



UNIVERSITY OF
GEORGIA



Perspectives on Georgia vowels: From legacy to synchrony

Joseph A. Stanley

Brigham Young
University

Jon Forrest

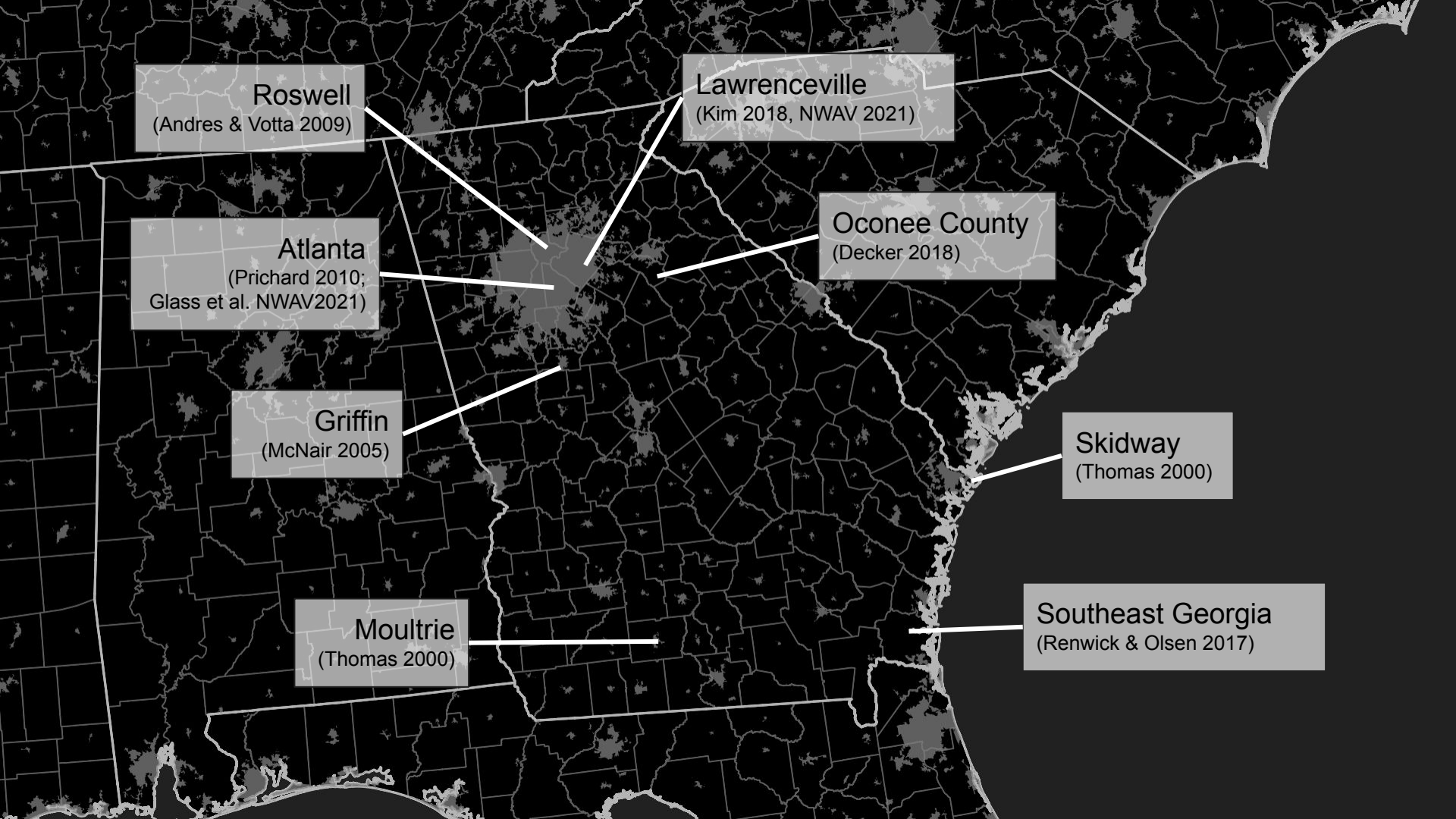
University of
Georgia

Lelia Glass

Georgia Institute of
Technology

Margaret Renwick

University of
Georgia



Roswell
(Andres & Votta 2009)

Lawrenceville
(Kim 2018, NWAV 2021)

Oconee County
(Decker 2018)

Atlanta
(Prichard 2010;
Glass et al. NWAV2021)

Griffin
(McNair 2005)

Skidway
(Thomas 2000)

Moultrie
(Thomas 2000)

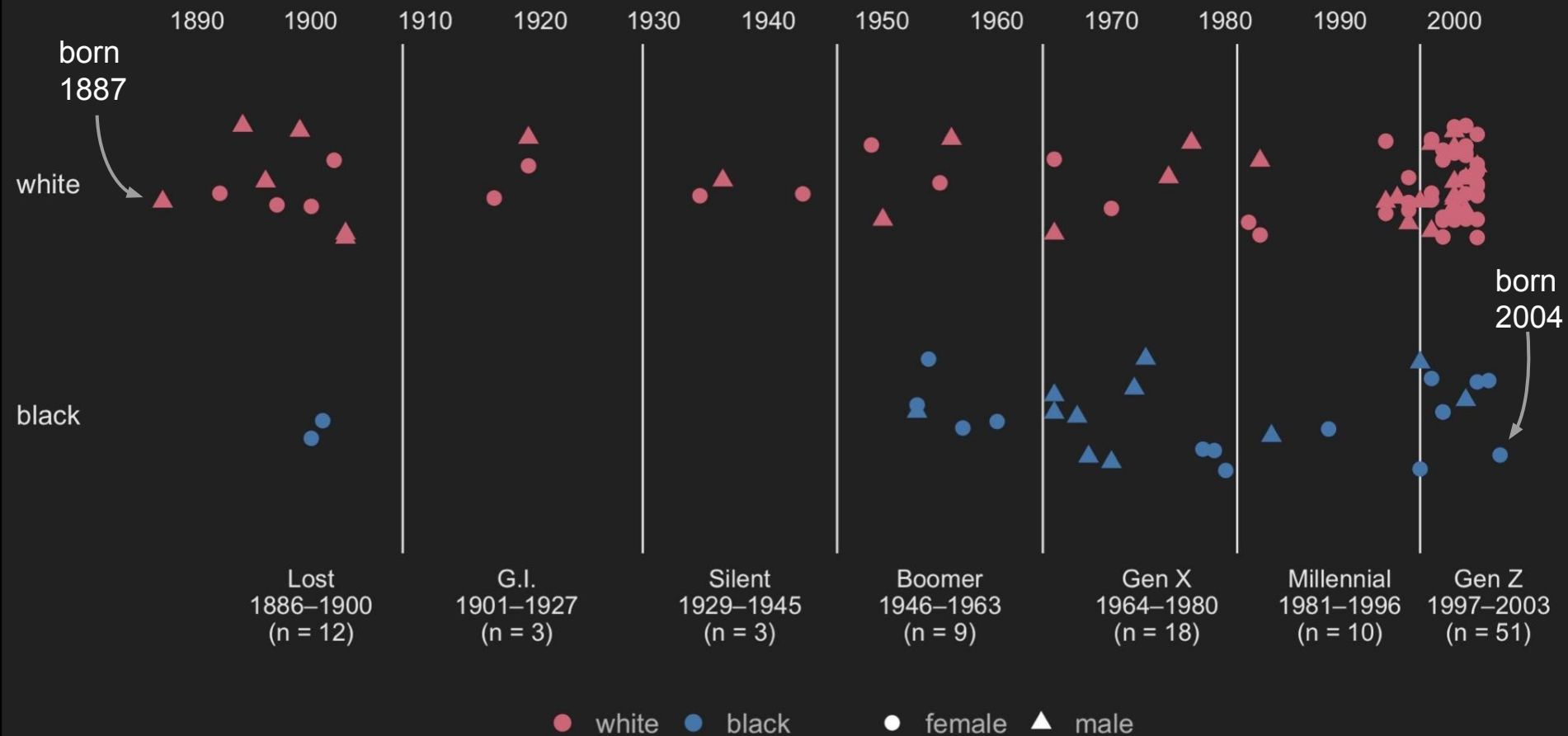
Southeast Georgia
(Renwick & Olsen 2017)

