of a single form. For instance, McDavid reports the occurrence of <u>drove</u> as a preterite of <u>drive</u>. <u>Drove</u> exhibits the combination of readjustment rules that is characteristic of strong Class I preterites. Since Class I present and participle stems are the same, the participle in this paradigm will surface as <u>driven</u>. An expanded lexicon at the end of this chapter gives the classification of such incomplete paradigms. Most of the forms may be classified in the above manner.

Some forms, however, lack one or more rules required to meet any classification. <u>Driv</u>, also reported as a preterite of <u>drive</u>, uses Rules 1, 3, and 11: not the proper combination for any class. The solution to the problem presented by such forms is suggested by McDavid's comment on frequently occurring preterite-past participle combinations. She says of

the verb climb, "The forms for the past participle are sub-
stantially the same as those for the preterite, and occur in
the same proportions and with the same distributions. The
same form is generally used for both, i.e., climbed-climbed
or clum-clum" (1957:26-27).

This is not to imply that an individual speaker would
use only one paradigm. Certainly an individual might use a
variety of alternate forms for both the preterite and the
participle form. However, the speakers of this dialect appear
to have a tendency to produce leveled preterite-past parti-
ciple combinations. McDavid states, "What doubtless occurs
is the leveling of preterite and past participle, with the
consequent use of did and done, saw and seen, or took and
taken for either preterit or past participle" (1957:72-73).
Accordingly, this paper will assume a leveled paradigm for
both preterite and past participle forms that do not fit the
conjugation rules for a particular class.

Thus, if the weak preterite et is the only form given
for a paradigm of eat, it may be assumed that the past parti-
ciple is also et. A regular past participle may be postulated
to accompany a regular preterite. A strong past participle
will accompany a strong preterite, producing a strong Class II
paradigm. Further justification for this classification is
provided by Griggs and Rulon (forthcoming), who have found
Class II to be the prevailing class of strong verbs in standard
usage.

3.7 <u>Description of lexicon</u>. An expanded lexicon appears
at the end of this chapter. It provides more information
about the dialect forms given in the first lexicon. It gives
their classification and postulated paradigm. The structure
of this lexicon is similar to that of the first. The verbs
are listed alphabetically. Beside each is the underlying
lexical representation. Any lexical variation is listed above
the forms derived from it. Directly beneath the lexical
representation is the standard academic paradigm of the verb
(Griggs and Rulon forthcoming) and its phonetic notation.
The standard paradigm is included to provide comparison with
McDavid's dialect forms. The dialect forms and their classi-
fications are listed next. The form of the paradigm that is
postulated from the evidence is given in parentheses. Thus,
some paradigms may appear twice, with a different form in
parentheses each time.

Like the conjugation rules, specific information about
the forms of the paradigm is given between vertical lines.
General information that applies to all three forms is given
to the left of a colon. A lexical entry has the following
form:

1.   verb // underlying lexical form//

         standard paradigm   class   pres. | pret. || part.

                                                  [phonetic form]

a. dialect paradigm   class   general: pres. |pret.‖ part.

[phonetic form]

// lexical variant//

b. dialect paradigm   class   pres. | pret. ‖ part.

[phonetic form]

In the preceding illustration, the abbreviations pres., pret., and part. stand for present form, preterite form, and participle form, respectively. Many paradigms, of course, fit the conjugation rules precisely, so that it is not necessary to give special information about one paradigm form.

Special information about a single form must be given in the lexical entry when the derivation involves a violation of the conjugation rules or an idiosyncracy of readjustment or phonological rules. For instance, most weak verbs do not show Ablaut. However, brought, a preterite of bring, is clearly a weak form, though it does have Ablaut. It is marked -en+R9 in the lexicon. Note that conjugation rule (c) makes it possible to mark only the preterite of weak verbs and strong II verbs for certain rules. In these cases, it is understood that since the preterite is marked, the participle will be also.

Several special problems come up in the derivational processes recorded in the lexicon. These special problems will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.8 <u>Lexicon</u>.

1.　begin　// be+gìn be+gìn#d be+gìn#n//

　　　　begin began begun　+en +1II　　　[bəgin bəgæn bəgʌn]

　　a. begin begàn (begun)　+en +III　　[bəgin bəgæn bəgʌn]

　　b. begin began (begin)　+en +II I-R9　[bəgin bəgin bəgin]

　　c. begin begun (begun)　+en +II　　　[bəgin bəgʌn bəgʌn]
　　　　　// gin gin#d gin#n //

　　d. gin gin (gin) +en +II I-R9　　　[bəgin gin gin]

2.　bīte　// bīt bīt#d bīt#n//

　　　　bite bit bitten +en +II　　　　[bāyt bit bitən]

　　a. bite(bit) bitten +en +II　　　[bāyt bit bitən]
　　　　// bīt bīt#d bīt#d//

　　b. bite(bit)bit　-en　　　　　　[bāyt bit bit]

3.　blow　// bloγ^W bloγ^W#d bloγ^W#n//

　　　　blow blew blown　+en +I I-R10　[blōw blūw blōwn]

　　a. blow blew (blew)　+en +II I I I+R4　[blōw blūw blūw]
　　　　// bloγ^W bloγ^W#d bloγ^W#d//

　　b. blow blewed (blewed) +Mxd -en
　　　　　　　　　　　I+R9 I I+R9　　[blōw blūwd blūwd]

　　c. blow blowed (blowed)　+Reg　　[blōw blōwed blōwd]

4.　bring　// breNγ breNγ#d breNγ#d//

　　　　bring brought brought　-en I+R9　[briŋ brɔʌt brɔʌt]

　　a. bring brought (brought)　-en I+R9 [briŋ brɔʌt brɔʌt]
　　　　// breNγ breNγ#d breNγ#n//

　　b. bring brang (brung)　+en +III　　[briŋ bræŋ brʌŋ]

c. bring bring (bring) +en +II   [briŋ briŋ briŋ]
                        ¡-R9

d. bring brung (brung) +en +II   [briŋ ˈbrʌŋ brʌŋ]

5. catch // kæ xɛ kæ xɛ#d kæ xɛ#d//

    catch caught caught -en ¡+R9   [kæ č̌ kɔ̄ʌt kɔ̄ʌt]

a. catch caught (caught) -en ¡+R9   [kæ č̌ kɔ̄ʌt kɔ̄ʌt]

b. catch ketched (ketched) +Mxd -en
                     ¡+R10 ¡¡+R10   [kæ č̌ keč̌t keč̌t]

c. catch catched (cathed) +Reg   [kæ č̌ kæ č̌t kæ č̌t]

d. catch kitched (kitched) +Mxd -en
            ¡+R10 +R39 ¡¡+R10 +R39   [kæ c kič̌t kič̌t]

    // kæ č̌ kæ č̌#d kæ č̌#d// lexical variant

e. catch kotch(ed) (kotch(ed)) +Mxd
            -en ¡(+R1 +R3) +R9
                ¡¡(+R1 +R3)+R9   [kæ c kāč̌(t) kāč̌(t)]

6. climb // KlĩNb klĩNb#d klĩNb#d//

    climb climbed climbed +Reg
                        -R24III: [klāym klāymd klāymd]

a. climb climbed (climbed) +Reg
                        -R24III: [klāym klāymd klāymd]

b. climb (climbed) climbed +Reg
                        -R24III: [klāym klāymd klāymd]

