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INTRODUCTION

As the title suggests, the geographical aspect of this final paper will be at the forefront and will focus on the part of language spoken in and derived from the Southern part of the United States. Being possibly the most studied regional variety due mainly to the diversity among the population, its linguistic significance rises and makes it an appealing part of scholastically worthy research areas. Both the past and the present of this geographical part of the United States offer a great opportunity to broaden the knowledge brought to us by linguists such as Montgomery, Alego and McMillan, to name just a few. Various social groups are being examined in the paper in order to fully understand the shifting that is present in the grammatical and semantic component at the same time. The phonological part of the language is probably the most recognizable and unique aspect, in part due to its popularity on the big screen and the judgemental attitude the foreigners have towards the Southerners and their linguistic achievements. The negative stereotyping that outsiders have towards the South and its linguistic part is also something that will be mentioned. Condescension that arises from the same outsiders is present in their attitude, which sometimes exceeds politeness. The one factor that will closely be examined because of its importance to the evolution of the English language is the influence of other languages. The reality is that one simply does not get to the status of number one language in the world without stealing a phrase or two from its competition. This paper will provide some of the overview of the major points of differentiation that have been documented in the works of American and British linguists.

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1.1.The origins of Southern American English

It is difficult to answer what the exact origins of Southern American English are. The ancestry does not affect a single ancestor, it rather encompasses multiple lines of descent since the region covers about a dozen states with over fifty million people. John Algeo says: "But it is important to keep in mind that, when we talk about the "origins" of anything, our talk is always relative to other things and times. To ask about the "origins" of a speech way like Southern presumes that it popped into existence at some point as a departure from another speech way." (Algeo, 6) One thing is sure however that the first origins come from the first colonial settlers who stationed their roots in Jamestown, Virginia. An important aspect to the presence of a number of traditional and general diversities within the southern region is the presence of African Americans. The first African slaves were carried through the area what is today known as the South, and what was as well the site of the formation of the first government. Some linguistic features like the usage of double modals stem from Scots-Irish influence, but the main concern of that influence is vocabulary, something that will be discussed individually. People who settled in a place what is today called the South were affected by the place in which they were living, whatever was situated near the speakers to be spoken of. The new mixture of southern speech clearly evolved in America, although the roots stem from British dialects or non – English languages. The South is certainly a region specific and unmistakable in several ways – culturally, historically, and linguistically. It is without a doubt the type of American English which most people can determine, not just Americans, but people elsewhere. Surely, this region is marked by some cultural and historical features. "The South is typically understood as the region south of the Mason and Dixon line, consisting of the states of the old Confederacy which seceded from the Union over the issue of slavery and subsequently lost the Civil War. This implies that the Old South was marked by facts like a largely rural economy and the presence of large numbers of people of African descent, originally brought to the region forcibly as slaves." (Schneider, 19) Although it is clear that African American is the essence of Southern English, it has however undergone significant changes with the migration of vast numbers of African Americans to northern cities, which resulted in urbanization. The most essential division of Southern English can be divided into two main branches, "Lower South" and the "Upper South". The Lower South is an area which stretches from the tidewater of Virginia to the bottom lands of Texas, whereas the Upper South or north of the "fall line", covers an area of the Piedmont and mountain area of the interior, often identified with the Appalachian region. According to some

linguists it is rather little known about this dialect, and it is presumed to be less than 150 years old, although these facts are not affirmed by linguists; a history of Southern English continues to be written.

1.2. African - American and American – White Southern English – a shared ancestry

The shared ancestry of African-American and American-White Southern English can be ascertained to the cotton and tobacco plantations, which was the most influential industry at that time, before the mines of the Appalachian and Piedmont mountains were utilized industrially and produced their own distinctive varieties. A crucial fraction of laborers, who worked side by side with African slaves and communicated with them generally, were non-native speakers of English, from Europe, particularly from Germany. In the early phases of almost all colonies, population grew more by birth than by immigration, so it was very likely for the children of both Europeans and Africans to have picked up the same colonial differences, although their parents had a different accent. So what actually matters in this transportation, so to say, of English language to novices in the colonies, is not the capacity of Europeans to Africans, but rather that of native to non – native speakers, despite the race. We can presume that all these speakers, both American – born descendants of Europeans and Africans spoke the same kind of English, until the arrangement of partition made similarities that were difficult to maintain. As the plantations grew bigger, and work became fiercer, rigid living conditions expanded infant mortality and shortened the birth rate and the general life expectancy. A result of these things was a very quick turnover in the population, so novices learned the local dialect from less fluent speakers. In addition to all this, Africans had to communicate more between themselves than with non – Africans so there was more space for domination from African languages to find their way into the evolving dialects. Everyday communication continued between them, and countered the meaning of the diversity, that an influence from African languages could have inflicted on the then emerging African American English. It is relevant to note that at that time rice fields were in the need of a bigger labor power than tobacco and cotton plantations. African slaves were a minority on tobacco and cotton plantations, hence the imbalance of African slaves to European laborers. According to a myth, the speech of white Southerners was influenced by the speech of their black nannies, however there are a lot of similarities that show us how the speech was developed. The concord with African servants and African slaves must have influenced the election of elements that Europeans made into colonial English from the bigger pool of native

