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# The Diphthongization of /ay/

## Abandoning a Southern Norm in Southern Maryland

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Although /aɪ/ in *Ireland* reduced to [ɑ] and [ɐ] was reported as far north as New York state relatively early in the twentieth century (Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States 2000), monophthongal /ay/ is generally thought of as a marker of Southern American English by linguists and nonlinguists alike. The difference between Northern and Southern levels of monophthongal /ay/ is, in fact, great enough that Thomas (1997) was able to use a decrease in the rate of monophthongal /ay/ among urban Texan Anglos as evidence for massive dialect contact with non-Texans.

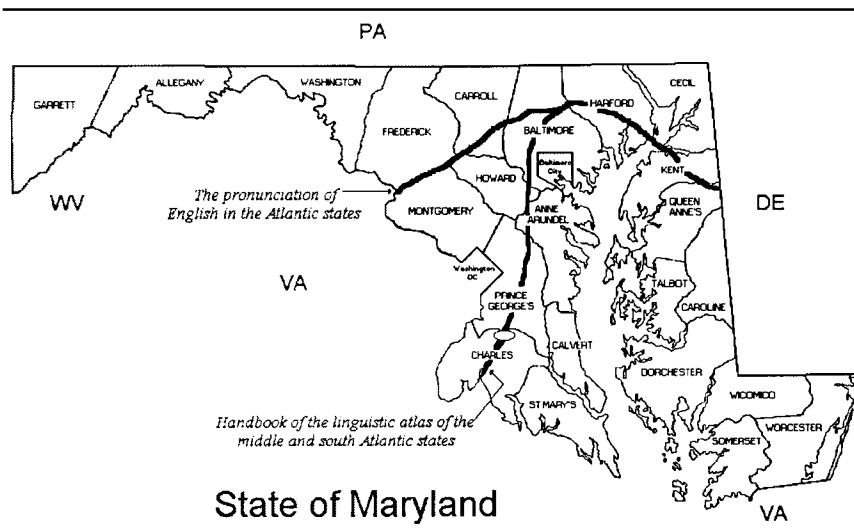
Bowie (2000, 52) notes in passing a decrease in the rate of monophthongal /ay/ over the past century of apparent time among natives of Waldorf, a medium-sized community in Southern Maryland, but does not propose a reason for this pattern. A closer look at the data on /ay/-monophthongization in Southern Maryland allows us to test whether the roots of this development in exurban Maryland can be traced to the same cause as similar developments in other speech communities.

### Waldorf

Waldorf is a town of 51,324 (1995 estimate) located twenty-three miles south-southeast of Washington, D.C., at the northern edge of Charles County, Maryland. Whether Waldorfians have a “Southern” or a “Northern” accent is actually a topic of conversation in the town, and several informants mentioned /ay/-monophthongization as an example of Southern speech (generally by offering a demonstration such as “It’s [tɑ:m] to eat”). Previous dialectological studies give some insight into why the Southernness or Northernness of Waldorf English is such a salient issue for Waldorfians—Waldorf is located at or near a dialect border. Dialectologists disagree on the exact position of the line separating the South and South Midland dialect regions in Maryland, as Figure 1 shows. This map shows the approximate position of the South-South Midland dialect isogloss according to

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**Figure 1:** South Midland-(Upper) South Dialect Isoglosses in Maryland According to *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Kurath and McDavid 1961) and *Handbook of the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States* (Kretzschmar et al. 1993).

Kurath and McDavid (1961) and Kretzschmar et al. (1993); Waldorf is marked by the oval at the northern edge of Charles County. Note that according to Kurath and McDavid (1961), Waldorf lies clearly within the Upper South dialect region (specifically, in the Virginia Piedmont region), while according to Kretzschmar et al. (1993), Waldorf lies in an undefined border area between the Southern and South Midland regions.<sup>1</sup>

Because Waldorf is an unincorporated municipality, precise historical data on the population of the town are difficult to come by, but the population of Charles County as a whole has increased since 1950 at a faster rate than national and state averages, as Figure 2 shows (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). Also, the population growth rate of northern Charles County (where Waldorf is located) appears to have been increasing at a rate exceeding that of Charles County as a whole since the middle of the twentieth century (Edelen et al. 1976; Potyraj 1994), which means that the rate of population increase in Waldorf has been extremely high. It should be noted that what local residents generally think of as Waldorf proper has never held very many people at all. Historically, the town was solely a commercial center surrounded by farms, and now the situation remains the same, but with fewer farms and the addition of housing developments throughout the area. Therefore, it should be kept in mind that what is referred to as Waldorf in this article is actually more properly the Waldorf area.