    // klĩNb klĩNb#d klĩNb#n//

c. climb clahm (climb) +en +I
      -R24III ¡-R31 ¡¡-R24III   [klāym klām klāym]

d. climb clam (clum) +en +III
            -R24III ¡ ¡¡+R11   [klāym klaem klʌm]

e. climb clim (clim) +en +II
            -R24III ¡-R9   [klāym klim klim]

f. climb climb (climb) +en +II
            -R24III : ¡-R9   [klāym klāym klāym]

g. climb clome (climb) +en +I
               -R24III: [klāym klōwm klāym]

h. climb clom (climb) +en +I
       -R24III | || -R24III [klāym klɔ̃ʌm klāym]

i. climb clum (clum) +en +II
           -R24III | +R11 [klāym klʌm klʌm]

j. climb clume (climb) +en +I
   -R24III : | double application
                 of R39 [klāym klūwm klāym]

k. climb (clahm) clahm +en +II
    -R24III |+R10 -R31 || -R31 [klāym klām klām]

l. climb (clam) clam +en +II
         -R24III |-R9 +R10[klāym klæm klæm]

m. climb (clim) clim +en +II
              -R24III | [klāym klim klim]

n. climb (climb) climb +en +II
         -R24III:|-R9   [klāym klāym klāym]

o. climb (clome) clome +en +II
         -R24III:|+R10   [klāym klōwm klōwm]

p. climb (clom) clom +en +II
         -R24III |+R10   [klāym klɔ̃ʌm klɔ̃ʌm]

q. climb (clum) clum +en +II .
         -R24III | [klāym klʌm klʌm]

r. climb (clume) clume +en +II
        -R24III:|+R10
   double application of R39 ||
   double application of R39 [klāym klūwm klūwm]

7. come // kum kum#d kum#n//

    come came come +en +I +R11   [kʌm kēym kʌm]

a. come came (come) +en +I | +R11 [kʌm kēym kʌm]

b. come come (come) +en +II | -R9   [kʌm kʌm kʌm]

8.   dive // dīv dīv#d dīv#n//

      dive dove dove +en +II I+R10   [dāyv dōwv dōwv]

    a. dive dive (dive) +en +II I-R9

                          II+R4   [dāyv dāyv dāyv]

    b. dive div (div) +en +II I-R9

                      +R11 II+R4   [dāyv div div]

    c. dive dove (diven) +en +I   [dāyv dōwv divən]

    d. dive duv (duv) +en +II I+R11   [dāyv dʌv dʌv]

       // dīv dīv#d dīv#d dīv#d//

    e. dive dived (dived) +Reg   [dāyv dāyvd dāyvd]

    f. dive divd (divd) -en I+R8 II+R8   [dāyv divd divd]

9.   do // doɣ^{W}ɛ doɣ^{W}ɛ#d doɣ^{W}ɛ#n//

      do did done +en +I I-R3 -R10

                    +R39 II+R25   [dūw did dʌn]

      // doɣ^{W}ɛ doɣ^{W}ɛ#d doɣ^{W}ɛ#d//

      do did (did) -en I+R8 +R9 +R39

                    II+R8 +R39   [dūw did did]

10.   draw // drɔɣ^{W}ɛ drɔɣ^{W}ɛ#d drɔɣ^{W}ɛ#n//

      draw drew drawn +en +I   [drɔ̄ʌ drūw drɔ̄ʌn]

    a: draw drew (drew) +en +II I

                      II+R4   [drɔ̄ʌ drūw drūw]

      // drɔɣ^{W}ɛ drɔɣ^{W}ɛ#d drɔɣ^{W}ɛ#d//

    b. draw drawed (drawed) +Reg   [drɔ̄ʌ drɔ̄ʌd drɔ̄ʌd]

11.   dream // drēm drēm#d drēm#d//

      dream dreamed dreamed +Reg   [drīym drīymd drīymd]

    a. dream dreamed (dreamed) +Reg   [drīym drīymd drīymd]

b. dream dreamt (dreamt) -en   [drīym drempt drempt]

c. dream drimpt (drimpt) -en Ⅰ+R54
                          Ⅰ Ⅰ+R54   [drīym drimpt drimpt]

d. dream drimp (drimp) -en Ⅰ+R54
         +R56 Ⅰ Ⅰ+R54 +R56   [drīym drimp drimp]

12. drink // driNk driNk#d driNk#n//

    drink drank drunk +en +ⅠⅠⅠ   [driŋk dræŋk drʌŋk]

a. drink drank (drunk) +en +ⅠⅠⅠ   [driŋk dræŋk drʌŋk]

b. drink drink (drink) +en +ⅠⅠ Ⅰ-R9   [driŋk driŋk driŋk]

c. drink drunk (drunk) +en +ⅠⅠ   [driŋk drʌŋk drʌŋk]

d. drink (drank) drank +en +ⅠⅠ
         Ⅰ-R9 +R10 Ⅰ Ⅰ+R4   [driŋk dræŋk dræŋk]

e. drink (drink) drink +en +ⅠⅠ
                       Ⅰ-R9   [driŋk driŋk driŋk]

f. drink (drunk) drunk +en +ⅠⅠ   [driŋk drʌŋk drʌŋk]

    // driNk driNk#d driNk#d//

g. drink drinked (drinked) +Reg   [driŋk driŋkt driŋkt]

h. drink (drinked) drinked +Reg   [driŋk driŋkt driŋkt]

13. drive // drīv drīv#d drīv#n//

    drive drove driven +en +Ⅰ   [drāyv drōwv drivən]

a. drive drive (drive) +en +ⅠⅠ
         Ⅰ-R9 Ⅰ Ⅰ+R4   [drāyv drāyv drāyv]

b. drive driv (driv) +en +ⅠⅠ Ⅰ-R9
                    +R11 Ⅰ Ⅰ+R4   [drāyv driv driv]

c. drive drove (driven) +en +Ⅰ   [drāyv drōwv drivən]

d. drive druv (druv) +en +ⅠⅠ
         Ⅰ+R11 Ⅰ Ⅰ+R4   [drāyv drʌv drʌv]

e. drive (drive) drive +en +II |-R9
                     ||+R4   [drāyv drāyv drāyv]

f. drive (driv) driv +en +II |-R9
                     +R11 ||+R4   [drāyv driv driv]

g. drive (drove) driven +en +I   [drāyv drōwv drivən]

h. drive (druv) druv +en +II |+R11
                       ||+R4   [drāyv drʌv drʌv]

i. drive (drove) drove(n) +en +II
                   |+R10 ||(+R1) [drāyv drōwv drōwv(ən)]

     // drĩv drĩv#d drĩv#d//

j. drive drived (drived) +Reg   [drāyv drāyvd drāyvd]

14.   eat // ēt ēt#d ēt#n//

     eat ate eaten +en +I |-R9 ||-R1   [ĩyt ēyt ĩytan]

a. eat ate (et) +en III | ||+R4 -R9 [ĩyt ēyt et]

b. eat eat (eat)   +en +II |-R9
                       ||+R4   [ĩyt ĩyt ĩyt]

c. eat (ate) ate(n)   +en +II |-R9
                 +R10 ||(+R1 +R4) [ĩyt ēyt ēytən]

d. eat (eat) eat +en +II |-R9 ||+R4 [ĩyt ĩyt ĩyt]

e. eat (ate) eaten +en +I |-R9
                     ||-R1   [ĩyt ēyt ĩytən]

     // et et#d et#d//

f. eat et (et) -en   [ĩyt et et]

g. eat (et) et -en   [ĩyt et et]

15.   fetch // fec̆ fec̆#d fec̆#d//

     fetch fetched fetched +Reg   [fec̆ fec̆t fec̆t]

a. fetch fetch (fetched) +Reg   [fec̆ fec̆t fec̆t]

     // fec̆ fec̆#d fec̆#n//

b. fetch fotch (fotch) +en +II
                 | ||+R4   [fec̆ fāc̆ fāc̆]

16. fight // fext fext#d fext#n//

      fight fought fought +en +II   [fāyt fɔ̄ʌt fɔ̄ʌt]

    a. fight fought (fought) +en +II   [fāyt fɔ̄ʌt fɔ̄ʌt]

    b. fight fout (fout) +en +II
                I -R38 II -R38   [fāyt fāwt fāwt]