aspects they were displayed to. Such explanation is constant with the reality that most aspects of African American English can be recognized in some white English dialects that might not have a relation with African slaves, for example, the evidence that Gullah's, a creole language spoken by the Gullah people (also called "Geechees" within the community), an African-American population living on the Sea Islands and in the coastal region of the US states of South Carolina, Georgia and northeast Florida, *duh* is likewise used as a continuous instrument in nonstandard Southwestern British English. Montgomery sugests that "Colonial American English was probably not a koin´e in many places; rather dialect diversity, especially reflected in style shifting, was the rule". (Montgomery, 75) This position is constant with the conclusion that Americans were people with multi – style, so to say, speeches, and dialect connection might have made them more so.

2.1. Phonetics and Phonology

"There is doubtless no limit to the number of ways that a blackbird may be looked at, but Wallace Stevens in his poem "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird" demonstrates that there are at least thirteen. The same is true of Southern American English (SAE) phonology." (Dorril, 119) There is certainly no extent to the means of sounding southern, but there are definitely a few ways to explore them in this short overview at the phonology of English in the southern United States. It is difficult to support both complete and meticulous description of Southern American English phonetics and phonology in a short analysis. Nevertheless, it is possible to bring an extensive image of Southern American English that is both comprehensible to the everyday reader and detailed in its illustration of the scene. "[T]he South is the most distinctive speech region in the United States," and "When Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter ran for president, the country and the media gave extraordinary attention to their accents." (Dorril, 120) The case that the country aimed attention at the two presidents emphasizes points to the importance of phonology as the most unique speech region in the United States. A more precise look at certain phonological and phonetic aspects follows, ahead with a short explanation of the historical element. Southern American English pronunciation can be divided into three sections: the South Midland (the Appalachians and the Blue Ridge from the Pennsylvania line to northern Georgia), the Upper South (with the Virginia Piedmont the center) and the Lower South (chiefly South Carolina and Georgia). The center is primarily on the pronunciation of vowels and postvocalic /r/. In the South Midland, postvocalic /r/ is kept, and /r/ often interferes in *wash* and *Washington* between folk and

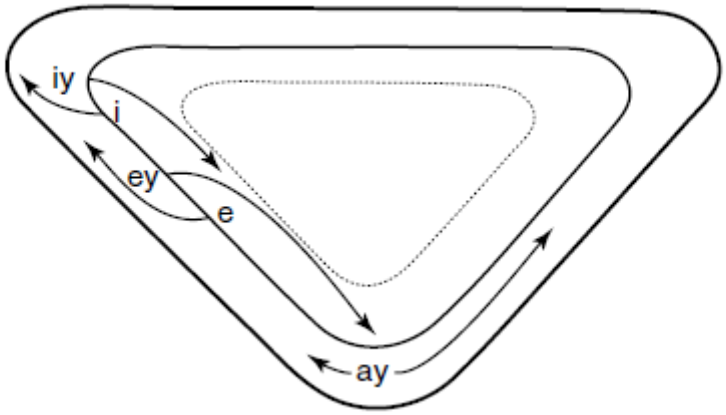
everyday speakers; these aspects are also present in North Midland speech. Postvocalic /r/ is lost in both the Upper and Lower South. "...postvocalic /r/ is being restored in white southern speech, this process is not occurring for southern African American speakers." (Cukor-Avila, 84) The Dictionary of American Regional English summarizes weakening and flattening of the diphthong /ai/, diphthongization of /ɔ/ before voiceless consonants, and the merger of /ɔ/ and /a/. There is not a distinct set of components that tells the difference Southern American English phonology from the rest of the United States. There is, nonetheless, an understanding that such a thing exists. This idea possibly depends on a mixture of features. Presumably the closest thing to normally determining a feature would be the "flattening" or monophthongization of the /ai/ diphthong. If a central separation is made between South Midland and Southern then the postvocalic /r/ becomes very important: it is present in the former, absent in the latter. More aspects of southern phonology combine the following: upgliding /ɔ/, fronted back vowels, certain vowel mergers including front vowels before nasals (*pen* and *pin*), the "southern drawl" (lengthening of certain vowels and intrusion of /ə/ between the vowels and following consonant) and the "breaking" of some vowels, so that *steel* is pronounced like *stale* and *stale* like *style.* Also there are some similarities and diversities of stressed vowels among African Americans and white speakers. There is a tendency for monophthongized vowels and a large regional uniformity among the African – American speakers. The pronunciation of the plurals of words ending in the consonant collection [sp], [st], and [sk] in Augusta, Georgia. As far as disyllabic plurals go in both black and white speech of older generations it was found that unmarked plurals are the norms for both blacks and whites. Presumably the most important difference in the pronunciation of a single word is the /s/-/z/ alternation in *greasy.* The term 'southern drawl' - is a synonym for southern accent or southern speech and refers to the presumed slowness of southern speech, frequently attributed to the heat or to the laziness of its speakers, and that is why is often used derogatively. In addition to this, linguists use this phrase to mention "the lengthening and raising of accented vowels, normally accompanied by a change in voice pitch. It involves the addition of a second or even a third vowel but does not necessarily entail a slower overall speech tempo" (Montgomery 1989a: 761).