Longitudinal study; five data collections

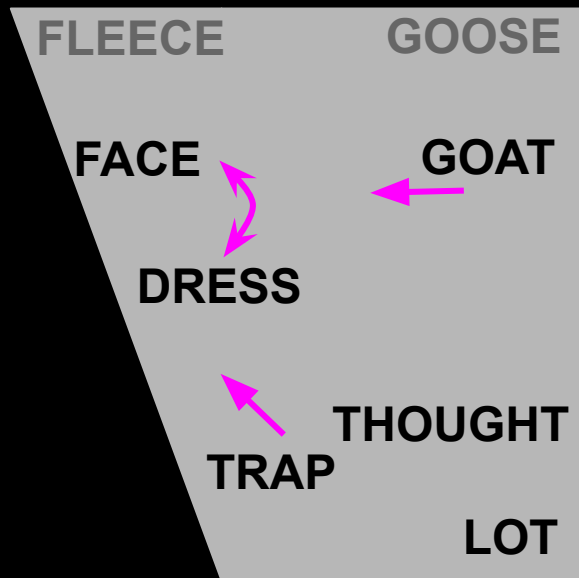
- **Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States** (LAGS; Pederson et al. 1986)
legacy collection including speakers from Georgia, born 1887-1965
- **Atlanta Survey Project** (2003; Lanehart & Kretzschmar): speakers born 1919-1979
- **Roswell Voices Project** (2003-2008; Kretzschmar et al 2007): speakers from northern Fulton County, born 1936-1984
- **University of Georgia, Georgia Tech** (2016-present; Stanley, Glass, Forrest): student speakers, raised all around Georgia, born 1989-2004

134 speakers total (106 Black and White speakers analyzed here)

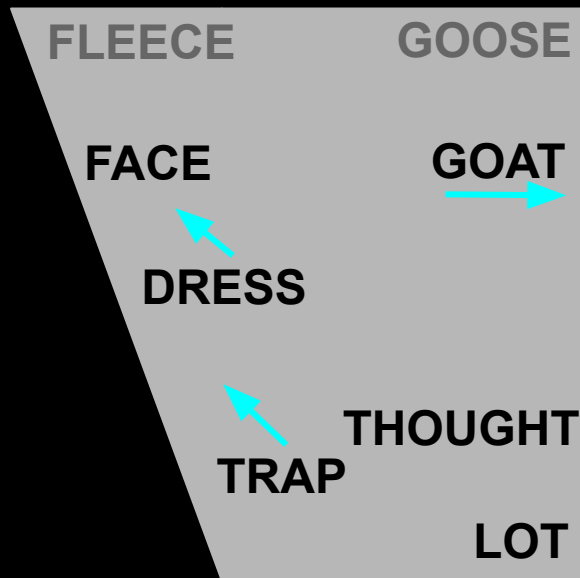
Distribution of transcribed speakers by generation, ethnicity, and gender



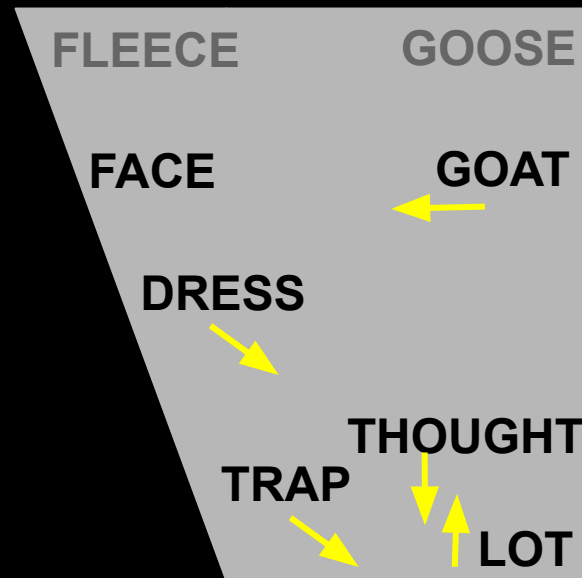
The three vowel shifts of Georgia English?



**Southern
Vowel Shift**
(Labov 1991)



**African American
Vowel Shift**
(Thomas 2007, Farrington et al. 2021)



**Low Back
Merger Shift**
(Eckert 2008, Becker 2019)

Yeah that's right

Nexuses of change in Georgia English

Mid vowels

- How are FACE and DRESS distinguished over time?
- Which speakers show DRESS raising/fronting (SVS, AAVS)?
- When does DRESS lowering/backing begin (LBMS)?
- Which speakers show GOAT fronting (SVS, LBMS vs. AAVS)?

Low vowels

- Which speakers show TRAP raising/fronting (SVS, AAVS)?
- When does TRAP lowering/backing begin (LBMS)?
- Which speakers have the LOT/THOUGHT merger (LBMS)?



Data

corpus	speakers	hours	vowels
LAGS	17	72	24,515
Atlanta Speech Project	14	14	7,325
Roswell Voices	15	15	9,533
GA Tech	54	27	14,093
UGA	6	13	2,976
total	106	141	58,442

vowel	tokens
FACE	11,437
DRESS	15,240
GOAT	7,676
TRAP	10,447
LOT	9,492
THOUGHT	4,150
total	58,442

Methods

Acoustic analysis	transcription	manual
	forced alignment	Montreal Forced Aligner (McAuliffe et al. 2017) via DARLA (Reddy & Stanford 2015)
	formant extraction	FAVE (Rosenfeld et al. 2014), via DARLA, extracted F1-F2 at 20%, 35%, 50%, 65%, and 80% of vowel duration
Number crunching (in this order, cf. Stanley 2021)	remove stopwords	<code>stopwords::stopwords(source = "marimo")</code>
	remove outliers	Modified Mahalanobis Distance (Stanley 2020)
	normalize	Log-means (Barreda & Nearey 2018)
	exclusions	kept pre-obstruent tokens only For TRAP, LOT, THOUGHT: midpoints only For FACE, DRESS, GOAT: full trajectories
Tools	Software	R (R Core Team 2018), tidyverse (Wickham 2018)
	Visuals	ggplot2 (Wickham 2015)

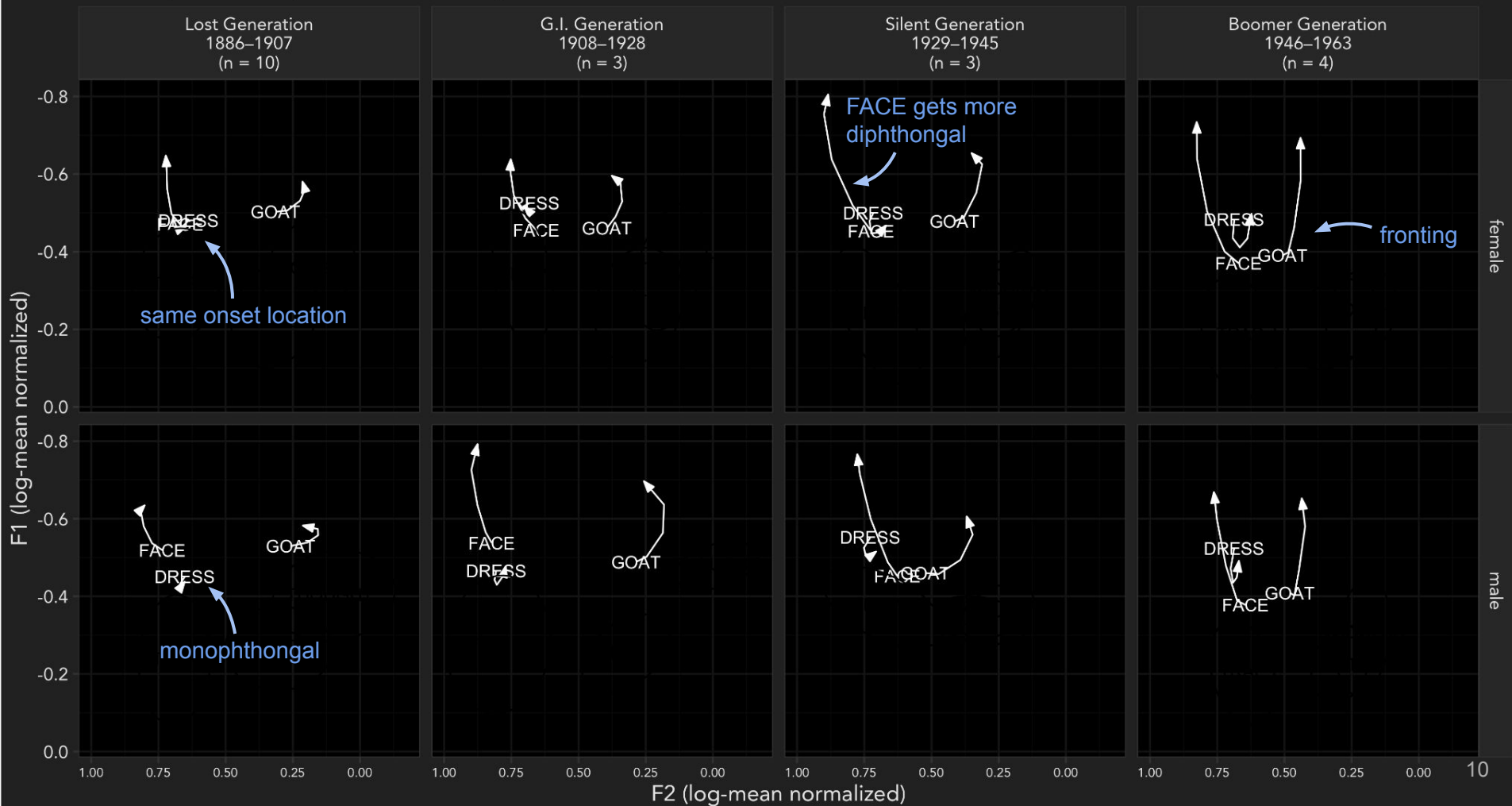
Results: building the vowel space, across generations