    // fext fext#d fext#d//

    c. fight fit (fit) -en I -R32V
                    II -R32V   [fāyt fit fit]

17. fit // fit fit#d fit#d//

      fit fit fit -en   [fit fit fit]

    a. fit fit (fit) -en   [fit fit fit]

    b. fit fitted (fitted) +Reg   [fit fitəd fitəd]

18. freeze // frēz frēz#d frēz#n//

      freeze froze frozen +en +II
                  I +R10 II -R1   [frīyz frōwz frōwzən]

    a. freeze froze (freezen) +en +I
                      I II -R1   [frīyz frōwz frīyzən]

    // frēz frēz#d frēz#d//

    b. freeze freezed (freezed) +Reg   [frīyz frīyzd frīyzd]

    c. freeze frozed (frozed) +Mxd -en
                   I +R9 +R10
                  II +R9 +R10 [frīyz frōwzd frōwzd]

19. give // giv giv#d giv#n//

      give gave given +en +I I -R9 +R11 [giv gēyv givən]

    a. give gave (given) +en +I I -R9
                        +R11 [giv gēyv givən]

    b. give give (give) +en +II I -R9
                      II +R4 [giv giv giv]

    // giv giv#d giv#d//

c. give gived (gived) +Reg   [giv givd givd]

20.   grow // $\text{gro}\gamma^W$ $\text{gro}\gamma^W\#d$ $\text{gro}\gamma^W\#n$//

      grow grew grown +en +I   [grōw grūw grōwn]

   a. grow grew (grew) +en +II | | |+R4 [grōw grūw grūw]

   b. grow (grew) grew +en +II | | |+R4[grōw grūw grūw]

   c. grow (grew) grown +en +I   [grōw grūw grōwn]

       // $\text{gro}\gamma^W$ $\text{gro}\gamma^W\#d$ $\text{gro}\gamma^W\#d$//

   d. grow growed (growed) +Reg   [grōw grōwd grōwd]

   e. grow (growed) growed +Reg   [grōw grōwd grōwd]

   f. grow grewed (grewed) +Mxd -en
                    |+R9 | | +R9   [grōw grūwd grūwd]

21.   hear // xēr xēr#d xēr#d//

      hear heard heard -en   [hīʌr hʌrd hʌrd]

   a. hear (heard) heard -en   [hīʌr hʌrd hʌrd]

   b. hear (heerd) heerd +Reg   [hīʌr hīʌrd hīʌrd]

       // xēr xēr#d xēr#n//

   c. hear (heerd) heern +Mxd +en   [hīʌr hīʌrd hīʌrn]

22.   kneel // nēl nēl#d nēl#d//

      kneel kneeled kneeled +Reg   [nīyl nīyld nīyld]

   a. kneel kneeled (kneeled) +Reg   [nīyl nīyld nīyld]

   b. kneel knelt (knelt)   -en   [nīyl nelt nelt]

   c. kneel kneelt (kneelt) -en
             |-R24III | |-R24III   [nīyl nīylt nīylt]

   d. kneel knailt (knailt) -en
          |-R24III -R39 | |-R24III -R39   [nīyl nēylt nēylt]

       // nēl nēl#d nēl#n//

e. kneel kneel (kneel) +en +II |-R9

|| +R4 [nīyl nīyl nīyl]

23.   learn // lern lern#d lern#d//

        learn learned learned +Reg   [lʌrn lʌrnd lʌrnd]

    a. learn learned (learned) +Reg   [lʌrn lʌrnd lʌrnd]

    b. learn learnt (learnt) -en   [lʌrn lʌrnt lʌrnt]

    c. learn larned (larned) +Mxd -en

                  |+R10 ||+R10 [lʌrn lāʌrnd lāʌrnd]

    d. learn larnt (larnt) +Mxd -en

              |+R1 +R10 ||+R1 +R10 [lʌrn lāʌrnt lāʌrnt]

24.   lie // leγɛ leγɛ#d leγɛ#n//

        lie lay lain +en +II -R9 +R10   [lāy lēy lēyn]

    a. lie lay (lain) +en +II |-R9

                      +R10   [lāy lēy lēyn]

        // leγɛ leγɛ#d leγɛ#d//

    b. lie laid (laid) +Mxd -en

              |+R10 ||+R10   [lāy lēyd lēyd]

        // læγ læγ#d læγ#d// lexical variant

    c. lay laid (laid) +Reg   [lēy lēyd lēyd]

        // læγ læγ#d læγ#n//

    d. lay lay (lain) +en +II |-R9   [lēy lēy lēyn]

25.   ride // rīd rīd#d rīd#n//

        ride rode ridden ·+en +I   [rāyd rōwd ridən]

    a. ride (rode) ridden +en +I   [rāyd rōwd ridən]

    b. ride (rode) rode +en +II |+R10 [rāyd rōwd rōwd]

        // rīd rīd#d rīd#d//

    c. ride (rid) rid -en   [rāyd rid rid]

26. rise // rīz rīz#d rīz#n//

        rise rose risen +en +I   [rāyz rōwz rizən]

    a. rise rose (risen) +en +I   [rāyz rōwz rizən]

        // rīz rīz#d rīz#d//

    b. rise rised (rised) +Reg   [rāyz rāyzd rāyzd]

    c. rise riz (riz) -en   [rāyz riz riz]

    d. rise raised (raised) +Mxd -en
                   | +R10 || +R10   [rāyz rēyzd rēyzd]

27. run // run run#d run#n//

        run ran run +en +I   [rʌn ræn rʌn]

    a. run ran (run)   +en +I   [rʌn ræn rʌn]

    b. run run (run)   +en +II -R9   [rʌn rʌn rʌn]

        // run run#d run#d//

    c. run runned (runned) +Reg   [rʌn rʌnd rʌnd]

28. see // sēγε sēγε#d sēγε#n//

        see saw seen +en +I | || -R1   [sīy sɔ̄ʌ sīyn]

    a. see saw (saw) +en +II   [sīy sɔ̄ʌ sɔ̄ʌ]

    b. see see (see) +en +II |-R9
                      || +R4   [sīy sīy sīy]

        // sēγε sēγε#d sēγε#d//

    c. see seed (seed) +Reg   [sīy sīyd sīyd]

29. shrink // šriNk šriNk#d šriNk#n//

        shrink shrank shrunk +en +III [šriŋk šræŋk šrʌŋk]

a. shrink shrank (shrunk)   +en +III   [šriŋk šræ ŋk šrʌŋk]

b. shrink shrunk (shrunk)   +en +II   [šriŋk šrʌŋk šrʌŋk]

    // šriNk šriNk#d šriNk#d//

c. shrink shrinked (shrinked) +Reg   [šriŋk šriŋkt šriŋkt]

30.   sit // sit sit#d sit#n//

    sit sat sat   +en +II ⎸-R9 +R10

                ⎹⎸+R4   [sit sæ t sæ t]

a. sit sat (sot)   +en +III ⎸ ⎹⎸+R4
                   +R10   [sit⸴sæ t sāt]

b. sit sit (sit) -en   [sit sit sit]

c. sit sot (sit) +en +I ⎹ ⎹⎸+R4   [sit sāt sit]

d. sit set (set) +en +II ⎸-R9
   double application of R10
   +R4 double application of R10 [sit set set]

    // set set#d set#n// lexical variant

e. set sat (sot) +en +III ⎸ ⎹⎸+R4
                 +R10   [set sæ t sāt]

f. set sit (sit) +en +II ⎸-R9
        +R39 ⎹⎸+R4 +R39   [set sit sit]

g. set sot (sot) +en +I ⎸ ⎹⎸+R4   [set sāt sāt]

h. set set (set) -en   [set set set]

31.   sweat // swet swet#d swet#d//

    sweat sweat sweat -en   [swet swet swet]

a. sweat sweat (sweat) -en   [swet swet swet]

b. sweat sweated (sweated) +Reg   [swet swetəd swetəd]