2.1. Vowel shifting in Southern States

General shifting in the vowels was first recognized in the 1970s not only in the southern states, but all the southern variations of English everywhere in the world – New Zealand,

Australia, South Africa, southern England. Particularly unusual about this shift in the United States was that the order of the rotation of the vowels was entirely different of a vowel shift happening at the same time in the northern cities, generating more diversity between northern and southern variations in the United states. In this frame 1.1. we can see how the front vowels are switching positions between the regular diphthongs of /iy/ and /ey/ and their regularly short counterparts, /i/ and /e/. The shift of the back vowels to the front is not explained as a chain shift, but rather as lateral movements approaching the front of the high back vowel /uw/ and the mid back vowel /ow/.

Frame 1.1.



African-American vowel shifting

African Americans across the South narrowly dominate whites of the same community. Thirty-three vowel charts from African Americans come primarily from Texas and North Carolina. African Americans escape the sound changes detected in the white community, so it is not surprising that the Southern Shift is not common in the black community. The initial outlook of Southern Shift shows a mixture of three common vowel shift structures: “the chain shift of back vowels upwards before /r/; the fronting of back upgliding vowels; and the chain shift of front vowels in which the long or peripheral vowels centralize and fall, while the short vowels move toward the front and rise.“ (Feagin, 128) The last shift is what is today called the Southern Shift by Labov. There are two core areas, characterized by the monophthongization of /ay/, within the South - the Inland South and Inland Texas. The Inland South aims its focus on three cities Knoxville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Birmingham, Alabama. This area is characterized by the switch of /e/, /ey/, and /i/, /iy/; back gliding /oh/, in addition to the

monophthongization of /ay/. On the other hand, for the Inland Texas these features occur in Dallas, Lubbock, and Odessa. As far as Charleston and Memphis go, Charleston does not appear to be involved in the Southern Shift. Charleston is a borderline southern city, at least as its speech is concerned. Various reasons can be proposed for the characteristics in all these results. First is dialect geography, the second reason involves methodology which surrounds the resemblance of speaking style, and the third reason concerns with the extent of cities, and differences between smaller and bigger places. As a consequence the mixture of vowel shifting and diphthongization emerges in an intensely complicated phonology, labeling the region from the rest of the United States.

Morphology

3.1. Grammatical features of Southern speech

Yall

There are three grammatical features that are commonly identified with Southern speech: *yall*, *might could*, and *fixin to.* They occur in well-known dictionaries of southern speech, in classical literary works characterizing Southern dialect, and in movie features including southern characters. The syntactic characteristics analyzed here will not describe all southern speakers. Of course, not every southern speaker speaks the same variation of Southern English. Some varieties relate with coastal communities, with cities, some with African Americans, some with classes, and some with gender. "*Yall*, *might could*, and *fixin to* are what Wolfram and Fasold (1974) refer to as "socially diagnostic" features, in that their use identifies social characteristics of the speaker" (Bernstein, 106). These phrases are frequently avoided by accomplished, civilized, literate Southerners keen of speaking 'standard' English in formal situations. Even though, Southern English stays labeled as the one variety of English that is certainly not common, some non-Southerners have noticed value in embracing commonly southern phrases. No aspect has been more carefully analyzed with southern speech that the use of *yall*. There are a few alternatives in spelling, punctuation and form - *you-all* (with the accent on the first syllable), *y'all*, *ya'll*, *yawl.* These days *yall* struggles not just with *you* but also with *you'uns* heard in the Smoky Mountains, and as well with *youse* and *you guys,* heard mainly in the northeastern United States. "The use of *you guys,* for example, may be spreading to the South. I became aware of this one evening in an Atlanta restaurant in November, 1993, where I was having dinner with a group of linguists – five women and one man. I was surprised to hear the waiter ask, "Can I get you guys something to drink?" Toward the end of the meal, I had a chance to speak to him of my interest in his use

of *you guys*. He explained that he used it instead of *yall* because he thought it was more polite, and, besides, although he was originally from a town in rural Georgia, he did not want to sound southern“ (Bernstein, 108). The expansion of *you guys* appears to be expanding among Southerners.