Mid vowels + TRAP + Low-Back Vowels

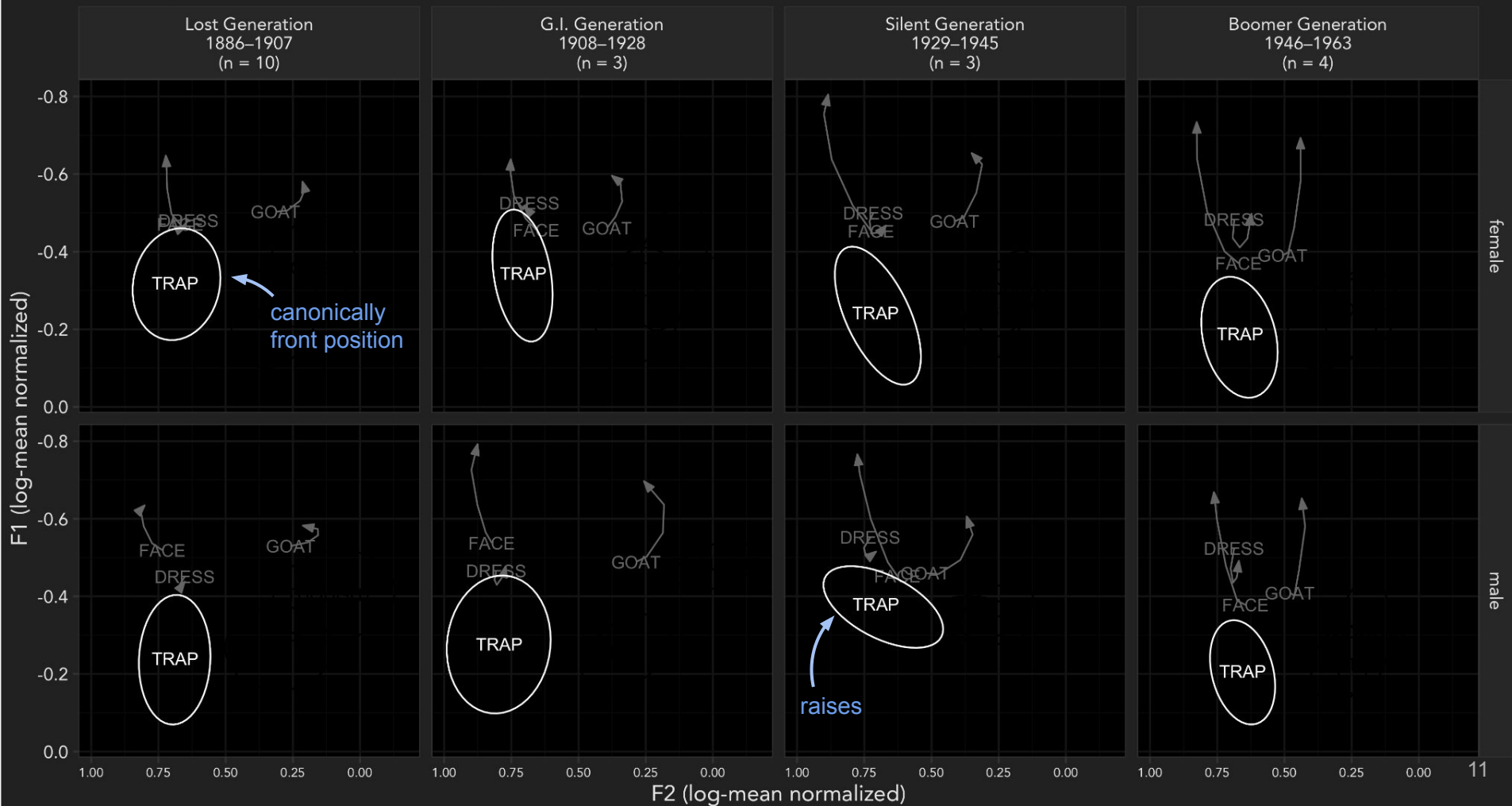
Three visualizations:

1. White speakers, from Lost to Boomers
2. White speakers, from Boomers to Gen Z
3. Black speakers, from Boomers to Gen Z

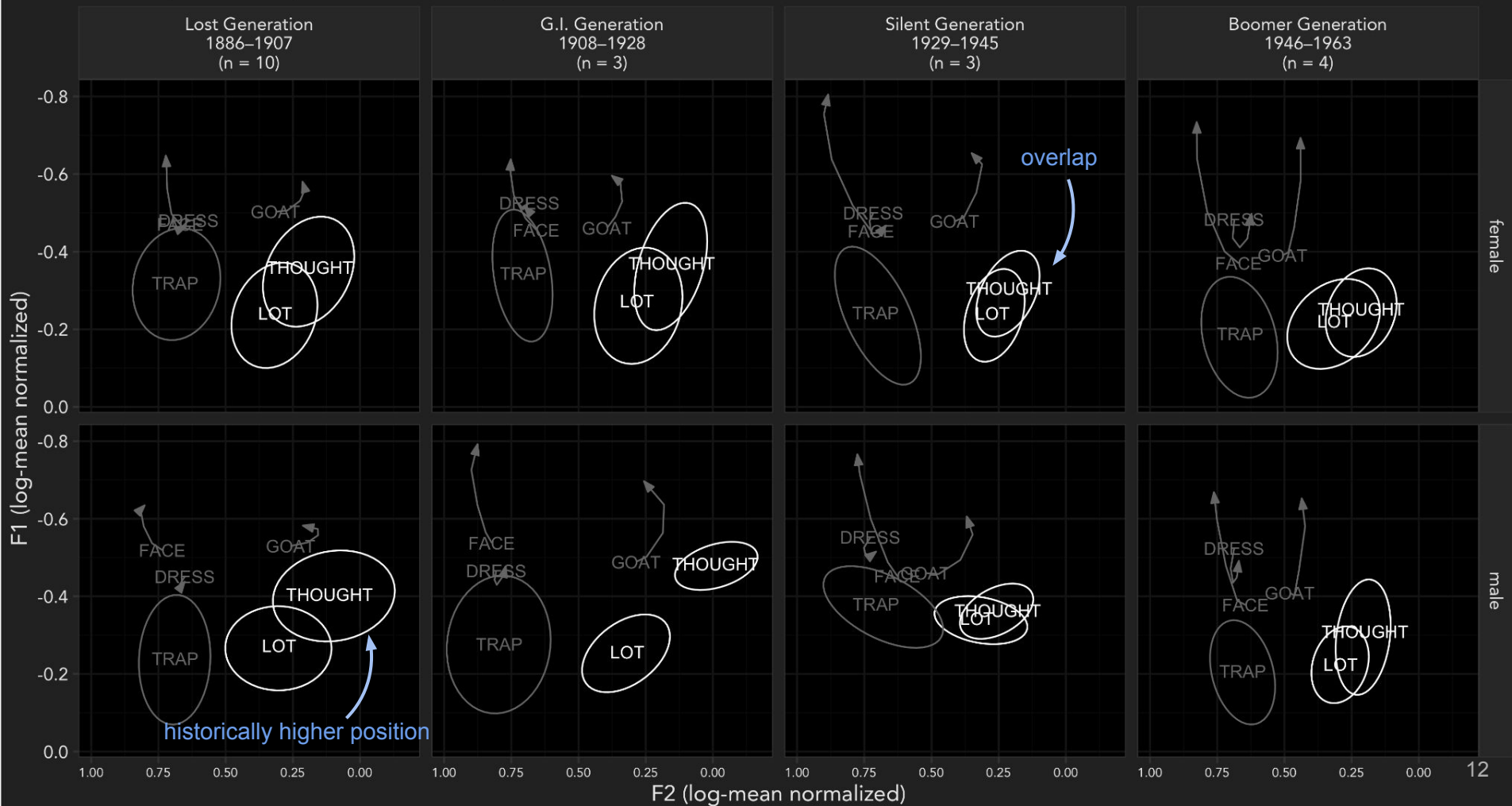
White speakers, up to and including Boomers