This rapid growth in Waldorf and Charles County populations has come largely from increases in employment opportunities with the federal government, as well

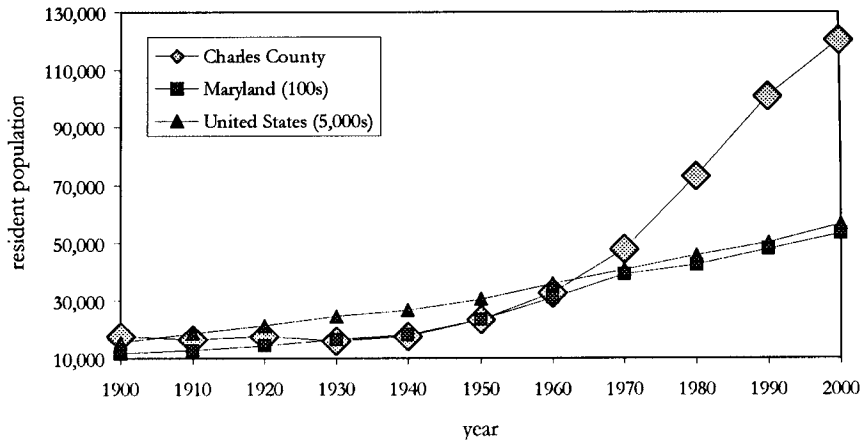


Figure 2: United States, Maryland, and Charles County Populations, 1900 to 2000.

as private employment (largely white-collar) in Washington, D.C. and its suburbs. As a result, the increase in the area's population has come from all over the United States, leading to a great deal of dialect mixture. Such intense dialect mixture has been found to lead to dialect leveling in several urban locations (see, among others, Kerswill and Williams 1994, 11; Kerswill 1994, 70; 1996a, 241; 1996b, 298; Thomas 1997, 328), and the situation in Waldorf provides a chance to look at the situation in a semi-rural exurban location.

Whether Waldorf is historically Southern or South Midland, then, two things should be particularly noted to give context. First, Waldorf is at or near the northern edge of the Southern dialect region, and so Waldorfians have long had easy access to models of non-Southern linguistic norms. Second, this access to non-Southern models has become even easier and more commonplace since World War II.

### Method and Data

Taped interviews were conducted between the fall of 1997 and the summer of 1999 with twenty-five white middle-class natives of Waldorf, fourteen female and eleven male. These interviews contained a mixture of elicitation of linguistic tokens (primarily through minimal pair elicitation and word lists), elicitation of demographic data, and a more casual section directed toward the production of personal narratives on the part of the subject. The interviews ranged from about thirty minutes to two hours, depending on the talkativeness of the subject. The elicitation of tokens of /ay/ was not a goal of the interviews, so most of the tokens of /ay/ the subjects produced came during periods of narrative or other casual speech.

The tapes of the interviews were then subjected to impressionistic coding, with the first ten minutes of each interview excluded from review. All the tokens of /aɪ/ that an individual produced after that first ten minutes (up to a maximum of 200 tokens) were coded, with certain exceptions. The exceptions were that instances of the words *I* and *my* were each capped at 10 percent of an individual's total tokens, and all /aɪ/s followed by /y/ were excluded from analysis. Eleven speakers yielded the maximum of 200 tokens, and only three (Beatrice, Dean, and Warren) yielded less than 100, with Beatrice producing the fewest, 52; a grand total of 4,090 tokens were collected and coded. Tokens of /aɪ/ were coded as either "glide present" or "no glide"; "no glide" was defined as /aɪ/ pronounced without any discernable glide at all.<sup>2</sup> Of the 4,090 tokens, 396 (9.68 percent) were pronounced as monophthongs.

Along with the social factors of age and sex (class and race being constant among the speakers), tokens were coded for stress (primary or secondary), style (casual interview conversation, narrative, elicited word, and word list), syntactic environment (subject noun, other noun, verb, adjective, adverb, interjection, and other), following morphological boundary, and following sound. Following Hazen's (2000) suggestion, not only was the nature of the following sound noted (nasal, liquid, voiced obstruent, voiceless obstruent, /w/, vowel, pause, and filled pause) but also whether the following sound was tautosyllabic or not. Finally, instances of the word *I* (along with the contractions *I'm*, *I'd*, *I'll*, etc.) and the word *like* when used as a discourse particle (but not as, for example, a verb) were coded as separate categories, in case those particular words acted strangely.<sup>3</sup> The data were then subjected to both an apparent time analysis and a multivariate analysis using VARBRUL. To perform the multivariate analysis, the data were first checked to determine whether any factor groups showed interactions that would introduce errors into a VARBRUL analysis (Sankoff 1988, 992). This resulted in some factor groups being combined (as described later in this article) before the VARBRUL analysis itself was begun.