Age	Outside the South	Inside the South
18–24	43%	68%
25–44	24%	62%
45–64	18%	54%
65+	7%	35%

Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. shows the usage of *yall* in 1996 Southern Focus Poll by age. For both Southerners and non – Southerners, *yall* is an alternative preferred more frequently by younger speakers than the older ones. The fundamental element of *yall* is a matter of an extensive academic concern. Some people view *yall* as a reduction of *you + all* and usually insert an apostrophe after the *y*. Others insert the apostrophe after the *a* and assume of it either as a reduction of *ya + all* or as a grammaticalized structure not comprising the reduction of *you*. “Montgomery (1992) suggests the possibility that *y'all* derives from the Scots-Irish *ye aw*“ (Bernstein, 109). He indicates that the stress pattern does not support the reduction of *you + all*; considering *you* has the initial stress and *all* the secondary stress, reduction would favor to produce *you'll*, not *y'all*. There is a common understanding about most of the possible uses of *yall*. It can serve as an “associative plural“, as an “institutional” pronoun, as a type of indefinite *yall*, which points out to one or several people; as an indication of kindness in greetings, partings, and as a sign of friendship or casualness. However, there is a conflict between southern non – linguists as well as between linguists, whether *yall* can have a generally singular note. “Much of the commentary has focused on how non-Southerners misrepresent Southerners as using *yall* consistently to refer to a singular addressee. Although recent studies have shown that such usage may be acceptable to some Southerners (Tillery, Wikle, and Bailey 2000), its occurrence is relatively rare.“ (Bernstein, 109) There are different patterns of the possesive, that were analyzed: *yall's*, *yalls's*, *you all's*, *your all's*, *all of yall's*, and so on.

Might could

The phrase *might could* is used by Southerners to show an extent of ambiguity and kindness. The phrase falls into general classification of double modals or multiple modals, which is, the

usage of two or more modal auxiliaries in the same verb phrase. “Modal auxiliaries include present and past-tense pairs *may/might, shall/should, will/would*, and *can/could*, although most present-day speakers use these terms without regard to tense (and some linguists do not treat them as tensed pairs).“ (Bernstein, 110) Standard English is considered to have a restriction of one modal auxiliary for each verb phrase. However, Southerners use double modals, sometimes even triple modals; *ought to* (or *oughta*), as in *might should oughta*. “Fennell and Butters (1996) also see the likelihood of the form having been brought to the New World from Great Britain, whereas Montgomery and Nagle (1993) speculate that multiple modals may have been brought to the southern United States by Scots-Irish settlers.“ Double modals are not only associated with Southern speakers, there are cases in Middle English, and in some variations of Scottish and British English. “Citing a variety of sources (Atwood 1953;Wolfram and Christian 1976; Randolph and Wilson 1953) as well as anecdotal accounts, Feagin (1979) reports occasional usage of *might could* in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, North Dakota, and Nebraska.“ Even though, proportion is bigger for speakers in the South, some evidence display that the usage appears outside the South. The custom of double modals between speakers of African American English is frequent both inside and outside the South. In the South double modals are used by all sections of the population. “Analysis of data from the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (*LAGS*) in Montgomery (1998) shows that multiple modals are used within each regional sector: Upper East Texas, Lower East Texas, Arkansas,West Louisiana, East Louisiana/Gulf Mississippi, Upper Mississippi, Lower Mississippi, West Tennessee, Middle Tennessee, East Tennessee, Upper Alabama, Lower Alabama, Gulf Alabama/West Florida, East Florida, Upper Georgia, and Lower Georgia.“ (Bernstein, 111) They are used nearly evenly by men and women, blacks and whites, however there are a few differences in usage according to social class. Double modals are used by by upper-, middle-, and lower-class speakers, but as class decreases the usage increases. Southerners of all social classes use double modals ordinarily, without connecting any stigma to its use. “The use, or misuse, of *might could* might be described by answering three questions. The first is a question of semantics: does the phrase mean something that a native speaker would mean when using it? The second is a question of pragmatics: is the phrase used in a context in which a native speaker would use it? The third is a question of syntax: is the phrase structured within the sentence in a way that the native speaker would structure it?“ The first question might be taken into examination when considering the extent of meanings that have been ascribed to modals in general. There are three suchlike modalities. “*Deontic* modality expresses a range of permissibility from

obligated to forbidden.“ “*Epistemic* modality expresses a range of probability from certain to impossible.“ “*Dynamic* modality expresses ability or volition.“ (Bernstein, 113) Some surveys reported by linguists show that the most confirmed function of *might could* is to express ability, rather than possibility, and the permission is estimated in-between. As far as the second question goes, the one concerning pragmatics, we can see the usage of *might could* in one-on-one conversations, especially those that take the structure of negation. “She observes that sales clerks would use *might could* especially when they wanted to offer a suggestion that might run counter to her own wishes as a customer, in other words, in the one-to-one context of negotiation.“ (Bernstein, 114) The universal point is that *might could* is a sign of politeness in conversation. And last, the third question, the one concerning the matter of structure. “Double modals are of theoretical syntactic interest because they appear to violate the phrase structure rule that allows only one modal in the verb phrase.“ There are two ways of looking at them; the first one is to look at them as a sequence of a modal and an adverb, and the second one is to consider them as idioms or compounds.