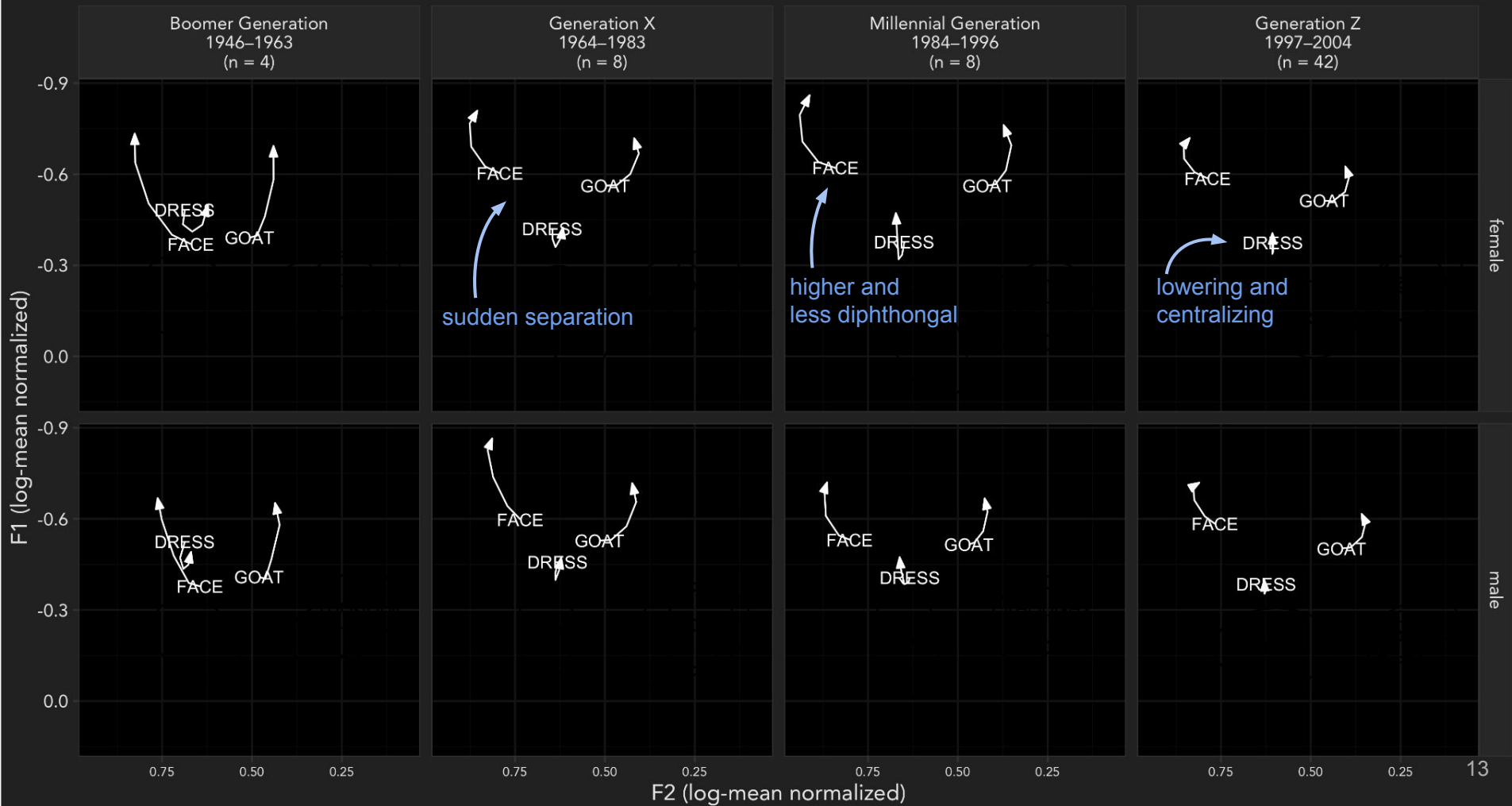
White speakers, up to and including Boomers



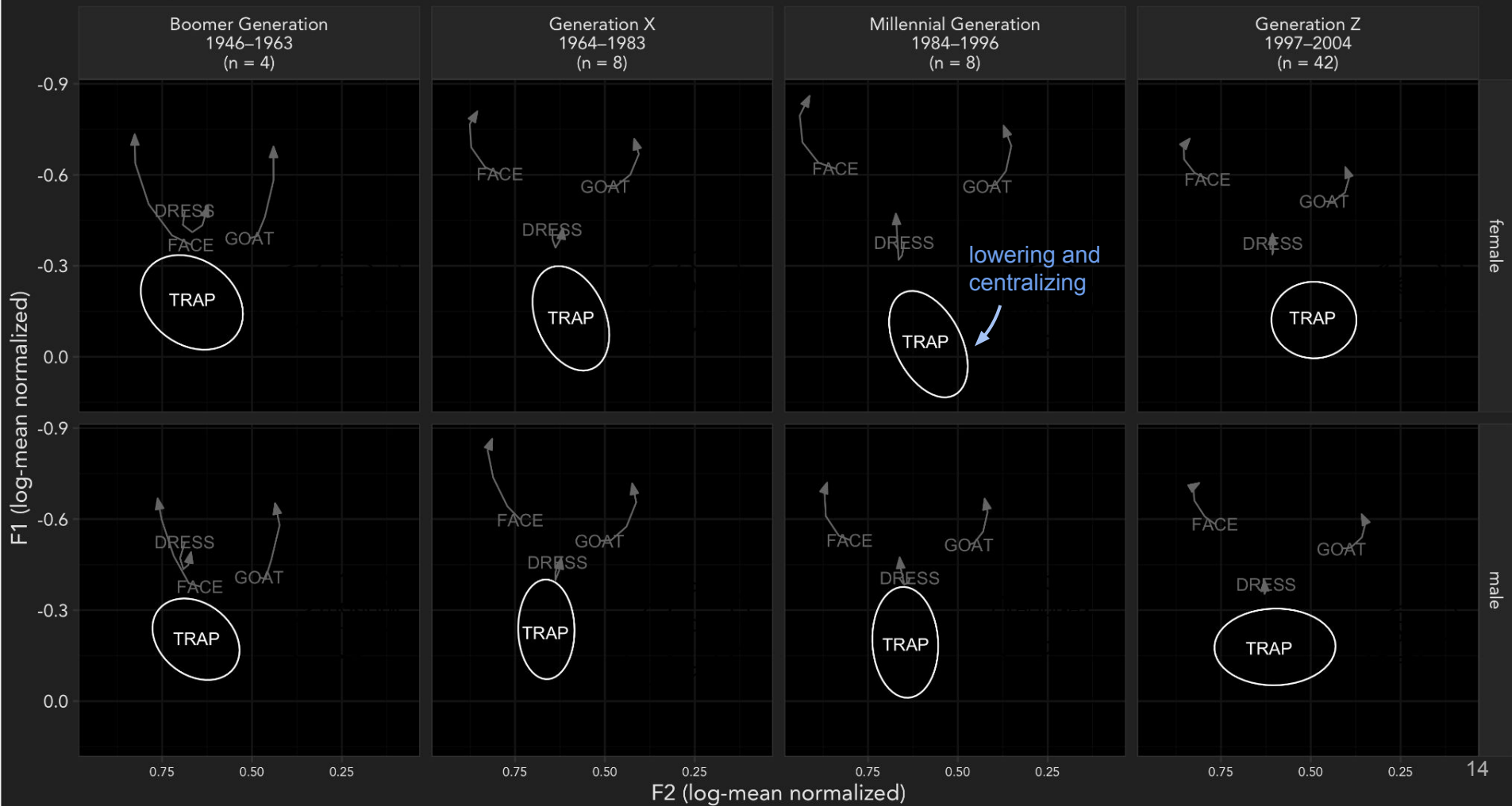
White speakers, up to and including Boomers



