# A STUDY OF THE LOW-BACK VOWELS AND OF CERTAIN DIPHTHONGS IN THE SPEECH OF SELECTED GROUPS IN DENTON, TEXAS 

## THESIS

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1. Chart of the tongue positions of the vowels studied. 3

## CHAPTER I

## THE PURPOSE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

American dialect studies have progressed rapidly within the last thirty years, but the progress seems to be concentrated within the Southern and New England areas of the United States. Though there have been studies made in other areas, they are sporadic, no work of any significance having yet been published. ${ }^{I}$ Texas, unfortunately, is one area of rich dialectal significance which has been neglected, with the exception of Oma Stanley's work on the dialect in East Texas. ${ }^{2}$ Even though that work is somewhat dated in many respects, ${ }^{3}$ few scholars have seen fit to undertake a revision of Stanley's work or a study of other areas of Texas which would be comparable to The Speech of East Texas. Several master's theses add to the small number of studies concerned with Texas dialects, notably Roy Elders' study of the

IThe Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada is in preparation, however.

20ma Stanley, The Speech of East Texas (New York, 1937).
3E. S. Clifton, "Some [u_7- Ku $]$ Variations in Texas," American Speech, XXXIV (October, 1959), 190-193, found the use of $[u /-[J u]$ in the tune, duke, news type of words to be evenly divided, whereas Stanley, p. 25, found scarcely a trace of the monophthongization of $\angle / \mu \bar{\prime}$ in the same words.
stressed back vowels in the speech of Parker County, ${ }^{4}$ but such studies are also too few. The present investigation was undertaken for the purpose of adding to that collection of Texas dialect studies an examination of the low-back vowels in stressed syllables, of certain diphthongs in stressed syllables, and of the change in frequency of usage of those vowels and diphthongs, occurring within recent generations in Denton, Texas.

This study concerns itself specifically with the pronunciation in atressed syllables of the low-back vowels $[a],[0],[0]$, and of the diphthongs $[\bar{a} I],[J u]$, and [av]. Key words for the pronunciation of those sounds are, respectively, ah or father; doll, as it is pronounced by some people, 5 a sound between the a of father and the a of jaw; jaw or law; bright, night, fine, time; the sound of you as it occurs in such words as new, tune, duke; and house or cow. The chart in Figure 1 will show the relative tongue positions for the pronunciation of the vowels which are being studied.
${ }^{4}$ Roy Elders, "A Study of the Stressed Back Vowels in the Speech of Parker County, Texas," unpublished master's thesis, Department of English, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, 1949.

5stuart Robertson, The Development of Modern English, second edition revised by Frederic G. Cassidy (New Jersey, 1954), p. 74.


Fig. 1.--Chart of the tongue positions of the vowels studied.

Since the study is limited to those selected sounds, it was not considered necessary to record test responses in narrow transcription. A worksheet was assembled which allowed several choices of vowel sounds for each test response; the response was recorded in broad transcription and no cognizance was taken of word connections.

Three families in each of two groups, a total of six families, provided informants for the test (See Appendix for detailed information about each of the informants).

[^0]Each family consisted of two adults and two to six children. The Denton group of three families, referred to in succeeding pages as Group II, consisted of families who have lived in Denton or in the surrounding area for most of their lives; Group II was to represent the colloquial standard speakers of the area. It composed a total of six adults and eight children. The second group of families, referred to as Group I, consisted of three families who had lived in or near Minneapolis, Minnesota, for most of their lives prior to living in Denton, to which they had but recently moved; Group I, a total of six adults and six children, was to represent the speakers of a dialect intrusive upon the local dialect. The purpose of the counter-testing was to discern whether an intrusive dialect could be noticeably changed by the environmental dialect. 7

It was assumed that the children of each dialect group would be most subject to change since they mingled socially
 school five times each week, at play after school and during the summer months, and at other activities which should prompt some degree of mingling of their speech habits.

Since many correlations are necessary, then, the two major groups are further divided: Group I Parents, a total

7Leonard Bloomfield, "Dialect Borrowing," Language (New York, 1933), pp. 476-495, provides an excelient treatment of the adoption of speech habits by intrusive groups and by the groups who receive the intrusion.
of six from thirty-eight to forty-eight years of age; Group I Children, a total of six from seven to eighteen years of age; Group II Parents, a total of six from thirty-seven to fortyfive years of age; Group II Children, a total of eight from six to nineteen years of age; Groups I-II Parents, a total of twelve; Groups I-II Children, a total of fourteen; and finally, Groups I-II Aggregate, a total of twenty-six. The pronunciation preferences of each division will be discussed in the study, and each preference will be shown as a numerical total and percentage of its particular division. For example, in discussion of the word closet, it will be seen that sixteen of the twenty-six informants chose $[0]$ as the vowel; five chose [a]; and five chose $[b]$. The tabulation will be rendered as follows:

## TABLE I

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CLOSET

| Group | [a] | [0] | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 5 (19\%) | 5 (19\%) | 16 (62\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 2 (17\%) | 7 (58\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 ( $100 \%$ ) |
| I-II Children | 2 (14\%) | 3 (21\%) | 9 (64\%) |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| II Children | 1 (12\%) |  | 7 (88\%) |

A majority of Group I parents preferred [a], and Group II parents preferred [ 5$]$ unanimously; however, a majority of Group I children preferred to round $[a]$ to $[0]$ and even
[J], while a minority of Group II children, opposed to the $[0]$ of their parents, preferred [a]. Elders found that 43 per cent of his informants preferred [0], ${ }^{8}$ but Group II speakers chose [0] almost unanimously, 93 per cent.

The study was limited, of course, by the decision to include the younger children as informants. Words which ordinarily would be included in any study of dialect were excluded from the test for the reason that some of the younger informants would not be familiar with such words. It was necessary, then, to select common words, most of them monosyllabic, which could be assumed to be a part of the vocabulary of a six-year-old.

The words chosen, ninety in all, are taken primarily from lists in Oma Stanley's Speech of East Texas and Roy Elders' Study of the Stressed Back Vowels in Parker County, Texas. The words are arranged in groups according to pronunciation indicated in Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition, as a convenient grouping method. The choice of reference is in no way intended to endorse that pronunciation as "correct." However, the method is intended to be generally consistent with Elders' grouping method, taken from the same source, in order that more coherent comparisons may be made between conclusions in this thesis and in Elders' thesis. The vowels will be discussed not in their
$8_{\text {Elders, }} 18$.
total environment but according to the sounds which immediately follow the vowel sound, as stops, fricatives, nasals, and 1 or $\underline{r}$. The diphthongs [av] and $[j u]$ will be discussed according to the sounds which precede them, as fricatives, stops, nasals, and 1 or $\underline{E}$. The diphthong [a]7 will be discussed as it occurs before voiced sounds and before voiceless sounds.

The questions which were each designed to elicit a particular word as a response were presented to the isolated informant, who was allowed to assume that vocabulary and not pronunciation was being tested. The questions were presented verbally, and the informant responded verbally; the response was immediately recorded manually on the worksheet. The method was quite successful. In a few instances, noted in the Appendix, informants were affected and cautious even though they had been told that familiar, conversational prom nunciation was desired. In the event that an informant seemed to be affecting the pronunciation of a word, he was tested sporadically for that word throughout the test in order to determine his true pronunciation of that word.

Since the city of Denton is experiencing rapid social and commercial expansion, its economy improving, and its ties with the cosmopolitan areas of Dallas and Fort Worth becoming more secure, there is sufficient influence to induce some affected speech. At the very least, people are more aware of dialect differences, and their speech tends to accommodate
itself to preferred social levels. For this reason, this study of speech in the city of Denton cannot be taken as truly representative of the speech of Denton County. A short history ${ }^{9}$ of Denton and the surrounding county will serve to illustrate that several varieties of speech habits are to be expected.

The history of the Denton township actually begins with the date of its establishment as the county seat in 1857, but the history of the county began as early as 1846. Prior to 1836 the area was a part of Red River County under Mexican government, but on October 3, 1836, it became a part of the Republic of Texas and the frontier of Fannin County, as it remained until 1846.

On January 4, 1841, the Fifth Congress authorized land grants of 640 acres to married settlers and 320 acres to unmarried settlers. The W. S. Peters Land Company was issued a contract to colonize much of North Texas, and immigrants were attracted by Peters Company agents in Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, and at all the ferry crossings on the Red River. The immigrants who arrived by way of Preston Road, the north-south national highway from Red River to Waco, saw from the Collin County Ridge a land of fine soils of various types, suitable for a varied agriculture.

[^1]The first settlements were Bridges Settlement, started in $1843-44^{10}$ by a group of settlers from Texas and Kentucky who settled in the southeast corner of the county; Holford Prairie Settlement, started in 1844 by settlers from Bonham, Texas, and Platt County, Missouri, who settled near the presont site of Lewisville; Teel Settlement, 1850, started between Little Elm and Frisco and populated by Tennesseeans; the Hawkins Settlement, 1853, started by Kentuckians near the east county line. Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the Carolinas were also represented, according to Bates.

Eventually, in 1846 , the area had enough voters to organize a county, and it was so organized and named after Captain John B. Denton, ranger, preacher, and lawyer who was killed in a Tarrant County Indian fight. County seat sites were changed three times, the voters finally electing the site which is now Denton. The city grew around the county seat, and after the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the unrest which followed, Denton settled down to the peaceful rhythm of an agricultural community.

The climate was favorable for agriculture, and farming and stock-raising flourished. Farming was carried on in the
${ }^{10}$ University of Texas Bureau of Business Research, An Economic Survey of Denton County (Austin, 1949), p. 103, dates Bridges Settlement as 1848, but it also indicates that a settlement, unnamed, began in the southeast corner of the county in 1843.
central and southern sandy land, and cattle were raised on the upper plains.

Railroad transportation came to Denton in 1880-1881, and it became possible for the settlers to produce items for a profitable export. Those items were solely agricultural in origin: dairy products, hides, and farm products.

Denton rewained primarily an agricultural community for many years, but statistics concerning the growth of population and industry during selected years ${ }^{11}$ will serve to show graphically Denton's recent expansion:

TABLE II
Manufacturing in denton county 1939, 1947, and 1954

| Criteria |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Number of establish- | 1939 | 1947 | 1954 |
| ments | 18 | 29 | 33 |
| Number of wage earners | 181 | 603 | 995 |
| Wages paid | $\$ 146,079$ | $\$ 1,021,000$ | $\$ 2,947,000$ |
| Value added by | $\$ 668,218$ | $\$ 4,683,000$ | $\$ 6,634,000$ |

As a satellite of the Dallas-Fort Worth industrial area, Denton has received attention as a possible location for many of the "footloose" manufacturers who need no specific area in which to establish their industries. As a by-product of the
$11_{\text {The University }}$ of Texas Bureau of Business Research, An Economic Survey of Denton County, Texas (Texas, 1957), p. 44 .
industrial interests in this area, rural population has decreased, and city population has increased:

TABLE III
POPULATION CHANGE 1940-1950
DENTON RURAL AND DENTON CITY AREAS


As a result of the Dallas-Fort Worth industrial expansion, representatives of other dialect areas have settled in this area, as, for example, have the families from Minnesota who took part in the testing for this study. Most of them have been given special training for their occupation, unlike many of the natives, who are in transition from agricultural to industrial occupations. Karl Dyzema asserts, in an article in American Speech, that more technical occupations should change the language more rapidly, going on to say that "the impact of a different dialectal environment is bound to have some influence on the speech habits of those who are moving from one class to another. ${ }^{12}$ The intrusive dialects, generally, are spoken in higher social strata than the native dia. lects. It may be of some interest to note here that Denton
${ }^{12}$ Karl W. Dykema, "How Fast is Standard English Changing?" American Speech, XXXI (May, 1956), 93.
supports two universities: North Texas State University and Texas Woman's University, both of which are major academic centers. If Bloomfield's theory is applied, Denton may be said to act as a provincial speech center secondary to Dallas and Fort Worth, but, as the county seat, academic center, and industrial center of the county, its speech occupies a higher social plane than the speech of its outlying districts. ${ }^{13}$ The purpose of the discussion of the history of Denton is to illustrate that Denton speech, itself a transition from provincial to cosmopolitan speech, is not truly representative of the general speech of Denton County. It also serves to illustrate one other point: the native dialect composing a majority of the dialectal environment probably exerts a powerful influence upon the intrusive dialect which tends to assimilate the preferred social usages in its environment.

[^2]
## CHAPTER II

THE VOWEL SOUND [a]

The sound $[a]$, generally heard in such words as ah and father, is a low back lax unround ${ }^{1}$ vowel. It is made with the jaws open and the tongue low in the mouth, almost flat but with the back of the tongue slightly raised. The flat position of the tongue also characterizes $[\mathscr{C}]$ and is responsible for allophones of $[a]$ as is the raising of the back of the tongue. Elders notes that the sound $[a]$ is often raised to $[0]$ or $[0]$ before $\underline{r} .^{2}$

Before Fricatives
Of this group of words, closet and office were generally pronounced with $[0]$ as the vowel; garage, hospital, wash, and wasp were pronounced with $[a]$ as the vowel.

The word closet has been discussed as an example in Chapter I, but it is offered again for the sake of continuity.

[^3]Sixteen of the twenty-six informants chose [J] as the vowel; five chose $[a]$; and five chose $[0]: 3$

## TABLE IV

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CLOSET

| Group | $[a]$ | $[10]$ | [0] $]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 5 (19\%) | 5 (19\%) | 16 (62\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 2 (17\%) | 7 (58\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 (100\%) |
| I-II Children | 2 ( $174 \%)$ | $\begin{array}{ll}3 & (21 \%) \\ 3 & (50 \%)\end{array}$ | 9 2 |
| II Children | 1 (12\%) | 3 (50\%) | $2.33 \%)$ $7 \quad(88 \%)$ |

A majority of Group I parents preferred [a], and Group II parents preferred [J] unanimously; however, Group I children definitely preferred the rounded vowels $[b]$ (50\%) and [0] ( $33 \%$ ); Group II children, on the other hand, showed a slight interest in the unrounded $[a]$ (12\%). Group II informants, in general, chose [J] almost unanimously, 93 per cent.

The pronunciation of garage was less variable than that of closet, twenty-four informants choosing [a], two choosing [W]:4
${ }^{3} \mathrm{C}$. K. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," American Speech, XVII (February, 1942), 38, cited by Elders, p. 18, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New_York," American Speech, XI (February, 1936), 71, lists [a] as the vowel.
${ }^{4}$ It may be of interest to note that the informants were almost equally divided between the French pronunciation $[3]$ and the Anglicized [d 3$]$.

## TABLE V

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN GARAGE



Table $V$, above, shows that the only variations from $[a]$ to $[0]$ were made by children. Tabulation of Group II speakers indicates that $[a]$ (93\%) in garage is almost invariable in the native dialect of Denton. 5

The vowel in hospital (first syllable) shows even less variation. One of twenty-six informants chose $[0]$; the others chose $[a]:{ }^{6}$

5G. P. Krapp, The Pronunciation of Standard English in America (New York, 1919), pp. 60-61, indicates that [a: is the dominant pronunciation in General American speech. The statement would require qualification in order to apply to this area: $[a: 7$ is usually present preceding [3], but the vowel is not frequently lengthened to that degree when it precedes [dz].

GRaven I. McDavid, "Low-Back Vowels in the South Carolina Piedmont," American Speech, XV (April, 1940), 146, shows [a7 to be predominant in the South Carolina Piedmont. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, finds a7 prevalent in that area. Krapp, p. 58, records both $a \not a$ and [0] in General American speech.

## TABLE VI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HOSPITAL

| Group | $[a]$ | $[0]$ | $[0]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I Children* | $5(83 \%)$ | 1 | $(17 \%)$ |

It is apparent that $[a]$ is invariably the vowel in the initial syllable of hospital in the native dialect.

The word office was pronounced with $[a]$ by two informants, with $[\mathrm{O}]$ by three informants, and with $[0]$ by twenty-one informants: ${ }^{7}$

TABLE VII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN OFFICE


7Hans Kurath, "American Pronunciation," Society for Pure English Tract No. XXX (New York, 1928), p. 287, mentions that Za occurs in of fice "not infrequentiy" in Western speech. McDavid, p. 148, finds $[a]$ the prevalent initial vowel in office in the South Carolina Piedmont. Kenyon, p. 182; Kenyon and Knott, p. 303; and Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, all show [J] predominant in their respective areas of investigation.

Although 33 per cent of Group I parents preferred [a], the majority of Group I children preferred $[0](83 \%)$, all of the children choosing rounded vowels. Group II parents preferred [J] unanimously, but Group II children showed some preference for $[D]$ ( $12 \%$ ), the majority choosing $[0]$ ( $88 \%$ ). Ninety-three per cent of Group II speakers chose $[0]$ as the vowel in office.

Wash shows little variation: twenty-four speakers chose $[a]$, and only two chose $[D]:{ }^{8}$

## TABLE VIII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN WASH

| Group | [a] | [0] | $[0]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 24 (93\%) | 2 (07\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 12 (100\%) |  |  |
| I Parents | 6 (100\%) |  |  |
| II Parents | $6(100 \%)$ $12(86 \%)$ |  |  |
| I Children | 12 (83\%) | $1{ }^{2}(17 \%)$ |  |
| II Children | 7 (87\%) | 1 (13\%) |  |

Children, as was the case with the pronunciation of garage, showed the only variation from $[a]$ to $[D]$.
${ }^{8}$ Sarah T. Barrows, "Watch, Water, Wash," American Speech, IV (July, 1929), 301, says that wash is preferred with a/ in Iowa, Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York, ${ }^{\text {in }} \mathrm{p}$. 36, 11 ists $C_{\text {in }} \mathbf{C} 7$ as prevalent. Krapp, p. 59 , lists both $a 7$ and show in General American speech, and Kenyon and Knott, p. 470, show [a] and [J] as the first two preferences.

Thirteen speakers chose $[a]$ in wasp; ten chose $[D]$; and three chose [0]:9

TABLE IX
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN WASP


Group I parents preferred [a] without variation as the vowel in wasp, but Group II parents were evenly divided in the choice of $[a],[D]$, or [0]. Both Group I children and Group II children showed some tendency to select [O] as the vowel.