Fixin to

Fixin to is a phrase popular among Southerners meaning something like 'about to'. The phrase usually means to do something in a short period of time. It is difficult to say where this phrase came from and why its usage is mostly southern. Dictionaries usually cover this phrase associating it with synonyms *preparing to* or *intending to*. The usage of *fixin to* is subdivided relatively evenly between men and women, blacks and whites. This phrase may be used more frequently by younger speakers than by older ones, and it may be used more often by people who have no formal education and social status than those on higher levels.

Table 1.2.

	Number	Number using *fixin to*	% Using *fixin to*
Gender			
female	422	125	30%
male	492	160	33%
ethnicity			
black	197	61	31%
white	717	224	31%
Age			
13–45	196	68	35%
46–65	210	68	32%
66–76	266	78	29%
77–99	242	71	29%
Education			
0–7 years	234	77	33%
8–10 years	216	78	36%
11–12 years	224	57	25%
13+ years	240	73	30%
Social status			
lower	194	70	36%
lower middle	369	119	32%
upper middle	279	78	28%
upper	72	18	25%

Table 1.2. shows the usage of *fixin to* by social elements, and that is age, education, social status, gender and ethnicity. Young people took this phrase from agrarian areas, where the phrase is more common to urban ones. People who do not recognize this phrase may not understand its slight difference in meaning. *I'm fixin' to wash the windows* and *I'm fixin' to leave in the next ten years*. In other words the phrase is more convenient when the process is impending, not when it is undetermined or in the distant future. *Fixin to* varies slightly, in alluding to the action prior to an action's beginning.

Some other grammatical features that are essential for the South are irregular verb patterns in the agrarian South; *An income* riz *up dramatically* – meaning that an income rose up dramatically. The complete *done* in African American English and in Anglo American dialects; *She done forgot what he said* – meaning that she forgot what he said. The *be + s* in some areas of the South is affected by Highland Scots and Scots – Irish; *Sometimes he bes like that* – meaning that sometimes he is like that, he behaves like that. The *are* missing in Southern Anglo and African American English; *You pretty; He cool* – meaning that he or she is pretty or cool. The *–s* absence on third-person-singular forms in African American English; *The cat stay inside in the afternoon* – meaning that cat stays inside in the afternoon. The intensifying adverbs in Southern English; *He is right friendly* – meaning he is really friendly. The possesive forms ending in *–n* in phrase-final position in Appalachian English; *Is it yourn?*, which means; *Is it yours*?, whether or not something belongs to you. There are a few more features, but these are the most common. However, not all speakers of the South will use all of these grammatical features to the same extent. Finally, the analysts themselves are the best source of information, along with the people of South whose language diversities we take such enjoyment in exploring.

4. Vocabulary

4.1. Cowboys, Rockets, and Rangers (Texas)

Any grammatical analysis of Texas must start with the understanding that English is, actually, the second language of the state. The first language spoken in the state was actually Spanish, for almost hundred years before English was. With the Anglo settlement in 1820, English rapidly became widely used as Spanish, even though many people continued to speak two languages. The effect of the Texas Revolution indicated that Anglos would surpass Hispanics,