### Monophthongization of /aɪ/ in Apparent Time

Significant differences were found when the overall results for /aɪ/-monophthongization rates were broken down only by social factors (sex and year of birth of the speakers). As Figure 3 shows, the rate at which individuals produce monophthongal /aɪ/ shows a clear decrease over apparent time. The decrease over time for men provides a very good fit to an exponential curve, with  $R^2 = 0.9593$ . The fit for the women is not quite as good, at  $R^2 = 0.7734$ , but this could be seen as simply reflecting the fact that one often finds more variation among women as a group than men as a group (Labov 2001).<sup>4</sup> In any event, it appears clear that this is a change in progress, with women generally leading men in the change by about a generation's worth of time (note that lower percentages on the graph in Figure 3 re-

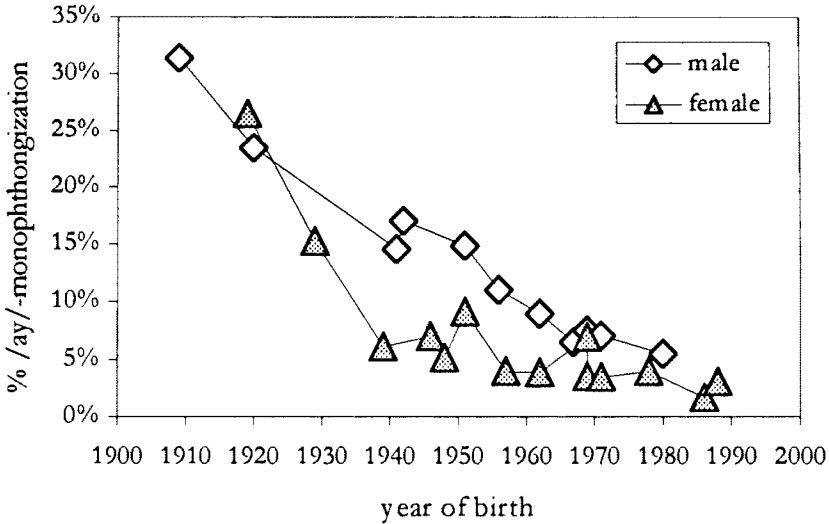


Figure 3: Rate of /ay/-Monophthongization among Waldorfians by Year of Birth.

flect further progress in the trend away from monophthongal /ay/. This separation of the sexes is unsurprising, as it is the pattern that one would ordinarily expect from a situation in which a speech community is trending away from a linguistic feature that the community has begun to recognize and stigmatize (Labov 1990, 244).

### Interaction between Following Sound and Syllable Position

The effect of following sound on the monophthongization of /ay/ is shown in Figures 4 and 5. Figure 4 illustrates the effect of the following sound without regard to syllable position.<sup>5</sup> Unsurprisingly, the more sonorant the following sound, the more likely it is that /ay/-monophthongization occurs (with the exception of pauses, which do not have an easily assigned sonorance value, and vowels). Figure 5, however, presents this information broken down more finely, in that tautosyllabic following sounds are separated from nontautosyllabic ones.<sup>6</sup> (Note that following vowel, /w/, filled pause, and pause are all inherently nontautosyllabic.) This finer breakdown supports Hazen's (2000) claim that syllable position and not just sonorance affects monophthongization of /ay/. The exact relationship between syllable position and sonorance of the following sound is not entirely easy to describe, however, as tautosyllabic liquids and voiced obstruents favor /ay/-monophthongization more than their nontautosyllabic counterparts, while the reverse is true for nasals and voiceless obstruents.

Because a VARBRUL analysis is designed to deal with interactions between factors, it might seem logical to use VARBRUL to explain the results shown in Fig-

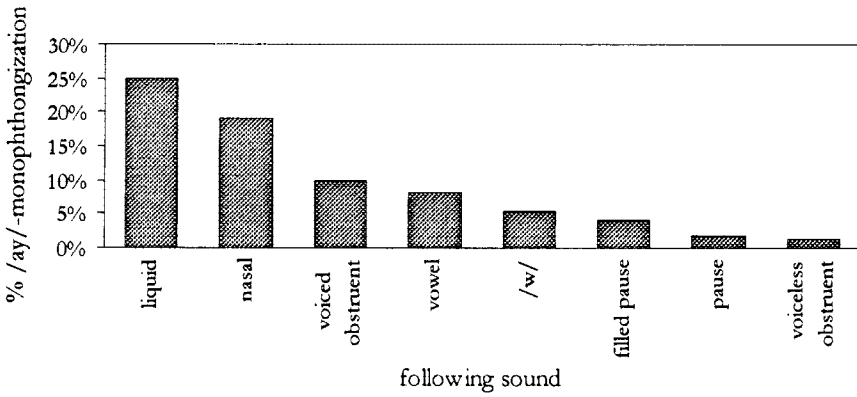


Figure 4: Rate of /ay/-Monophthongization by Following Sound.