## Before Stops

Doctor, God, hot, knot, mockingbird, and spot were presfired with $[a]$ by most speakers. Hog was preferred with [0].

Informants preferred no variation from the choice of $[a]$ as the vowel in the first syllable of doctor.
$9_{\text {Elders, p. }} 18$, records [0] (63\%), [0] (13\%), [a] (13\%) in Parker County. Stanley, p. 19, says that the vowel in wasp is usually rounded to $[D]$ or $/ O J$ in East Texas. McDavid, p. 148, and Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. Tl, show $[a]$ as the preference in their areas.

Slight variation was show in the pronunciation of God. Twenty-two speakers preferred [a]; four speakers preferred. [07:10

TABLE X
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN GOD

| Group | $[a]$ | [07 | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 22 (85\%) | 4 (15\%) |  |
| I- II Parents | $\begin{array}{rr}10 & (83 \%) \\ 5 & (83 \%)\end{array}$ | 2 1 |  |
| II Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 12 (86\%) | 2 (14\%) |  |
| I Children | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |  |
| II Children | 8 (100\%) |  |  |

Although the predominant pronunciation was $[a]$ for both groups, 33 per cent of Group I children preferred the rounded [D] while only 17 per cent of Group I parents preferred [D7. Seventeen per cent of Group II parents preferred [D],

## ${ }^{10}$ Argus Tresidder, "Notes on Virginia Speech," American

 Speech, XVI (April, 1941), 118, shows [D7 s1ightly predominant over [a] with a few speakers choosing [0]. Elders, p. 29, records [a] (100\%) as the vowel in God. Stanley, p. 17, says that the vowel in God is never rounded in East Texas speech. McDavid, p. 146, records a preference for [a]. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, finds [a] predominant, but he records [0] as the preference in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 70. Katherine Wheatley, "Southern Standards," American Speech, IX (February, 1934), 39, says that $[J] 7$ and $20!$ are common in the cultivated speech of the Southerner. Kenyon, p. 184, states that God regularly has [a]_in General American speech. Krapp, p. 57, says that both $[a]$ and $[0]$ are common in General American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 186, 1ist [a] and $[0]$ as most frequent and [0] as less frequent.but 100 per cent of Group II children preferred the unrounded vowel [a].

The pronunciation of hog indicated a preference for $[3]$ in this word. One speaker preferred $[a]$; five chose $[D]$; and twenty speakers preferred [J]:11

## TABLE XI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HOG

| Group | [a] | [0] |  | $[07$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (04\%) | 5 | (19\%) | 20 | (77\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 3 | (25\%) | 8 | (67\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | (33\%) |
| II Parents |  |  |  | 6 | (100\%) |
| I-II Children |  |  | (14\%) | 12 | (86\%) |
| I Children |  |  | (33\%) | 4 | (67\%) |

Group II consistently chose $[0]$ as the vowel in hog. Only 33 per cent of Group I parents chose [J] while 50 per cent preferred [D] and 17 per cent preferred the unround vowel
${ }^{1 l_{\text {Leonard }} \text { Bloomfield, "The Stressed Vowels of American }}$ English," Language, XI (April, 1935), 108, cited in Elders, p. 19, indicates that [ 07 is used in homely words like hog. MeDavid, p. 148, shows a Blight preference for 3.7 over [a] in the South Carolina Piedmont. Thomas, Pronunciation In Downstate New York," p; 35, inds [a] dominant in downstate New York while $[a\rangle$ alone is pronounced in hog in upstate New York as shown in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 70. Wheatley, p. 40 , says $[0]$ and $[0.7$ are the usual pronunciations of the vowel in hog in the South. Elders, p. 19, says that hog usually has 277 in Parker County, and Staniey, p. 17, states that the tendency in East Texas is to round the vowel but that both unrounded and rounded low back vowels are common. Kenyon and Knott, p. 205, 11st $a, a]$, and $\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { D } \\ \text { D. }\end{array}\right.$.
[a]. Group II children, however, pronounced hog with rounded back vowels, 67 per cent choosing $[0]$ and 33 per cent choosing [D].

Hot was generally pronounced with $[a]$. Only three speakers chose $[D]$ while twenty-three speakers chose $[a]:{ }^{12}$

TABLE XII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HOT


Group II unanimousiy preferred $[a]$ in hot. Group I speakers generally preferred $[a]$, but 33 per cent of Group I parents chose $[D]$; however, only 17 per cent of Group I children showed a preference for $[10]$.
${ }^{12}$ Elders, $p .18$, regularly finds $[a]$ as the vowel in hot, and Stanley, p. 16, says that the vowel regularly appears in East Texas as a short [a]. McDavid, p. 146, records alone in hot, and Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 62, finds $a]$ without variation. Kenyon, p. 184, finds [a] regularly in General American Speech, and Krapp, p. 57, finds [a] in all sections except New England. Kurath, "American Pronunciation," p. 287, cited in Elders, p. 18, says that "The most salient features of the Western type of speaking are ; . . the unrounded vowel of father, only shorter, in hot..." Kenyon and Knott, p. 208, 11st $\left.Z^{2} a\right]$ as the preference, with $[\mathcal{L}]$ as an Eastern and Southern variation.

Knot was pronounced with $[a]$ as the vowel almost without variation. One speaker preferred $[0]$, and twenty-five preferred [a]:13

## TABLE XIII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN KNOT


* This is the only group which showed variation.

There was a great deal of variation in the pronunciation of the word mockingbird (first syllable). ${ }^{14}$ Twelve speakers preferred $[a]$; five speakers preferred [0]; eight speakers preferred [0]; and one speaker did not respond. ${ }^{15}$
${ }^{13}$ Elders, p. 18, and Stanley, p. 16, regularly find $[a]$ in words of this class. Kenyon, p. 184, says that knot regularly has [a] in General American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 245, show [a] in knot with [ $D]$ as an Eastern and Southern preference.
${ }^{14}$ As $[0]$ was the expected Group II response, it is interesting to note that half of Group II parents preferred $[a]$ and that the informants who responded with $a]$ were women. Extensive cross-testing failed to disestablish this pronunciation as the conscious, one, and it must be concluded that the pronunciation of $a]$ in mockingbird was a normal pronunciation for these informants.
${ }^{15}$ Elders, $p .19$, records $[0](70 \%)$ in mockingbird. McDavid, p. 147, cited in Elders, p. 19, finds $\angle a$ as the initial vowel in mockingbird. Kenyon, $p$. 184, states that the word regularly has $a$ in General American speech but that [J] is not infrequent. Kenyon and Knott, p. 283, show the order of preference to be $[a],[D]$, and $[D]$.

## TABLE XIV

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN MOCKINGBIRD

| Group | $[a]$ | $[10]$ | [07 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 12 (48\%) | 5 (20\%) | 8 (32\%) |
| I-II Parents | 8 (67\%) | 2 (17\%) | 2 ( $17 \%$ ) |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 3 (50\%) | 1 (17\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| I-II Children | 4 (31\%) | 3 (23\%) | 6 (46\%) |
| I Children | $2(40 \%)$ |  | 3 (60\%) |
| II Children | $2.25 \%)$ | 3 (37\%) | 3 (37\%) |

Group I parents preferred the unrounded $[a]$ ( $83 \%$ ), but Group I children showed a tendency to round the vowel to [3] ( $60 \%$ ). Group II parents were evenly divided in their choice between an unrounded and a rounded vowel, but Group II children preferred the latter.

Pronunciation of spot showed little variation from the choice of $[a]$ as the vowel, but there were variations in the quality of the vowel; two Group I parents pronounced spot with a fronted $[a]$, or $[a \leq]$, which is a sound produced with the tongue more forward in the mouth, nearly in the position of $[2]$. Twenty-two of the informants chose $[a]$; two informants chose $[a \leq 7$; and two informants chose $[0]: 16$
$16_{\text {Elders, }} p$. 18, says that $[a /$ is usually found without variation in spot in Parker County; Kenyon, p. 184, finds [a] regularly in General American speech; and Kenyon and Knott, p. 403, list $[a]$ with $[D]$ as an Eastern and Southern variant.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SPOT


Although $[a]$ was the predominant choice in every group, Group I parents exhibited a tendency to front the vowel, and Group I children showed some preference for a rounded vowel, $[10]$ (17\%). Seventeen per cent of Group II parents preferred a rounded vowel, $[6]$, but Group II chilaren unanimously preferred $[a]$.

Before L
Those test words in which the vowel was succeeded by 1 , doll, holiday, and hollow, were pronounced with $[a]$ as the vowel in the initial syllable with little other variation, except $[b]$. $[a]$ is often rounded slightly to $[0]$ before I in such words.

Eighteen speakers preferred $[a]$ as the vowel in doll, and eight speakers preferred $[Q]: 17$

17 Stanley, p. 17; Elders, p. 20; McDavid, p. 146; and Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 37, and

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN DOLL


Group I parents preferred [ 0$]$ ( $67 \%$ ) as the vowel in doll, but Group I children preferred $[a]$ ( $83 \%$ ), only 17 per cent
"Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 72, all encounter [a] as the preferred vowel in doll. Charles K. Thomas, An Introduction to the Phonetics of American English (New York, 1947), pp. 216-241, indicates the following vowel preferences for the word doll:

Area First Second Third
Eastern New England
[a] [b] [0]
The Middle Atlantic Area
[a]
The North Central Area
[a] [a]
Western Pennsylvania
[0]
The Southern Mountain Area $[a][0]$
The Southwest Coastal Area $[a]$
Wheatley, p. 40, says that $[2]$ and $[2: 7$ are the usual vowel pronunciations for doll in the speech of the South. Doll, "as some people pronounce (it)," is used by Robertson, p. 74, as a key word for 407 . Krapp, p. 58, says that he finds both $a>$ and $\}, 7$ in General American speech. Kenyon and Knot, p. 133, list the preferences [a], [10], and [0], in that order.
choosing [D]. Group II parents preferred [a] ( $67 \%$ ), but 33 per cent preferred a rounded vowel while only 12 per cent of Group II children chose the rounded vowel $[0]$.

Most speakers, twenty-two, preferred $[a]$ in holiday, but four pronounced the word with $[D]$ as the vowel: ${ }^{18}$

TABLE XVII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HOLIDAY


Thirty-three per cent of Group I parents preferred to round the vowel in the initial syllable to $[D]$ while 67 per cent chose [a]; Group I children, however, preferred the vowel [a] ( $83 \%$ ), and only 17 per cent chose [0]. Group II parents chose $[a]$ unanimously, but Group II children showed some rounding, $[0]$ ( $17 \%$ ), preferring $[a]$ ( $88 \%$ ).

18 Elders, $p$. 20, notes only one variation from $[a]$ to [0] in holiday. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 37, and "Pronunciation in Upgtate New York," p .72 , shows negiigibie variation from [a]. Kenyon and Knott, p. 206, 11 [a] first, with the Eastern and Southern choice [0].

Pronunciation of the word hollow showed no variation at all from the vowel sound $[a] .{ }^{19}$

Before Nasals
Anticipation of a nasal sound $[m]$ or $[x]$ in all of the words in this group, almond, barn, bomb, donkey, honest, honk, palm, swamp, led to nasalization of the vowel preceding the nasal. At the same time that the speech organs were preparing the vowel sound, the velum was lowering in order to permit articulation of the nasal sound; both sounds, in effect, were being produced at the same time, and the result was a nasalized vowel.

Almond was pronounced in several ways. ${ }^{20}$ The initial vowel sound occurred as $[\tilde{a}],[\tilde{p}],[\tilde{j}]$, and $[\tilde{R} \tilde{\partial}]$. Eleven of the speakers preferred [ã]; nine speakers chose [ $\hat{0}]$; only two speakers preferred [J̃]; and a total of four speakers chose [大゚ 2 ]: ${ }^{21}$
${ }^{19}$ Stanley, $p .17$, finds that $[a]$ is invariable in hollow; Elders, $p .20$, finds $a /$ ( $100 \%$ ): Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 73, records $a\rangle$ in the speech of all informants. Krapp, p. 58, records the occurrence of both [a7 and 07 in Generai American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 206 , show $[a 7$ as the preference, with $[0]$ as an Eastern and Southern variant.
${ }^{20}$ Pronunciation occurred as ã̃mon7, ceolmary, and

${ }^{21}$ Kenyon and Knott, p. 13, 11st $[a],[\bar{\partial} e]$, and frequently Aelmond in New England. Stanley, 19, says that the pronunciation in East Texas is, Se:mon7. Elders, $p, 21$



## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN ALMOND

| Group | [a] | [077 | 507 | E297 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 11 (43\%) | 9 (35\%) | 2 (08\%) | 4 (15\%) |
| I-II Parents | 8 (67\%) |  | 1 (08\%) | 3 (25\%) |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) |  | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 3 (50\%) |  |  | 3 (50\%) |
| I-II Children | 3 (21\%) | 9 (64\%) | 1 (07\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | 4 (66\%) |  | 1 (17\%) |
| II Children | $2(25 \%)$ | 5 (63\%) | 1 (12\%) |  |

The pronunciation of almond by Group I parents showed that they preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ rather consistently, only 17 per cent choosing another vowel, [J]. Group II parents were evenly divided in their choice between $[\tilde{a}]$ and $[E \tilde{\partial}]$, the ironted variant of $[\tilde{a}]$. Group I children showed a decided preference for $[\tilde{0}]$; 17 per cent chose $[\tilde{a}]$, and 17 per cent chose $A E$ J̃. Group II children exhibited approximately the same degree of variation; the majority chose $[\hat{O}]$ (63\%), and 25 per cent chose $[\tilde{a}]$, 12 per cent choosing $[\tilde{0}]$.
$[\tilde{0} 7$ was preferred as the vowel in barn by nineteen speakers; seven speakers chose $[\tilde{a}]:{ }^{22}$
${ }^{22}$ G1Iders, p. 23 , says that 67 per cent of his informants preferred $[1]$ in barn. He also mentions that Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 34, "records a predominance of [O] in barn." However, Elders is mistaken; ninety informants chose $a: 7$, and only ifteen chose $[0: 7$ in barn. The other words which Elders lists are also pronounced predominantly with $[a: 7$ instead of $[b: 7$. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 68, records 22 of 48 speakers with fronted [a] before $\underline{r}$. Robertson, p. 394, says that

## TABLE XIX

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN BARN

| Group | [a] | [107 | 537 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 7 (27\%) | 19 (73\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 6 (50\%) |  |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 1 (07\%) | 13 (93\%) |  |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | $5(83 \%)$ |  |
| II Children |  | $8(100 \%)$ |  |

Group I parents generally chose $[\tilde{a}]$, a few preferring $[\tilde{b}]$; Group II parents chose $[\tilde{0}]$, and only 17 per cent favored [ã]. Group I children preferred [ $[\tilde{0}]$, only 17 per cent selecting $[\tilde{a}]$ as the vowel. Group II children showed no variation from the choice of $[\tilde{0}]$.

Bomb was preferred with $[\tilde{D}]$ as the vowel by eight of the informants; eighteen chose [ã:23
a 7 in barn in the New York City area, parts of the Ohio Valley, and Texas, tends to shift to [io or [0]; "New England differs strikingly," says Robertson, in that [a] shifts toward $a$ in those areas where $r$ is lost. Kenyon and Knott, p. 39, list [ar], Eastern and Southern [a:]. ${ }^{23}$ Elders, p. 21 , records $[\hat{a}](87 \%),[\tilde{j}]$ ( $03 \%$ ), and [6inm/ (10\%). Stanley, p. 17, cited by Eiders, p. 21, says that [ 5 nm ] and [bnJm) are the only East Texas pronunciations of bomb. McDavid, p. 148, records [1] predominant, then [a] and less frequentiy 07 . Krapp, p. 58, records both [a] and 07 in General American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 52, 11st [a].

TABLE XX
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN BOMB


Eighty-three per cent of Group I parents preferred $[\tilde{\sim}]$, and 17 per cent chose $[\hat{\mathbf{D}}]$; Group II parents, however, were evenIf divided in their choice between $[\tilde{a}]$ and $[\tilde{0}]$. similarly, Group I children were evenly divided between $[\hat{a}]$ and $[\hat{0}]$; Group II children, however, showed a preference for [a] ( $88 \%$ ).

Seventeen speakers preferred $[\tilde{\sigma}]$ in donkey; six presferret $[\tilde{a}]$; and three speakers chose $[\tilde{5}]: 24$
${ }^{24} \mathrm{C}$. K. Thomas, Phonetics of American English, pp. 216241, indicates the following vowel preferences for donkey:
Area First Second Third

Eastern New England
The Middle Atlantic Area
The South
The North Central Area [0]
[a]
The Southern Mountain Area [0]

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN DONKEY



While Group I parents preferred the unrounded $[\tilde{a}]$, only 33 per cent choosing $[\tilde{b}]$, Group I children exhibited a shift to the rounded vowels, $[\tilde{0}](50 \%)$ and $[\tilde{J}]$ (33\%). Group II parents preferred $[\tilde{0}](83 \%), 17$ per cent choosing [0], but Group II children occasionally chose [ar] (12\%), the majority preferring $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $88 \%$ ).

The pronunciation of honest showed few of the characteristics of the other words of this group. Variant pronunciations were limited to three instances with $[\tilde{D}]$ as the vowel while twenty-one speakers preferred the vowel [ $\tilde{a}]$; two speakers made no response: ${ }^{25}$

The Central Midland
The Northwest [0]
The Southwest Coastal Area [0]
${ }^{25}$ Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 37, records [a] alone in honest. Wheatley, p. 42, says that [a] is considered vulgar in the South. Kenyon and Knott, p. त207, list $[a]$, Eastern and Southern preference [ 0$]$.