that the English would be the leading language in the new state, and that many Spanish words would combine with the culture and the language that Anglos took from the east to create a different Texas combination. Anglos from both the Lower South and the Upper South moved quickly into the new state after 1840, often bringing their slaves with them. Lower Southerners mostly dictated in east and southeast Texas and Upper Southerners in the north and central part. This complex dialect situation was made more difficult, particularly in southeast and south central Texas, by direct migration from Europe. Even though the border with Mexico has always been an accessible one, migration increased quickly after the Mexican Revolution, then slowed during the mid-twentieth century, and then again increased. After 1990 the number of migrants grew quickly. The current migration is modifying the demographic form of the state and assures that Spanish will continue to be essential language in Texas. Lexical aspects such as *green bean* and *chigger* come from the South Midland division and they have competed with Southern words *snap bean* and *redbug*. All this happened as a consequence of a complex Anglo settlement arrangement that divided the South Midland/Southern dialect division to the east. More lexical aspects such as: *frijoles* - any of various beans used in Mexican style cooking, *olla* – a ceramic jar or pot, *arroyo* – a small canyon, *remuda* – a herd of horses from which those to be used for the day are chosen, *tejano* – feminine, it refers to a Texan who originates from Mexico, *jalapeño* used to be exclusively Texan, it refers to a hot pepper originated from Mexico, reflect not just the somewhat great number of Hispanics in the areas, but also the influence of Mexican American culture in the expansion of a specific Texas culture. In addition to these aspects, there is a number of aspects that came from or have their high value in Texas, like *tank* 'stock pond', *maverick* 'stray or unbranded calf', *doggie* 'calf', and *roughneck* 'oil field worker, *howdy* - a general greeting; a shortened form of "*How do you do*? *Shinnery* is a famous term in western Texas. It stands for a shinnery oak or a sand shinnery oak, *chaparral* - brush-covered terrain, *icehouse* a term used in the San Antonio area to mean a *convenience store*. Elsewhere, this stands for an *open-air tavern*, *resaca* - a small body of water, *toro* a bull, *vaquero* - a cowboy, plunder room - a storage room. *Linguists suggest that urbanization, geographic and social flexibility, and mass media have adjusted the speech of the United States to a domestic standard.* What appears to be developing in Texas is a dialect that links features of Southern speech and another large-scale dialect. The expansion of such specific arrangement is not what a linguist might foresee, but this is Texas, and everything is just different here.

4.2. The Place Where Jazz Was Born (New Orleans, LA)

Although, Louisiana was formally a Spanish colony for over thirty years, and even though slaves from Africa and settlers from German-speaking Europe and from British America formed a massive portion of the population, New Orleans was primarily French-speaking at the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. English language promptly spread throughout, forming a civil division that stayed essential up to the twentieth century. After the Louisiana Purchase, the term *creole* was adopted to indicate a native speaker, characterizing local people whose families had lived in colonial Louisiana from those whose families had come after the seaport became a part of the United States. Presently, *Creole* is a term that many of descendants of combined African and French or Spanish origin choose for themselves. However, as a linguistic term, a *creole* is a brand of language that expanded from a pidgin - a grammatically simplified form of a language, typically English, Dutch, or Portuguese, and a very small number of African Americans in Louisiana still speak a *creole* of French. A lot of people came to Louisiana from once French Canada in the 1760s. Acadians or Cajuns spoke another dialect of French. Even though they did not stay in the port of New Orleans, they spread into the lands of southern Louisiana and stayed generally rural people. Before the Civil War, New Orleans listed second after New York as the seaport of entrance for immigrants. By 1900 New Orleans was an English-speaking city, although the majority of people used another language at home. Without accepting the French language, many of the immigrant groups accepted cultural characteristics that had been formed when the city was French, and in return contributed to the exclusive cultural mixture that is today greater New Orleans. New Orleans shares many linguistic characteristics with its neighbors in other areas of Louisiana, especially vocabulary. A greater majority of New Orleanians would identify and use many words believed to be Cajun English, for instance: *boudin* 'sausage of pork, rice, and seasoning', *cushcush* 'browned cornmeal eaten as a cereal', and *make do do* 'go to sleep', and a few more words like *armoire* 'large upright wardrobe for clothing', *lagniappe* 'something extra', *lost bread* 'French toast', and *mirliton* 'vegetable pear'. However, New Orleans and Cajun dialects of English sound absolutely different. This is a New Orleans glossary: *alligator pear* – avocado, *batture* – land between the levee and river, *bobo* – minor sore, cut, or lump on the skin, *brake tag* – automobile safety inspection sticker, *cayoodle* – a dog of low pedigree, *chickory* – root that is ground and roasted and added to coffee, *cook down the seasoning* – slowly saute small pieces of onions, celery, and bell peppers together as a step in the preparation of many dishes, *crab boll/crayfish boll* – social gathering, usually out of

