

Two Generations in Texas Dialect

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<논문초록>

미국 남부 방언은 그 지역의 광대함과 아울러 그 지역에 속하는 언어사용자들의 언어 문화 및 역사적인 다양성에 의해 결코 한 가지 방언으로 취급할 수 없는 것임에도 불구하고 많은 경우에 그렇게 다루어져 왔다. 특히 소위 '남부 방언의 특징적 요소'로서 몇몇 자질들에 대한 연구가 많이 이루어져 왔다.

본 논문의 목적은 텍사스 지역방언에 이러한 남부 방언의 특징적 자질이 어느 정도 유지되고 있는가를 알아보고, 아울러 두 세대간에 언어적 차이가 있는지, 있다면 그 변화의 방향은 어느 쪽으로 전개되어가고 있는지를 밝히려는 데 있다. 이를 위하여 토박이 텍사스 인에 한하여 한 가정에서 두 세대(늙은 세대와 젊은 세대)를 대표하는 정보제공자 두 명씩을 각각 추출하여 네 가정 모두 여덟 명에게서 얻은 언어자료를 녹음하여 이를 분석, 정리하였다.

텍사스 지역방언에 대해 밝혀진 주요 내용은 다음과 같다.

1. /l/ 앞에 나오는 단순모음 /i/는 [ɪə] 또는 [ɪjə]로 이중모음화된다.
2. 강세음절에서 비음 앞에 나오는 /e/와 /ɪ/는 중화된다.
3. 늙은 세대에서는 /ɑ/와 /ɔ/가 융합되어 쓰이나, 젊은 세대에서는 융합이 일어나지 않는다.
4. 이중모음 /aɪ/는 /a:/ 또는 /a/로 단순모음화하는 것으로 보인다.
5. 이중모음 /aɔ/ /oɔ/의 앞모음이 전설화한다.
6. [u], [ju] 와 [ɔ]는 모두 [ɔ]로 된다.
7. [w] 와 [ɱ]는 일관성없이 교대로 사용되나 [ɱ]는 특히 늙은 세대에서 더 많이 사용된다.

1. Introduction

The speech of the South is not a homogeneous dialect, covering a broad geographical area with diverse population and history of settlement, but too often it has been treated as if it were. "Southern features" have been specified with a series of phonological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics.

Special attention has been paid to these features and in particular, intensive studies have been done on the following features:

1. Neutralization of /ɪ/ and /e/, which refers to /e/ becoming /ɪ/ before a nasal. Where the neutralization of /ɪ/ and /e/ before nasals originated is not known, but linguists tend to agree that it has been present in Southern American speech for a considerable time, and most assume that it comes from British folk speech.
2. Diphthongization which is often noted as 'southern drawl'.
3. Monophthongization which reduces glide of the diphthong.
4. The merger of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/. It was pointed out that reflexes of Middle English lax vowels /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ before /r/ coalesce into a low-back, slightly rounded, and heavily retroflex [ɔ].
5. The lowering of the first element in /er/. It has been pointed out that the lowering of /e/ in /er/ has become wide-spread in the South during the twentieth century.
6. The fronting of the first element in /ɔs/ and /æɔ/.

William Labov has proposed "southern shift", which involves the laxing of the vowels of 'meek' and 'make', the tensing of the vowels of 'hid' and 'head', fronting of the vowels of 'how', 'hoe', and 'who', raising or diphthongization of "open /ɔ/", as in 'brought', and backing or glide reduction of the diphthong in 'hide'.

The purpose of this study is to examine these southern phonological features in the speech of Texas, indicating to what extent the features are present and in what direction the changing trends between two different age groups, if any, are developing.