32.   swim   // swim swim#d swim#n//

           swim swam swum +en +III   [swim swæ m swʌm]

        a. swim swam (swum) +en +III   [swim swæ m swʌm]

        b. swim swum (swum) +en +II   [swim swʌm swʌm]

        c. swim swim (swim) +en +II ɪ-R9   [swim swim swim]

        d. swim swahm (swahm) +en +II ɪ+R11 [swim swā ʌm swā ʌm]

        e. swim swom (swim) +en +I   [swim swɔ ʌm swim]

           // swim swim#d swim#d//

        f. swim swimmed (swimmed) +Reg   [swim swimd swimd]

33.   take   // tǣ k tǣ k#d tǣ k#n//

           take took taken +en +I ɪ ɪɪ -R1 [tēyk tuk tēykən]

        a. take took (taken) +en +I ɪ ɪɪ-R1 [tēyk tuk tēykən]

        b. take tuck (taken) +en +I ɪ
           reorder R51 before R39 ɪɪ-R1   [tēyk tʌk tēykən]

        c. take take (take) +en +II ɪ-R9
                                  ɪɪ+R4   [tēyk tēyk tēyk]

        d. take (took) took +en +II ɪ+R10   [tēyk tuk tuk]

        e. take (tuck) tuck +en +II ɪ+R10
                 reorder R51 before R39
           ɪɪ reorder R51 before R39   [tēyk tʌk tʌk]

        f. take (took) taken +en +I ɪ ɪɪ-R1 [tēyk tuk tuk]

        g. take (take) take +en +II
                       ɪ-R9 ɪɪ+R4   [tēyk tēyk tēyk]

           // tǣ k tǣ k#d tǣ k#d//

        h. take taked (taked) +Reg   [tēyk tēykt tēykt]

        i. take (taked) taked +Reg   [tēyk tēykt tēykt]

// tǣ kn tǣ kn#d tǣ kn#d//   lexical variant

j. take takened (takened) +Reg   [tēyk tēykənd tēykənd]

k. take (takened) takened +Reg   [tēyk tēykənd tēykənd]

34.   teach // tēxɛ tēxɛ#d tēxɛ#d//

teach taught taught -en ı+R9   [tǐyč tɔ̄ʌt tɔ̄ʌt]

a. teach taught (taught) -en ı+R9   [tǐyč tɔ̄ʌt tɔ̄ʌt]

b. teach teached (teached) +Reg   [tǐyč tǐyčt tǐyčt]

35.   throw // θroɣ^W θroɣ^W#d θroɣ^W#n//

throw threw thrown +en +I   [θrōw θrūw θrōwn]

a. throw threw (threw) +en +II
                          ı ıı+R4   [θrōw θrūw θrūw]

// θroɣ^W θroɣ^W#d θroɣ^W#d//

b. throw throwed (throwed) +Reg   [θrōw θrōwd θrōwd]

36.   wake // wǣ k wǣ k#d wǣ k#n//

wake woke woke(n) +en +II ı ıı
                          (-R1)   [wēyk wōwk wēykən]

a. wake woke (woke) +en +II   [wēyk wōwk wōwk]

// wǣ k wǣ k#d wǣ k#d//

b. weyk waked (waked) +Reg   [wēyk wēykt wēykt]

// wǣ kn wǣ kn#d wǣ kn#d//   lexical variant

c. waken wakened (wakened) +Reg   [wēykən wēykənd wēykənd]

37.   write // wrīt wrīt#d wrīt#n//

write wrote written +en +I   [rāyt rōwt ritən]

a. write (wrote) written +en +I   [rāyt rōwt ritən]

b. write (wrote) wrote +en +II
                          ı +R10   [rāyt rōwt rōwt]

// wrīt wrīt#d wrīt#d//

CHAPTER IV

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

4.1 <u>Pleonastic</u> <u>forms</u>. Several kinds of problems arise
in the derivations of dialect forms. Two main problem groups
are treated in this chapter, pleonastic forms and invariable
paradigms. Several individual problem forms are also discussed.

Some forms appear to fit more than one classification.
Pleonastic forms retain the // #// before the dental suffix, a
characteristic of regular verbs, but they also show vowel
gradation, a characteristic of strong irregular verbs. Ten
such pleonastic forms appear in McDavid's data. They are
blewed, ketched, kitched, kotched, frozed, grewed, larned,
larnt, laid, and raised. Rule 1 does not apply to these forms,
so underlying // d// is retained as the tense marker. Rules
9, 10, and 11 or a combination of these do apply, therefore
vowel gradation takes place. Pleonastic forms may be con-
sidered +mixed, since they contain features common to both
regular and irregular verbs. Mixed, as earlier defined,
refers to elements of a paradigm. However, it may be extended
to refer to the features of those elements themselves.

In some cases, verbs that appear to be pleonastic may
originate from slightly different underlying forms. Thus,

[lēyd] is a pleonastic preterite of lie, from underlying
// leɣɛ// . However, [lēyd] is a regular preterite of lay,
from underlying // læɣ//. In fact, McDavid does report lay
as a variant present tense of lie. Therefore, the preterite
[lēyd] may be handled either as a pleonastic form or as a
regular form.

Other apparent pleonastics may also result from a
slightly different underlying form. The preterites [tēykənd],
[wēykənd], and the past participle [wēykənd] are historically
similar and may form a natural class. For these, it is
reasonable to posit an underlying form that includes n before
the word boundary. The underlying forms are: // tǣ kn// and
// wǣ kn//. The preterites and past participle are then
regular surface structures of a slightly variant underlying
form. Though they are not reported by McDavid, it is
reasonable to assume the existence of present tense waken
and taken.

4.2 Invariable paradigms. Several preterite and past
participle forms found in McDavid's study have the same
surface structure as the present form. These invariable
forms may be handled in one of several ways. One possible
way to handle the problem is to posit a fourth class of
strong verbs. Since the arrangement of forms in each of the
strong verb classes is what distinguishes one class from

another, it would be possible to set up a fourth class on that basis. Class IV would specify that both the preterite and the past participle have the same structure as the present form. However, this system is too similar to the conjugation of regular verbs to provide a distinctly different class. It is possible, then, that invariable forms should be classed as regular forms with the inflectional suffixes deleted. This would require the formulation of a new phonological rule to delete the suffix. However, the most likely classification is strong Class II. In this case, the only adjustment that need be made is to block the operation of Ablaut that, according to conjugation rules, occurs in Class II. Accordingly, these forms are marked +en +II in the lexicon. There are nineteen such forms reported by McDavid. They are preterites; begin, bring, climb, come, dive, drink, drive, eat, give, kneel, run, see, swim, take, and participles; climb, drink, drive, eat, and take.

4.3 <u>N-Preterites</u>. Another group of problem forms that McDavid reports are preterites that exhibit // n// as the past tense marker. There are nine such forms done, driven, eaten, gin (preterite of give), grown, seen, taken, thrown, and woken. Evidently there are conditions under which // n// may be used as the past tense marker. However, since complete paradigms are not available from individual dialect speakers, and since there is no correlate in standard usage to which

one may turn for comparison, it is difficult, if not impos-
sible, to determine just what conditions those are. Therefore,
the nine n-preterites have been excluded from the lexicon.

4.4 <u>Intransitive-transitive pairs</u>. McDavid reports
several individual problem forms that deserve discussion here.
Two intransitive verbs are reported with present tense
variants that are only transitive in standard speech. The
intransitive verb <u>sit</u> has as a present tense variant transi-
tive <u>set</u>. <u>Lie</u>, an intransitive verb, also has a transitive
present tense variant, <u>lay</u>. The context recorded in linguistic
atlas materials for the first pair is, "Sit down." <u>Set</u>, as
used here in the present tense, is probably not a surface
variant of the same underlying form from which <u>sit</u> is derived,
since an inordinate manipulation of the rules is required to
produce it. It appears, then, that informants who use <u>set</u>
in the above context recognize two distinct intransitive verbs
with the same semantic interpretation. There is <u>sit</u>, in-
transitive, and <u>set</u>, which may be either intransitive or
transitive.