## TABLE XXII

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HONEST

| Group | $[\underline{a}]$ | [0゙7 | $[\tilde{5}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 21 (87\%) | $3 .(13 \%)$ |  |
| I-II Parents | 10 (83\%) | 2 (17\%) |  |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 11 (91\%) | 1 (09\%) |  |
| I Children* | 5 (100\%) |  |  |
| II Children* | 6 (86\%) | 1 (14\%) |  |

A majority of the speakers in every group preferred [ã] as the vowel in honest. Only a trace of each group, except Group I ehildren, preferred [ $\tilde{O}]$.
[5] was chosen as the vowel in honk by thirteen speakers; $[6]$ was chosen by ten speakers; and $[\tilde{a}]$ was chosen by three speakers: ${ }^{26}$
${ }^{26}$ Elders, p. 22, records $\left[50(80 \%), ~[\tilde{0}](17 \%)_{2}\right.$ and $[\hat{a}]$ ( $03 \%$ ) in honk. Kenyon and Knott, $p .207$, show $\angle 07$, $[a]$ and $[0]$. Thomas, Phonetics of American Enginsh, pp. 2i6-241, records the following vowel preferences for honk:

| Area | First | Second | Third |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Eastern New England | $[a]$ | $[0]$ | $[0]$ |
| The Midale Atlantic Area | $[a]$ | $[1]$ |  |
| The North Central Area | $[0]$ | $[10]$ | $[a]$ |
| The Central Midland | $[0]$ |  |  |
| The Northwest | $[0]$ | $[0]$ |  |

TABLE XXIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HONK

| Group | [ã7 |  | $[\tilde{0} 7$ |  | [5] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 | (11\%) | 10 | (39\%) | 13 | (50\%) |
| I-II Parents | 2 | (17\%) | 4 | (33\%) | 6 | (50\%) |
| I Parents | 2 | (33\%) | 2 | (33\%) | 2 | (33\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 2 | (33\%) | 4 | (67\%) |
| I-II Children | 1 | (07\%) | 6 | (43\%) | 7 | (50\%) |
| I Children | 1 | (17\%) | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | ( $33 \%$ ) |
| II Children |  |  | 3 | (37\%) | 5 | (63\%) |

Group I parents showed an even division of choice of the three sounds $[\tilde{a}],[\tilde{\hat{0}}]$, and $[\tilde{j}]$. Group II parents, however, chose [5] (67\%) as the vowel in honk, the remainder choosing [ñ]. Group I children exhibited a tendency to shift toward the rounded vowels $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $50 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{O}]$ (33\%). Group II children chose only the rounded vowels $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $37 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{j}](63 \%)$.

The pronunciation of the word palm showed that ten of the speakers preferred $[\tilde{\tilde{b}}]$, and sixteen preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ :

TABLE XXIV
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN PALM

| Group | [0]7 |  | $\underline{\sim}$ |  | T 7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 16 | (61\%) | 10 | (39\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 9 | (75\%) | 3 | (25\%) |  |
| I Parents | 5 | (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 4 | (67\%) | 2 | (33\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 7 | (50\%) | 7 | (50\%) |  |
| I Children | 3 | (50\%) | 3 | (50\%) |  |
| II Children | 4 | (50\%) | 4 | (50\%) |  |

Both groups of parents preferred [ar] in palm, only a few choosing $[\tilde{O}]$. Both groups of children evenly divided their choices, 50 per cent choosing $[\tilde{a}]$ and 50 per cent choosing [ $\tilde{0}]$.
[ $\tilde{a}]$ was chosen as the vowel in swamp by seventeen of the speakers while eight chose $[\tilde{0}]$ and one chose $\left[\tilde{5} 7::^{27}\right.$

TABLE XXV
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SWAMP


Group I parents preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ alone as the vowel, but Group II parents evenly divided their choices between $\tilde{a}]$ and $[\tilde{0}]$. The children of both groups preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ but showed some tendency to round the vowel to $[\mathscr{O}]$.

[^4]
## Before ㄹ

The pronunciation of the vowel before $\underline{\underline{r}}$, slightly raising the vowel in anticipation of $r$, led to several variations in words of this group: barbed, barn, cart, dark, garden, hard, large, orange, sharp, tar, and yard. 28

28 Elders, p. 22, found $[\mathrm{O}]$ to be predominant in such words. Referring to the pronunciation of [a] before $r$, he cites several authors: Stanley, p. 18, usually found 10$]$ but sometimes found [a]; Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 33, says that the position of $[a / 7$ is unstable in that area of New York and that an $r$ following the sound lengthens the sound, but a dropped $r$ causes the sound to be considerably lengthened. La/ often approaches the quality of $[10]$, but without the characteristic rounding of $[10]$. Thomas, quoted by Elders, p. 23, says that the shift toward the rounded vowel is "in striking contrast to the shift tom ward [a:] in New England and parts of upstate New York." Kurath, p. 293, says that the sound now before $r$ in Southern speech is usually rounded to [1]. Wheatley, p. 41, says that the cultivated Southerner pronounces such words as hard and mark with $[a:\rangle \overline{\text { while }}$ some Easterners pronounce the words with $\angle a:<7$.

Thomas,
"Pronunciation in Downstate New York,"
p. 34, records $[a: 7$ predominant in words of the kind listed above:

La:
barn
dark garden

13 11 48 sharp 34

In "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 68, Thomas records these results:

|  | Car $]$ | Car 7 |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| barn | 22 | 26 |
| dark | 12 | 5 |
| garden | 11 | 124 |
| hard | 4 | 2 |
| large | 7 | 7 |
| yard | 7 | 23 |

Kenyon and Knott, op. cit., list all of those words with [ar] and ES [a:].

Thirteen speakers preferred [a] in barbed; ten chose [0]:29

## TABLE XXVI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN BARBED

| Group | $[a]$ | [0] | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 13 (50\%) | 10 (39\%) | 3 (11\%) |
| I-II Parents | 8 (67\%) | 2 (17\%) | 2 (17\%) |
| I Parents | 6 (100\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  |  |  |
| I-II Children | $\begin{array}{ll} 8 & 57 \%) \\ 3 & (50 \%) \end{array}$ | 5 (36\%) |  |
| I Children | $3 \quad(50 \%)$ <br> $2 \quad(25 \%)$ | 2 2 | 1 <br> 1 <br> 1 |

Group I parents chose [a] alone as the vowel in barbed, and Group II parents were evenly divided between the pronuncia$t i o n$ of $[a]$ or $[D]$ as the initial vowel. Group I children, preferring $[a]$ ( $50 \%$ ), also showed a preference for the rounded vowels $[0]$ ( $33 \%$ ) and $[0]$ ( $17 \%$ ). Group II children, preferring a rounded vowel, $[0]$ ( $63 \%$ ) and $[0]$ ( $12 \%$ ), showed some tendency toward the unrounded vowel $[a]$ (25\%).

A full discussion of the word barn is given in an earlier part of this chapter, page 29.
${ }^{29}$ Most of the adult speakers seemed to conclude that the pronunciation $[$ baby was evidence of substandard speech habits, and they carefully avoided the pronunciation in every instance. The younger informents, however, dropped the $r$ without hesitation, and one youngster, when asked to repeat the word he had just pronounced, said emphatically, [bab,was].

Six speakers preferred [a] in cart, one of whom pronounced cart with the fronted [a]; fifteen preferred [D]; five chose [0]]:30

TABLE XXVII

## PRONUNGIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CART



While 83 per cent of Group I parents preferred [a] as the vowel in cart, 83 per cent of Group I children preferred the rounded vowel $[D]$, and only 17 per cent chose the $[a]$ of their parents. Group II parents preferred $[0]$ ( $83 \%$ ), and Group II children were evenly divided in their choice between $[D]$ and [0].

Six speakers pronounced $[a]$ in dark; eighteen chose $[0]$; and two preferred [0]:

[^5]
## TABLE XXVIII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN DARK


Eighty-three per cent of Group I parents preferred [a] in dark, but Group I children preferred [O] alone. The majority of Group II parents preferred $[107$ ( $66 \%$ ), and Group II children definitely preferred $[0]$ ( $88 \%$ ), only 12 per cent choosing [3].

Seven speakers preferred $[a\rceil$ in garden; eighteen speakers preferred $[10]$; and one speaker preferred $[0]$.

TABLE XXIX
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN GARDEN

| Group | $[a 7$ | [107 | 507 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 7 (27\%) | 18 (70\%) | 1 (03\%) |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 6 (50\%) |  |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 1 (07\%) | 12 (86\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| II Children |  | 7 (88\%) | 1 (12\%) |

The word hard shares many of the characteristic trends in pronunciation which the other words of this group show. Ten speakerschose [a] as the vowel in hard; ten speakers chose [10]; and six speakers chose [9]. 30

TABLE XXX
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN HARD

| Group | $[a]$ |  | [107 |  | 507 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 10 | (39\%) | 10 | (39\%) | 6 | (22\%) |
| I-II Parents | 6 | (50\%) | 4 | (33\%) | 2 | ( $17 \%$ ) |
| I Parents | 5 | (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |  |  |
| II Parents | 1 | (17\%) | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | (33\%) |
| I-II Children | 4 | (28\%) | 6 | (44\%) | 4 | (28\%) |
| I Children | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | (33\%) | 1 | ( $17 \%$ ) |
| II Children | 1 | (12\%) | 4 | (50\%) | 3 | (38\%) |

Group I parents preferred $[a]$ in this word as in the others, only 17 per cent choosing [0]. Group II parents preferred [0]. Group I children preferred [a], but 33 per cent chose $[0]$ and 17 per cent chose $[2]$. Group II children showed a greater tendency toward rounding than any other group, 50 per cent choosing $[10]$ and 38 per cent choosing $[0]$, only 12 per cent preferring the unrounded [a].

Ten speakers preferred $[a]$ in large; thirteen preferred $[0]$; and three preferred $[0]$ as the vowel:

30 Wheatley, p. 41, says that the cultivated Southern speaker prefers [a] in hard. Krapp, p. 60, states that [a:7 usually occurs in hard in General American speech.

TABLE XXXI
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN LARGE

| Group | [a] |  | [07 |  | [0] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate |  | (39\%) | 13 | (50\%) | 3 | (11\%) |
| I-II Parents | 7 | (58\%) | 4 | (33\%) | 1 | (09\%) |
| I Parents |  | (100\%) |  |  |  |  |
| II Parents | 1 | (16\%) | 4 | (67\%) | 1 | (16\%) |
| I Children |  |  | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | (15\%) |
| II Children |  |  |  | (75\%) | 2 | (25\%) |

Group I parents preferred [a] alone in large. Group II parents showed these variations: $[0](67 \%),[0](16 \%)$, and $[a]$ ( $16 \%$ ). Group I children were evenly divided in their choice between $[a]$ and $[b]$. Group II children preferred $[0]$ ( $75 \%$ ) while showing some preference for $[0]$ (25\%).

The word orange presented the most variant pronunciation in this group. One speaker chose $[\tilde{a}]$ as the vowel; twelve chose $[\tilde{\tilde{b}}]$; two chose $[\tilde{j}]$; and eleven speakers preferred the vowel [Õ]:31
${ }^{31}$ Pronunciation of the word orange with [0] $]$ as the initial vowel is an unusual one. Informants were retested for pronunciation of this word, but $\subset \mathbf{O} 7$ was invariably the response, perhaps the result of a habitual spelling pronunciation. These variationsoccurred: [ornd37, porind 37 , [boind 37, [BEnd3], [Jond3], and [Jjinaj]. Elders, p. 24, records $[0]$ ( $73 \%$ ), $a$ ( $27 \%$ ), and the variant pronunciations [bónós] and [ajnd 37. Stanley, p. 19, mentions that such words as orange may have as an initial vowel

TABLE XXXII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN ORANGE

| Group | [ã] | [0] | 527 | [0]7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (03\%) | 12 (47\%) | 2 (07\%) | 11 (43\%) |
| I-II Parents |  | 6 (50\%) | 1 (08\%) | 5 ( $42 \%$ ) |
| I Parents |  | 1 (17\%) |  | 5 (83\%) |
| II Parents |  | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 1 (07\%) | 6 (43\%) | 1 (07\%) | 6 (43\%) |
| I Children |  | 1 (17\%) |  | 5 (83\%) |
| II Children | 1 (12\%) | 5 (63\%) | 1 (12\%) | 1 (12\%) |

Group I parents and children preferred [0゙] as the initial vowel in orange, 17 per cent in each group choosing [0゙] as
"All gradations. © from an unrounded $[a 7$. $\cdot$ to an excegsively rounded [ 07 . ." McDavid, p. 146, records $[a]$ as the vowel. C. K. Thomas, "American Dictionaries and Variant Pronunciations," American Speech, XIV (October, 1939), 175-180, makes the following observations concerning the pronunciation of orange:

| Area | $[a]$ | $[0]$ | $[97$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| New England | 46 | 7 | 8 |
| Lower New York | 185 | 2 | 3 |
| Upper New York | 115 | 180 | 467 |
| New Jersey | 83 | 6 | - |
| Pennsylvania | 59 | 21 | 37 |
| Virginia | 63 | - |  |
| Florida | 50 | 3 | 5 |
| Tennessee | 71 | 5 | 2 |
| Ohio | 2 | 11 | 29 |
| Illinois | 1 | 15 | 16 |
| Louisiana | 59 | 8 | 1 |
| Texas | 43 | 13 | 8 |
| Colorado | 1 | 13 | 17 |
| Arizona | 3 | 20 | 34 |
| California | 7 | 21 | 43 |

Tresidder, p. 117, records $[a]$ for 38 speakers, $[0]$ for 7 speakers, and $[27$ for 55 speakers. Wheatley, p. 43, states
the only variant. Group II parents and children preferred the same sound; Group II parents chose $[\hat{0}]$ ( $83 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $17 \%$ ), and Group II children produced the variations $[\tilde{0}](63 \%)$, $[\tilde{a}](12 \%),[\tilde{0}](12 \%)$, and $[\tilde{0}]$ (12\%).

One speaker preferred $[a]$ in sharp; eight preferred $[0]$; and seventeen preferred [0]:

TABLE XXXIII

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SHARP

| Group | $[a]$ | [0] | -07 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (03\%) | 8 (31\%) | 17 (66\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 6 (50\%) | 5 (42\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| ${ }_{\text {II Parents }}$ |  | $1{ }^{1}$ (17\%) |  |
| I-II Children |  | 2 (14\%) | 12 (86\%) |
| I Children II Children |  | 2 (33\%) | 4 <br> 8 ( |

Seventeen per cent of Group I parents chose [a] , but the majority preferred [D] (83\%). Group II parents preferred [0] ( $83 \%$ ), 17 per cent choosing [0]. Only 33 per cent of Group I children preferred the $[0]$ of their parents; the majority preferred [0] (67\%). Group II children chose [2] unanimously.
that orange is always pronounced with $[07$ in the South. Kenyon, p. 181, says that the prevailing General American pronunciation of orange is Sring 37. Kenyon and Knott, p. 306, list [D], La], and [ 0 .

Five speakers chose $[a]$ as the vowel in tar; eleven of the speakers chose $[0]$; and ten preferred $[0]:{ }^{32}$

TABLE XXXIV
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN TAR

| Group | [a] | [10] | [07 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 5 (18\%) | 11 (43\%) | 10 (39\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 7 (58\%) | 2 (07\%) |
| I Parents | 3* (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |  |
| II Parents |  | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| I-II Children | 2 (14\%) | 4 (28\%) | 8 (57\%) |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| $\frac{\text { II children }}{*}$ | 1* (12\%) | 1 (12\%) | 6 (75\%) |

Group I parents were evenly divided in their choice between $\left[a_{2}\right]$ and $[D]$ as the vowel in tar. Group II parents preferred [0] (67\%), but 33 per cent chose [0]. Group I children preferred $[0]$, and 33 per cent chose [0], the group tending to round the vowel more often than their parents. $[0](75 \%),[贝](12 \%)$, and $[a \leq]$ ( $12 \%$ ) characterized the pronunciation of Group II children.

The pronunciation of yard is typical of most of the words of this group. Ten speakers preferred $[a]$ as the vowel; thirteen speakers preferred [10]; and three speakers chose [0]:

[^6]
## TABLE XXXV

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN YARD

| Group | $\left[a_{7}\right]$ | [107 | 527 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 10 (39\%) | 13 (50\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 5 (42\%) | 1 (08\%) |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |  |
| II Parents | 1 (17\%) | 4 (66\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 4 (28\%) | 8 (57\%) | 2 (14\%) |
| I Children | 4 (67\%) | $2(33 \%)$ | 2 (14\%) |
| II Children |  | 6 ( $75 \%$ ) | 2 (25\%) |

Group I parents chose $[a]$ ( $83 \%$ ), and Group II parents preferred $[\mathrm{O}]$ ( $66 \%$ ). Group I children generally preferred the unrounded vowel [a] ( $67 \%$ ), but 33 per cent chose the rounded [b]. Group II children showed a preference for the rounded vowels: $[6]$ ( $75 \%$ ) and $[0](25 \%)$.

## Group II Summary

(1) Before fricatives. [a] was preferred in garage ( $93 \%$ ), hospital ( $100 \%$ ), and wash ( $93 \%$ ). [0] was almost invariable in closet (93\%) and office (93\%). [D] (50\%) was prevalent in wasp, but $[a](36 \%)$ appeared frequently and $[0]$ ( $14 \%$ ) occasionally.
(2) Before stops. $[a]$ was preferred in doctor ( $100 \%$ ), God $(93 \%)$, hot ( $100 \%$ ), knot ( $93 \%$ ), and spot ( $93 \%$ ), but $[0]$ was predominant in hos ( $100 \%$ ). Mockingbird exhibited a great deal of variation: $[a](36 \%)$ and $[0]$ (36\%) appeared equally; $[10]$ ( $28 \%$ ) appeared less frequently.
(3) Before 1. [a] was preferred in doll (79\%), holiday ( $79 \%$ ), and hollow ( $100 \%$ ).
(4) Before nasals. [ $\tilde{0}]$ was generally pronounced in barn (93\%) and donkey ( $86 \%$ ). $[\hat{a}]$ was preferred in bomb ( $71 \%$ ) and honest ( $79 \%$ ). Honk was most often pronounced with $[\tilde{j}](64 \%)$, but $[\tilde{b}](36 \%)$ was a frequent pronunciation. [ã] (57\%) was generally preferred in palm and swamp, but $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $48 \%$ ) was frequent. $[\hat{a}](36 \%)$ and $[\hat{b}]$ ( $36 \%$ ) appeared equally in almond; $\left[\begin{array}{c}2 \\ \hline\end{array}\right](21 \%)$ was pronounced less frequently.
(5) Before $\underline{r}$. $[0]$, often rounded to $[0]$, was preferred in barn, ( $93 \%$ ), cart ( $64 \%$ ), dark ( $79 \%$ ), garden ( $86 \%$ ), hard ( $50 \%$ ), large ( $71 \%$ ), orange ( $71 \%$ ), and yard ( $71 \%$ ). Sharp was generally pronounced with $[0](93 \%)$. Barbed was usually pronounced with $[0]$ ( $57 \%$ ), but $[a]$ ( $36 \%$ ) was a frequent pronunciation. Tar was pronounced with $[0]$ ( $57 \%$ ) and $[a]$ (36\%) .