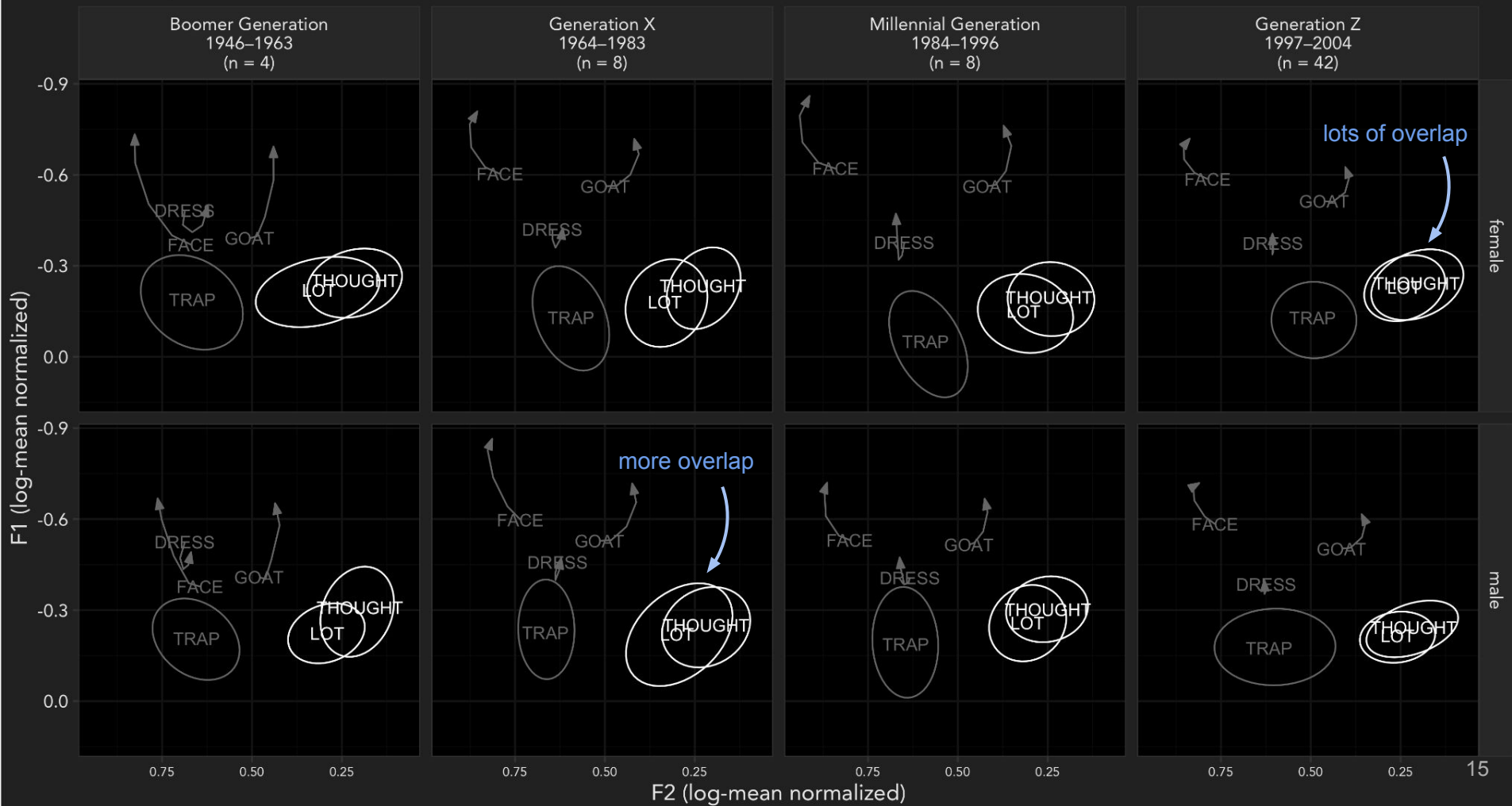
White speakers, Boomers and later



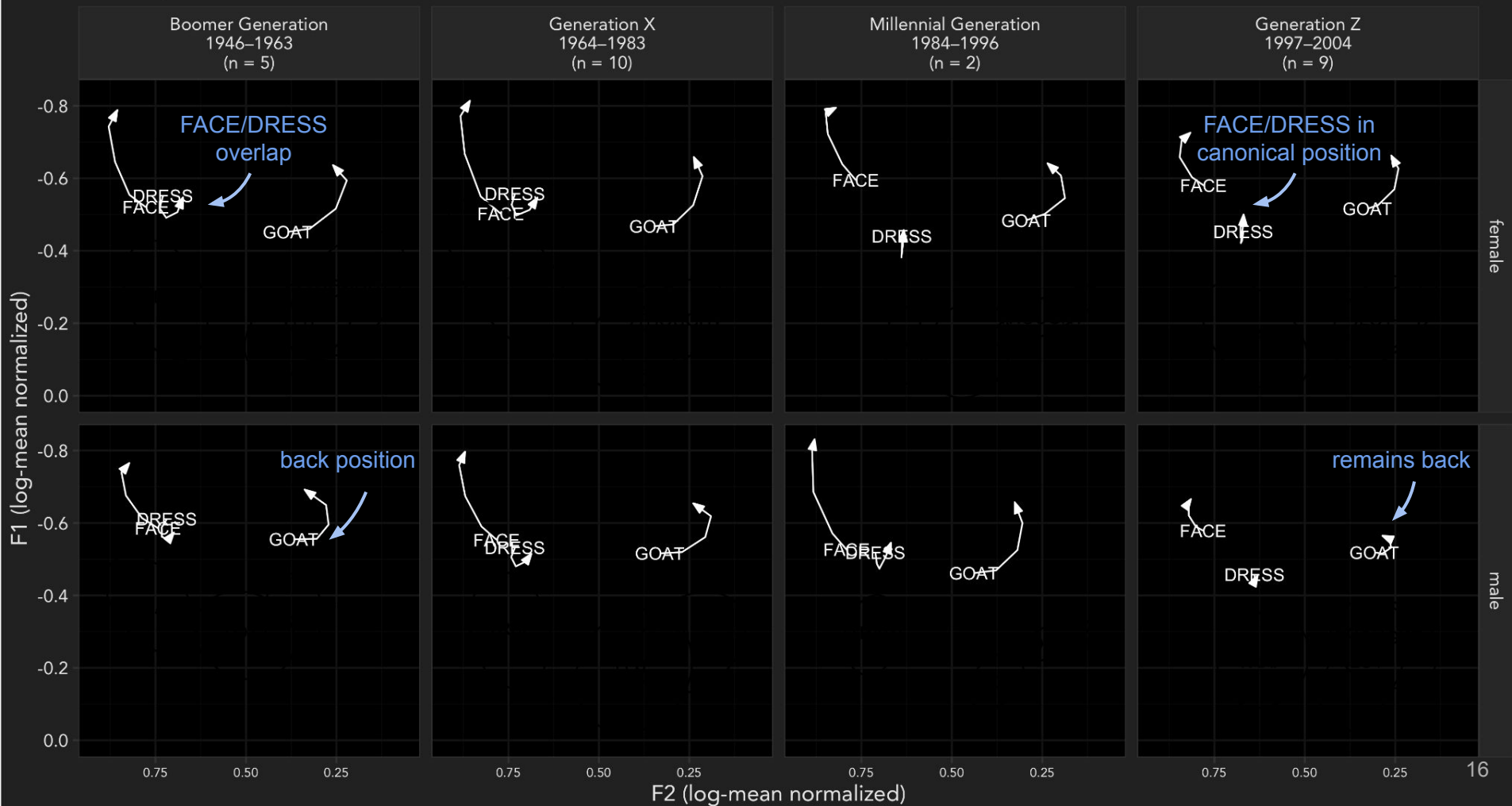
White speakers, Boomers and later



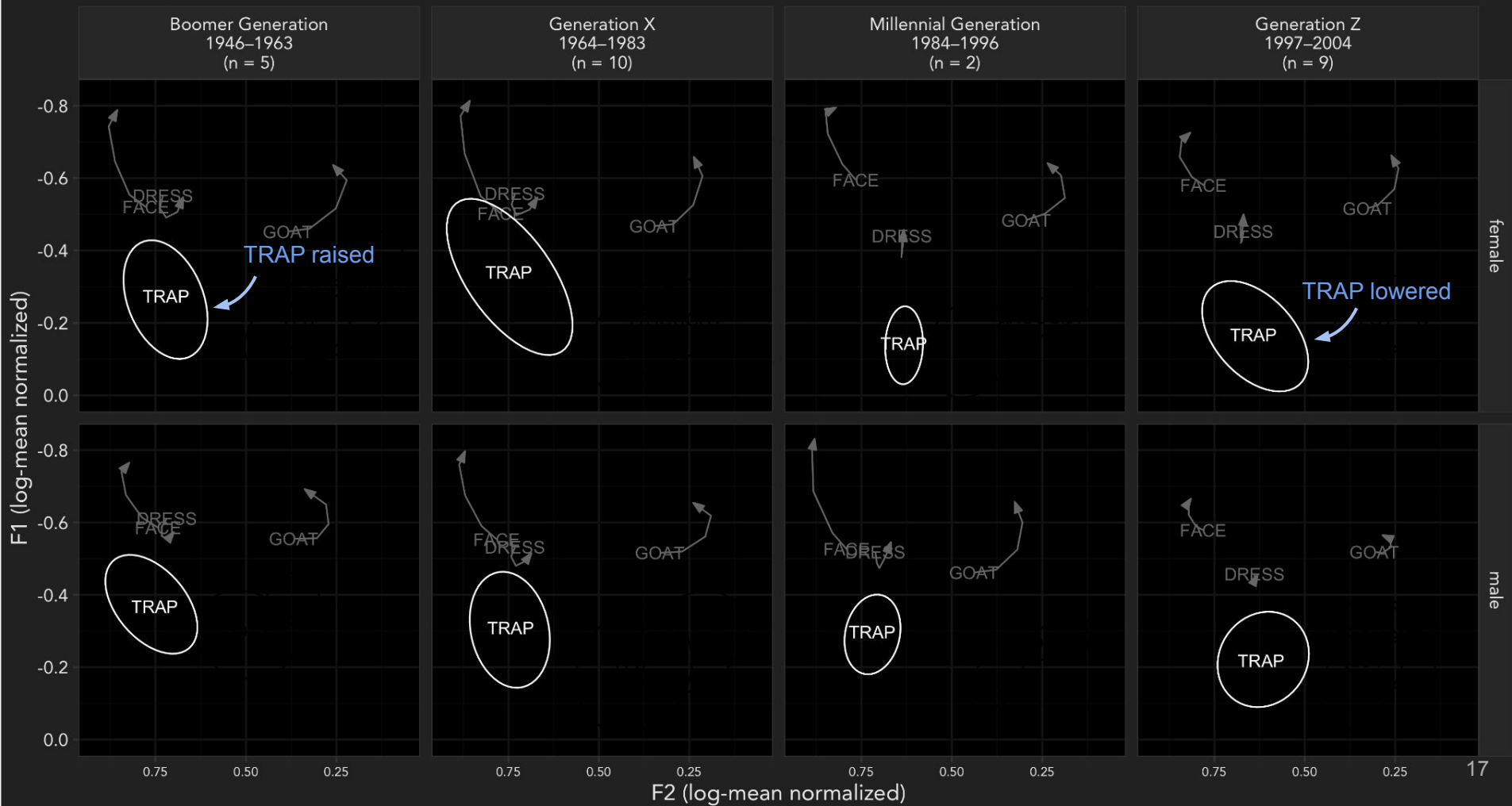
White speakers, Boomers and later



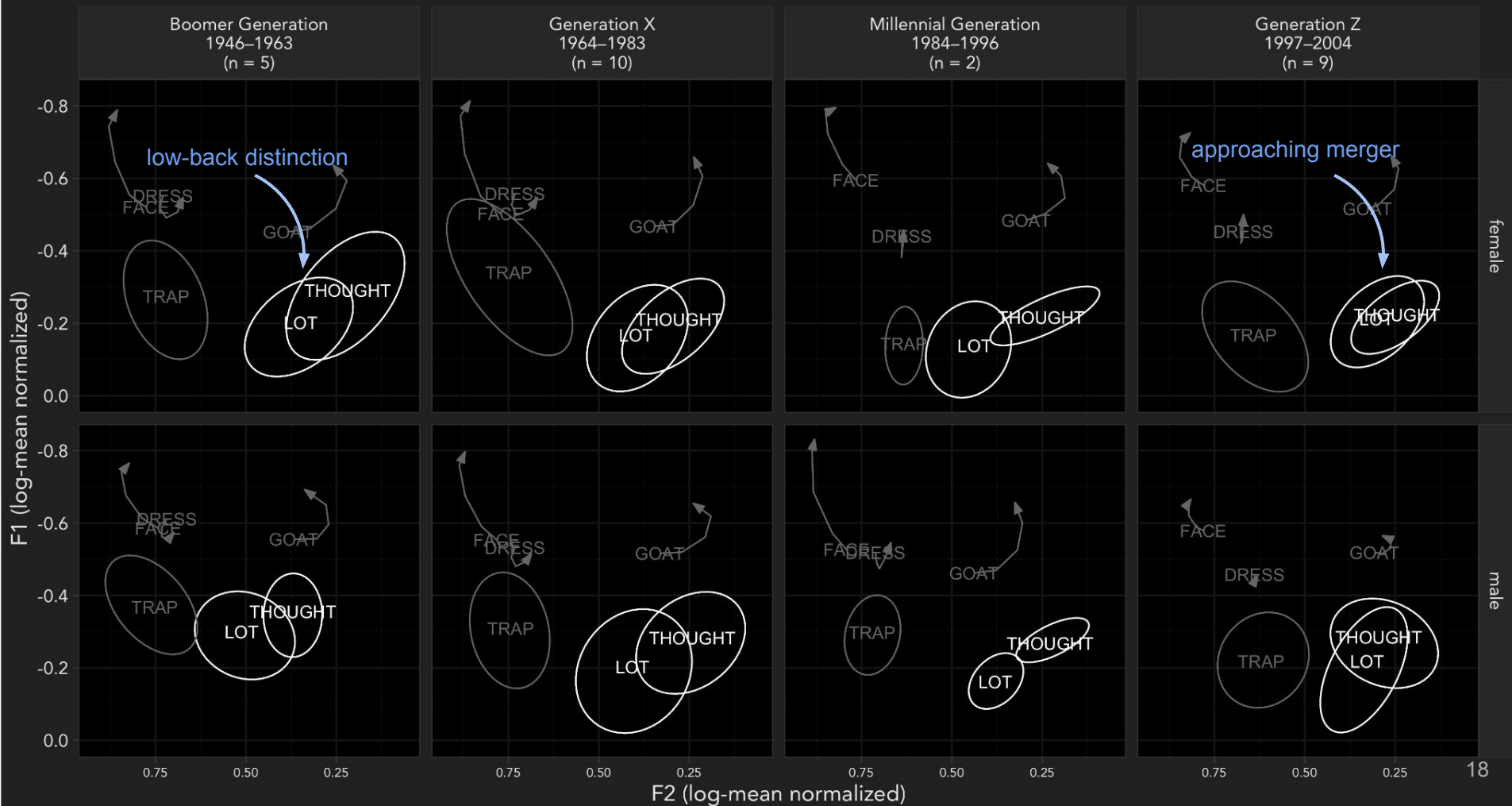