2. Methods

This study is based on the recordings of the speech of eight white native Texans¹⁾. As it turned out, the informants fell into four family groups, with two subjects in each group, representing old and young generation respectively, as follows:

- I. A. A departmental bookkeeper in Texas A&M University, female, age 52; high school graduate; born and reared in Penelope, central Texas, moved to Waco at age 22, and then has lived in College Station, south central Texas, for 23 years. Her mother came from Malone, TX.
B. The daughter of A, age 24, a departmental secretary in Texas A&M University; born in Waco, north central TX, but has lived most of her life in College Station, where she went to school. She spent one semester in Texas A&M University and graduated from a business school. Both of her parents came from Texas.
- II. A. A bailiff in the county court of law, age 59, male; college graduate; born and spent childhood in Winnsboro, northeast TX, and moved to Conroe, where he has lived for 28 years. His mother came from Wood County, TX.
B. The daughter of A, age 28, a teacher; born and has lived most of her life in Conroe, northeast TX. She spent a year in Austin and 3 years in Huntsville, TX for college.
- III. A. A clerk in Texas A&M University, age 55, female; born and reared in Rogers, central TX, and then moved to Bryan where she has lived for about 20 years. She graduated from a business school in Austin. Both of her parents came from Lexington, TX.
B. The son of A, age 36, a mechanic; born and has lived all his life in Bryan, south central TX. Educated in high school and one semester of vocational school. He spent three and half years in the army. Both of his parents are native Texans.
- IV. A. A construction manager, age 53, male; a graduate of Texas A&M

1) In this study, a native Texan refers to a person with at least one parent who was born in Texas and remained there throughout his/her life.

University; born and spent 4-5 years in San Antonio and then travelled a lot around Texas as a child along with his father in the army. He went to high school in Waco and moved to Mesquite, a suburb of Dallas, where he has lived as an adult for 28 years.

B. The daughter of A, age 27, a medical records director; born in San Antonio but reared and had lived in Mesquite, for almost 20 years. And then she has been in Bryan for 4 years.

The eight informants each read three texts including a sentence completion text, a short story named "My Friend Hugo", and a series of minimal pairs. The texts contain many other words belonging to the same categories but for this study I have made a selection of significant words from which we can examine southern features with an emphasis on the vowel variation in different phonetic environment. The examples are presented in the following table.²⁾

In the table, the mark = stands for the last preceding phonetic transcription in the same line. An asterisk indicates a supposed misreading of the text by speakers.

Table 1 Speech of the Two Generations in Texas Dialect

	I		II		III		IV	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
feel	-ɪə-	=	*-ejə-	-ɪjə-	=	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-
field	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	=	=	-ɪə-	-ɪjə	-ɪə-
heel	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	=	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	=	-ɪə-
meal	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	=	-ɪə-	=	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-
steel	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	=	=	=	=	=
filled	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	=	=	=	=	=	=
hill	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	-ɪjə-	-ɪə-	=	=	=	=

2) For the sake of brevity, I have shortened the transcriptions by eliminating consonants where vowels are to be examined and conversely.

Two Generations in Texas Dialect

pin	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
since	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
still	-ɾjə-	-ɾə-	=	=	=	=	=	=
tin	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
will	-ɾjə-	-ɾə-	=	=	=	=	=	=
win	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
bell	-ejə-	-eə-	-ejə-	=	-eə-	=	=	=
cents	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
fell	-eə-	=	=	-ejə-	-eə-	=	=	=
pen	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
sell	-eə-	=	=	-ejə-	-eə-	=	=	=
ten	-ĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
bake	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
bale	-ejə-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Dale	-eə-	=	-ejə-	-eə-	=	-ejə-	=	-eə-
day	-ɛɾ-	=	-eə-	=	=	=	=	=
eight	ɛɾ-	=	ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
fail	-eə-	=	-ɛɾjə-	-eə-	-ejə-	=	=	=
gate	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
gait	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
hate	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
made	-ɛɾ-	=	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=
maid	-ɛɾ-	=	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=
May	-ɛɾ-	=	=	-ɛɾ-	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=
sail	-ejə-	-eə-	-ejə-	-ɛɾ-	-ejə-	=	=	=
sale	-ejə-	-eə-	-ejə-	-eə-	-ejə-	-eə-	-ejə-	-eə-
shade	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
snake	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=	=	=	=
way	-ɛɾ-	=	=	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=
weigh	-ɛɾ-	=	=	-ɛɾ-	=	-ɛɾ-	=	=
Mary	-ɛɾɾ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=