## Group I Summary

(1) Before fricatives. [a] (92\%) was preferred in garage, hospital, and wash. Wasp was generally pronounced with $[a](67 \%)$ but often with $[0]$ (33\%). [10] (42\%) was a frequent pronunciation in closet, but $[a]$ (33\%) and [0] (25\%) were often pronounced. office was preferred with [0] ( $67 \%$ ).
(2) Before stops. [a] was preferred in doctor ( $100 \%$ ), God ( $75 \%$ ), hot ( $75 \%$ ), knot ( $100 \%$ ), and spot ( $92 \%$ ). [D] (50\%) and not infrequently [ 0$]$ (42\%) was pronounced in hog. Mockingbird was most often pronounced with $[a]$ (58\%), but [0] (25\%) was not uncommon.
(3) Before 1. [a] was preferred in holiday ( $75 \%$ ), hollow ( $100 \%$ ), and doll (58\%) although $[0]$ (42\%) was a frequent pronunciation in doll.
(4) Before nasals. $[\hat{a}]$ was preferred in honest ( $83 \%$ ) and swamp ( $75 \%$ ). $[\tilde{a}](67 \%)$ and $[\tilde{0}]$ ( $33 \%$ ) occurred in bomb and palm. $[\tilde{a}]$ was the usual pronunciation in almond ( $50 \%$ ), barn ( $50 \%$ ), and donkey ( $42 \%$ ), but $[\tilde{6}]$ was almost equally important. Honk was preferred with $[\hat{0}]$ ( $42 \%$ ), but [お̃] (33\%) was not uncommon.
(5) Before r. [a] was preferred in barbed (75\%), hard $(67 \%)$, large ( $75 \%$ ), and yard ( $75 \%$ ). [D] occurred in cart $(50 \%)$, dark ( $58 \%$ ), garden ( $50 \%$ ), and tar ( $50 \%$ ); [a] was almost equally important as a pronunciation in those words. Sharp was preferred with $[0]$ ( $58 \%$ ), but the secondary pronunciation was $[0](33 \%)$. orange was preferred with $[\tilde{O}]$ ( $83 \%$ ).

## Chapter Summary

The following table indicates relative choices of parents and children; a hyphen (-) indicates equal choice, and a comma (,) indicates descending order of choice:

TABLE XXXVI
PRONUNCIATION PREFERENCES OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN GROUPS I AND II


TABLE XXXVI --Continued


It may be seen quite readily that the pronunciations of such words as closet, wasp, hog, mockingbird, doll, barn, donkey, honk, cart, dark, garden, sharp, and tar indicate the preference of Group I children for the pronunciations of Group II rather than for the pronunciations of Group I parents. In every case the vowel of Group I children is more rounded than the vowel chosen by the parental group; the vowel choice of Group I children agrees with the choice made by Group II speakers.

The pronunciations of Group II children show a fairly consistent agreement with those of Group II parents.

The indication is, therefore, that the speech of Group I children is accommodating itself to the native pronunciations of words common to both groups.

## CHAPTER III

THE VOWEL SOUNDS $[D]$ AND $[0]$

The symbols [D] and [0] represent the vowel sounds heard, respectively, in such words as doll, pronounced with the lips slightly rounded, and jaw or law, with the lips fully rounded. The two vowels are generally identified by characteristic rounding of the lips, as opposed to the [a] sound, studied in Chapter II, which is characteristically unround.

## [0]

The sound represented by the symbol [D] generally occurs in the English pronunciation of such words as cot, top, got, and fodder, commonly labeled "short $\varrho^{\prime \prime}$ words. The sound may be articulated by following either of two procedures: first, the lips and tongue are posed as for the pronunciation of [0], and then the lips are slightly unrounded and the tongue moved slightly forward; for the second procedure, the lips and tongue are posed as for the pronunciation of $[a]$, and the lips are then slightly rounded and the tongue slightly retracted. The sound $[D]$, usually an allophone of either [a] or [0], may then occur.

## Before Fricatives

In the words of this group, coffee, cross, lost, moth, soft, and trough, $[0]$ is usually predominant in this area, with $[\mathrm{OT}]$ a secondary preference. Not very frequently is [a] heard in these words in the native dialect.

Coffee exhibits the approximate degree of variation in the pronunciation of words in this group. Three speakers chose $[a]$ as the vowel; seven chose $[10]$; but sixteen speakers preferred the word coffee with $[0]$ as the initial vowel. ${ }^{1}$

TABLE XXXVII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN COFFEE

| Group | [a] | [0]] | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 (12\%) | 7 (27\%) | 16 (61\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 3 (25\%) | 6 (50\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 (100\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 4 (29\%) | 10 (71\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Children |  | 1 (12\%) | 7 (88\%) |

$1_{\text {Elders, }}$ p. 27, gives $[0]$ ( $93 \%$ ) and $[10]$ ( $07 \%$ ) as the vowels in the first syllable of coffee. Stanley, p. 20, records "all gradations" of low-back vowels in such words as coffee. McDavid, p. 148, shows 507 predominant but [a] not infrequent in speech of the South Carolina Piedmont. In "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, Thomas gives $[0]$ as the

Group I parents divided their choice evenly between $[a]$ and $[0]$ as the vowel in coffee (first syllable); Group I chil... den chose equally $[D]$ and $[0]$, preferring the rounded vowels. Group II chose $[0]$ as the vowel almost invariably. Two speakers chose $[a]$; nine chose $[0]$; and fifteen chose $[\square]$ as the vowel in cross: ${ }^{2}$

TABLE XXXVIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CROSS

| Group | $[a]$ | [0] |  | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 2 (08\%) | 9 (35\%) | 15 | (57\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (07\%) | 5 (36\%) | 6 | (57\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 | (100\%) |
| I-II Children I Children | (07\%) | $\begin{array}{ll}4 & (29 \%) \\ 4 & (67 \%)\end{array}$ | 9 | (64\%) |
| II Children | 1 (12\%) |  | 2 | (88\%) |

Group I parents preferred $[D]$ in cross, and only 17 per cent chose the unround $[a]$; Group I children, however, showed a minority preference for $[J]$ (33\%), the majority choosing [0]. Group II was almost unanimously in favor of $[0]$ as the vowel.
regular pronunciation, $[10]$ occurring occasionally. Wheatley, p. 41, says that [3:] usually occurs in Southern coffee and that $[a\rangle$ in coffee is offensive to the Southern ear. Krapp, p. 59, iists both $[a /$ and $\angle 07$ in General American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 90 , say that $[0]$ prevails, then $[6]$ and $[a]$.
${ }^{2}$ Elders, $p .27$, finds $\angle 07(03 \%)$, $[a 7$ ( $03 \%$ ), $[0]$ ( $94 \%$ ) in cross. Stanley p. 20 , records all of the low-back

Three speakers preferred $[a]$ as the vowel in lost; six preferred [ $[0]$; and seventeen preferred [J]:3

## TABLE XXXIX

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN LOST


Group I parents preferred [a] (50\%) but showed some tendency to round the vowel to $[10]$ ( $33 \%$ ), or even to $[0]$ ( $17 \%$ ). $[\mathrm{K}]$ was the preference of Group I children ( $67 \%$ ), and 33 per cent chose the rounded [J], both choices showing the tendency of Group I children to favor the rounded vowels. Group II chose [0] alone.
vowels in such words. Kenyon, p. 182 , gives $[0]$ as the preferred General American pronunciation. Kenyon and Knot, p. 109, list [0] and [0], in that order.
${ }^{3}$ Elders, $p_{i} 27$, records $[0](80 \%)$ and $[0]$ ( $20 \%$ ) in lost. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, shows to be predominant, with an occasional [10]. Kenyon, p. I82, records [ 07 as the prevailing pronunciation of the vowel in lost in General American speech. Kurath, op. cit., p. 288, finds $\angle 07$ almost invariable in lost in Western speech. Kenyon and Knots, p. 260, list [3], [b].

Three speakers chose [a] as the vowel in moth; twelve chose [D]; and eleven preferred [0]:4

TABLE XL
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN MOTH


The majority of Group I parents preferred $[0](50 \%)$, but 33 per cent chose the vowel $[a]$. Sixty-seven per cent of Group I children preferred $[0]$ as the vowel, 17 per cent choosing [a] and 17 per cent choosing [0]. Group II informants chose only the rounded vowels: Group II parents chose $[0]$ ( $67 \%$ ) and $[0]$ (33\%); children chose [0] $(62 \%)$ and $[0](38 \%)$.
${ }^{4}$ Elders, p. 28, finds $[0]$ ( $60 \%$ ), $[0]$ (27\%), and [a] (13\%) in moth. McDavid, p. 147, finds 07 predominant, and [a] occasional. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p 71 , records 97 alone in moth. Kenyon, p. 182, shows predominant in moth. Krapp, p. 59, lists both $[a]$ and in General American speech. Kurath, p. 288, says that is invariable in moth in Western speech. Bloomfield, Op. cit, p .109 , cited in Elders, p. 27, found [0] in moth to be predominant in Central Western speech. Kenyon and Knot, p. 287, list $[J]$ and $[0]$ as the order of preferene in pronunciation of moth.

Four speakers preferred $[a]$ as the vowel in soft; seven speakers preferred $[\mathrm{D}]$; and fifteen chose $[0]: 5$

## TABLE XLI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SOFT

| Group | [a] | [0] | 507 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | (15\%) | (27\%) | 15 | (58\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 4 (33\%) | 5 | (42\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  | 1 (17\%) | 10 | (83\%) |
| I-II Children | 1 (07\%) | 3 (21\%) | 10 | (72\%) |
| I Children | 1 (07\%) | $2(33 \%)$ 1 | 3 | (50\%) $(88 \%)$ |

Group I parents chose equally $[a]$ and $[b]$. Group I children, however, preferred $[0](50 \%), 33$ per cent choosing $[0]$. Group II chose $[0]$ as the vowel, $[b]$ appearing occasionally.

Three speakers chose $[a]$ as the vowel in trough; five speakers chose [D]; and sixteen speakers chose [0]; two speakers failed to respond: ${ }^{6}$

5 Elders, p. 27, records $[0]$ ( $90 \%$ ), $[0]$ ( $10 \%$ ) in soft. McDavid, p. 147, finds $0 \backslash$ predominant, $\angle a\rangle$ frequent in soft. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, records [0] (approximately $90 \%$ ) and [D] (approximately $10 \%$ ) in soft. Thomas, Phonetics of American English, p. 119, says that the "usual American vowel" in soft is L3 J. Wheatley, p. 40, says that the customary vowel in soft in the South is [0:], and that $[a]$ in soft is offensive. Kenyon, p. 182, says that [0] prevailsin General American speech. Kurath, p. 288, gays that [J] in soft is invariable in Western speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 397, 11st [0], [D].
${ }^{6}$ Elders, p. 27 , records $[J]$ ( $83 \%$ ) and $[D](17 \%)$ in the word trough. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York,"

## TABLE XLII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN TROUGH

| Group | [a] | [10] | [0] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 (12\%) | 5 (21\%) | 16 (67\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 2 ( $17 \%$ ) | 7 (58\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 (100\%) |
| I-II Children <br> I Children* |  | $\begin{array}{ll}3 & (25 \%) \\ 3 & (60 \%)\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}9 & (75 \%) \\ 2 & (40 \%)\end{array}$ |
| II Children* |  |  | 7 (100\%) |

Group I parents preferred $[a](50 \%)$, but half of the group chose rounded vowels, $[0](33 \%)$ and $[0]$ ( $17 \%$ ). Group I children, however, all chose rounded vowels, $[10]$ ( $60 \%$ ) and [0] ( $40 \%$ ). Group II speakers preferred [0] alone.

## Before Stops

Of catalogue, log, and chocolate, the first two were regularly pronounced with [0]. Chocolate was invariably pronounced with $[a]$ in the first syllable.

Twenty-two speakers preferred $[0]$ in the last syllable of catalogue; three chose [b]; one chose $[a]: 7$
p. 36, records [0] (approximately $90 \%$ ) and [D] (approximately $10 \%$ ) in trough; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, he finds 5 440, ilst [0], [0].

7Elders, p. 29, finds [0] ( $90 \%$ ), $[b]$ ( $10 \%$ ) in cata10gue. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, records 29 instances of $[a], 8$ of $[10]$, and 5 of $[0]$ in

## TABLE XIII

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CATALOGUE



All groups preferred [0] in the third syllable of catalogue.
Pronunciation of the vowel in the first syllable of chocoleate was invariably [a]. ${ }^{8}$

Nineteen speakers chose [J] in log; five chose [10]; and two chose $[a]:{ }^{9}$
catalogue; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 70, he records two instances of $[a]$, three of $[10]$, and eleven of $[0]$ in catalogue. Kenyon and Knotty, p. 12, list [0.7, $[a]$, and $[10$.
${ }^{8}$ Elders, p. 28, records $[a](97 \%)$ and $[0](03 \%)$ in chocolate. Stanley, p. 17, says that of the "short o" words that he tested, chocolate and mock alone showed [ 97 or [ 0 ] in East Texas speech. McDavid, p. 146, shows a to be predominant in the South Carolina Piedmont. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, finds [0] alone; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 69, Thomas shows that [0] is predominant but that [a] occurs occasionally. Trap, p. 57, says that with the exception of New England, [af in chocolate is general in American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 81, cited in Elders, p. 28, 11st $\angle a\rangle,[b\rangle$, and [0] as Southern pronunciation preferences for chocolate.
${ }^{9}$ Elders, p. 29, records [0] (70\%), [D] (17\%), [a] ( $13 \%$ ) in log. Stanley, p. 17, says that rounded and unrounded

TABLE XLIV
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN LOG

| Group | [a] |  | [107 |  | T07 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 2 | (08\%) | 5 | (19\%) | 19 | (73\%) |
| I-II Parents | 2 | (17\%) | 2 | (17\%) | 8 | (66\%) |
| I Parents | 2 | (33\%) | 1 | (17\%) | 3 | (50\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 1 | (17\%) | 5 | (83\%) |
| I-II Children |  |  |  | (21\%) | 11 | (79\%) |
| I Children |  |  | 3 | (50\%) | 3 | (50\%) |
| II Children |  |  |  |  | 8 | (100\%) |

low back vowels are found in log in East Texas, but that the tendency is to round the vowel. Kenyon, p. 184, finds [a_] to be general in General American speech, and $[0]$ the New England variant. William C. Greet, "American Speech Records at Columbia University," American Speech, V (June, 1930), 333-358, finds ${ }^{3} 7$ in 108 in Lamar County and Stony, Texas. William C. Greet, "A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia," American Speech, VI (February, 1931), 164, says that there is a tendency to unround $[0\rangle$ to $a \neq$ in log in Williamsburg. McDavid, pe 148, finds a and $[97$ almost evenly distributed with 07 slightly favored. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 352 records 198 instances of $[a], 27$ of $[10]$, and 20 of $[2]$ in log; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 70 he recorde 51 instances of $[0]$, 9 of $[a]$, and 2 of $[B]$. Wheatley, p. 40 , says that $[3]$ and $[0 ; 7$ are the usual vowel choices for log in the South. Katherine Wheatley and Oma Stanley, "Three Generations of East Texas Speech," American Speech, XXXIV (May, 1959), 91, affirm that Southern 108 is $7192 /$. Krapp, p. 57, finds both $[a\rangle$ and $[0]$ in $\overline{10 g}$ in General American speech. Kenyon and Knott, p. 258 , 1ist $[0],[a]$, and 407 , in that order. Thomas, phonetics of American Eng1ish, op. cit., pp. 216-241, indicates the following vowel preferences for the word log: Eastern New England, Ca , preferences ior the Midale Atiantic area, $a\rangle$ (Philadelphia), [0]' (Delaware and Maryland); the South, 07 ; the North Central area, [0], [0], [a]; Western Pennsylvania, 4-5]; the Southern Mountain area; 07 ; the Central Midand,

Group I parents showed some preference for [a] (33\%) although the majority chose $[0](50 \%)$. Group I children, however, evenly divided their choices between $[D]$ and $[O]$ as the vowel in log. Group II preferred $[0]$ almost exclusively.

## Before Nasals

Song and strong, the words chosen to represent this group, were pronounced generally with $[\tilde{\boldsymbol{b}}]$ although there were a great many variations within the informant groups.

Fourteen speakers chose $[\tilde{0}]$ as the vowel in sons; one speaker chose $[\tilde{a}]$; and eleven speakers chose $[\tilde{j}]: 10$

TABLE XLV

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SONG

| Group | [ä] | [5] | -37 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (04\%) | 14 (54\%) | 11 | (42\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 6 (50\%) | 5 | (42\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 4 (67\%) | 1 | (17\%) |
| II Parents |  | 2 (33\%) | 4 | (67\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 8 (57\%) | 6 | (43\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 | (50\%) |
| II Children |  | 5 (62\%) | 3 | (38\%) |

${ }^{10}$ McDavid, p. 148, gives 52 instances of [3] and 23 of [a] for test pronunciations of the word song. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 37, records [J] predominant, $[b]$ frequent; $[0]$ occurs less frequentiy in upstate New York, according to TPronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 72. Kurath, op. cit., p. 288, says that Western speech almost invariably has $[3]$ in sons. Kenyon and Knott, p. 399, list $[0]$ and [0]; Southern preference is $[a]$.