Black speakers, Boomers and later



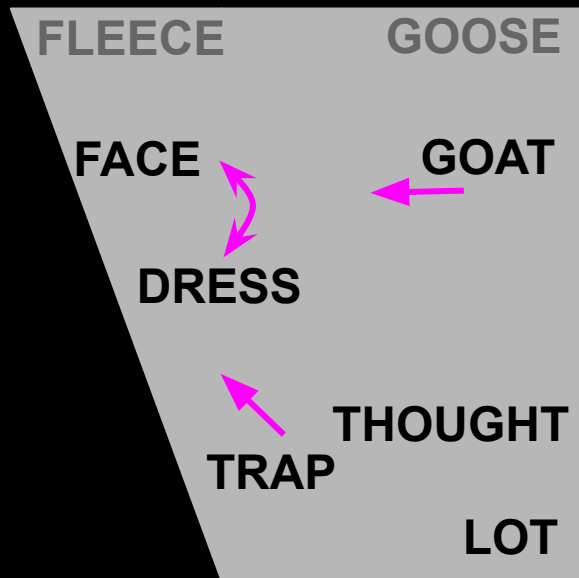
Black speakers, Boomers and later



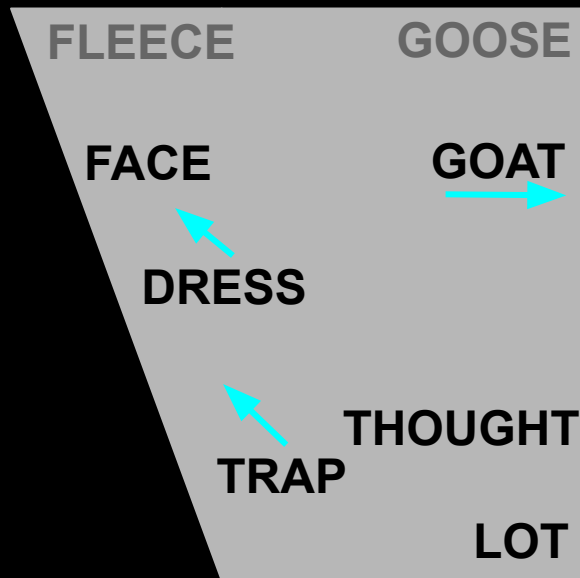
Black speakers, Boomers and later



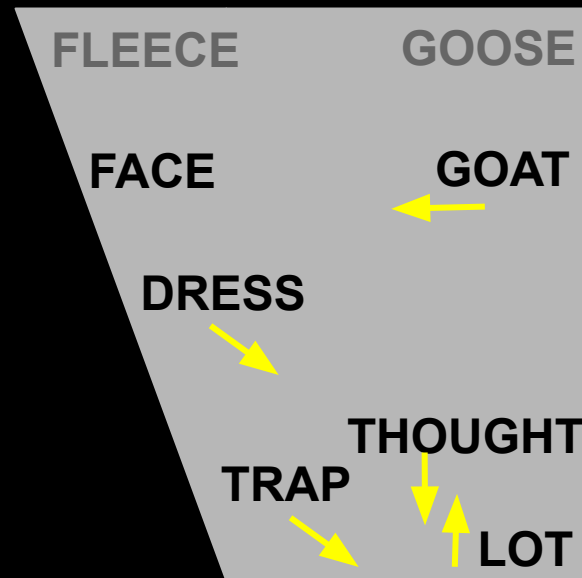
The three vowel shifts of Georgia English?