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marry	-erɪ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
ask	æʊ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
back	-æ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
can	-ēĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
family	-ēĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
hand	-ēĩ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
passed	-æʊ-	=	=	-æ-	=	=	=	=
past	-æʊ-	=	=	-æ-	=	=	=	=
collar	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	=	=	-ɑ-	=	=	=
cot	-ɑ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
hock	-ɑ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
not	-ɑ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
odd	ɑ-	=	=	ɔ-	ɑ-	=	=	=
rot	-ɑ-	=	=	=	=	=	-ɔ-	-ɑ-
wash	-ɔr-	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=
watch	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=
watt	-ɔ-	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	=	-ɑ-	=	=	=
awed	ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
caller	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=	=	-ɑ-
caught	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	-ɑ-
hawk	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=
naught	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	=
ought	ɑ-	=	=	=	ɔ-	ɑ-	ɔ-	-ɑ-
wrought	-ɑ-	=	-ɔ-	-ɑ-	-ɔ-	=	=	-ɑ-
are	ɔr	ar	ɔr	ar	=	=	=	=
car	-ɔr	-ar	-ɔr	-ar	=	=	=	=
far	-ɔr	-ar	-ɔr	-ar	=	=	=	=
lard	-ɔr-	-ar-	-ɔr-	-ar-	=	=	=	=
or	ɔr	or	ɔr	or	=	=	=	=
for	-ɔr	or	-ɔr	or	=	=	=	=
four	-or	=	=	=	=	=	=	=

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lord	-ɔr	or	-ɔr	or	=	=	=	=
by	-aɪ	=	=	=	=	-a:	-aɪ	=
child	-a:~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
eye	aɪ	=	æ:	aɪ	=	=	=	=
fight	-aɪ~	=	æ:~	-aɪ~	=	=	=	=
I	a	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
knife	-aɪ~	-a:~	-æ:~	-aɪ~	-a:~	=	=	=
mice	-aɪ~	=	-a:~	=	=	=	=	=
night	-aɪ~	=	-æ~	-aɪ~	=	=	=æ:~	-aɪ~
ride	-a:~	=	-æ:~	-a:~	=	=	=	=
right	-aɪ~	-aə~	-æ:~	-aɪ~	=	=	-æ:~	=
tide	-a:~	-aɪ~	-æ:~	-a:~	=	=	=	=
tight	-aɪ =	-æ:~	-aɪ~	=	=	=	=	=
while	-a:~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
wide	-aɪ~	=	-æ:~	-a:~	=	-æ:~	=	-aɪ~
tire	-aɪr	=	-æ:r	=	=	=	=	=
foul	-æʊ~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
loud	-æʊ~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
mouth	-æʊ~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
route	-æʊ~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
hour	æʊr	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
oil	-ɔ:~	=	=	=	=	=	-ɔə~	-ɔr~
coal	-ɔ:~	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
coat	-ɔʊ~	=	-oʊ~	=	=	=	-ɔʊ~	=
goat	-ɔʊ~	=	-oʊ~	=	=	=	-ɔʊ~	=
home	-ɔʊ~	=	-oʊ~	=	=	=	-ɔʊ~	=
road	-ɔʊ~	=	-oʊ~	=	=	=	-ɔʊ~	=
sew	-ɔʊ	=	-oʊ	=	=	=	-ɔʊ	=
so	-ɔʊ	=	-oʊ	=	=	=	-ɔʊ	=

soap	-ʒɔ-	-oɔ-	=	=	=	=	-ʒɔ-	=
wrote	-ʒɔ-	=	-oɔ-	=	=	-ʒɔ-	=	=
coop	*-æɔ-	-ɔ-	=	=	=	*-oɑ-	-ɔ-	=
coupe	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
dew	-ɻju	=	=	=	=	-u-	-ɻju	=
do	-u-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
due	-ɻju	=	=	=	=	-u	-ɻju	=
feud	-ɻju-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
food	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
fool	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
full	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Hugh	-jɔ	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
mule	-jɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
pool	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
poor	-or	=	-ɔr	-or	-ur-	=	=	=
pour	-or	=	=	-ɔr	-or	=	=	=
pull	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
shore	-or	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
sure	-ɔr	=	-ur	=	=	=	=	=
Tuesday	-ju-	-ɻju-	=	-ju	=	-u-	-ju-	=
tune	-ju-	-ɻju-	-ju-	-u-	-ju-	-u-	-ju-	=
wood	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	-u-
would	-ɔ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
you	ju	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
Houston	hju-	=	hju-	=	=	=	=	=
huge	hju-	=	hju-	=	=	=	=	=
Hugo	hju-	=	hju-	=	=	=	=	=
humor	hju-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
what	ʌ-	=	w-	ʌ-	w-	=	ʌ-	w-
wheat	ʌ-	w-	ʌ-	=	=	=	=	=
wheel	ʌ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
wheezing	ʌ-	w-	ʌ-	=	=	=	=	w-