Group I parents preferred $[\tilde{b}](67 \%)$, but 17 per cent chose $[\tilde{a}]$ and 17 per cent chose $[\tilde{j}]$. Group I children showed a greater preference for the rounded vowels, evenly dividing their choices between $[\tilde{\tilde{b}}]$ and $[\tilde{j}]$. Although 33 per cent of Group II parents chose $[\tilde{b}]$, the majority chose $[\tilde{J}]$, a preference which Group II children did not share. Group II children chose $[\tilde{b}]$ ( $62 \%$ ), only 38 per cent choosing $[\tilde{J}]$. Nineteen speakers chose $[\tilde{b}]$ in strong; five chose [ひ̃]; and two chose [ $\tilde{j}]:{ }^{11}$

## TABLE XLVI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN STRONG

| Group | [ã] |  | [ 0 ] |  | [5] |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 5 | (19\%) | 19 | (73\%) | 2 | (08\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 | (25\%) | 8 | (67\%) | 1 | (08\%) |
| I Parents | 3 | (50\%) | 3 | (50\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 5 | (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |
| I-II Children | 2 | (14\%) | 11 | (79\%) | 1 | (07\%) |
| I Children | 1 | (17\%) | 4 | (66\%) | 1 | ( $17 \%$ ) |
| II Children | 1 | (12\%) | 7 | (88\%) |  |  |

Group I parents chose $[\tilde{a}]$ and $[\tilde{0}]$ equally in strong, but a majority of Group I children preferred [ $\tilde{b}]$ ( $67 \%$ ), and 17 per cent chose a more rounded vowel, [0゙]. Group II parents
${ }^{11}{ }_{\text {Elders, }}$ p. 29, records $[J](83 \%)$ and $[0]$ (17\%) in the word strong. McDavid, p. 148, shows 0 to be the predominant pronunciation, but he also indicates the speakers use both [a] and [0] frequently. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 37 , and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 72, shows that $[0]$ is the vowel in strong in New York, Kenyon and Knott, p. 410, list [0] and [D] with the southern preference $[a]$.
preferred $[\tilde{D}]$ ( $83 \%$ ) as did Group II children ( $88 \%$ ), but 12 per cent of Group II children chose the unrounded vowel, $a \ddot{\square}]$.

## [0]

Many allophones of the sound [J] exist because of the relatively energetic pronunciation required of the sound. The tongue is low, though somewhat higher than for $[a]$ or $[b]$, and raised to a hump in its back portion; the lips are rounded; but the muscles of both tongue and lips are more tense than for $[a]$ or $[b]$. A lack of tenseness, rounding of lips, or incorrect positioning of the tongue often leads to the substitution of $[a]$ or $[b]$ for $[0]$.

## Before Fricatives

Although the vowel sound in the first syllable of the words sauce and sausage seems to be similar in both words, there was exhibited a great deal of variation in the actual pronunciation of the words.
[0]] was chosen by thirteen speakers as the vowel sound in sauce; $[0]$ was chosen by twelve; and $[a]$ was chosen by one speaker: ${ }^{12}$

[^7]
## TABLE XLVII

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SAUCE

| Group | $[a 7$ | [107 | [07 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | $1.04 \%)$ | 12 (46\%) | 13 (50\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 6 (50\%) | 5 (42\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| II Parents |  | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 6 (47\%) | 8 (57\%) |
| I Children |  | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| II Children |  | $2(25 \%)$ | 6 (75\%) |

Eighty-three per cent of Group I parents preferred [0] as the vowel in sauce, and 17 per cent chose the unrounded $[a]$. Sixty-aeven per cent of Group I children preferred [0], but the remainder chose the rounded $[0]$ (33\%). Group II parents showed these preferences: $[0](83 \%)$ and $[0]$ (17\%). Group II children showed similar preferences: $[0](75 \%)$ and $[0]$ (25\%), showing a more decided tendency toward $[6]$.

Seventeen speakers chose $[0]$ in sausage; six chose $[07$; and three chose $\left[a_{2}\right]: 13$
${ }^{13}$ [0] is invariable in sausage in Parker County speech, according to Elders, p. 32. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, records [J] 96 times, 0718 times in gausage; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, he records 207194 times, 0720 times in sauss. In the South, says Wheatley, $p$. 41 , the vowel in sausage is 40. Kenyon and Knott, p. 375,11 st $[0],[b]$, and $[a]$.

## TABLE XLVII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SAUSAGE

| Group | [a] | $[107$ | $[07$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 (11\%) | 6 (23\%) | 17 (66\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 3 (25\%) | 6 (50\%) |
| I Parents | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 (100\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 3 (21\%) | 11 (79\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Children |  |  | $8(100 \%)$ |

Group I parents were divided in their choice, half choosing $[a]$ and half choosing $[D]$. Group I children were also divided, but half chose $[D]$ and half chose $[0]$, rounding the vowels. Group II chose $[0]$ alone.

## Before Stops

Of the three words in this group, daughter, strawberry, and water, the first, daughter, was preferred with [0]. Strawberry was generally pronounced with $[J]$, water with $[a]$.

Sixteen speakers preferred $[0]$ in daughter; five chose [a]; and five chose [0]:14
${ }^{14}$ Elders, p. 32, records [0] (93\%), [0] (07\%) in daughter. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 69, records [ 37 almost invariably in daughter. Krapp, p. 84, mentions that [0:7 in daughter is a provincialism. Kenyon and Knott, p. 116, Iist only [3].

TABLE XLVIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN DAUGHTER


Group I parents were divided between $[a]$ and $[10]$ as the Vowel. Group I children chose $[6]$ (50\%) but showed some interest in the unrounded $[a]$ ( $33 \%$ ). Group II parents preferred the rounded vowels, $[1]$ (67\%) and $[0]$ (33\%). Group II children made almost the same choice, $[D]$ (75\%) and $[0](25 \%)$.

Twenty speakers chose $[0]$ as the vowel (first syllable) in strawberry; five speakers chose $[0]$; and one chose $[a]$ :

## TABLE XLIX

PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN STRAWBERRY

| Group | [a7 | [107 | 507 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (04\%) | 5 (19\%) | 20 (77\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 2 (17\%) | 9 (75\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 2 (33\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 (100\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 3 (21\%) | 11 (79\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Children |  |  | 8 (100\%) |

Group I parents preferred [J] (50\%), 33 per cent choosing $[0]$, and 17 per cent choosing $[a]$. Group I children diviced the choice between $[0]$ and [0]. Group II preferred [0] alone.

Pronunciation of the word water showed no variation from [a]. ${ }^{15}$

## Before 1

Of these words, crawl, stalk, and wall, [0] was the most characteristic pronunciation, with $[D]$ a secondary preference. Salt was almost invariably preferred with [0].

Eighteen speakers preferred [0] in crawl; eight speakers preferred [ $[0]$ :

TABLE L

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN CRAWL


${ }^{15}$ [0] in water does not occur in Parker county, but Elders, $p$. 32 , rinds $[a]$ ( $83 \%$ ) and $[B]$ ( $17 \%$ ) stanley, p. 19, finds $[a\rangle$ regularly. Kenyon, p. 185, finds [a] "very common" in General American speech, and 107 is "frequent." Thomas, Phonetics of American English, op. cit., p. 119, says, "Water usually has 3 along the Atlantic Coast and in the south. Further inland, $D$ becomes more frequent, and eventually, as we move west, a becomes predominant. In California and along the Oregon coast, [0.7 again predominates."

Half of Group I parents chose $[D]$, and half chose $[0]$. Group I children chose $[b](67 \%)$, only 33 per cent choosing [0]. Group II showed little variation from [0].

For the vowel in salt, twenty-three of the informants chose $[0]$; three chose $[a]:{ }^{16}$
table li
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN SALT

| Group | [a] | $[0]$ | 507 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 (12\%) | 23 (88\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 11 (92\%) |  |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |  |
| II Parents |  | 6 (100\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 2 ( $17 \%$ ) | 12 (83\%) |  |
| I Children II Children | 2 (33\%) | 4 <br> 8 |  |

Barrows, op. cit., p. 301, cited in Elders, p. 32, says that in Iowa $a$, is generally pronounced in water. The following authors, all cited in Elders, p. 32, find $V\rangle$ predominant in their respective areas of investigation: McDavid, p. 147, Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 35, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 74; and Bloomfield, $\left.\frac{o p}{a n} \dot{d} \frac{c 1 t}{\langle b}\right]^{p}$. 109. Kenyon and Knott, p. 470, list [0], [a], and $\langle\square\rangle$, in that order of preference.
${ }^{16}$ Salt is often found with $[0](23 \%)$, but mostly with [J] (77\%), says Elders, p. 33. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 73, records 8 instances of $[0.7$, 3 of CD 7 in salt. Kenyon and Knott, p. xxxviii, state that in worde in which the sound occurs before 1 plus a consonent, as in salt, the variants $[a]$ and $[0]$ are very common; however, $\lfloor 27$ is the only pronunciation listed for salt on page 373.

Thirty-three per cent of Group I children showed a preference for $[a]$; otherwise, the pronunciation $[0]$ was almost invariable.

Sixteen speakers preferred [0] in stalk; seven chose [b]; and three chose [a]:17

## TABLE LII

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN STALK

|  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Group | $[a]$ | $[0]$ | $[0]$ |
| I-II Aggregate | 3 | $(11 \%)$ | 7 |
| I-II Parents | 3 | $(25 \%)$ | $16(62 \%)$ |
| I Parents | $3(50 \%)$ | 3 | $(25 \%)$ |
| II Parents | 3 | $(50 \%)$ | $6(50 \%)$ |
| I-II Children |  |  | 4 |
| I Children |  | $49 \%)$ | $6(100 \%)$ |
| II Children |  |  | $(67 \%)$ |

Half of Group I parents chose [a]; the other half chose [0]. Thirty-three per cent of Group I children preferred [J], the majority preferring [D] (67\%). Group II preferred [0] alone.

Eighteen speakers chose $[0]$ as the vowel in wall; seven chose [0]; and one chose [a]: ${ }^{18}$
${ }^{17}$ Elders, p. 33, records [ $07(87 \%), ~[b](13 \%)$ in stalk. Thomas shows approximately the same percentages in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 69. Kenyon and Knott, p. 405, list only [0].

18 In wall, $[0]$ is predominant, $[0]$ occasional ( $10 \%$ ), says Elders, p. 33. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," $p$. 37 , records $[0]$ alone in wall. Kenyon and Knott, p. 469, show only [0].

TABLE LIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN WALL

| Group | $[a]$ | [107 | [07 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 1 (04\%) | 7 (27\%) | 18 (69\%) |
| I-II Parents | 1 (08\%) | 3 (25\%) | 8 (67\%) |
| I Parents | 1 (17\%) | 2 (33\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Parents |  | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |
| I-II Children |  | 4 (29\%) | 10 (71\%) |
| I Children |  | 2 (33\%) | 4 ( $67 \%$ ) |
| II Children |  | $2(25 \%)$ | 6 (75\%) |

Group I parents preferred [J] (50\%), but 33 per cent of the group preferred [0]. Thirty-three per cent of Group I children preferred [0], but the majority chose [0] (67\%). The speakers of Group II almost invariably chose [3], only 25 per cent of Group II children choosing $[0]$.

## Before Nasals

Lawn was the only word included in this group.
Fourteen speakers preferred $[\tilde{O}]$; six chose $[\tilde{J}]$; and six chose $[\hat{a}]: 19$

19Elders, p. 33, indicates that his inxestigation shows that speakers in Parker County preferred $a \backslash(57 \%), b]$ ( $30 \%$ ), and 57 ( $13 \%$ ) in pronunciation of the word iawn. Kenyon and Knott, p. 250, 11st only [2].

TABLE LIV
PRONUNCIATION OF THE STRESSED VOWEL IN LAWN

| Group | -a/7 | $[\tilde{\boldsymbol{b}}]$ | 537 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 6 (23\%) | 14 (54\%) | 6 ( $43 \%$ ) |
| I-II Parents | 4 (33\%) | 7 (58\%) | 1 (09\%) |
| I Parents | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |  |
| II Parents |  | 5 (83\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 2 (14\%) | 7 (50\%) | 5 (36\%) |
| I Children | $2(33 \%)$ | 3 (50\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Children | 4 (50\%) | 4 (50\%) |  |

Thirty-three per cent of Group I parents preferred [ $\tilde{0} \boldsymbol{]}$, but the majority chose $[\boldsymbol{a}](67 \%)$. Group I children preferred $[\hat{b}]$ (50\%), but 33 per cent chose [ã]. Group II parents preferred $[\mathscr{O}]$ ( $83 \%$ ), 17 per cent choosing $[5]$. The choice of Group II children was evenly divided between $[\tilde{a}]$ and $[\tilde{b}]$.

Group II Summary
As a general statement, it may be said that Group II speakers, the native speakers, showed these preferences:

## [0]

(1) Before fricatives. [0] was preferred in coffee (93\%), cross $(93 \%)$, lost $(100 \%)$, moth $(64 \%)$, soft ( $87 \%$ ), and trough ( $100 \%$ ) . [0] (36\%) was an important secondary pronunciation in moth.
(2) Before stops. Chocolate was preferred with $[a]$ ( $100 \%$ ). Both catalogue and log were preferred with $[0]$ (93\%).
(3) Before nasals. $[\tilde{D}](86 \%)$ was preferred in strong. Song was pronounced equally with $[\tilde{b}]$ ( $50 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{5}]$ ( $50 \%$ ).
[3]
(1) Before fricatives. [0] was the preferred pronunciation in sauce ( $79 \%$ ) and sausage ( $100 \%$ ).
(2) Before stops. Daughter was pronounced with $[b]$ ( $71 \%$ ) and $[0]$ (21\%). strawberry was pronounced only with [0]. Water was unanimously preferred with [a].
(3) Before 1. $[J]$ was preferred in crawl (93\%), stalk ( $100 \%$ ), wall $(79 \%)$, and salt ( $100 \%$ ).
(4) Before nasals. Lawn was most often pronounced with $[\tilde{b}]$ (64\%), but $[\tilde{a}]$ (29\%) was not unusual.

> Group I Summary

The preferences of Group I speakers comprise the following summary:

## [0]

(1) Before fricatives. $[0]$ was preferred in coffee $(50 \%)$, cross $(75 \%)$, lost ( $50 \%$ ), moth ( $58 \%$ ), soft ( $42 \%$ ), and trough ( $45 \%$ ). Frequently pronounced and of almost equal importance were the secondary choices $[a]$ and $[0]$.
(2) Before stops. Chocolate was pronounced only with [a]. [ 2$]$ was the preferred pronunciation in catalogue (75\%) and log (50\%), but [0] (33\%) occurred frequently in 10g.
(3) Before nasals. $[\tilde{b}]$ (58\%) and [ $\tilde{j}]$ (33\%) were preferred in song while strong was pronounced with $[\tilde{D}]$ ( $58 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{a}]$ ( $33 \%$ ).

## [0]

(1) Before fricatives. $[0]$ was preferred in sauce ( $75 \%$ ) and sausage ( $50 \%$ ), but $[a]$ ( $25 \%$ ) and $[D]$ ( $25 \%$ ) were not infrequent in sausage.
(2) Before stops. $[0](50 \%)$ and $[a]$ (42\%) were preferred in daughter. $[0]$ ( $50 \%$ ) and $[b]$ (42\%) occurred in strawberry. Water was pronounced by Group I only with [a].
(3) Before 1. $[0](58 \%)$ and $[0]$ (42\%) were pereferred in crawl. $[0]$ (58\%) and $[a]$ (25\%) were preferred in stalk. [0] (58\%) and $[0]$ ( $33 \%$ ) were preferred in wall. Salt was pronounced predominantly with $[0]$ ( $75 \%$ ) by Group I informants.
(4) Before nasals. Lawn was pronounced with $[\tilde{a}]$ ( $50 \%$ ) and $[\tilde{b}]$ (42\%).

## Chapter Summary

The following table shows relative choices of parents and children of each group; a hyphen (-) indicates equal presference, and a comma (,) indicates descending order of preferene:

TABLE LV
PRONUNCIATION PREFERENCES OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN GROUPS I AND II

| Word | I Parents | I Children | II Parents | II Children |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| coffee | $a-b$ | 0.0 | 5 | 0,0 |
| cross | $b_{1}, a$ | 0, 0 | 0 | 0,a |
| lost | $a, b, 0$ | D, 0 | 0 | $\bigcirc$ |
| moth | $0, a, 9$ | D, a-9 | 0,10 | 0.0 |
| soft | $a-10$ | $0,10, a$ | 0,10 | 0,10 |
| trough | $a, b, 0$ | 1, 0 | 0 | 0 |
| catalogue | 0, $a-b$ | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0 |
| 108 | $0, a, 0$ | D-9 | 0,0 | 0 |
| song | b, a-9 | b-3 | 0,0 | 0, 0 |
| strong | $a-\infty$ | 0, a-3 | 0,0 | $10, a$ |
| sauce | b, a | 1, 0 | 0, 0 | 0,0 |
| sausage | $a-b$ | D-9 | 0 | 0 |
| daughter | $a-\infty$ | $10, a, 0$ | 0, 0 | 10,0 |
| strawberry | $0,0, a$ | D-0 | 0 | 0 |
| crawl | 0-9 | D, 0 | 0 | 0, 0 |
| salt | $\boldsymbol{n}_{\boldsymbol{c}, \mathrm{a}}$ | $0, a$ | 0 | D |
| stalk | $a-b$ | 10, 0 | $\bigcirc$ | 2 |
| wal1 | $0,0, a$ | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 |
| Iawn | $a, b$ | $10, a, 0$ | 0,0 | $a-b$ |

As was the case in Chapter II with the pronunciations of words with [a], pronunciations in this chapter of words with $[0]$ or $[0]$ indicate that Group I children show the most divergence from the speech of their parents. In the pronunciations of such words as coffee, lost, soft, trough, strong, sausage, stalk, and lawn there is a tendency on the part of Group I children to favor the more rounded vowel of Group II speakers.

The speech of Group II parents and children is generally in agreement concerning the pronunciations of all words in the test.