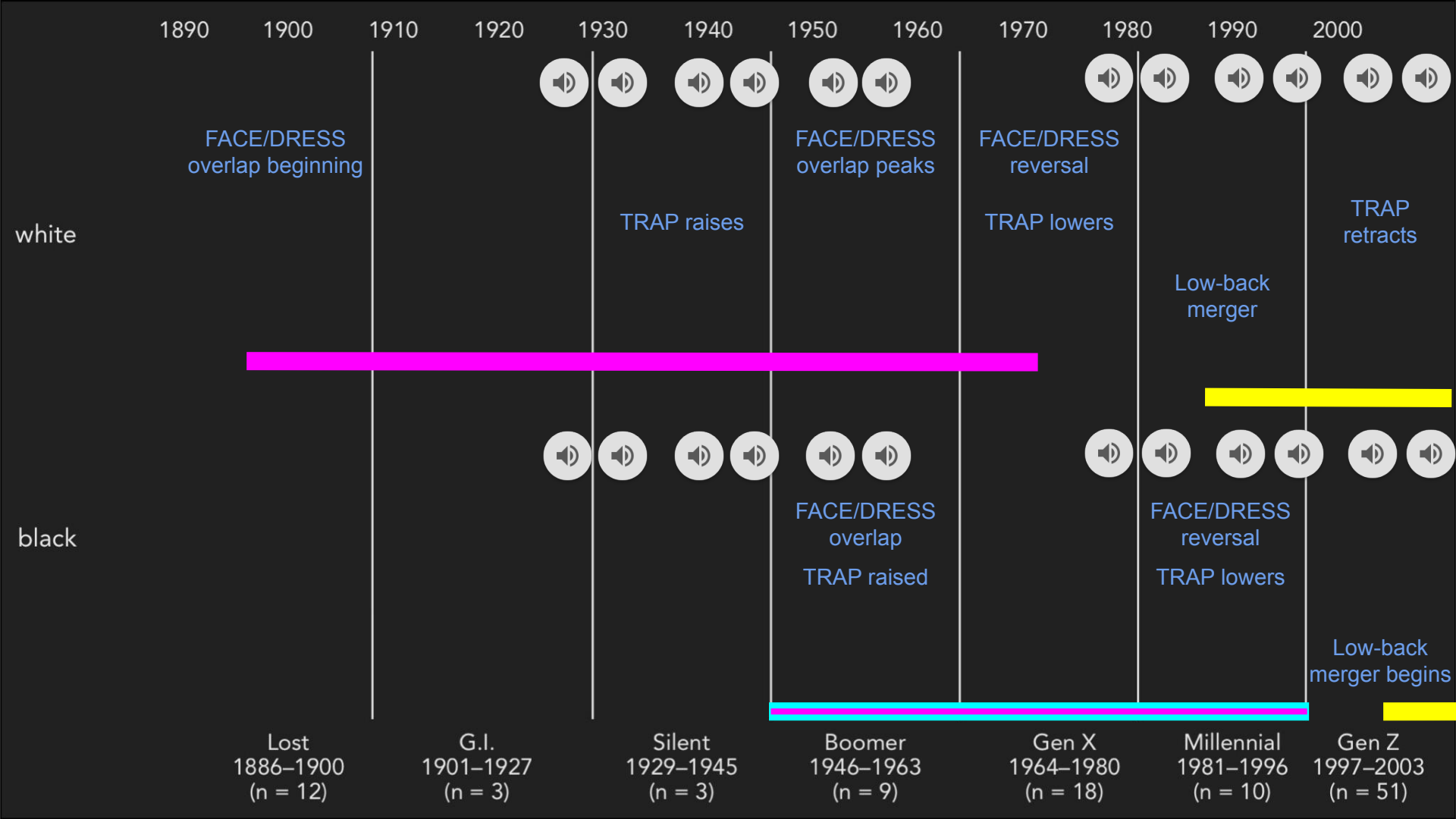
**Southern
Vowel Shift**
(Labov 1991)



**African American
Vowel Shift**
(Thomas 2007, Farrington et al. 2021)



**Low Back
Merger Shift**
(Eckert 2008, Becker 2019)



Discussion

White speakers

- **Southern Vowel Shift** partially present in oldest speakers, peaks with Boomers
- **Southern Vowel Shift** proceeding, then reversing (Dodsworth and Kohn 2012; Fridland 1999; Prichard 2010, etc.)
- Beginnings of the **Low-Back Merger Shift**

Black speakers

- Similar reversal of regional vowel shifts
- **Southern Vowel Shift** vs. **African-American Vowel Shift**?
- Back GOAT as a regional feature for Black speakers? (Thomas 2007; Farrington et al. 2021)
- **Low-Back Merger Shift**?



References

- Barreda, Santiago, and Terrance M. Nearey. "A Regression Approach to Vowel Normalization for Missing and Unbalanced Data." *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 144, no. 1 (July 2018): 500–520. <https://doi.org/10.1121/1.5047742>.
- Becker, K. (Ed.). (2019). *The low-back-merger shift: Uniting the Canadian vowel shift, the California vowel shift, and short front vowel shifts across North America*. American Dialect Society.
- Dodsworth, R., & Kohn, M. (2012). Urban rejection of the vernacular: The SVS undone. *Language Variation and Change*, 24(2), 221-245.
- Farrington, C., King, S., & Kohn, M. (2021). Sources of variation in the speech of African Americans: Perspectives from sociophonetics. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Cognitive Science*, 12(3), e1550.
- Fridland, V. (1999). The southern shift in Memphis, Tennessee. *Language variation and change*, 11(3), 267-285.
- Labov, W. (1991). The three dialects of English. *New ways of analyzing sound change*, 5, 1-44.
- McAuliffe, Michael, Michaela Socolof, Sarah Mihuc, Michael Wagner, and Morgan Sonderegger. "Montreal Forced Aligner: Trainable Text-Speech Alignment Using Kaldi." *Proceedings of the 18th Conference of the International Speech Communication Association*, 2017.
- Pederson, Lee, Susan L. McDaniel, and Carol M. Adams. *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States*. 7 vols. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1986.
- Prichard, H. (2010). Linguistic variation and change in Atlanta, Georgia. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16(2), 17.
- R Core Team. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing, 2018. <http://www.R-project.org>.
- Reddy, Sravana, and James N. Stanford. "Toward Completely Automated Vowel Extraction: Introducing DARLA." *Linguistics Vanguard*, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingvan-2015-0002>.
- Rosenfelder, Ingrid, Joe Fruehwald, Keelan Evanini, and Jiahong Yuan. *FAVE (Forced Alignment and Vowel Extraction) Program Suite*, 2011. <http://fave.ling.upenn.edu>.
- Stanley, Joseph A. "The Absence of a Religiolect among Latter-Day Saints in Southwest Washington." In *Speech in the Western States: Volume 3, Understudied Varieties*, by Valerie Fridland, Alicia Beckford Wassink, Lauren Hall-Lew, and Tyler Kendall, 95–122. Publication of the American Dialect Society 105. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00031283-8820642>.
- Stanley, Joseph A. "Order of Operations in Sociophonetic Data Processing." Presented at the New Ways of Analyzing Variation 49, Austin, Texas, October 20, 2021.
- Thomas, E. R. (2007). Phonological and phonetic characteristics of African American vernacular English. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(5), 450-475.
- Wickham, Hadley. *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2016. <https://ggplot2.tidyverse.org>.
- Wickham, Hadley. *Tidyverse: Easily Install and Load the "Tidyverse"* (version R package version 1.2.1), 2017. <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=tidyverse>.

Joseph A. Stanley

Brigham Young
University

Jon Forrest

University of
Georgia

Lelia Glass

Georgia Institute of
Technology

Margaret Renwick

University of
Georgia

Thanks to....

- All the speakers who shared their language and time.
- The members of the Language & Politics in the New South Vertically Integrated Project Team at Georgia Tech for recording interviews and transcribing data.

These slides are available at joestanley.com/ads2022.

Bonus Slides

What do these shifts sound like, across generations?