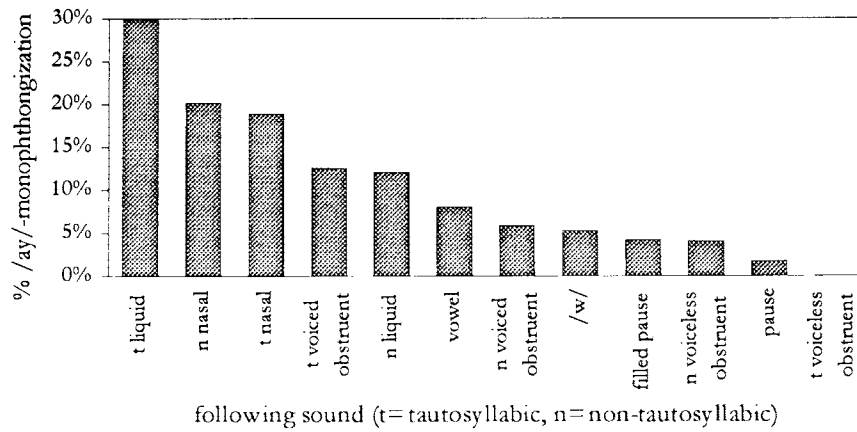


Figure 5: Rate of /ay/-Monophthongization by Following Sound and Syllable Position.

ures 4 and 5. However, this is not possible because of the interaction between following sound and syllable position—they are not independent factors. The lack of independence among these factors cannot be explained away simply by an analysis that would have a syllable boundary weaken the effect of the following sound, bringing its effect closer to the overall mean (9.68 percent monophthongization). This analysis could work for following liquids (where the rate of monophthongization is 24.83 percent for all following liquids but 14.46 percent when a syllable boundary follows) and voiceless obstruents (where a syllable boundary raises the rate from 1.31 percent overall to 4.07 percent). However, a syllable break increases the rate of monophthongization for following nasals slightly away from the mean

(19.03 percent overall to 20.15 percent with a syllable break), and a syllable break reduces the rate for following voiced obstruents from slightly above the mean to even farther below the mean (10.01 percent overall to 5.88 percent).<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the environments of following vowel, /w/, filled pause, and pause necessitate following syllable breaks due to simple phonetic realities. This fact alone, even absent other observations, poses a problem for any VARBRUL analysis of the data that would keep following sound and following syllabicity as separate factors—the interaction between following sound and syllabicity is outside of the sort of interaction that VARBRUL analysis can explain, as they are not independent factors. That is, even though a VARBRUL analysis is designed to take interactional effects into account, it can be successful at this only if the effects are independent (Sankoff 1988, 992). As the effects of following sound and following syllabicity are not independent in this data set, a VARBRUL analysis cannot deal with them separately, and so the factors of following sound and following syllabicity were combined into a single factor group for the multivariate analysis, following Sankoff's (1988, 993) suggestion.

### Multivariate Analysis

A multivariate analysis of the factors influencing /ay/-monophthongization gives further insight into the specifics of the way the change is occurring in this speech community. For all speakers as a group, no factor was found to force the monophthongization of /ay/, and only two factors were found to consistently prevent it: /ay/ occurring in interjections and in the word *like* used as a particle. These cases were collapsed into broader "other" categories to allow the analysis to proceed.

A step-up step-down analysis of the data<sup>8</sup> found one factor insignificant, which was then eliminated from further analysis: *I* (and contractions containing *I*) versus other words. Another step-up step-down analysis was then run, and all remaining factors were found to be significant. The stepping-up process added the factor group of following sound first, then age of speaker, then sex of speaker, syntactic function, syllable stress, and finally style; the inclusion of these factor groups was confirmed in the step-down portion of the analysis. Although not necessarily a perfect reflection of the relative strength of the effect of each of these factors, the order in which factor groups are added in a VARBRUL step-up analysis can be taken as a rough guideline of their relative significance from highest to lowest. Therefore, the VARBRUL analysis results for each of the factors are discussed below in that order.

The following sound was found to have an extremely strong influence on monophthongization of /ay/. A look at the returns for this factor group from the VARBRUL analysis (shown graphically in Figure 6) generally shows the sorts of results one would expect, given previous research on /ay/-monophthongization.