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when	ʌ-	=	=	=	=	=	=	w-
where	ʌ-	=	w-	ʌ-	=	=	=	=
which	ʌ-	=	=	w-	ʌ-	=	w-	=
while	w-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
whimper	ʌ-	=	=	w-	ʌ-	=	w-	=
whine	w-	ʌ-	=	w-	=	=	=	=
whirl	ʌ-	w-	ʌ-	=	w-	=	=	ʌ-
whisk	ʌ-	=	=	=	=	w-	ʌ-	=
<hr/>								
greasy	-z-	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
often	-ft	=	-f-	=	=	=	-ft-	=

3. Results

3.1. Diphthongization

Pure vowel /i/ followed by /l/ as in 'feel', 'field', 'heel', 'meal' is consistently diphthongized as [ɪə] or [ɪjə]. /e/ as in 'bell', 'sell' also becomes diphthong [eə] or [ejə] when followed by /l/. /j/ occurs more often in the speech of older people than that of younger informants. With the same vowel /e/, 'Mary' and 'marry' are not distinguished by any of the informants. /æ/ in 'ask' 'past' is diphthongized as [æʊ] but before a nasal as in 'can', 'family', 'hand', it is heightened and heavily nasalized, becoming [ẽĩ].

3.2. Neutralization of /ɪ/ and /e/

In this study, all the informants pronounced /e/ before a nasal as [ɪ] in such words as 'pen', 'ten', and 'cents'. Therefore /e/ and /ɪ/ before nasals in stressed syllables are neutralized, /ɪ/ before a nasal not being diphthongized but having a heavy nasality. Accordingly, 'tin' and 'ten', 'pin' and 'pen', 'since' and 'cents'

sound alike respectively.

3.3. Lowering /e/ in /eɪ/

I checked for lowering /e/ in /eɪ/ as in 'bake', 'day', 'May' throughout the text. None of the informants show this, except informants IA and IB who lowered the first element in the diphthong as [ɛ]. /eɪ/ before /l/ becomes [ɛə] or [ɛjə] by all the informants in such words as 'bale', 'sale', 'fail'.

3.4. Merger of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/

In all of the informants, /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ are alternately used without any consistency. On the other hand, speaker IA and IIA showed that /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ before /r/ coalesce into [ɒ] in such words as 'are' and 'or', 'far' and 'for', 'lard' and 'lord', not distinguishing the word pairs. Young informants do not show this merger of two vowels in any word.

3.5. Monophthongization

All the speakers reduce the glide of the diphthong /aɪ/, if not in every word, and the vowel becomes [a:] or [a] in such words as 'I', 'while' and 'child'. Glide reduction occurs more frequently when it is followed by voiced consonants or in open syllable than when followed by voiceless consonants. This feature is one of the characteristic features in black English and southern American English, which is somewhat stigmatized, so that many informants did not reduce the glide in reading minimal pairs which represent a more formal and conscious style of speech. Informant IIA reduced the glide of the diphthong and fronted the first element of the diphthong so that the vowel becomes [æ]. This can be explained with different rule ordering, either glide reduction preceding fronting or fronting preceding glide reduction without making any difference.

3.6. Fronting of the first element in /aʊ/ and /oʊ/

All the informants predominantly fronted /a/ in /aʊ/ as in 'foul', 'loud', 'mouth', and 'route' so that the vowel was pronounced as [æʊ]. Informant groups I and IV fronted /o/ in /oʊ/ as in 'home', 'Hugo' and 'road'. They pronounced [ɛʊ] instead of [oʊ].

3.7. [u], [ju] and [ʊ]

'Coop', 'fool' and 'pool' showed the characteristic southern vowel sound [ʊ] without variation by all the informants. A clear consonantal glide occurs in such words as 'due', 'feud', 'tune' and 'mule' in almost every informant. However, I feel that the loss of consonant glides in such words is spreading, since this does occur only in the speech of the members of the young generation. Informants IIB, IIIB pronounce the words 'dew', 'due', 'Tuesday' and 'tune' using pure vowel [u].