doors, at which crabs or craywish are boiled and eaten: the spices used to flavor boiling shellfish, *deadmen's fingers* – inedible lungs of crabs, *den* – warehouse where Mardi Gras floats are decorated and stored, *devil beating his wife* – raining while the sun is shining, *doodlebug* – little bug with lots of legs that rools into a ball, *dressed* – served with lettuce, tomatoes, and mayonnaise, *flying horses* – carousel, merry-go round, *go-cup,* paper or plastic cup for drinking alcoholic bevarages on the street, *gris gris* – magic formula to bring bad luck, *hickey* – knot or bump on the head or forehead, *homestead* – financial institution that deals in home mortgages, *locker* – closet, *lost bread* – French toast, translation of *pain perdu*, *muffaletta* – large Italian sandwich of ham, and olive salad on a round, seeded bun, *nectar* – pink, almond-flavored syrup in a soda or on a snowball, *pane meat* – breaded and fried veal or beef, *pass by* – visit briefly, *second line* – mass of people who follow behind a funeral procession dancing in the streets, now applied to a particular dance and music which has become a favorite part of wedding receptions as the bride and groom lead the assembled guests in a snake-like procession throughout the hall, *stand in a wedding* – serve as a bridesmaid, groomsman, or usher in a wedding, *shoe sole* –flat, glazed pastry shaped roughly like the sole of a shoe, *Zatarain's* – popular brand of New Orleans foods, sometimes used generically for creole mustard or for the spices used to boil crabs and crawfish. Some other terms that are associated with New Orleans: *ask*, but they purposely say *ax*, tomato sauce - *red gravy*, they write *eaux* for the sound *o*, as in *Geaux* Zephyrs or *Alfredeaux* sauce, and they are also overemotional about street names. Knowing that is a part of local identity, for instance, Milan Street is pronounced *MY-lan*, Burgundy is *bur-GUN-dee*, and Calliope is *KAL-ee-ope*. There is a general understanding that New Orleans has three dialects: uptown white, downtown white, also known as *Yat*, and black. The alleged myth says that *Yat* (downtown white dialect) is a shortening of the standard New Orleans greeting "Where you at?" By the early 1980 *Yat* was introduced as a local way of speaking and today is strongly defined as the name of the dialect. A person who speaks this dialect can be labeled as a native of New Orleans. Certainly, language diversity is burgeoning, possibly even economically needed in New Orleans now that tourism has become prominent industry.

4.3. Sounds of Graceland and Smoky Mountains (Memphis, TN)

"When people from outside the South learn I grew up in Memphis, Tennessee, I inevitably get the comment, 'You don't sound like you're from Memphis – what happened to your accent?' As I consider myself a true native, my response is always to ask for a description of what a

Memphian sounds like.“ 'You know, you don’t have that . . . that twang' (Fridland, 51) This is what mostly emerges when people realize that they do not know how a Memphian, or a Southerner talks, except recognizing one when they hear one. Non-Southerners, are usually not very great at recognizing different dialects spoken within the South. Memphis is geographically positioned at the border of west Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi. It was established in the early 1800 and owes plenty of its linguistic history to the spreading of the earlier settlement from eastern Tennessee. Memphis remained to grow quickly with settlers from the Southern Coastal areas in Virginia and North Carolina. They were of English and Scot-Irish descent and they joined others from eastern and middle Tennessee as they moved further west. The blend of intra-Southern migration, an immense African American society, and the city's role as a leading river port and middle point for internal goods dispersion led to the establishment of a recognizable regional diversity of speech. Memphis' position as a main office for several leading companies like Federal Express and the Coca-Cola Bottling Company affected the local speech, terms like *FedEx*, meaning 'to ship overnight' and *coke* meaning any carbonated beverage. When a Memphian goes shopping, it is more likely to hear that they are going to *'The Pig'* than 'Piggly Wiggly', locally established grocery chain. “When a Memphian talks about getting some ’*cue* and going to visit *the King*, you can bet we are talking about a big plate of pulled pork barbecue and a visit to Graceland, not a trip to a pool hall or a European monarchy“ (Fridland, 53). Speech in Memphis is as much about their culture as are their friendliness, music and barbecue. Any Memphian will tell you that you should not be messing with their barbecue, and the same goes for their speech.

The Great Smoky Mountains is a mountain range rising along the Tennessee–North Carolina border in the southeastern United States. They are sometimes called the Smoky Mountains and the name is usually shortened to the Smokies. Cherokee Indians who first came in this mountainous region called it the 'place of blue smoke.' They came to the area around 1000 ad and they left a powerful legacy: Oconoluftee, Nantahala, Hiwassee, Cheoah, Junaluska, Cataloochee, and Cullowhee are just a few of the places whose names pay respect to the Smoky Mountains’ Cherokee settlers. Today, many growing communities of Cherokee Indians and Native Americans still live in the Smokies. Since the late 1700 and early 1800 European Americans of changing ancestry – English, German, French, Spanish, Polish and more have occupied the Smoky Mountain region. Also, some African Americans were brought to the area as slaves of these white settlers. As these various groups of white, black,