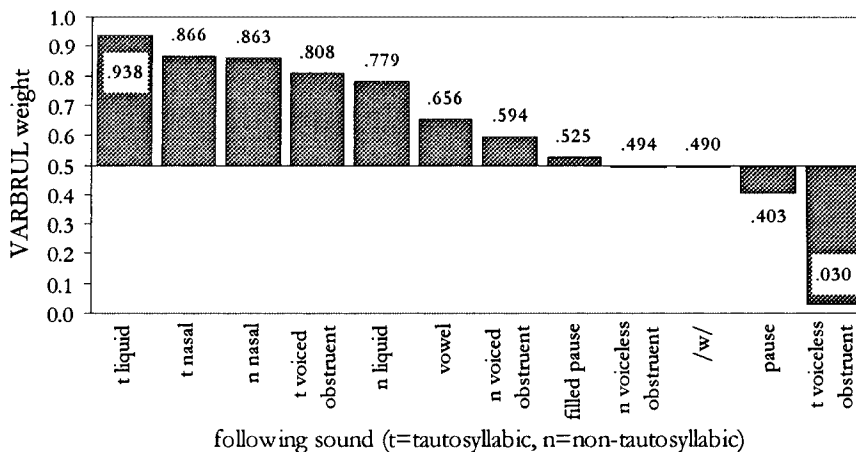


Figure 6: VARBRUL Weights by Following Sound and Syllabicity.

That is, following liquids very strongly favor monophthongization of /ay/, with nasals and voiced obstruents also favoring monophthongization.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, voiceless obstruents disfavor monophthongization, in some cases more strongly than liquids favor it (depending on syllabicity). Particularly worth noting is the distance between the effect of following tautosyllabic liquids (a VARBRUL weight of 0.938) and that of following tautosyllabic voiceless obstruents (0.030), reflecting the strength of this factor.

It is worth noting that the interaction between following sound and syllabicity, noted earlier, is affirmed by this result, though with some clarity added. The effect of liquids and voiced obstruents favoring monophthongization is lessened when they are accompanied by a syllable break, while the effect of nasals remains nearly unchanged by syllabicity. The effect of following voiceless obstruents disfavoring monophthongization is lessened considerably when there is an intervening syllable break, to the extent that a nontautosyllabic voiceless obstruent is nearly neutral in its effect on monophthongization. A summary generalization is that nasals act differently than these other sounds, in that a syllable break has a miniscule effect on nasals' tendency to favor monophthongization. Why following nasals should be so different from other sounds is an issue that merits further investigation.

VARBRUL weights for the ages of speakers are shown in Figure 7. Although not quite as striking as the results for following sound, they still show a very large effect. The data in Figure 7 as a measure of changing tendencies away from /ay/-monophthongization over apparent time support the earlier claim, based on the data in Figure 3, that this is a change in progress. In particular, it should be noted that even though the second oldest age group (those born between 1920 and 1939)

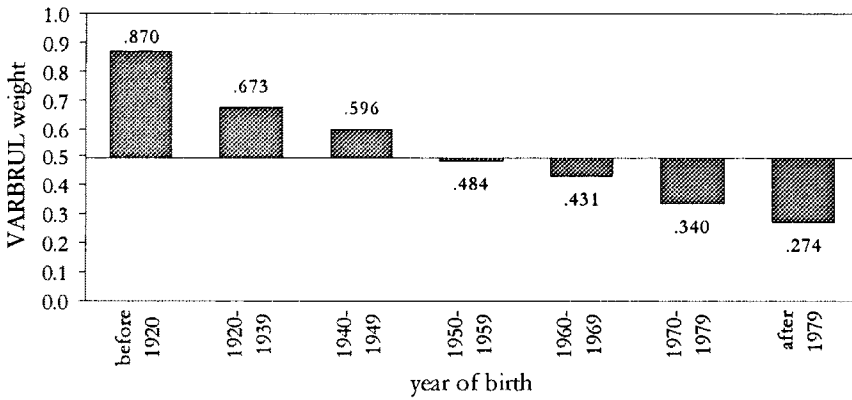


Figure 7: VARBRUL Weights by Year of Birth.

rather strongly favor the monophthongization of /ay/, they do not favor it nearly as strongly as the oldest age group (those born before 1920). As will be discussed later, this fact has ramifications for any attempt to find the causes of the community's abandonment of /ay/-monophthongization.