## CHAPTER IV

THE DIPHTHONG SOUNDS [aI], [גV], AND [Ju]

Perhaps the most interesting variations observed during this investigation occurred with the pronunciations of the diphthongs [aI], [aV], and [Ju]. Of course, being more complex sounds, the diphthongs are more vulnerable to change than are the simpler vowels. While the simpler vowels consist of only one basic sound, unchanged during its articulan tion, the diphthongs consist of two vowel sounds, one gliding quickly to another. If the first element of the combination is stressed more than the second element, the sonority of the diphthong is said to be falling; if the second element is stressed more than the first, the sonority of the diphthong is said to be rising. Both types are represented in this study, the falling diphthong by $[a I]$ and [ $2 v]$, the rising diphthong by $[J u 7$.

## The Diphthong [aI]

The diphthong [aI], represented by such words as fire, time, find, fine, mine, bite, night, bright, and right, presented the two principal variations $[a]$ and $[a]$. The first variation occurs when the second element receives such a lack of stress as to be almost excluded; the second varia-
tion consists of the first element, stressed and lengthened to the complete exclusion of the second element.

## Before Voiced Sounds

Pronunciation of fire, time, find, fine, and mine by the informants indicates that $[2]$ is the predominant pronunciation in this area, with [aI] as the second choice. ${ }^{1}$

Twelve informants pronounced [2] in fire; ten informants chose [XI]; and four informants chose $[\bar{Z} I]:{ }^{2}$

[^8]It may shift toward [aI], in extreme cases even to [DI7; extreme allophones are likely to be considered substandard. In eastern Virginia, northern New York, northern New England, and Canada, an older variant $3 I 7$ occasionally survives. - . In the Midiand and South, the diphthong is often reduced to a monophthong beforer $r$ In other phonetic contexts, aryaiso simplifies to [a:], less commonly
Là, in the South.
On page 210, Thomas says:
In the South, KIT irequently simplifies to Za:7, as in $\angle$ faintain) for fine time and $\langle\overrightarrow{2} \partial 7$ for fire. Some Southerners regard simplification of the diphthong before voiceless consonants as substandard, but such a pronunciation as [ra:t] for right is widespread. In the Southern Mountain and Central Midland areas, simplification also occurs, especially before $[r]$, as in [far] or [far] for fire.
${ }^{2}$ Stanley $p,{ }^{29}$ indicates that fire may be pronounced
 Texas.

## TABLE LVI

## PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN FIRE

| Group | [a. 7 | [aI] | [2I] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 12 (46\%) | 10 (39\%) | 4 (15\%) |
| I-II Parents | 4 (33\%) | 5 (42\%) | 3 (25\%) |
| I Parents |  | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Parents | 4 (67\%) |  | 2 (33\%) |
| I-II Children | 8 (57\%) | 5 ( $36 \%$ ) | 1 (07\%) |
| II Children | $8(100 \%)$ |  |  |

Group I parents and children preferred [aI] in fire. Only 17 per cent of each group chose [aI]. Group II parents chose $[a](67 \%)$ and $\left[a^{I}\right]$ ( $33 \%$ ), and Group II children chose $[a]$ ( $100 \%$ ).

Thirteen speakers chose $[\tilde{a}]$; seven chose [\{̃̃̃]; five chose [ $\mathfrak{Z} \tilde{I}]$; and one chose $\left[a^{\tilde{Y}}\right]$ as the sound in time:

TABLE LVII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN TIME

| Group | [ã] | [2]] | [ลT] | $\left[\mathrm{a}^{2}\right]$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 13 (50\%) | 5 (19\%) | 7 (27\%) | 1 (04\%) |
| I-II Parents | 4 (33\%) | 3 (25\%) | 5 ( $42 \%$ |  |
| I Parents |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |  |
| II Parents | 4 (67\%) |  | $\begin{array}{ll}2 & \text { (33\%) } \\ 2 & \\ 2\end{array}$ |  |
| I- II Children | $\begin{array}{ll}9 & 65 \% \\ 1 & (17 \%)\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}2 & (14 \%) \\ 2 & (33 \%)\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}2 & (14 \%) \\ 2 & (33 \%)\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{ll}1 & (07 \%) \\ 1 & (17 \%)\end{array}$ |
| II Children | 8 (100\%) | 2 (33\%) | 2 (33\%) | 1 (17\%) |

Group I parents divided their choice between $[\tilde{\partial} \tilde{I}](50 \%)$ and [ã] (50\%), but the pronunciation variation of Group I chil-
dren showed an unusually wide range: $[\tilde{a} \tilde{I}]$ ( $33 \%$ ), $[\tilde{a} \tilde{I}]$ ( $33 \%$ ), $[\tilde{a}](17 \%)$, and $[a \tilde{I}]$ ( $17 \%$ ). Group II parents preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ ( $67 \%$ ) as a first choice and $[$ II] ( $33 \%$ ) as a second choice. Group II children preferred one sound, $a \mathfrak{a}\rceil$ ( $100 \%$ ). Thirteen speakers preferred $[\tilde{a}]$ in the word find; six chose $[\tilde{a} \tilde{I}]$, and seven chose $[\tilde{a}]: 3$

## TABLE LVIII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN FIND

| Group | [ã] | [ã] | [2] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 13 (50\%) | 6 (23\%) | 7 (27\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 3 (25\%) | 6 (50\%) |
| I Parents |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Parents | $3 .(50 \%)$ |  | 3 (50\%) |
| I-II Children | 9 (64\%) | 4 (29\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children | 1 (17\%) | 4 (67\%) | 1 ( $17 \%$ ) |

Group I parents divided their choice evenly between [ãj] and [aI] as the diphthong in find. Group I children preferred [ $\tilde{\underline{I}}]$ ( $67 \%$ ); 17 per cent chose [ $\tilde{a} \tilde{I}]$, and 17 per cent chose [ $\hat{a}$ ]. Group II parents were evenly divided in their choice between $[\tilde{a}]$ and $\langle\tilde{\tilde{a}} \tilde{\tilde{y}}]$, but Group II children chose [ã] unanimousiy.

3Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 149 records six instances of $\alpha I \overline{7}$ and fourteen instances of [ai] in find in downstate New York. Kenyon and Knott, p. 165, inst only aIJ.

Twelve of the speakers preferred the sound $[\tilde{a}]$ in the word fine；seven preferred $[\hat{Z}]$ ；six preferred $[\hat{Z I}]$ ；and one speaker preferred［ã̃］：${ }^{4}$

TABLE LIX

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN FINE

| Group | ［2̃］ | ［2I］ | ［2゙7 | ［ȧ゙］ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 12 （46\％） | ${ }_{4}(23 \%)$ | 7 （27\％） | 1 （04\％） |
| I－II Parents |  | 4 （67\％） | 3 l |  |
| II Parents | 5 （83\％） |  | 1 （ $17 \%$ ） |  |
| I－II Children | 7 （50\％） | 2 （14\％） | 4 （29\％） | 1 （07\％） |
| I Children |  | 2 （33\％） | 3 （50\％） | 1 （17\％） |
| II Children | 7 （88\％） |  | 1 （12\％） |  |

Group I parents，generally choosing［ $\tilde{\alpha} \tilde{I}]$ ，showed a tendency to simplify the sound by occasionally choosing［ã］（33\％）． Group I children，however，preferred［ $\tilde{\tilde{Y}}]$ ，only 33 per cent of the children choosing［ $\tilde{I} \bar{I}]$ ．One informant of this group chose $[\tilde{a} \tilde{I}]$（ $17 \%$ ）．Group II chose $[\tilde{a}]$ almost unanimously， only 17 per cent of Group II parents choosing to pronounce the sound［a］and only 12 per cent of Group II children choosing to pronounce the sound［華］．

Ten informants preferred the sound $[\hat{a}]$ in mine；eight preferred［ $\tilde{Z}]$ ］；seven preferred［ $\tilde{\underline{I}}]$ ；and one pronounced ［ã̃I］：

[^9]
## TABLE LX

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN MINE

| Group | [20] | [2T] | [2] | [IT7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 10 (39\%) | 7 (27\%) | 8 (31\%) | 1 (03\%) |
| I-II Parents | 4 (33\%) | 4 (33\%) | 4 (33\%) |  |
| I Parents |  | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |  |
| II Parents | 4 (67\%) |  | 2 (33\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 6 (43\%) | 3 (21\%) | 4 (28\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 2 (33\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Children | 6 (75\%) |  | 2 (25\%) |  |

Sixty-seven per cent of Group I parents chose [az/ while 33 per cent chose [ã7 as the sound in mine. Group I children showed a wider variation: $[\tilde{\mathbf{I}}]$ ( $50 \%$ ), [ẫ] (33\%), and $[\mathbf{T} \tilde{I}]$ ( $17 \%$ ). Sixty-seven per cent of Group II parents chose $[\tilde{\alpha}]$; 33 per cent chose [ä] Group II children preferred [ひ̃], but 25 per cent chose [ã] .

## Before Voiceless Sounds

The statistical trend toward monophthongization shown In the pronunciations of the preceding words is retarded slightly when the diphthong precedes a voiceless sound as in the words bite, night, bright, and right. Group I informants show an approximately similar degree of monophthongization in both sets of words, but Group II speakers show considerably less monophthongization in pronunciation of the diphthong before a voiceless consonant.

Eleven speakers chose $[a]$ in bite; ten chose $[\hat{Z} I]$; and five chose [2]]:5

## TABLE IXI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN BITE

| Group | [a. 7 | [2I] |  | [a]7 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 11 (42\%) | 10 | (39\%) | 5 | (19\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 (25\%) | 5 | (42\%) | 4 | (33\%) |
| I Parents | 1 ( $17 \%$ ) | 4 | (67\%) | 1 | (17\%) |
| II Parents | 2 (33\%) | 1 | (17\%) | 3 | (50\%) |
| I-II Children | 8 (57\%) | 5 | (36\%) | 1 | (07\%) |
| I Children | 2 (33\%) | 4 | (67\%) |  |  |
| II Children | 6 (76\%) | 1 | (12\%) | 1 | (12\%) |

Sixty-seven per cent of Group I parents preferred the sound [aI] in bite, but there was a tendency to slight the second element of the diphthong: seventeen per cent chose [ $\boldsymbol{Z I}$ ], and seventeen per cent chose [a]. Group I children made [a] ( $33 \%$ ) a second choice to [aI] (67\%), showing a tendency to monophthongize the diphthong. Group II parents divided their choice between $[\mathbf{a x}](50 \%),[\mathcal{Z}](33 \%)$, and [EI] ( $17 \%$ ). Group II children generally chose [a] (76\%), only 12 per cent choosing $[2]]$ and 12 per cent choosing [aI].

Twelve speakers chose [a]] in night; eight chose [a]; and six chose [aI]:
${ }^{5}$ Stanley, p. 29 , says that bite is likely to be pronounced with $[a]$ when it occursin a position not especially emphatic.

TABLE LXII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN NIGHT


Group I parents preferred [aI] (67\%) to [aI] (33\%), but Group I children preferred $[a \pm](67 \%)$ to $[\overline{2} \pm 7$ (33\%). Group II parents preferred [aエ] (67\%), only 33 per cent choosing the monophthong; however, Group II children preferred [a] (75\%) to [aI] (25\%).

Nine speakers chose $[a, 7$ in bright; nine chose $Z \underline{I T}$; and eight chose [aI]:

TABLE LXIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN BRIGHT

| Group | [a] | [2] | Rax7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 9 (35\%) | 8 (30\%) | 9 (35\%) |
| I-II Parents | 2 (16\%) | 5 (42\%) | 5 (42\%) |
| I Parents |  | 5 (83\%) | 1 ( $17 \%$ ) |
| II Parents | 2 (33\%) |  | 4 (67\%) |
| I-II Children | 7 (50\%) | 3 (21\%) | 4 (29\%) |
| I Children |  | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| II Children | 7 (88\%) |  | 1 (12\%) |

Bright was pronounced with $\langle 2 I](83 \%)$ and $[\hat{O}]$（ $17 \%$ ）by Group I parents，but Group I children chose equally［aI］ and［2］．Group II parents chose $[\mathbf{a}]](67 \%)$ and $[a]$ （33\％）；Group II children preferred［a］（88\％）and［aI］ （12\％）．

Eleven speakers preferred［ $\mathbf{a r}^{\boldsymbol{J}}$ ］in right；eight chose ［a］；and seven preferred［aI］：

## TABLE LXIV <br> PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN RIGHT

| Group | ［a．］ | ［2I］ | ［2F］ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 8 （31\％） | 7 （27\％） | 11 | （42\％） |
| I－II Parents | 2 （ $17 \%$ ） | 4 （33\％） | 6 | （50\％） |
| I Parents |  | 4 （67\％） | 2 | （33\％） |
| II Parents | $\begin{array}{ll}2 & \text {（33\％）} \\ 6 & (43 \%)\end{array}$ |  | 4 | （67\％） |
| I Children | 1 （17\％） | 3 （ $50 \%$ ） | 5 | （36\％） |
| II Children | 5 （63\％） |  | 2 | （37\％） |

Group I parents made［aI］（ $67 \%$ ）their preference，and［XI］ （33\％）was made second choice．Group I children chose［aI］ （ $50 \%$ ），［aI］（33\％），and the monophthong［a］（ $17 \%$ ）．Group II parents chose［2I］（ $67 \%$ ），but 33 per cent preferred the monophthong．Group II children chose $[\hat{2}]$（63\％）and［aI］ （ $37 \%$ ）。

The Diphthong［रひひ］
The diphthong $\alpha \boldsymbol{Q} \boldsymbol{J}]$ is probably the favorite subject of study of many students of dialect since it has a great number
of variations occurring in widespread distribution. 6 It seems that the diphthong developed from the Midale English simple vowel [u], and in its development probably acquired several different elements, according to regional idiosyncrasies, as the first element of the diphthong. 7 The principal first element of the diphthong in the Denton area is the sound of the vowel in eat, or [Be]. The following words, which were

$$
6_{\text {Thomas, Phonetics of American English, p. 211, says: }}
$$

[ZUT is more frequent along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, and in the Southern Mountain and Central Midland areas. [av] is more frequent to the north and west of these areas. The variant $E$ ev occurs frequently in the New York City and Midale Atlantic areas, and in the South; somewhat less frequently in Eastern New England, the Central Midiand, and the Southern Mountains. There is a trace of [EU] in the St. Lawrence valley in northern New York.

In "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 150, Thomas mentions that [2V] is unstable in downstate New York, tending to front, but without centralization. Stanley, p. 30, says that the diphthong [ZV] has several variations in East Texas:

> First, it is almost always longer than in many other sections of America, the lengthening being most pronounced in less literate speech. Secondly, it rarely, if ever, escapes nasalization in some degree; and nasalization, like lengthening, is most apparent among less well educated speakers where it is very strongly marked. The third notable feature is the variety of individual sounds for the first element.

He says further that the East Texas norm is probably BeU7. Robertson, p. 397, says that Eastern New England generally has [av]; the rest of the North has [aU]; and the South and Midland have Eev].

7Robertson, The Development of Modern English, p. 397.
considered to be illustrative of the diphthong and its variations, were included in the investigation: found, sour, cow, bounce, scout, town, loud, mouse, now, crowd, and ground.

## After Fricatives

Pronunciations of the words found and sour showed that speakers of the native group consistently preferred $A 7$ and that speakers of Group I generally preferred [2ひ]. The only other variations noted are [EQ] and [au].

Fifteen speakers showed a preference for $[\mathcal{E} \hat{\partial}]$, ten for


## TABLE LXV <br> PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN FOUND

| Group | [ã̛7 | - 27 | 1207 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 10 (39\%) | 15 (58\%) | 1 (03\%) |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 6 (50\%) |  |
| I Parents | 6 (100\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  | 6 (100\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 4 (29\%) | 9 (64\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children II Children | 4 (66\%) | $\frac{1}{8}(100 \%)$ | 1 (17\%) |

Group I parents did not vary from pronunciation of the diphthons [ $\tilde{v} \tilde{V}]$ in the word found, and Group I children showed
$8_{\text {Greet, }}$ A Phonographic Expedition to Williamsburg, Virginia," p. 167, notes that $\alpha \mathbb{Z}$ appears as $[J U]$ in found, town, now, cow, scout, and ground. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 150, finds 54 instances of [2ひ], 37 of LRV], and 29 of [av' in found in downstate New York; in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 309,
only a slight variation：$[\hat{2} \tilde{v}](67 \%)$ ，［ $2 \tilde{2} \tilde{2}](17 \%)$ ，and $[E \tilde{0}]$ $(17 \%)$ ．The native group，Group II，preferred only the variant ［区2j］as the sound in found．

Eighteen speakers pronounced sour with $B 2]$ ，six with ［av］，one with［OQO］，and one with［av］：9

Thomas shows only I instance of［av］and 53 of［av］． Wheatley and Stanley，op．cit．p． 90 ，mention that Lav showed some change to simple $\langle t e \backslash$ in their investigation．

Thomas，＂Pronunciation in Downstate New York，＂p．150， provides the following charted information regarding the number of speakers choosing particular sounds：
cow

［au゙
crowd
15
45
25
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { found } & 37 & 54 & 29\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { ground } & 22 & 11 & 7\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { loud } & 5 & 5 & 8\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { now } & 23 & 38\end{array}$
scout $19 \quad 12 \quad 5$
In＂Pronunciation in Upstate New York，＂p．309，Thomas pro－ vides the following tabulation：
crowd
K2v］
found
1
［av゙
ground
1
53
now
10
38
town
4
36
${ }^{9}$ The same speaker chose［av］in words of this group who chose［aI］in the preceding groups of words．The speaker＇s educational background will be noted later in the Appendix．

TABLE IXVI
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN SOUR

| Group | [atr] |  | Ee27 |  | [890] |  | av7 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 6 | (23\%) | 18 | (69\%) | 1 | (04\%) | 1 | (04\%) |
| I-II Parents | 3 | (25\%) | 8 | (67\%) | 1 | (08\%) |  |  |
| I Parents | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | (33\%) |  | (17\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 | (100\%) |  |  |  |  |
| I-II Children | 3 | (22\%) |  | (71\%) |  |  |  | (07\%) |
| I Children | 3 | (50\%) | 2 | ( $33 \%$ ) |  |  | 1 | (17\%) |

Fifty per cent of Group I parents preferred the diphthong [ay] in sour; 33 per cent preferred $[2 \mathcal{Z}]$; and 17 per cent preferred [EO]. Group I children showed a somewhat similar division of preference: $[\vec{V}](50 \%),[B Q]$ (33\%), and [av] ( $17 \%$ ). Group II, however, chose [EPD unanimously.