Likewise, <u>lay</u>, though it may be derived from the same
underlying form as <u>lie</u>, is more probably a distinctly different
verb. It is recorded in the context, "I'm going to <u>lie</u> down."
<u>Lay</u>, like <u>set</u>, may be either intransitive or transitive. It
is unfortunate that no data is reported on transitive <u>lay</u> and
<u>set</u> from which linguists could ascertain whether or not these
have intransitive variants.

4.5 Gin. Gin, as a preterite variant of begin, presents a problem until one considers that begin is possibly an inchoative form. The verb become may be analyzed as inchoative "come to be." Likewise, begin may be analyzed as "gin to be." It is not unreasonable, then, to assume deletion of the prefix and treat preterite gin as one would treat preterite begin. Gin may therefore be considered a strong Class II form without Ablaut (-R9).

4.6 Tuck. Tuck, as either the preterite or past participle of take is a problem form. The rules as they are presently formulated will not produce it. However, one fairly simple adjustment may be made that solves the problem. Rule 51 (u-Laxing) may be reordered in this particular case to come before Rule 39 (Vowel Shift). The derivational path for tuck, then is the following:

TABLE V

COMPLETE DERIVATION OF TUCK

Lexical representation	// tǣ k#d//
R1 # Elision	/tǣ k+d/
R3 d Elision	/tǣ k+∅/
R9 Ablaut	/tɔk/
R10 Lowness Adjustment	/tōk/
R51 ū Laxing	/tok/
R40 Roundness Adjustment	/tʌk/
Final phonetic form	[tʌk]

4.7 <u>Fit</u>. <u>Fit</u>, as the preterite of fight, may be derived from either of two underlying lexical representations, // fext#d// or // fit#t// . The derivation is simpler from the latter, but // fext#d// is the form required to produce the other two preterite variants, <u>fought</u> and <u>fout</u>. Therefore, // fext#d// is the form given in the lexicon. Rule 32V, it should be noted, must be prevented from operating to produce <u>fit</u>.

4.8 <u>Additional phonological rules</u>. Several late phonological rules deserve special attention here. The first three, Rules 52, 53, and 54, are discussed by Griggs and Rulon, though not formalized in their summary of rules. Rule 52 (Chomsky and Halle 1968:401) specifies nasal assimilation. Thus, // N// becomes [ŋ] in <u>bring</u>. Rule 53 (Voiced Stop Elision) is designed to delete a voiced stop that occurs after non-coronal nasals and before a word boundary. Thus, the final // b// in <u>climb</u> is elided. Rule 54 (e-Raising) optionally raises a front mid vowel to a front high vowel before a nasal. Thus, // e// goes to [i] in <u>bring</u>.

Rule 55 (Homorganic Consonant Epenthesis) inserts an epenthetic [p] in [drempt], [drimpt], and [drimp]. It also inserts an extra [t] in such forms as [ment+t] and [pent+t], but this problem may be adequately resolved by reordering Rule 37 (Identical Consonant Elision) to follow Rule 55. The unwanted [t] would be thus deleted.

Rule 56 (Jones 1972:54) optionally simplifies a final consonant cluster. The form [drimp] is simplified from [drimpt] and must therefore be marked +R56.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.1 <u>Possible conjugations of a single verb</u>. It appears
from the evidence that Chomsky and Halle were correct in
observing that a variety of surface variants may be derived
from the same, or at least very similar, underlying lexical
forms. The rules used in the derivation may then be used to
systematically classify each surface form. With the processes
of derivation and classification in mind, it is then possible
to accurately describe the major characteristics of any
particular dialect. Tables VI and VII render a full deriva-
tion of the reported preterite and past participle variants
of <u>climb</u>. The rest of Section 5.1 demonstrates how those
variants may be classified in regular, strong, weak, and
mixed paradigms. On the basis of the derivation and classi-
fication of <u>climb</u> and other verbs reported by McDavid,
Sections 5.2 through 5.4 of this chapter describe the major
dialect characteristics, in regard to verb forms, of speakers
in the North Central States and Upper Midwest.

TABLE VI

COMPETING PRETERITE DERIVATIONS

	CLIMB				
Lexical	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//
R1		klīNb+d	klīNb+d	klīNb+d	klīNb+d
R3		klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅
R9		klūNb		klūNb	
R10				klɔ̄Nb	klǣNb
R24	-R24	kluNb	kliNb	-R24	klæNb
R36	klīyNb#d			klɔ̄wNb	
R39	klǣyNb#d	kloNb		klɔ̄wNb	
R40		klʌNb			
R41	klāyNb#d				
R52	klāymb#d	klʌmb	klimb	klɔ̄wmb	klæmb
R53	klāym∅#d	klʌm∅	klim∅	klɔ̄wm∅	klæm∅
Surface	[klāymd]	[klʌm]	[klim]	[klɔ̄wm]	[klæm]

TABLE VI--Continued

COMPETING PRETERITE DERIVATIONS

	CLIMB			
Lexical	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#d//
R1	klīNb+d	klīNb+d	klīNb+d	klīNb+d
R3	klīNb+ø	klīNb+ø	klīNb+ø	klīNb+ø
R9	klūNb	klūNb	klūNb	
R10	kl5Nb	kl5Nb	kl5Nb	
R24	klɔNb	kləNb	-R24	-R24
R31	-R31	kloNb		
R32		klʌNb		
R35		klāNb		
R36		klāwNb	kl5wNb	klīyNb
R38		klāuNb		
R39		klāoNb	klūwNb (Twice)	klǣyNb
R40	klaNb	kl5ʌNb		
R41				klāyNb
R42	klāNb			
R52	klāmb	kl5ʌmb	klūwmb	klāymb
R53	klāmø	kl5ʌmø	klūwmø	klāymø
Surface	[klām]	[kl5ʌm]	[klūwm]	[klāym]

TABLE VII

COMPETING PAST PARTICIPLE DERIVATIONS

	CLIMB				
Lexical	// klīNb#d//	// klīNb#n//	// klīNb#n//	// klīNb#n//	// klīNb#n//
R1		klīNb+n	klīNb+n	klīNb+n	klīNb+n
R4		klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅	klīNb+∅
R9		klūNb		klūNb	
R10				klōNb	klǣNb
R24	-R24	kluNb	kliNb	-R24	klæN b
R36	klĭyNb#d			klōwNb	
R39	klǣyNb#d	kloNb		klōwNb	
R40		kl∧Nb			
R41	klāyNb#d				
R52	klāymb#d	kl∧mb	klimb	klōwmb	klæmb
R53	klāym∅#d	kl∧m∅	klim∅	klōwm∅	klæ m∅
Surface	[klāymd]	[kl∧m]	[klim]	[klōwm]	[klæm]

TABLE VII--Continued

COMPETING PAST PARTICIPLE DERIVATIONS

	CLIMB			
Lexical	// klĩNb#n	klĩNb#n	klĩNb#n	klĩNb#n//
R1	klĩNb+n	klĩNb+n	klĩNb+n	klĩNb+n
R4	klĩNb+∅	klĩNb+∅	klĩNb+∅	klĩNb+∅
R9	klũNb	klũNb	klũNb	
R10	kl5̄Nb	kl5̄Nb	kl5̄Nb	
R24	klɔNb	klɔNb	-R24	-R24
R31	-R31	kloNb		
R32		klʌ̃Nb		
R35		klāNb		
R36		klāwNb	kl5̄wNb	klĩyNb
R38		klāuNb		
R39		klāoNb	klũwNb (twice)	klæ̃yNb
R40	klaNb	kl5̄ʌNb		
R41				klāyNb
R42	klāNb			
R52	klāmb	kl5̄ʌmb	klũwmb	klāymb
R53	klām∅	kl5̄ʌm∅	klũwm∅	klāym∅
Surface	[klām	kl5̄ʌm	klũwm	klāym]