Men generally favor the monophthongization of /ay/, and women disfavor it, with VARBRUL factor weights of 0.618 for men and 0.410 for women. This supports the claim made earlier that women are leading this change since the direction of the change is away from monophthongal /ay/. Such a result is certainly not unexpected—the trend away from monophthongal /ay/ is a change in progress, and as noted earlier, Waldorfians are aware of this feature of Waldorf English, so one would expect women as a group to lead the change (Labov 1990, 244).

The syntactic function of the words /ay/ occurs in does not have as wide a range of VARBRUL weights as following sound and age of speaker, but it does have a noticeable effect; VARBRUL weights for this factor group are shown graphically in Figure 8. Nouns favor /ay/-monophthongization somewhat (nonsubject nouns favoring it slightly more strongly than subject nouns), as do adverbs and verbs; adjectives and all other words disfavor it a bit more strongly than other categories favor it. (The "other" category includes such cases as prepositions, determiners, and ambiguous cases.) Perhaps the most noteworthy issue to stress in relation to this is that syntactic function really does have an independent effect, which means that (for example) the word *fine* used as a noun would more likely be pronounced with a monophthong than the same word used as an adjective.

Although syllable stress does have a significant effect on /ay/-monophthongization in Waldorf, its effect is not large. Secondary stress favors /ay/-monophthongization more than primary stress (VARBRUL weights of 0.590 and 0.487, respectively), but this effect is perhaps simply the result of English phonetics. That

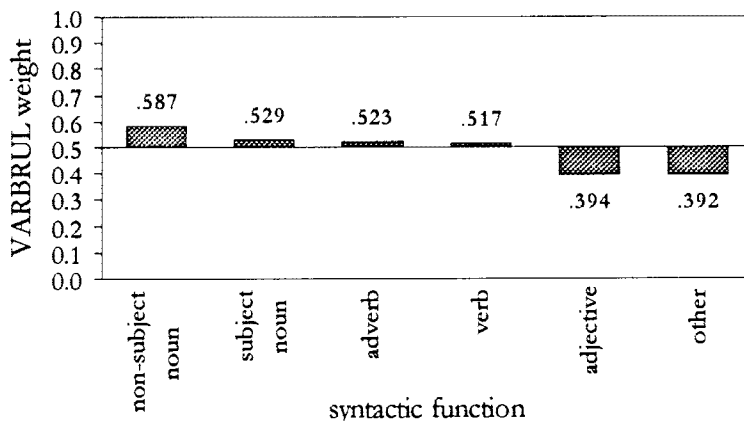


Figure 8: VARBRUL Weights by Syntactic Function.

is, unstressed vowels are often reduced in English, and so the favoring of monophthongal /ay/ in syllables with secondary stress may well be the result of a reduction of the diphthong through removal of the glide.

The style of the utterance has very little effect, with one exception. The VARBRUL weights for style (as Figure 9 shows) are close to 0.500 for narrative, casual interview, and elicited word styles. Reading from a word list, however, strongly disfavors /ay/-monophthongization, with a VARBRUL weight of 0.257. Although one might expect reading from a word list to result in a move toward the standard diphthongal /ay/ both because of formality and possible reinforcement of the diphthongal form through spelling, it is somewhat surprising that no particular style pushed strongly away from the standard. One interesting application of this fact, though, is that for this variable in this speech community, any method of data collection other than reading tasks may well result in equally reliable data.

### The Actuation Problem

Standing in the background in nearly all studies of language change is the actuation question: Why did this change ever start? In this case, though, the actuation question is especially intriguing because here we have what appears to be the reversal of a local norm in favor of a norm from somewhere else, the sort of change found by Thomas (1997, 310) in urban Texas and Boberg and Strassel (2000, 118) in Cincinnati, Ohio. (It is also worth noting that this change, like the one Thomas reports on, involves a change toward a “standard” model.) This is not an unheard-of occurrence—the existence of such phenomena might be considered a very rough diagnostic of the possible existence of dialect leveling.

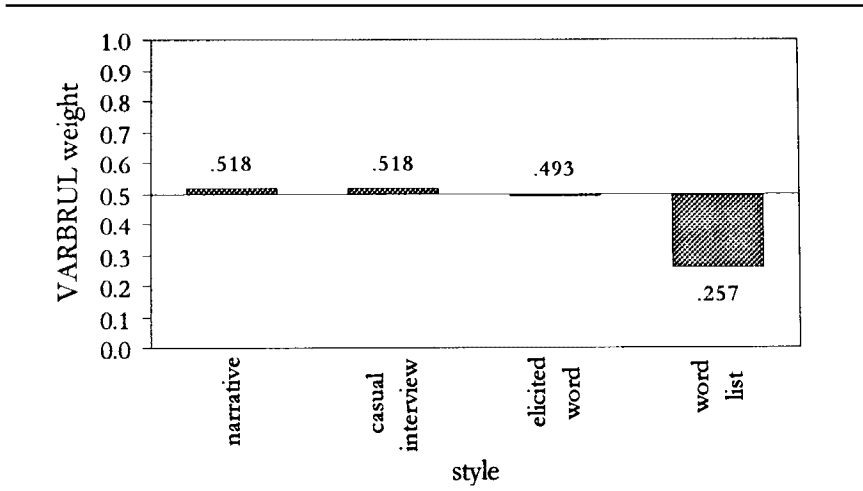


Figure 9: VARBRUL Weights by Style.