and Native Americans set up in the Smoky Mountains area, they brought with them different ways of speaking. The high country's landscape and the difficult access to the Smoky Mountains allowed these particular dialects to blend together in isolation over the past centuries and evolve into a specific regional diversity of speech that is frequently called 'mountain talk'. “Many Smoky Mountain dialect words refer to unique places in the mountains. For example, *bald* means a mountaintop with no trees, *branch* is an area or settlement defined by a creek, *bottom* is a low-lying area or valley, and *holler* is a valley surrounded by mountains. Other vocabulary items refer to inhabitants or features of the mountain landscape. *Jasper* refers to an outsider, someone who is not from the mountains. *Boomer* is the name of the red squirrel that is indigenous to the Smokies. *Poke salad* is a salad made of wild greens that grow in the mountains – poisonous unless boiled properly before being eaten. And a *ramp* is a small wild onion with a distinctive, long-lasting smell“ (Mallinson, Becky Childs, et al., 26). Like any dialect Smoky Mountain English has features that specify the local way of life and are blended into its culture. There are other words that derive from Standard English: for example, *cut a shine* for *dance*, *tote* for *carry*, *fetch* for *go get*, *sigogglin* for *crooked or leaning*, *tee-totally* for completely, and *yander* or *yonder* meaning *over there*. Even though, outsiders might think that this 'mountain talk' is straightforward and ignorant, the complicated features point out that this dialect is everything but simple. Residents of the Smoky Mountains have developed and kept a dialect that shows both their history and their identity. This dialect is specific both linguistically and socially. This is a short glossary of Smoky Mountain English: *afeared* – afraid, *airish* – breezy, chilly, *bottom* – flat land along a stream or riverbed, *britches* – pants, *dope* – soft drink, soda pop, *eh law*! – Oh well!, *fair up* – when raing weather clears up, *fritter* – fried patty made out of cornmeal, *haint* – ghost, *liketa* – almost, nearly, *pick* – to play a stringed bluegrass instrument, like a banjo or a guitar, *plait* – to braid, *poke* – bag or sack, *razorback* – wild hog, *right smart* – great in quality, quantity, or number, *sigogglin* – tilted or leaning at an angle, crooked, *tee-totally* – competely, *tote* – to carry, *young'un* –child.

4.4. Appalachian English

The Appalachian Mountains or as they are often called the Appalachians, is a system of mountains in eastern North America. Appalachia stretches from mid-state New York to the northeast corner of Mississippi, and covers 406 counties in 13 states. It has an enormous geographic area and a population of about 22 million. However, not all of the population

speak a dialect regarded as Appalachian. “For example, growing up in southern West Virginia may or may not mean that you have a Southern accent, depending on whether you grew up in suburban Charleston or in rural Logan County.“ (Kazen, Fluharty, 19) With such geographic variety, there are great diversities in the way Appalachian people talk. A few linguists suggest that Appalachian English is not a single dialect with a specific set of aspects, but rather a number of dialects. The Appalachian English has roots that stretch deep in the past. Some dialect features that are heard the most show a connection to Scots-Irish ancestry. “*The car needs washed* (vs. the non-Appalachian *The car needs to be washed* or *The car needs washing*)“ (Hazen, Fluharty, 19). Another dialect feature of Appalachian English ancestry is connected to Southern English and African American English. “One of the marked speech features of both Appalachian and Southern English speakers of either African or European ancestry is a two-part vowel (diphthong) becoming a single vowel in words like *mine* (*mahn*), *mile* (*mahl*), and *bide* (*bahd*)“ (Hazel, Fluharty, 20). There are a lot of social judgements of the Appalachian dialect, which is nothing more than a cover for a really ugly kind of prejudice. This prejudice against Appalachian English is more a social judgement of Appalachian people than of the language they speak. The question that is most often asked about Appalachian English regards its future: “will Appalachian English become part of the homogeneous dialect landscape of the US? The answer is 'No.'“ (Hazel, Fluharty, 20) Appalachian region's culture and identity maintains to be diverse to that of its neighbors. Considering the Appalachia stays a culturally specific area, the English spoken there will remain to be divergent from other regional Englishes.

5. Conclusion

To sum up what has been said above, it is clear that the new variety of southern speech certainly evolved in America, although the roots stem from British dialects or non-English languages. The South is without a doubt region different and unmistakable in several ways – culturally, historically, and linguistically. Although it is clear that African American is the essence of Southern English, it has however undergone significant changes with the migration of great number of African Americans to northern cities, which resulted in urbanization.

The phonology of Southern English is probably the most important feature of Southern American English. It is important to mention the 'southern drawl' which means to speak slowly with vowels greatly prolonged as well the “breaking” of some vowels, something that is very common among Southerners. As far as morphology goes it is necessary to mention the usage of double modals, sometimes even triple modals; *ought to* (or *oughta*), as in *might should oughta*, then the phrase 'fixin to' and the usage of 'yall'. There are some other grammatical features that have been mentioned, such as the complete *done* in African American English and in Anglo American dialects, the *are* missing in Southern Anglo and African American English, the *–s* absence on third-person-singular forms in African American English. Since the South is an extremely large region covering a dozen states with over fifty million people, it is difficult to give both complete and detailed description of vocabulary used in all these states. However, we can see that a lot of Spanish words stayed active in Texas, which is acutally not strange since Spanish was the first language spoken in Texas. While Spanish was language spoken in Texas, New Orleans was mainly French-speaking. The prejudice against Southern English is more a social judgement of people living in the South than of language they speak. Considering that Southern English is less than 150 years old, it is little known about it, so the history of Southern English continues to be written.

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