3.8. [w] and [ʍ]

The two variants occur alternately without any consistency by all the informants. However older speakers pronounce [ʍ] a little more frequently than younger people.

4.. Conclusion

As discussed so far, speech in the Texas area has retained a lot of features which have often been noted as characteristically Southern as follows:

1. Pure vowels /i/, /e/, and /æ/ are diphthongized especially when followed by /l/.
2. /e/ becomes /ɪ/ before a nasal so that /e/ and /ɪ/ are neutralized in

such words as 'pin' and 'pen', 'tin' and 'ten', 'since' and 'cents'.

3. /e/ in /er/ is lowered as [ɛ].
 4. /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ coalesce before /r/ in the speech of the members of older generation.
 5. Glide in /ar/ is reduced.
 6. The first elements of /æɔ/ and /oɔ/ are fronted, being [æɔ] and [eɔ] respectively.
 7. A clear consonantal glide occurs in such words as 'tune', 'due'.
- However, it seems that the loss of glide in such words is spreading.

While the speech of the two generations can scarcely be distinguished over many features mentioned above, there are marked differences between them, younger speakers speaking simpler, shorter, and faster than older people.

In this study, socioeconomic variables of the informants are not carefully considered and their origins within Texas are diverse. The numbers of the informants are so limited that we may not see the general trends changing between different age groups. It is, nevertheless, interesting to see the difference between two members of the same family and worthy of further studies.

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Two Generations in Texas Dialect

2. Father has a tin plate and a steel pin in his right leg from a wound he got when he (dived, dove) into a pool that had been drained.
3. John feels that he (might could, might) ask Nelly to bring her homemade wheat bread and three-bean salad to our church bake sale.
4. When he was a boy, Dale (would, used to) sell coal oil for lamps and cut the grass and trim the shrubs at the mill.
5. If there (was, were) still a railroad from Huron to Houston, I would go there more often to shop.
6. I hate to get caught in downtown traffic all day after I've (drove, driven) for ten hours.
7. Although the horse was slower than the car, it (swam, swum) the eight foot deep stream, which the car couldn't do.
8. A two-year old (shall, will) often push and pull her rocking horse around the room rather than ride it.
9. Since the weather was bad, the boy asked the girl (if, whether) he could walk her home.
10. Everybody shaded (their, his) eyes as (he, they) watched a foul ball pass before a noon sun brighter than a thousand-watt bulb.
11. The best time to see a hawk is in May, when (they, it)(have, has) many field mice and young snakes to eat.
12. Hugo's sister, who is four, put her doll in its crib and her poor dog in a paper (sack, bag).
13. While he slept in the car rather than out on the cot, Abe was awakened by an awesome blast on the horn (in which, which) he blew accidentally.
14. Mary first thought that high heels and a fur coat were a bit odd for a noon meal, but she quickly changed her tune when they reached the home (in which, where) the governor lived.
15. Because he failed to close the window (tight, tightly) when he shut it, Murray developed a wheezing cough and lost his voice from sleeping on a pallet in the cold night air.
16. After washing huge dogs all day and then helping bathe that pet goat, I was (real, really) tired.
17. A wasp's sting hurts about as (bad, badly) as a toothache.
18. The witch whisked past on her new broom grabbed the child from the playpen (in which, where) it slept, and left before anyone saw her.

19. As the sun came up in the east, she wiped the dew off the glass, looked out the window, and (seen, saw) the mule eating the crop.
20. (You, One) (have, has) to have a good sense of humor or be a fool to teach school.
21. Billy ought to have (got, gotten) his fill of Washington last Saturday.
22. Forty years is a long time (to, in which to) be married.
23. Hugh took a can full of worms in one hand, grabbed his knife and pole in the other and went (toward, towards) Stokes pond with his old hound whistling the tune from "the Andy Griffith Show."
24. (Had I, If I would have) known how cold my ears and nose would get during that ice storm Tuesday morning, I would have dressed in my new coat and sweater.
25. My parents didn't care if I joined in fights when I was a child (except when, unless) I got a black eye or tore my clothes.