Previous studies of dialect leveling have, when answering the actuation question, generally focused on dialect leveling as a result of individuals moving into an area, whether due to the creation of entirely new speech communities (e.g., Kerswill 1995, 1996b; Kerswill and Williams 2000) or migration into an already established speech community (e.g., Thomas and Bailey 1992; Berni 1995; Lambert 1995; Herold 1997; Thomas 1997; Boberg and Strassel 2000). In the latter cases, dialect leveling is found when—to generalize—large-scale migration into a region occurs, creating pressure on features of the previously established local language variety. In Waldorf, we have an already established speech community (Waldorf first appeared on maps in the mid-nineteenth century) experiencing changes in rates of /ay/-monophthongization during the twentieth century, but an explanation based on migration into Waldorf does not explain the change.

As can be seen from the rates of /ay/-monophthongization in Figure 3, as well as the VARBRUL weights shown in Figure 7, /ay/-monophthongization was declining well before the middle of the twentieth century. Although the group of individuals born between 1940 and 1949 favor /ay/-monophthongization, they do so less than those born between 1920 and 1939. Similarly, those born between 1920 and 1939 favor /ay/-monophthongization quite strongly, but less than those born before 1920. As can be seen from Figure 2, though, large-scale migration into the Waldorf area did not start until the years following World War II. As a result, an argument based on immigration cannot explain the beginning of the move away from monophthongal /ay/ in the Waldorf speech community. It should be noted, though, that by the end of the twentieth century, Waldorfians certainly had more contact with speakers of other varieties than they did just after World War II. This came about not just because of migration into the area but also because increasing num-

bers of Waldorfians began commuting to Washington, D.C. for work in the intervening years (Edelen et al. 1976, 74). This dialect contact may have accelerated the trend toward diphthongal /ay/, or it may have caused the variation to tend toward a lower level than it might have otherwise, even though it does not appear possible to name it as the cause of the trend.

Another possible explanation is that the changes in Waldorf reported here reflect local cultural changes, along the lines of the possible connection between changes in Southern American culture and changes in Southern American English that Bailey and Tillery (1996, 316) have proposed. This possibility is more difficult to analyze with respect to Waldorf than an argument based on immigration because there is no single statistic one can use to measure culture. However, historians have noted that the Waldorf area's shift from an agricultural economy to a service economy did not begin until at least two decades after World War II (Johnson and Karpiak 1976, 9), and once again the shift in monophthongization of /ay/ predates such a cultural shift.

Another possibility is that the change in Waldorf /ay/-monophthongization is the result of processes completely internal to Waldorf English. That speakers in northern Charles County at one time participated in /ay/-monophthongization to some extent is fairly clear from previous dialectological studies (see Kurath and McDavid 1961, map 47). However, the history of /ay/-monophthongization in the South is fairly complex. As Bailey and Tillery (1996, 313) and Bailey (1997, 266) point out, /ay/-monophthongization in the South is a relatively recent phenomenon, only beginning to appear in, for example, Texas around the turn of the twentieth century (Bailey 1997, 262). Given this, it seems reasonable to suppose that /ay/-monophthongization is also of relatively recent vintage in Waldorf and that its appearance at a relatively high rate among the oldest speakers in this study was the result of a change in progress to that point. If this is the case, and having ruled out contact from outside the Waldorf speech community as the trigger for the reversal of /ay/-monophthongization, it makes sense to posit that the trigger for Waldorf's trend toward diphthongal /ay/ came from inside the community rather than from outside of it. That is, what occurred in Waldorf in the years preceding World War II may well have been a case of a sort of dialect contact that might be found in any speech community where there is a change in progress—there are forms used differently by individuals in different generations. Although children generally continue changes in progress (Labov 2001, 308), they are still exposed to older models as they acquire language, and they have the option to follow older patterns. If enough children in a particular age cohort were to do this, then a reversal of a change in progress could occur as a result, in a way creating a new change in progress in the direction of older forms. Given the literature that reports on changes in progress, this does not seem to be the usual way that language changes, but it is still a possibility.<sup>10</sup>