## After Stops

Pronunciations of the words in this group, bounce, cow, scout, town, all show essentially the same characteristics; that is, Group II generally prefers EQD], and Group I parents prefer [ZU] while the pronunciations of Group I children vacillate between the two parental group preferences.
[区20] in bounce was the choice of fifteen informants. Ten chose [ $\underline{\tilde{U}}]$, and one chose [ $2 \tilde{0} \underline{0}]$ :

## TABLE LXVII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN BOUNCE

| Group | [aṽ] | [82\%] | E207 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 10 (39\%) | 15 (58\%) | 1 (03\%) |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 6 (50\%) |  |
| I Parents | 6 (100\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  | 6 (100\%) |  |
| I-II Children | 4 (29\%) | 9 (64\%) | 1 (07\%) |
| I Children | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |  |
| II Children |  | 7 (88\%) | 1 ( $12 \%$ ) |

Group I parents chose [烒] unanimously. Group I children generally preferred the choice of their parents, but 33 per cent chose [EQ7]. Twelve per cent of Group II children chose the variant [ 80 parents chose $[\hat{Q} \hat{O}] /$ without variation.

Fourteen informants chose [EQ] in cow; eight preferred [EV]; and four pronounced [EO]:

TABLE LXVIII
PRONUNGIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN COW

| Group | [Ev7 | Leg 7 |  | [EO7 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 8 (31\%) | 14 | (54\%) | 4 | (15\%) |
| I-II Parents | 5 (42\%) | 6 | (50\%) | 1 | (08\%) |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |  |  |
| II Parents |  | 5 | (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |
| I-II Children | 3 (21\%) | 8 | (58\%) | 3 | (21\%) |
| I Children | 3 (50\%) | 1 | (17\%) | 2 | ( $33 \%$ ) |
| II Children |  | 7 | (88\%) | 1 | (12\%) |

Group I parents preferred［ZひV］（ $83 \%$ ），only 17 per cent choos－ ing［ $X e Z 7$ ．Group I children were divided in their choice be－ tween［av］（ $50 \%$ ），［æO］（ $33 \%$ ），and［ 20 O］（ $17 \%$ ）．Group II parents chose［兆2］（ $83 \%$ ）and［ $\mathbb{C O O}$（ $17 \%$ ）．Group II children showed a similar division，$[\mathscr{E} 27$（ $88 \%$ ）and［ 0 （ $12 \%$ ）．

Pronunciation of the word scout is typical．Fourteen speakers chose［OCD］；ten speakers chose［ $\hat{\sigma} V]$ ；and two speakers chose［EOOT：${ }^{11}$

## TABLE LXIX

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN SCOUT

| Group | ［20］ |  | E27 |  | ［eol |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 10 | （40\％） | 14 | （54\％） | 2 | （07\％） |
| I－II Parents | 5 | （42\％） | 6 | （50\％） | 1 | （08\％） |
| I Parents | 5 | （83\％） |  |  | 1 | （17\％） |
| I－II Children |  | （36\％） | 6 | （57\％） |  |  |
| I Children | 5 | （83\％） |  |  | 1 | （17\％） |
| II Children |  |  |  | （100\％） |  |  |

Group I divisions，parents and children，made identical choices：［2U］（ $83 \%$ ）and［ 20$]$（ $17 \%$ ）．Group II speakers also made identical choices，［ ［包］（ $100 \%$ ）．
${ }^{11}$ Greet，＂American Speech Records，＂p．351，shows［JTV］ in scouts in Record 71－A，Lamar County and Stony，Texas；in Record $71-B$ ，Stony，Texas，［ZUT appears in scouts．Carme－ lita Klipple，＂The Speech of Spicewood，Texas，American Speech，XX（October，1945），188，says that Lav／shows rais－ ing and fronting of the first element and centralization of the second，as in scouts［5Kæ：Ots］．

Town was pronounced with $[2]$ by fourteen speakers， with $[\tilde{a} \tilde{\tilde{v}}]$ by eight speakers，with $[\tilde{X} O]$ by three speakers， and with $[\tilde{\mathscr{E}}] \overrightarrow{\mathcal{J}}]$ by one speaker：

TABLE IXX
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN TOWN

| Group | ［ $\hat{\sim}_{\text {vid］}}$ |  |  |  | （20） | 属可7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 8 （31\％） | 14 | （54\％） | 3 | （12\％） | 1 （04\％） |
| I－II Parents | 4 （33\％） | 5 | （42\％） | 3 | （16\％） |  |
| I Parents | 4 （67\％） |  |  | 2 | （33\％） |  |
| II Parents |  | 5 |  | 1 | （17\％） |  |
| I－II Children | $\begin{array}{ll}4 & (29 \%) \\ 4 & (67 \%)\end{array}$ | 9 2 | （64\％） （33\％） |  |  | 1 （07\％） |
| II Children |  | 7 | （88\％） |  |  | 1 （12\％） |

Group I parents preferred $[\hat{\alpha} \tilde{v}](67 \%)$ with $[\tilde{E} \tilde{O}]$（33\％）as a second choice．Group I children chose［ $\mathrm{a} \tilde{\sim} /](67 \%)$ ，but the second choice was［区XJ］（33\％）．Group II parents pre－
 II children also preferred［CXZ］（88\％）；one speaker，however， chose $[t \tilde{\mathscr{E}} \jmath \partial n]$（12\％）．

## After Nasals

Mouse and now were the only words included in this test group．They share generally the same characteristics regard－ ing pronunciation of the diphthong as the words in the pre－ ceding group shared with the exception that the diphthong is here nasalized．

The word mouse was pronounced with $[\tilde{2} \tilde{\partial}]$ by fifteen in－ formants，with $[\tilde{a} \tilde{V}]$ by ten informants，and with［ãu ］by one informant：${ }^{12}$

## TABLE IXXI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN MOUSE

| Group | ［ã̃］ | 同号7 | ［ã̛］ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 10 （39\％） | 15 （58\％） | 1 （04\％） |
| I－II Parents | 6 （50\％） | 6 （50\％） |  |
| I Parents | 6 （100\％） |  |  |
| II Parents |  | 6 （ $100 \%$ ） |  |
| I Children | 4 （67\％） | 1 （ $17 \%$ ） | 1 （ $17 \%$ ） |
| II Children |  | 8 （100\％） |  |

Group I parents chose only［ã̃］．Group I chilaren showed some variation from the preferred $[\hat{\alpha} \tilde{v}]$（ $67 \%$ ）： 17 per cent preferred the diphthong with a low back first element，［ã̃］， and 17 per cent preferred the diphthong with a fronted first element，［天゙ĕg］．Group II unanimously chose［Ẽ

Eighteen speakers preferred to pronounce［大̃ $\hat{O}]$ in the word now；six preferred to pronounce［ $\tilde{\tilde{N}}]$ ］；and two preferred to pronounce［天OO］：
${ }^{12}$ The speaker who chose［ã讠］here is the one，noted be－ fore，who chose［ă］as a variant of［2］］．Information given in the Appendix will explain this exception to the general pronunciation．

## TABLE LXXII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN NOW

| Group | ［ $20 \sim 7$ | $\left[\mathrm{Ce}^{2}\right]$ | 620］ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I－II Aggregate | 6 （23\％） | 18 （70\％） | 2 （08\％） |
| I－II Parents | 4 （33\％） | 7 （58\％） | 1 （08\％） |
| I Parents | 4 （67\％） | 1 （17\％） | 1 （17\％） |
| II Parents |  | 6 （100\％） |  |
| I－II Children | 2 （14\％） | 11 （79\％） | 1 （07\％） |
| I Children | 2 （33\％） | $\begin{aligned} & 3 \quad(50 \%) \\ & 8(100 \%) \end{aligned}$ | 1 （ $17 \%$ ） |

Group I parents preferred to pronounce［ã̃］（67\％）in the word now，but the group showed a tendency toward a diphthong with a fronted first element with the pronunciations $[\mathscr{e} \tilde{\partial}]$ $(17 \%)$ and $[\mathscr{O O} \bar{O}](17 \%)$ ．Group I children preferred to pro－ nounce［大殳）］（50\％），only 33 per cent choosing to pronounce ［aひ］； 17 per cent chose another variation，［EO］．Group II speakers pronounced $[\tilde{C} \tilde{y}]$ without variation．

## After L

The only word included in this group was loud，in which the pronunciations of the diphthong generally stratified as ［ECD］or［过］，with few other varlations．

Seventeen of the speakers preferred to pronounce［ $2 \mathscr{L}, 7$ In the word loud，and nine of the speakers preferred to pro－ nounce［政］：

TABLE LXXIII
PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN LOUD

| Group | av7 |  | [aed] |  | [2007 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate |  | (35\%) | 17 | (66\%) |  |
| I-II Parents | 5 | (42\%) | 7 | (58\%) |  |
| I Parents | 5 | (83\%) | 1 | (17\%) |  |
| II Parents |  |  | 6 | (100\%) |  |
| I-II Children |  |  |  | (71\%) |  |
| I Children |  | (67\%) | 2 | (33\%) |  |
| II Children |  |  | 8 | ( $100 \%$ ) |  |

Group I parents generally chose [av] (83\%) as the diphthong in loud, but 17 per cent preferred the diphthong with the fronted first element, $[\mathscr{C} y]$. Thirty-three per cent of Group I children preferred the fronted first element, however. Group II parents and children chose [OQD] as the diphthong in every instance.

## After $R$

Pronunciations of the words in this group, crowd and ground, are generally typical of the pronunciations studied in the previous groups in that the pronunciations stratify as [BD] or [av].
crowd was pronounced with [R2] by seventeen informants, with [av] by seven informants, with $[20]$ by one informant, and with [av] by one informant:

Group I parents preferred ground with［ $\hat{\alpha} \tilde{V}](67 \%)$ ， 17 per
 children showed less preference than the parents for the diph－ thong［X̃讠］（ $50 \%$ ）， 33 per cent choosing the diphthong with the fronted first element，［OWOך］，and 17 per cent choosing the variant［ãँ］．Group II parents preferred［大⿹弋工］（83\％）， and Group II children unanimously preferred［大̛OZ］．

The Diphthong［Ju7
The diphthong $[J u]$ is an interesting one．In Early Nodern English the sound was［JU］with the accent on the first element，which made it a falling diphthong．However， with a shift on stress to the second element，it became a rising diphthong．${ }^{13}$ The lack of stress on the first element causes a slight constriction in the first element，［I］， especially after the alveolars $\underline{t}$ ，$\underset{d}{ }$ ，and $\underline{n}$ ．The constric－ tion，increased by accomodation with the completely con－ stricted $\underline{t}$ ，$\underset{d}{ }$ ，and $\underline{n}$ ，results in the pronunciation of the semi－vowel［j］．The diphthong then becomes［ju］．The principal variant of the diphthong is $[U]$ ，a result of monophthongization or dropping of the unstressed element，${ }^{14}$
${ }^{13}$ Kenyon，American Pronunciation，p． 210.
${ }^{14}$ Thomas，Phonetics of American English，p． 213 ，men－ tiong that the South makes a greater use of $7 / 7$ ，as in ［ju7，than any other region，but he adds that Eastern New England makes some use of［ju］．He says further that else－ where［u7 is generaily predominant，with［Ju7 and［JUy］ the result of conscious habit．
in this case [j]. Still present in some speech is the diphthong [TU]. ${ }^{1}$

## After Stops

The words in this group, dew, duel, Tuesday, and tulip, share no typical pronunciation characteristics. The different group pronunciations are not stratified but change with each word.

Fourteen speakers preferred $[\boldsymbol{\mu}]$ in dew; twelve speakers preferred the diphthong $\left[J u 7:{ }^{16}\right.$

## TABLE LXXIV

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN DEW

| Group | [U] |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 14 | $(54 \%)$ |
| I-II Parents | 5 | $(42 \%)$ |
| I Parents | 5 | $(83 \%)$ |
| II Parents | $13(52 \%)$ |  |
| I-II Ch11dren | 9 | $(64 \%)$ |
| I Children | 5 | $(83 \%)$ |
| II Children |  | $1(17 \%)$ |

${ }^{15}$ Robertson, p. 397, gays that $[I U]$ is "rather oldfashioned." However, [IU] is an important diphthong in some dialect regions. Nevertheless, the scope of this thesis does not admit the separate treatment of [IU] but only allows for the combination of $[\Psi u]$ and $[J]]$ since the difference is primarily one of quality of pronunciation.
${ }^{16}$ Stanley, p. 32 , says that dew is always pronounced with [ju] in East Texas. Robertson, p. 399, states that [u] is the usual American pronunciation in dew, and only in the South and South-Midland does fill remain in all levels of natural speech. Cliftion, op. cIt.; p. 192, says that [Ju7 occurs as often as [ $\omega$ ] in all sections of Texas in the words dew, duel, Tuesday, tulip, and newspaper.

Group I parents and Group I children clearly preferred [u] ( $83 \%$ ), only 17 per cent choosing the diphthong. Group II parents chose the diphthong unanimously, but Group II children chose $[u]$ and $[J \mu]$ equally.

Thirteen speakers chose $[J u]$ in duel; twelve chose [ $[u]$; one speaker did not respond:

## TABLE LXXV

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN DUEL

| Group | $[u]$ | C1u7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I- II Aggregate | 12 (48\%) | 13 (52\%) |
| I-II Parents | 5 (42\%) | 7 (58\%) |
| I Parents | 4 (67\%) | 2 (33\%) |
| II Parents | 1 ( $17 \%$ ) | 5 (83\%) |
| I-II Children | 7 (54\%) | 6 (46\%) |
| I Children | 5 (83\%) | 1 5 |
| * One s | 2. |  |

Group I parents generally pronounced [u] in duel; only 33 per cent chose $[J U]$. Group I children chose $[U]$ ( $83 \%$ ) and $[J u](17 \%)$. Group II parents chose $[J u](83 \%)$ and $[u]$ ( $17 \%$ ), but Group II children showed less preference for $[J u \overline{ }$ (71\%) .

Thirteen speakers preferred [U], and thirteen speakers preferred [Ju] in Tuesday: ${ }^{17}$

17Elders, p. 48, records $[\omega](10 \%)$ and $\lceil u](90 \%)$ in Tuesday. Thomas, "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 310, says that [U] appears most often in Tuesday.

## TABLE LXXVI

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN TUESDAY

| Group | [u7 | [ $\mu 7$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I-II Aggregate | 13 (50\%) | 13 (50\%) |
| I-II Parents | 6 (50\%) | 6 (50\%) |
| I Parents | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Parents | 1 (17\%) | 5 (83\%) |
| I-II Children | 7 (50\%) | 7 (50\%) |
| I Children | 4 (67\%) | 2 ( $33 \%$ ) |
| II Children | (37\%) | $5.63 \%)$ |

Group I parents chose $[U\rangle$ ( $83 \%$ ) and $[J u]$ ( $17 \%$ ); the children preferred $[u](66 \%)$, but 34 per cent chose [Ju]. Group II parents preferred $[J u]$ ( $83 \%$ ) to $[u]$ ( $17 \%$ ); Group II children preferred $[J u](63 \%)$ and $[u]$ ( $37 \%$ ).

Twenty-one informants pronounced [u] in tulip; five informants pronounced $[J u]:{ }^{18}$

## TABLE LXXVII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN TULIP

| Group | $[u 7$ | Cul |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| I- II Aggregate | 21 (81\%) | 5 (19\%) |
| I-II Parents | 9 (75\%) | 3 (25\%) |
| I Parents | 6 (100\%) |  |
| II Parents | 3 (50\%) | 3 (50\%) |
| I-II Children | 12 (86\%) | 2 (14\%) |
| I Children | 5 (83\%) | 1 (17\%) |
| II Children | 7 (88\%) | 1 (12\%) |

${ }^{18}$ Elders, p. 48, finds $[u](27 \%)$, $[j u](73 \%)$ in tulip.

Group I parents all chose [U] in tulip. Group I children generally preferred $[U]$ ( $83 \%$ ), but 17 per cent chose $[J u]$. Group II parents were evenly divided in their choice between $[u]$ and $[J u]$, but only a 12 per cent minority of Group II children chose a pronunciation other than the major pronunciation [u] ( $88 \%$ ).

## After Nasals

Newspaper (first syllable) was the only word tested in this group.

Seventeen speakers preferred [u] in newspaper; nine speakers chose $[J u 7$ :

## TABLE LXXVIII

PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIPHTHONG IN NEWSPAPER


Group I chose only [ $M]$ in newspaper. Group II parents chose $[J u](67 \%)$ and $[u]$ (33\%); Group II children preferred $[j u]$ $(63 \%)$ and $[u](37 \%)$.

Group II Summary
Group II informants indicated the following preferences:

## [aIT

(1) Before voiced sounds. [a] was preferred in pine $(86 \%)$, find $(79 \%)$, fire $(86 \%)$, time ( $86 \%$ ), and mine ( $79 \%$ ).
(2) Before voiceless sounds. [a] was usually pronounced in bite ( $57 \%$ ), but [ $2 \boldsymbol{Z}]$ was a common pronunciation. [as] (57\%) and $[2 I]$ ( $43 \%$ ) were preferred in night. Bright was preferred with $[\vec{a}]$ ( $64 \%$ ), but $[\bar{Z}]$ was a frequent pronunciation. Right was pronounced equally with $[\mathrm{a}]$ ( $50 \%$ ) and $[2 \pm](50 \%)$.

## [av]

(1) After fricatives. [ED] was the favorite pronouncation of the diphthong in found ( $100 \%$ ) and sour ( $100 \%$ ).
(2) After stops. [key] was preferred in bounce (93\%), cow ( $86 \%$ ), scout ( $100 \%$ ), and town ( $86 \%$ ).
(3) After nasals. Mouse and now were both pronounced only with [Ez].
(4) After 1. Loud was pronounced with 627 ( $100 \%$ ).
(5) After r. [Ked] was preferred in crowd (100\%) and ground (93\%).