All of the verbs surface with more than one possible con-
jugation. The following chart demonstrates how the variants
reported for a single verb (climb) are classified. Though
McDavid does not report weak variants for this verb, strong
and regular variants are given. Mixed conjugations are likely
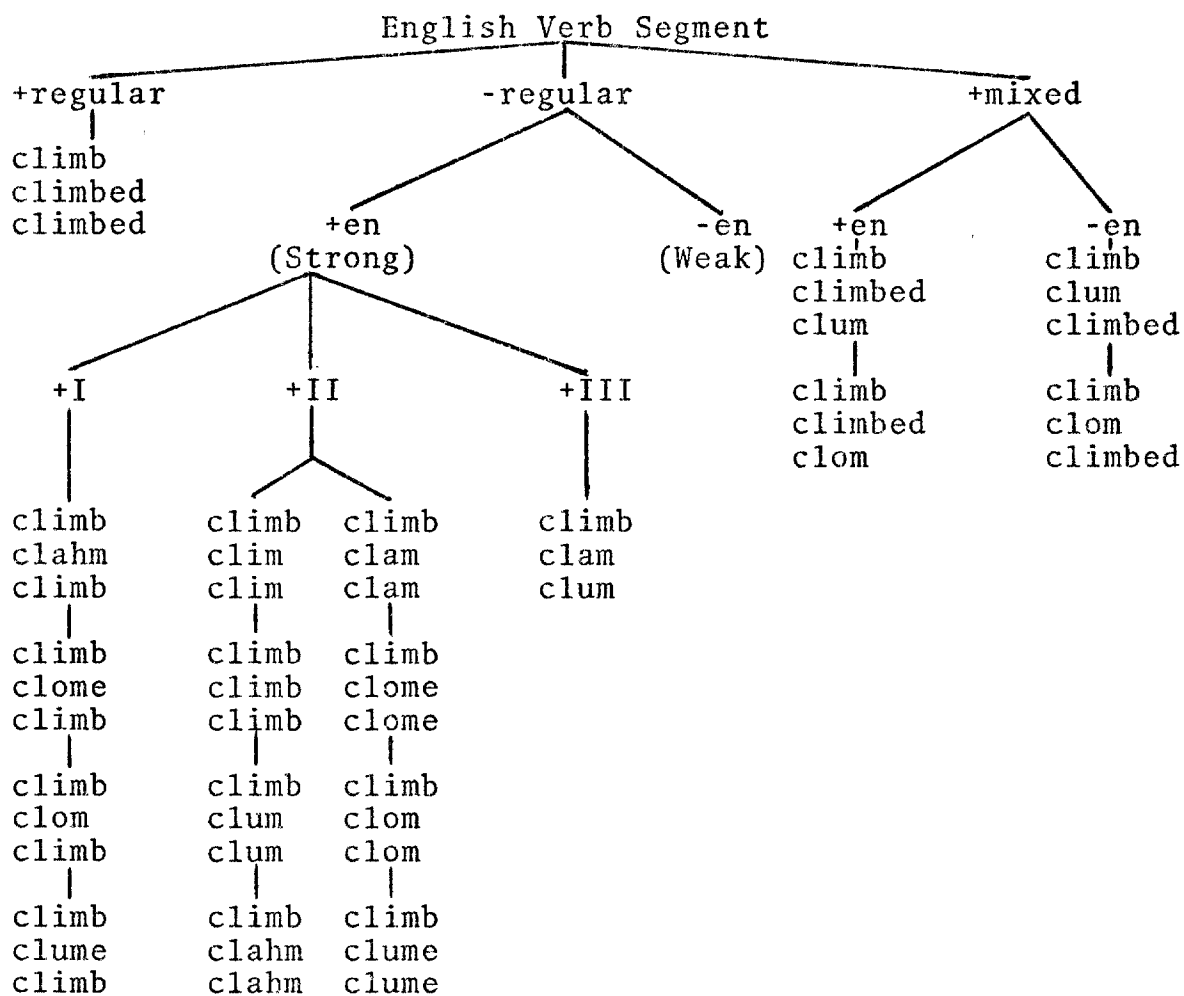to occur and are shown here.

```
                        English Verb Segment
                                 |
 +regular                    -regular                      +mixed
    |
 climb
 climbed
 climbed            +en                -en        +en            -en
                 (Strong)            (Weak)     climb          climb
                                                climbed         clum
                                                clum            climbed
   +I            +II            +III             |               |
    |             |              |             climb           climb
    |            / \             |             climbed         clom
 climb        climb  climb     climb           clom            climbed
 clahm        clim   clam      clam
 climb        clim   clam      clum
    |           |      |
 climb        climb  climb
 clome        climb  clome
 climb        climb  clome
    |           |      |
 climb        climb  climb
 clom         clum   clom
 climb        clum   clom
    |           |      |
 climb        climb  climb
 clume        clahm  clume
 climb        clahm  clume
```

Fig. 5--Classification of variants of climb

5.2 Classes of dialect verbs. Before the data is interpreted, it would first be useful to summarize the material presented in the lexicon. The list of standard irregular verbs in Chapter III may be here expanded by the addition of dialect forms. The standard forms are not repeated here.

Since many of the dialect forms are not regular in standard usage, a list of regular forms is included in addition to the irregular verb listings. Almost all of the verbs appear in more than one class. The classifications are recorded, as in the earlier list, with alternate classifications in parentheses. They are: W for an alternate weak classification, M for mixed, and Roman numeral I, II, or III for a strong alternate conjugation. When a verb has an alternate regular conjugation, the whole word is enclosed in parentheses. As before, all of the mixed verbs have alternate regular conjugations so the whole list is enclosed in parentheses:

Weak verbs.--bite (II), bring (II) (III), catch (M)), (dive (I) (II)), do,(dream), eat (I) (II) (III), fight (II), (fit), (hear (M)), (kneel (II)), (learn (M)), ride (I) (II), (rise (I) (M)), sit (I) (II) (III), (sweat), (teach), write (I) (II)

Strong verbs, class I.--(climb (II) (III), come (II), (dive (II) (W)), (drive (II)), eat (II) (III) (W), (freeze (M)), (give (III)), (grow (II) (M), ride (II) (W), (rise (W)

(M)),(run (II)), sit (II) (III) (W), (swim (II) (III)),
(take (II)), write (II) (W)

Strong verbs, class II.--begin (III), bite (W), (blow
(M)), bring (III) (W), (climb (I) (III)), come (I), (dive (I)
(W)), (draw), (drink (III)), (drive (I)), eat (I) (III) (W),
(fetch), fight (W), (give (I)), (grow (I)(M)), (kneel (W)),
(lie (M)), ride (I) (W), (run (I)), (see), (shrink (III)),
sit (I) (III) (W), (swim (I) (III)), (take (I)), (throw),
(wake), write (I) (W)

Strong verbs, class III.--begin (II), bring (II) (W)
(climb (I) (II)), (drink (II)), eat (I) (II) (W), (shrink
(II)), sit (I) (II) (W), (swim (I) (II))

Mixed verbs.--(blow (II), catch (W), freeze (I),
grow (I) (II), hear (W), learn (W), lie (II), rise (I) (W))

Regular verbs.--blow (II) (M), catch (M) (W), climb (I)
(II) (III), dive (I) (II) (W), draw (II), dream (W),
drink (II) (III), drive (I) (II), fetch (II), fit (W),
freeze (I) (M), give (I) (II) grow (I) (II) (M), hear (M) (W),
kneel (II) (W), learn (M) (W), lie (II) (M), rise (I) (M)
(W), run (I) (II), see (II), shrink (II) (III), sweat (W),
swim (I) (II) (III), take (I) (II), teach (W), throw (II),
wake (II)

5.3 Characterization of dialect. There are thirty-seven verbs reported by Virginia McDavid that are analyzed in this study. Since all of the verbs have more than one classification, the total of all the verbs in all the classes will, of course, be higher than thirty-seven. Twenty-seven verbs may surface with regular paradigms. Seventeen verbs have weak classifications. Fifteen may have strong Class I paradigms. Twenty-seven are strong Class II. Eight have strong Class III paradigms. The preponderence of regular and Class II verbs seems to indicate that speakers in the North Central States and in the Upper Midwest tend to regularize verb paradigms. A look at the number of different paradigms recorded for a single verb in each classification will modify this observation somewhat.