If we accept the notion that a speech community experiencing a linguistic change in progress can be considered a dialect contact situation (though perhaps a weak one, one that might better be called “generational contact”), we expect such communities to act in ways similar to communities that are clearly cases of contact between multiple distinct varieties of a language. Kerswill and Williams (2000) provide a list of eight principles that language changes in dialect contact situations generally follow. The first three are important for the discussion here, as they deal with the linguistic outcomes of dialect contact (the following are all from Kerswill and Williams 2000, 84):

- (1) Majority forms found in the mix, rather than minority forms, win out.
- (2) Marked regional forms are disfavored.
- (3) Phonologically simple . . . features are more often adapted than complex ones.

Within a single speech community, it does not seem possible for (1) to hold—the nature of a change in progress that progresses eventually to completion is that a minority form wins out over a majority form. Principle (3) does not seem to hold in the case of /ay/-monophthongization in Waldorf, as the diphthongal form is being re-established in favor of the phonologically simpler monophthongal form. Principle (2), however, merits some attention. In the early twentieth century, monophthongal /ay/ was very restricted regionally in the southern mid-Atlantic. Crucially, Kurath and McDavid (1961, map 47) report that monophthongal /ay/ in *wire*<sup>11</sup> was found consistently in Charles County, but only occasionally in surrounding counties of Maryland and not at all across the Potomac River in Virginia. Therefore, residents of Waldorf would likely have been aware that their tendency toward monophthongal /ay/ was a regionalism, and under principle (2) that tendency would have been ripe for reversal.

This brings up two important issues that require further research. The first is local—the pre-twentieth-century history of /ay/-monophthongization in Waldorf needs to be researched so that /ay/-monophthongization’s beginning and peak there can be documented. The second is more geographically wide-ranging—parallel cases of a local norm being reversed in the absence of any large-scale migration into the speech community need to be found, so that the question of whether Kerswill and Williams’s (2000) principle (2) can generally explain such phenomena can be answered. In addition, such research needs to be done to explain why some regional changes do catch hold despite their regional nature, even to the point that they spread geographically and can no longer be considered regional forms.

In the end, though, this study of the reversal of /ay/-monophthongization in Waldorf requires those of us researching language change to step back and, perhaps, define our terms a bit better. We speak of “dialect contact,” but there are sev-

eral kinds of dialect contact. These range from dialects settled near each other, to new towns being formed, to a region experiencing massive immigration, to the current case (a sort of dialect contact between generations within a single speech community). If we can actually confirm that all these situations follow the same generalized principles, not only will we be closer to explaining how language change occurs, but we will be closer to developing a truly predictive theory of language change.

### Notes

1. This result is possible because no interviews for the Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States (LAMSAS) were conducted in Waldorf itself. The LAMSAS interview marked on some maps as having been conducted in Waldorf was actually conducted with a Gallant Green native in Gallant Green, a nearby but (at that time) very separate community.

2. The “glide present” category was originally coded as “full glide” and “weak glide,” but that distinction was not found to produce meaningful results.

3. Coding was also done for whether each instance of /ay/ occurred before a word break, a morpheme boundary within a word, or no such break. However, because this classification was not independent of all other factors (a word boundary is very often accompanied by a syllable break, for example), it was left out of the analysis presented here.

4. Fit to an exponential curve was chosen because this is a change that appears to be nearing completion, and so it was felt that a curve would better approximate the closing stages of an S-shaped curve than a straight line would. For completeness, though, the fit of the data to straight lines is  $R^2 = 0.9598$  for the men and  $R^2 = 0.6413$  for the women.

5. All the differences between categories shown in this chart are significant at least to a level of  $p < .001$ , as is the case for the data on the chart as a whole.

6. Once again, all the differences shown in the chart are significantly different to at least a level of  $p < .001$  for each pair and for the data as a whole.

7. The differences listed here are all significantly different to a level of  $p < .001$ .

8. To conduct this analysis, I used GoldVarb version 2.1 running over ARDI Executor/Win32 version 2 for Microsoft® Windows® 9x.

9. As is generally done, VARBRUL weights greater than 0.500 were taken as favoring the variable (in this case, /ay/-monophthongization), and values less than 0.500 were taken as disfavoring it, with distance from 0.500 reflecting the strength of the favoring/disfavoring effect.

10. I do note that all of this, of course, rests on the assumption that /ay/-monophthongization is a relatively recent (as in late nineteenth or early twentieth

century) phenomenon in Waldorf; this assertion needs to be verified in future research.

11. *Wire* is referenced here because full monophthongs were not reported in other words.

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