## $[j u]$

(1) After stops. Dew and Tuesday were pronounced with [jut] (71\%) and [U] (29\%). Tulip was preferred with [u] (71\%) and $[J u](29 \%)$. Duel was pronounced with $[j u]$ ( $77 \%$ ) and $[u]$ (23\%).
(2) After nasals. Newspaper was pronounced with [ju] ( $64 \%$ ) and [u] (36\%).

Group I Summary
Group I informants indicated the following preferences:

## [2I]

(1) Before voiced sounds. Fire was pronounced with [QI] ( $83 \%$ ); find was preferred with [a]] ( $58 \%$ ) and [aI] (33\%); fine was pronounced almost equally with [aI] (50\%) and [ $2 \boldsymbol{2}](42 \%)$. Time was pronounced equally with [aI] ( $42 \%$ ) and [2I] ( $42 \%$ ) [2I] ( $58 \%$ ) and [2I] (33\%) were pronounced in mine.
(2) Before volceless sounds. [2I] was preferred in bite $(67 \%)$, but $[a](25 \%)$ occurred often in the pronunciation of the word. Night was preferred equally with [2I] ( $50 \%$ ) and $[2 \boldsymbol{X}](50 \%)$. Bright was most often pronounced with $[\bar{Z} I](67 \%)$, but $[\alpha I](33 \%)$ was not uncommon. $[a I]$ (58\%) occurred less frequently in right, but [aI] (33\%) was still a secondary pronunciation.

## [aur]

(1) After fricatives. Found occurred with [ZV] (83\%), and [2ひ] ( $50 \%$ ) was the major pronunciation in sour, but [ $[2]$ ( $33 \%$ ) occurred frequently.
(2) After stops. L2V was preferred in bounce ( $83 \%$ ), cow $(67 \%)$, scout ( $83 \%$ ), and town $(67 \%)$.
(3) After nasals. [ZU] (83\%) was the predominant pronunclation of the diphthong in mouse. Now occurred with [av] (50\%) and Aed] (33\%).
(4) After 1. [av] was preferred in loud (75\%).
(5) After r. [av] was preferred in crowd (58\%) and ground ( $58 \%$ ).

## $[J u]$

(1) After stops. [u] was preferred in dew ( $83 \%$ ), duel ( $75 \%$ ), Tuesday ( $75 \%$ ), and tulip ( $92 \%$ ).
(2) After nasals. Newspaper was pronounced with [u] (100\%) .

## Chapter Summary

The table which follows provides an illustration of the relative choices of parents and children of each group; a hyphen indicates equal preference, and a comma indicates descending order of preference:

## TABLE LXXIX

PRONUNCIATION PREFERENCES OF PARENTS
AND CHILDREN IN GROUPS I AND II

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Word | I Parents | I Children | II Parents | II Children |
| fine | $\partial I, \partial^{I}$ | $\partial^{I}, \partial I$ | $\partial, \partial^{I}$ | $\partial, \partial^{I}$ |
| find | $\partial I-\partial^{I}$ | $\partial I, \partial-\partial^{I}$ | $\partial-\partial^{I}$ | $\partial$ |
| fire | $\partial I, \partial^{I}$ | $\partial I, \partial^{I}$ | $\partial, \partial^{I}$ | $\partial$ |
| bite | $\partial I, \partial-\partial^{I}$ | $\partial I, \alpha$ | $\partial I, \partial, \partial I$ | $\partial, \partial I-\partial^{I}$ |

TABLE LXXIX --Continued


It may readily be seen that Group I children exhibit the most definite tendency to depart from the speech habits of their parents and accommodate to the speech habits of another dialect group. Pronunciations by Group I children of such words as fine, find, night, bright, found, bounce, mouse, now, and crowd illustrate two points: (1) In words with $[\overline{a r}]$ the tendency is to slight the second element of the diphthong to produce [2]] or even to monophthongize the diphthong to [a] in order to approximate the environmental dialect level; (2) in words with [aU] the tendency is to approximate the environmental dialect habit of fronting the first element to [B]. However, there is no definite indication of the validity of these two points except in the pronunciations given of the words fine, night, now, and crowd. In pronunciations of the word fine, Group I children preferred [Zㄱㄱ], showing a tendency to monophthongize, rather than the parental pronunciation [aI]; Group I children showed a similar preference in pronunciation of night. Pronunciations of now and crowd by Group I children showed a definite preference for the environmental [EeZ] rather than the parental [aw].

Parent-children pronunciations were rather stable in words with $[u]$ or $[J u]$ except in the pronunciations of dew and newspaper by Group II children. In each case, the parental pronunciation was $[J u]$ while the children chose [u].

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

The primary concern of this investigation has been the pronunciation of the low-back vowels or of certain diphthongs as they occurred in test words verbally received from two selected groups of informants residing in Denton, Texas. It has been the thesis of this study that a correlation of the pronunciations of the groups would establish that speakers of a dialect intrusive upon the native dialect would show some assimilation of the native speech and that the children of the speakers of the intrusive dialect would be most likely to accommodate their speech habits to the native usage.

Three families who had but recently moved to Denton from Minnesota were selected to represent speakers of the intrusive dialect; as a control group, three families who were native to Denton were chosen as representatives of the speakers of the native dialect. No attempt was made to determine whether the representation was statistically representative of the native speech; it was merely assumed that the midale-class families would generally represent their respective dialect groups.

Each family consisted of two parents and two to six children. The parents ranged in age from thirty-seven to fortyfive and in education from high-school graduate to college
post-graduate. The children ranged in age from six to nineteen years and in education from first grade enrollee to college freshman.

The testing of the speakers' pronunciations of selected words was accomplished in personal interviews in the privacy of their homes. Each informant was isolated from the others as casually as possible and was verbally presented questions which apparently tested his vocabulary although pronunciation was actually the concern of the test. It was deemed important that the informant be unaware that his pronunciation of words was being tested because it was assumed that if he thought that pronunciation were the main issue, he would likely modify his pronunciation, thereby affecting the accuracy of the test. His verbal response to the test questions was immediately recorded manually in narrow transcription on a prepared worksheet which anticipated the full range of pronunciation possibilities for the stressed vowels and for the diphthongs in the test words. Approximately an hour was required for the completion of each test.

The words which were selected as test words were all chosen on the basis that they tested the informant's choice of the low-back vowels or of the diphthongs which are normally pronounced in those words. The word list was somewhat limited because of the necessity that the words be a part of the vocabulary of a six-year-old. For that reason, the words are mostly monosyllabic.

After the testing was accomplished, a tabulation was made of the results. The tabulation was rendered as a correlative subdivision of the two major groups; such divisions as Group I-II Aggregate, Group I-II Parents, Group I Parents, Group II Parents, Group I-II Children, Group I Children, and Group II Children were measured and compared in their pronunciation choices. Although the disadvantage of such detailed division is obvious, that one speaker in a small division may control as much as 16 per cent of the division pronunciation preference, the advantage of immediate correlation more than offsets the disadvantage.

The objection may be raised that the narrow scope of a study which tests the pronunciations of as few as ninety words by no more than twenty-six informants will render its tabulation percentages only generally accurate. However, it may be recalled that the purpose of the study was not to survey the entire Denton area and specifically determine pronunciation preferences but was to measure preferences of generally representative groups and compare those preferences, determining in the process of comparison whether or not the general preferences showed any similarities. In this respect, then, the evidence points to the validity of the hypothesis that the children of the intrusive dialect speakers will show the greatest degree of accommodation of their speech habits to the speech habits of the native group.

The native group, for example, generally chose a rounded vowel in such words as closet, wasp, mockingbird, barn, donkey, honk, cart, dark, garden, sharp, and tar; the parents in the intrusive dialect group generally chose the unround vowel in those words; however, the children in the intrusive dialect group chose the slightly rounded to fully rounded vowels $[0]$ and $[0]$ instead of the unround $[a]$ of their parents.

In the pronunciations of such words as coffee, lost, soft, trough, strong, sausage, stalk, and lawn, the children of the speakers of the intrusive dialect preferred the vowel of the native speakers, a rounded vowel, rather than the unround vowel of their parents.

The pronunciation of such words as fine and night by the children of the intrusive dialect speakers, Group I Children, 11lustrated that they preferred the diphthong [aI] or the monophthong $[a]$ of the native speech rather than the diphthong [aI] of their parents' speech. Group I children preferred the native $E$ EeD in their pronunciation of now and crowd rather than [JU] of their parents.

In pronunciation of words with $[u]$ or $[J u]$ the parent-children choice was rather stable with the exception of the pronunciation of dew and newspaper by Group II ohildren, in which case the parental pronunciation was [Ju] while the children chose the $[u]$ of the intrusive dialect.

Generally, the Group II parent-children pronunciation was in agreement, with the possible exception of one word,
lawn, which was preferred with $[0]$ by Group II parents, but which was preferred equally with $[a]$ and $[D]$ by the chileden.

Evidence indicates a consistent assimilation of the lowback rounded vowel of the native speakers by the children of Group I. On the other hand, evidence of assimilation by Group I children of the native speech habits is rather inconsistent with words pronounced with the diphthongs [ZI], [aU], and $[J u]$.

## APPENDIX

The following information provides pertinent data concerning informant backgrounds for Group I and Group II:

## Group I

Informant number 1:
Sex: Male
Age: Thirty-nine
Education: High-school graduate
Occupation: Sales correspondent
Remarks: Informant number one is of Swedish stock. He and his wife lived for twelve consecutive years in Minneapolis, Minnesota, prior to moving to Denton, where they have lived for three years. He was interested, cooperative, and responsive to the test questions.

Informant number 2:
Sex: Female
Age: Approximately thirty-өight
Education: High-school graduate
Occupation: Housewife
Remarks: Informant number 2 was of Swedish stock, her mother being a native Swede.

Informant number 3:
Sex: Male
Age: Thirteen

Fiucation: Enrolled in the ninth grade. Occupation: None

Remarks: He is a son of informants 1 and 2.
Informant number 4:
Sex: Male
Age: Ten
Education: Presently enrolled in the fourth grade.
Occupation: None
Remarks: He is the youngest son of informants 1 and 2.
Informant number 5:
Sex: Male
Age: Approximately forty
Education: High-school graduate
Occupation: Sales service manager
Remarks: Informant number 5 is of German stock, the German influence dissipating somewhat during his generation. He had lived most of his life in Minneapolis prior to moving to Denton, where he has Iived for four years. His occupation exposes him to Iinguistic influence from several dialect areas in which his firm transacts business.

Informant number 6:
Sex: Female
Age: Approximately thirty-nine
Education: High-school graduate
Occupation: Full-time housewife

Remarks: Informant number 5 is of German stock; her generation, however, was less exposed to the linguistic influences of German. She is a slow, deliberate speaker who appeared to be rather lethargic.

Informant number 7:
Sex: Female
Age: Ten
Education: Enrolled in the fourth grade.
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker was not at ease and seemed slightly hostile.

Informant number 8:
Sex: Male
Age: Seven
Education: Enrolled in the first grade
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker failed to provide retroflexion for $r$, and most of his vowels preceding $\underline{r}$ are back rounded or semi-rounded.

Informant number 9:
Sex: Male
Age: Approximately forty-eight
Education: Two years of college
Occupation: Plant manager
Remarks: The parents of the speaker were native Swedes, and he recalled that some Swedish was spoken in his
family. He is a native of Minneapolis, but he has lived in Denton for the past eight years. He is an energetic, cultivated speaker; he was thoroughly cooperative, responding conversationally and without hesitation. Informant number 10:

Sex: Female
Age: Approximately forty-five
Education: High-school graduate
Occupation: Full-time housewife
Remarks: The speaker indicated that there was no strong Swedish linguistic influence in her family. She is also native to Minneapolis area. She was gracious, cooperative, and interesting.

Informant number 11:
Sex: Male
Age: Eighteen
Education: High-school senior
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker has been exposed to special speech training as a member of a boy's choir.

Informant number 12:
Sex: Male
Age: Fourteen
Education: High-school freshman
Occupation: None

Remarks: This speaker is the one who has often been mentioned in footnotes in this study. He attends a local preparatory school at which there is a strong British influence; he has also been specially trained in enunciation as a member of a local boy's choir. The speaker is of superior intelligence, and he seemed to view the simplicity of the test with sareasm. His pronunciation, in some cases, was exaggerated, but cross-checking of his pronunciation preferences eliminated those exaggerations.

Group II
Informant number 13:
Sex: Male
Age: Approximately forty
Education: College graduate
Occupation: Manager of a local credit company
Remarks: The speaker is a native Texan who has lived in the Denton area for most of his life.

Informant number 14:
Sex: Female
Age: Approximately thirty-seven
Education: Two years of college
Occupation: Full-time housewife
Remarks: The speaker is a native Texan who has lived in the Denton area for the last twenty years. The community in which she spent her childhood was ethnologically

Norwegian and German. She recalled that her parents came from Norway.

Informant number 15:
Sex: Female
Age: Six
Education: Enrolled in the first grade
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker fails to retroflex $\underline{r}$ which results
in backing and rounding of vowels preceding $r$.
Informant number 16:
Sex: Male
Age: Sixteen
Education: High-school sophomore
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker shows little variation from the Denton norm.

Informant number 17:
Sex: Male
Age: Forty-two
Education: College graduate
Occupation: Manager of a farm supply house
Remarks: Speaker number 17 has lived in the Denton area since his birth. He recalls some Dutch and Irish stock in his family, but the greatest linguistic influence comes from the German farmers (approximately 25 per cent
of total farmers around Denton) with whom speaker number 17 has mingled for twenty years.

Informant number 18:
Sex: Female
Age: Approximately forty
Education: College graduate
Occupation: Full-time housewife
Remarks: The speaker has lived in Denton for twenty years. Her mother came originally from Ohio and her father from West Texas.

Informant number 19:
Sex: Female
Age: Nineteen
Education: College sophomore
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speech of the speaker was affected in some respects because she became quickly aware that her pronunciation was being tested; however, the affected speech responses were minimized by cross checking.

Informant number 20:
Sex: Female
Age: Twelve
Education: Enrolled in the seventh grade.
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker was cooperative and energetic.

Informant number 21:
Sex: Male
Age: Ten
Education: Enrolled in the fifth grade.
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker was somewhat shy, but he quickly overcame the shyness and was responsive.

Informant number 22:
Sex: Male
Age: Seven
Education: Enrolled in the second grade
Occupation: None
Remarks: This speaker was quite energetic and playful. His responses were sometimes distorted by emphasis.

Informant number 23:
Sex: Male
Age: Forty-five
Education: College graduate
Occupation: News editor of a local radio station. Remarks: The speaker has Iived in the Denton area for the last twenty years and is a native Texan. His occupation, according to the speaker, required no special speech training other than that gained through his experience in journalism.

Informant number 24:
Sex: Female
Age: Approximately forty
Education: Post-graduate
Occupation: Full-time housewife
Remarks: The speaker is presently working toward a doctorate in counseling. She has had some specialized training in speech, required for her professional preparation.

Informant number 25:
Sex: Male
Age: Eighteen
Education: High-school senior
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker was an excellent informant, responding quickly and conversationally.

Informant number 26:
Sex: Female
Age: Twelve
Education: Enrolled in the sixth grade
Occupation: None
Remarks: The speaker was interested, responsive, and
patient. She offered several comments pertaining to the speech of the teenagers in the Denton area.

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Unpublished Materials
Elders, Roy, "A Study of the Stressed Back Vowels in the Speech of Parker County, Texas," unpublished master's thesis, Department of English, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, 1949.


[^0]:    $\sigma_{\text {John }}$. Kenyon and Thomas A. Knott, A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English (Springfield, 1944), p. xi11.

[^1]:    9 Ed F. Bates, History and Reminiscences of Denton County (Texas, 1918), is the primary source for the history of Denton County except for brief references which will be otherwise noted.

[^2]:    ${ }^{13}$ Bloomfield, pp. 476-495.

[^3]:    $l_{\text {Elders' }}$ description is valid in the pronunciation of [a] in this area; however, Group I informants made the sound somewhat tense. Robertson, p. 73, indicates that the vowel is characteristically tense. John S. Kenyon, American Pronunciation, 10th ed. (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 62, states that "the difference in tenseness is less certain for the lower vowels."

    $$
    { }^{2} \text { Elders, p. } 17 .
    $$

[^4]:     ( $30 \%$ ). Stanley, p, 19, says that the vowel in swamp habitueally rounds to 467 or 27 in East Texas. Kenyon, p. 183 , regularly finds $a^{\prime} 7$ in General American speech, but " 27 is common on the Western Reserve." McDavid, p. 148, shows 07 slightly predominant over [a]. Thomas, "Pronunciation In Downstate New York," $p_{2}$ 37, and "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 72 , shows $a\rangle$ predominant. Kenyon and Knot, p. 415, list several preferences: $a\rangle,[0,107$; Eastern $[0],[-2],[a\rangle ;$ Southern $[0],[a],[0]$.

[^5]:    $30^{2}$ Elders, p. 24, records the equal appearance of and $[\mathrm{K}]$ in cart in the speech of Parker County. In this study there were no instances of pronunciation in which the r was dropped from cart, except in the pronunciation of those children, noted in the Appendix, who had a slight speech impediment due to the nonretroflexion of the $\underline{r}$.

[^6]:    ${ }^{32}$ Krapp, p. 61, generally finds $[a:]$ in tar in General American speech.

[^7]:    ${ }^{12}$ Elders, p. 32 , finds $[0](77 \%),[b](20 \%)$, and $[a]$ ( $03 \%$ ) in sauce. McDavid, p. 147, shows 65 instances of 0$]$, 10 of $[a]$ in the word sauce in the South Carolina Piedmont. In "Pronunciation in Downstate New York," p. 36, Thomas lists [0] alone in sauce, but in "Pronunciation in Upstate New York," p. 71, he records [0] 228 times, $[0716$ times in sauce. Kenyon and Knott, p. 375, 11st only [0].

[^8]:    IThomas, Phonetics of American English, p. 141, says of $^{\text {of }}$ this diphthong:

[^9]:    4one informant，noted in the Appendix，often preferred the diphthongal variant［QI］rather than［aI］．