One important fact not recorded in the previous listing is the number of different paradigms for each verb in a certain class. As is evident in the lexicon, it is possible for a single verb to have more than one paradigm in a single classification. For instance, bring may surface as either bring brang brang or bring brung brung, both strong Class II paradigms. The following chart displays the total number of paradigms for each verb in each classification.

TABLE VIII

PARADIGM CLASSIFICATION

	Reg.	Weak	+en+I	+en+II	+en+III	Mxd.	Total
1. begin	.	.	.	3	1	.	4
2. bite	.	1	.	1	.	.	2
3. blow	1	.	.	1	.	1	3
4. bring	.	1	.	2	1	.	4
5. catch	1	1	.	.	.	3	5
6. climb	1	.	4	8	1	.	14
7. come	.	.	1	1	.	.	2
8. dive	1	1	1	3	.	.	6
9. do	.	1	1	.	.	.	2
10. draw	1	.	.	1	.	.	2
11. dream	1	3	.	.	.	.	4
12. drink	1	.	.	3	1	.	5
13. drive	1	.	1	4	.	.	6
14. eat	.	1	1	2	1	.	5
15. fetch	1	.	.	1	.	.	2
16. fight	.	1	.	2	.	.	3
17. fit	1	1	.	.	.	.	2
18. freeze	1	.	1	.	.	1	3
19. give	1	.	1	1	.	.	3
20. grow	1	.	1	1	.	1	4
21. hear	1	1	.	.	.	1	3

TABLE VIII--Continued

PARADIGM CLASSIFICATION

	Reg.	Weak	+en+I	+en+II	+en+III	Mxd.	Total
22. kneel	1	3	.	1	.	.	5
23. learn	1	1	.	.	.	2	4
24. lie	1	.	.	2	.	1	4
25. ride	.	1	1	1	.	.	3
26. rise	1	1	1	-	-	1	4
27. run	1	.	1	1	.	.	3
28. see	1	.	.	2	.	.	3
29. shrink	1	.	.	1	1	.	3
30. sit	.	2	2	2	2	.	8
31. sweat	1	1	.	.	.	.	2
32. swim	1	.	1	3	1	.	6
33. take	2	.	2	3	.	.	7
34. teach	1	1	.	.	.	.	2
35. throw	1	.	.	1	.	.	2
36. wake	2	.	.	1	.	.	3
37. write	.	1	1	1	.	.	3
Total	29	23	21	53	9	11	146

Strong Class II paradigms are by far the most numerous
in the data reported by McDavid. This is an observation that
can not be made from looking at only the number of verbs in
each class. The number of different paradigms in each class
is a more accurate indicator of the preference of speakers
for certain conjugations. Speakers in the North Central
States and the Upper Midwest evidently have a decided pref-
erence for strong Class II paradigms. The earlier assertion
that these speakers prefer regularized verb paradigms, then,
must be modified to say that they prefer leveled preterite-
past participle combinations.

The accuracy of this material is largely dependent on
the conjugation rules. Though formulated to describe standard
English verbs, they work nicely with dialect forms. It is
likely that the accuracy of these findings would be corroborated
if complete dialect paradigms from individual speakers were
available from linguistic atlas materials. It is to be hoped
that the gathering of such data would be the goal of future
dialect fieldwork. Without such corroborating evidence,
however, it is nonetheless possible on the basis of this study
to make two general assertions. First, the evidence has shown
that dialect verb paradigms are systematic and predictable.
Second, on the basis of that predictability, it may be said
for the data reported that speakers in the North Central States
and the Upper Midwest tend to produce verb paradigms with
leveled preterite-past participle combinations.

APPENDIX

The rules that follow are divided into readjustment and phonological rules. Rules 1 through 51 are found in Griggs and Rulon (forthcoming) and follow the original enumeration. Rules 52 through 54, discussed by Griggs and Rulon, are formalized here. Rule 55 is that of the present author. Rule 56 is drawn from the study by Jones. Rules first formulated by Chomsky and Halle are marked with the original rule number in parentheses and with an asterisk, if revised.

Readjustment Rules.

R 1. /#/ Elision

$$\# \dashrightarrow \phi \ / \ \left\{ \begin{array}{ccc} [+R\ 1] & \underline{\quad\quad} & [+seg] \\ [+seg] & \underline{\quad\quad} & [+R\ 1] \end{array} \right\}$$

R 2. /ε/ Elision

$$\varepsilon \dashrightarrow \phi \ / \ \underline{\quad} +$$

R 3. /d/ Elision

$$d \dashrightarrow \phi \ / \ [+R\ 3] + \underline{\quad}\#$$

R 4. /n/ Elision

$$n \dashrightarrow \phi \ / \ +\underline{\quad}\# \ / \ \left\{ \begin{array}{cc} [+cons]\ \ [+cons]\ \underline{\quad} \\ [+nasal]\ \underline{\quad} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ +tense \\ +R\ 9 \end{array}\right] \quad [-sonor]\ \underline{\quad} \\ [+R\ 4]\ \underline{\quad} \end{array} \right\}$$

R 5. Word Boundary Elision

$$\#2 \dashrightarrow \phi \ / \ [+R\ 5] \ (+ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} d \\ z \end{array} \right\} \ )\underline{\quad} \ \underline{to}$$

R 6. /g/ <u>Elision</u>

$$g \dashrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \\ (\text{-high}) \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} m\#$$

R 7. <u>Velar Elision</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-sonor} \\ \text{-ant} \\ \text{-cont} \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} +d\#$$

R 8. [ε] <u>Insertion</u>

$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow \varepsilon \ / \ + \left\{ \begin{matrix} d \\ z \end{matrix} \right\} \underline{\quad} \# \ / \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \ (d) \underline{\quad} \\ \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +tense \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +cons \\ -ant \\ +voice \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} \left(\begin{bmatrix} +ant \\ +sonor \end{bmatrix} \right) \left(\begin{bmatrix} +ant \\ -sonor \\ +cont \\ +voice \end{bmatrix} \right) \underline{\quad} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

R 9. (CH 1) <u>Ablaut</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha back \\ +R\ 9 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\alpha back \\ -\alpha round \end{bmatrix}$$

R 10. <u>Lowness</u> <u>Adjustment</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha\, low \\ +R\ 10 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\alpha low \\ -high \end{bmatrix}$$

R 11. <u>Tenseness</u> <u>Adjustment</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha tense \\ +R\ 11 \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [-\alpha\ tense]$$

R 12. (*CH 7) <u>Rule</u> <u>Exemption</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -low \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -R\ 35 \\ -R\ 38 \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\quad} 1 \\ \\ \underline{\quad} \gamma^w \end{array} \right\}$$

R 13. <u>Spirant</u> <u>Stopping</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} -sonor \\ -strid \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [-cont] \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [+nasal] \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ +voice \end{bmatrix} \# \\ \\ \begin{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \\ -cor \\ -voice \end{bmatrix} \# \end{array} \right\}$$

R 14. <u>Nasal</u> <u>Elision</u>

$$[+nasal] \dashrightarrow \emptyset \Big/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -sonor \\ +cont \\ -strid \end{bmatrix} + [-sonor] \\ \\ ki\underline{\quad}+d\varepsilon \end{array} \right\}$$