APPENDIX 3

Reading Passage: My Friend Hugo

I first saw Hugo the day he brought his pet billy goat to school. The little fool had walked four miles from home -- his parents didn't own a car -- with that goat, a pocketful of worms, and two dead wasps. He was an odd-looking bird, a lean, gaunt boy with coal-black hair, huge green eyes, a missing front tooth, a squeaky voice, a big hawk-like nose, and awesome ears that made him look like a mule. Since he would not wear a coat, Hugo always had a wheezing cough during cold weather. I can still remember seeing him go right past our house about eight every morning with only an old sweater on, held tightly together by a safety pin and Hugo's left hand, even on the coldest days. He either didn't feel the cold or didn't care. His family of ten lived about three miles east of us down the road to the Huron community. Their house was really just a shack, with rickety stairs up the front porch, a tin roof, wooden shutters held together with wire because they wouldn't shut all the way, and some cots, pallets, and a baby crib where the children slept. His father plowed from dawn to sunset with two

horses which he would call up from the field with a moth-eaten old deer horn. The big meal at Hugo's was at noon and usually consisted of dried beans, some greasy fried corn, wheat bread, and salty ham. While Hugo's family was poor, they were still a merry bunch, full of laughter, joy, and good humor, Hugo, his brothers John and Abe, and his sister Mary (who was a real doll) went to our church in Fort Dale, but they never did join. Although many people used to make fun of them and say they didn't have good sense, all except Hugo turned out pretty good, due largely to their mother Nelly.

Hugo wasn't really a naughty child, but he just sort of fell into trouble. He got whipped in school in the fourth grade one time for accidentally slinging ink from his fountain pen on a girl's new dress, and he seemed to get in a fight (and win) almost every day, though I never saw him try to hurt or wound anyone he fought. That year everybody just knew that Hugo would fail the fourth grade like he had the third, but somehow he passed. His worst trouble came that May when he got caught stealing four pies from the church bake sale. He said he was going to hock them, but I don't know how he thought he'd ever sell those pies himself. When he was caught, he didn't whimper, whine, cry foul, ask for favors, or shrink from his punishment. He just shrugged his shoulders and took what was coming to him. He had to wash all the glass in the church for a year, fill the lamps with coal oil, change the few light bulbs in the office, cut the grass and trim the shrubs, and haul wood for the wood stove during the winter and fall. I can still remember watching him tote, pull, and push wood for a good two hours every Tuesday, whistling some old tune off key while he worked. Hugo's been gone for nearly forty years now. He left school when he could, got married, and moved first to Washington and then to Houston where he works in a steel mill. He sent me a knife he made the other day (he'd also made one for his landlord), and I couldn't help but think how dull my childhood would have been if he hadn't lived here. Things sure aren't as interesting around here anymore.

APPENDIX 4

Minimal Pairs

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-----|--------|---------|-----|--------|--------|
| 1. | so | sew | 2. | coop | coupe | 3. | poor | pour |
| | wrote | rote | | made | maid | | fill | feel |
| | would | wood | | wet | whet | | when | win |
| | route | rout | | bee | be | | sell | sail |
| | past | passed | | it | hit | | awed | odd |
| 4. | Hugh | you | 5. | hill | heel | 6. | pin | pen |
| | watch | wash | | far | for | | wheel | will |
| | meal | mill | | due | do | | cents | since |
| | hock | hawk | | pull | pool | | are | or |
| | wide | white | | wear | where | | naught | not |
| 7. | lord | lard | 8. | sweet | suite | 9. | bread | bred |
| | do | dew | | bid | bit | | back | bag |
| | Ott | ought | | feud | food | | read | reed |
| | field | filled | | road | rode | | gate | gait |
| | full | fool | | loud | allowed | | baugh | bow |
| 10. | right | ride | 11. | pen | pin | 12. | sure | shore |
| | caller | collar | | fell | feel | | still | steel |
| | for | far | | Toon | tune | | bale | bell |
| | which | witch | | you | Hugh | | cot | caught |
| | world | whirl | | fool | full | | tin | ten |
| 13. | Hugo | you go | 14. | ten | tin | | | |
| | tide | tight | | pool | pull | | | |
| | watt | what | | caught | pull | | | |
| | way | weigh | | what | watt | | | |
| | rot | wrought | | shore | sure | | | |