R 15. <u>Gamma Elision</u>

$$\gamma^{(w)} \dashrightarrow \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \varepsilon \#$$

R 16. '<u>won't</u>'

$$\dot{\dot{\imath}} \dashrightarrow [-\text{high}] \quad / \text{ w}\underline{\quad}\text{l+nt}$$

R 17. '<u>oo</u>' <u>Rule Exemption</u>

$$\bar{o} \dashrightarrow [-\text{R 36}] \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} k \\ t \\ p \\ d \end{Bmatrix} \#$$

R 18. <u>Final Cluster Devoicing</u>

$$[-\text{sonor}] \dashrightarrow [-\text{voice}] \quad / \quad [+\text{cons}] + \underline{\quad}\#$$

R 19. (Linkage) <u>Contiguous Obstruent Voice Assimilation</u>

$$[-\text{sonor}] \dashrightarrow [\alpha\text{voice}] \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ \alpha\text{voice} \end{bmatrix}$$

R 20. (*CH 12) |w| <u>Insertion</u>

$$\emptyset \dashrightarrow w \quad / \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \text{æ}\underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} rC \\ \left(\begin{Bmatrix} r \\ lm \\ ll \end{Bmatrix} \right) \# \end{Bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{round} \\ \alpha\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} V \end{Bmatrix}$$

Blocked if α and β are both +.

R 21. (CH 11) |u| Insertion

R 22. Velar Palatalization

$$x \ \text{--->} \ \check{c} \ / \ \underline{\quad} \ \epsilon \ \#$$

R 23. r Metathesis

$$\underline{X} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{voc} \\ -\text{ant} \\ +\text{R 23} \end{bmatrix} \quad V \quad \underline{Y}$$

1	2	3	4	--->
1	2	3	4	

R 24. III (CH 20 III) Cluster Laxing

R.25. Voiced Spirant Elision

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{cont} \\ +\text{voice} \\ \propto \text{R 25} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} [-\text{strid}] \\ [-\text{cor}] \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \ \text{--->} \ \phi \ / \ \underline{\quad} + \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{ant} \\ \beta\,\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

When β is +, the rule is blocked unless $\propto$ is also +. When β is -, the rule operates regardless of the value of $\propto$.

R 26. **Chi Labialization**

$$X^W \dashrightarrow \quad f \quad \text{in specific contexts}$$

R 27. (*CH 22) |g| **spirantization**

$$g \dashrightarrow [+cont] / \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +sonor \\ +cons \end{bmatrix} \#$$

R 28. **Gamma Shift** I

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [-\alpha\, low] / \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +cont \\ -ant \\ -cor \\ +voice \\ \alpha\, round \end{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ [+cons] \end{matrix} \right\}$$

R 29. **Gamma Shift** II

$$e \dashrightarrow \wedge / \underline{\quad\quad} \gamma^W \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ [+cons] \end{matrix} \right\}$$

R 30. **Gamma Shift** III

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -low \\ -round \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} \text{-----} [+high] / \underline{\quad\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -sonor \\ +cont \\ -strid \\ +high \end{bmatrix}$$

R 31. |o| - |ɔ| <u>Adjustment</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \\ +back \\ +round \\ -tense \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} [-low] \\ \\ [+low] \end{Bmatrix}$$

In specifiable contexts

R 32. II. (*CH 23 11) <u>Tensing</u>

$$\text{ɔ} \longrightarrow [+tense] / \underline{\quad} \quad C \quad [-cons] \quad \#$$

R 32 III. (CH 23 III)

$$\text{u} \longrightarrow \bar{\text{ɨ}} \; ; \begin{Bmatrix} o \\ \\ ʌ \end{Bmatrix} \longrightarrow \bar{ʌ} \quad \text{as specified in } \underline{SPE}$$

R 32 IV. (CH 23 IV)

$$V \longrightarrow [+tense] / \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{\quad}^{\#} \\ etc., \text{ as specified in } \underline{SPE} \end{Bmatrix}$$

R 32 V. (*CH 23V)

$$V \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +tense \\ -round \end{bmatrix} / \; \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} -sonor \\ +cont \\ -ant \\ -cor \end{bmatrix}$$

R 33. |l| <u>Elision</u>

$$\text{l} \longrightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad \text{in specifiable contexts}$$

R 34.   (CH 29) |y| <u>Insertion</u>

R 35.   (CH 30)   <u>Wedge Lowering</u>

R 36.   (CH 31)   <u>Diphthongization</u>

R 37.   (CH 28)   <u>Identical Consonant Elision</u>

R 38.   (CH 32)   <u>Glide Vocalization</u>

R 39.   (CH 33)   <u>Vowel Shift</u>

R 40.   (CH 34)   <u>Roundness Adjustment</u>

R 41.   (CH 35)   <u>Backness Adjustment</u>

R 42.   (*CH 36) |a| <u>Tensing</u>

$$\begin{bmatrix} a \\ +stress \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \quad [+tense]$$

R 43.   (*CH 38)   <u>Glide Elision</u>

(This rule must be modified to effect w --> ϕ / |#__r|.)

R 44.   (CH 40)   <u>Velar Spirant Conversion</u>

$$\gamma^{(w)} \longrightarrow \phi \quad ; \quad x^{(w)} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} h \\ \phi \end{Bmatrix} \quad \text{in specifiable contexts}$$

R 45.   (CH 41) |ε| <u>Elision</u>

$$\varepsilon \longrightarrow \phi$$

R 46. |ə| Insertion: Inflectional

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \text{ə} \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{cor} \\ \prec \text{strid} \\ \beta\text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \ \# \underline{\hspace{2em}} \ \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonor} \\ +\text{cor} \\ +\text{ant} \\ \prec \text{strid} \\ \prec \text{cont} \end{bmatrix} \ \#$$

If ∝ is -, then β must also be -.

R 47. Suffix Voice Assimilation

[-sonor] ---> [∝ voice] / [∝ voice] # ____ #

R 48. (*CH 42) |ə| Insertion: Syllabic Resonant

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \text{ə} \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} [-\text{voc}] \\ [+\text{ant}] \end{array} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \ (\#) \ \underline{\hspace{2em}} \ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{sonor} \end{bmatrix} \ (\text{t}) \ \#$$

R 49. (CH 43) Vowel Reduction

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{stress} \\ -\text{tense} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{ə}$$

R 50. |r| Coloring

$$[-\text{cons}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \ / \ \underline{\hspace{1em}} \text{r} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \# \ [+\text{cons}] \\ \#2 \end{array} \right\}$$

R 51. |u| Laxing

$$V \longrightarrow [\text{-tense}] / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} [\text{+cons}]$$

R 52. Nasal Assimilation

$$[\text{+nasal}] \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \prec \text{ ant} \\ \beta \text{ cor} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} \prec \text{ ant} \\ \beta \text{ cor} \\ C \end{bmatrix}$$

R 53. Voiced Stop Elision

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-son} \\ \text{-cont} \\ \text{-cor} \\ \prec \text{ant} \\ \text{+voice} \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow \phi \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+nasal} \\ \prec \text{ant} \\ \text{-cor} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{0.5cm}} \#$$

R 54. e-Raising

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-back} \\ \text{-tense} \\ V \end{bmatrix} \dashrightarrow [\text{+high}] \Big/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} N$$

R 55. Homorganic Consonant Epenthesis

$$\phi \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-son} \\ \text{-cont} \\ \text{-voice} \\ \prec \text{ cor} \\ \beta \text{ ant} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+nasal} \\ \prec \text{ cor} \\ \beta \text{ ant} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-son} \\ \text{-voice} \end{bmatrix}$$

R 56.   (J 20) <u>Final</u> <u>Cluster</u> <u>Simplification</u>

[-son] ----   ∅ / [+cons]   (#) ____ #2 [+cons]

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