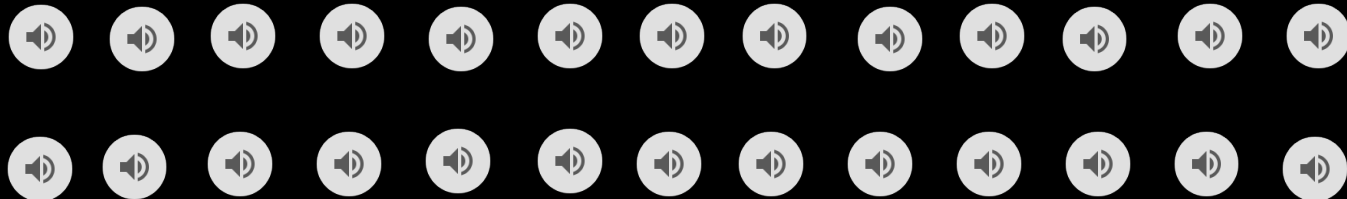
ATL 001 (White woman from Tucker, b. 1949) “taste”, “best”, “back”

GT 5148 (White woman from Savannah, b. 2002) “organizations”, “next”, “back”

GT 6081 (White man from Dunwoody, b. 2000) “math”

ATL 006 (Black woman from Decatur, b. 1960) “communication”, “wedding”, “last”

GT 3002 (Black woman from Acworth, b. 1999) “Stacy”, “credits”, “path”



Front vowels

FACE: down-up pattern!

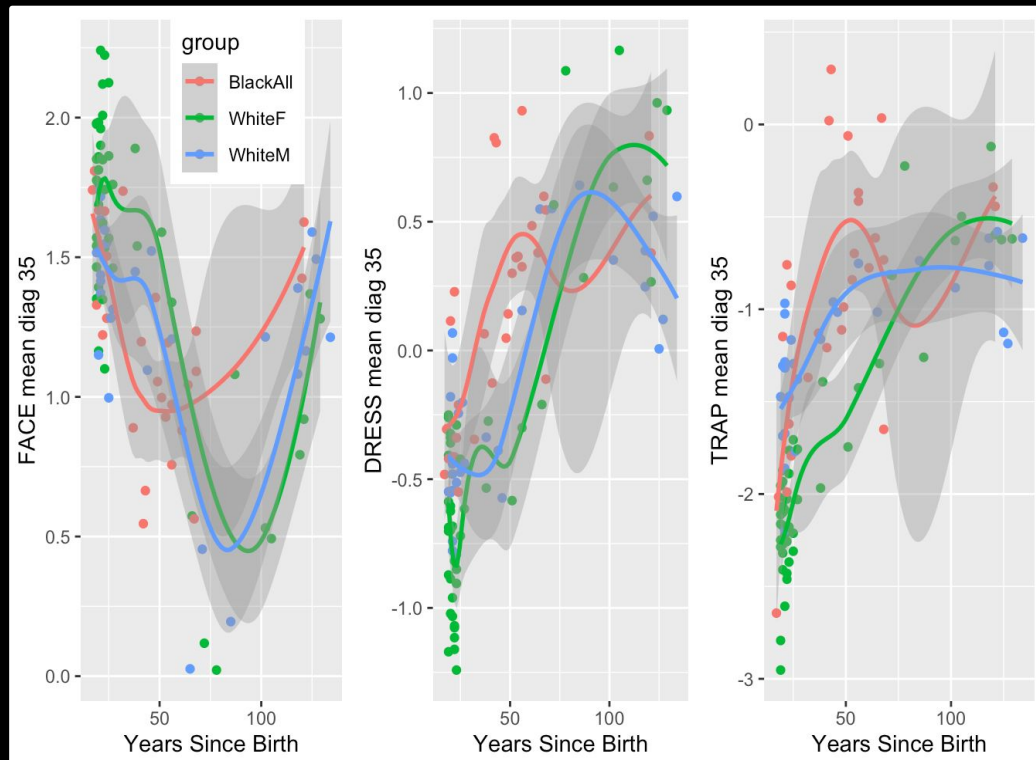
SVS advances, then retreats?

DRESS: younger -> lower/backer

SVS retreats, LBMS advances

TRAP: younger -> lower/backer

SVS retreats, LBMS advances;
young White gender split



Back vowels

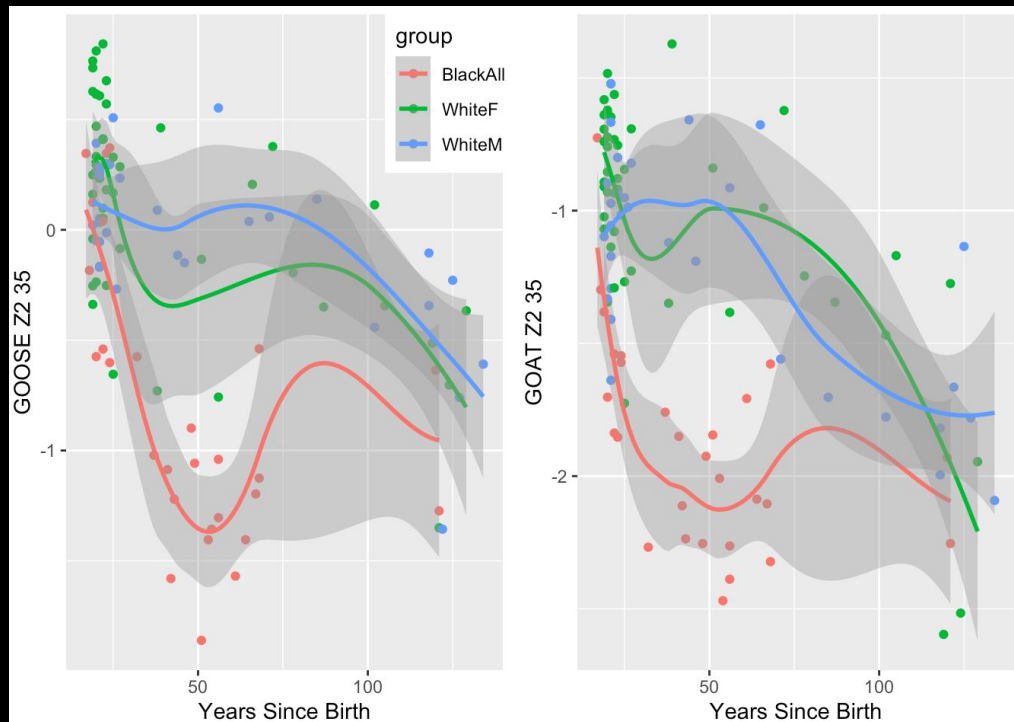
GOOSE, GOAT: younger -> fronter

SVS, LBMS go the same way!

Black speakers converging towards
White? Largest split b. 50 years ago

But, little data from those born
before then

Sampling bias? Youngest Black
speakers are college students



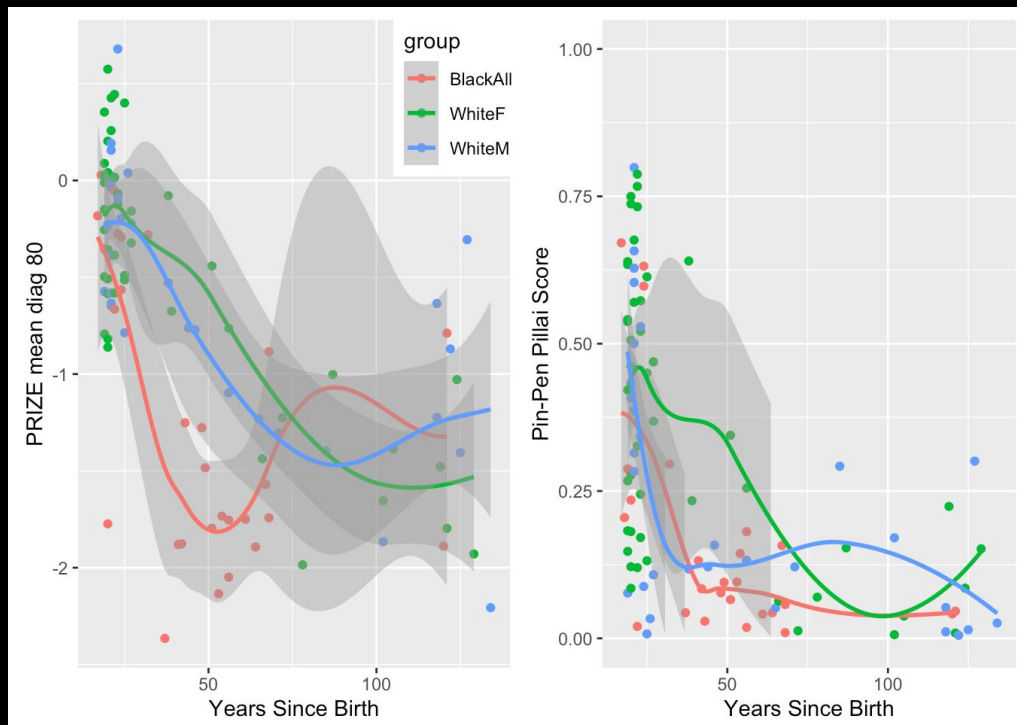
Other SVS elements

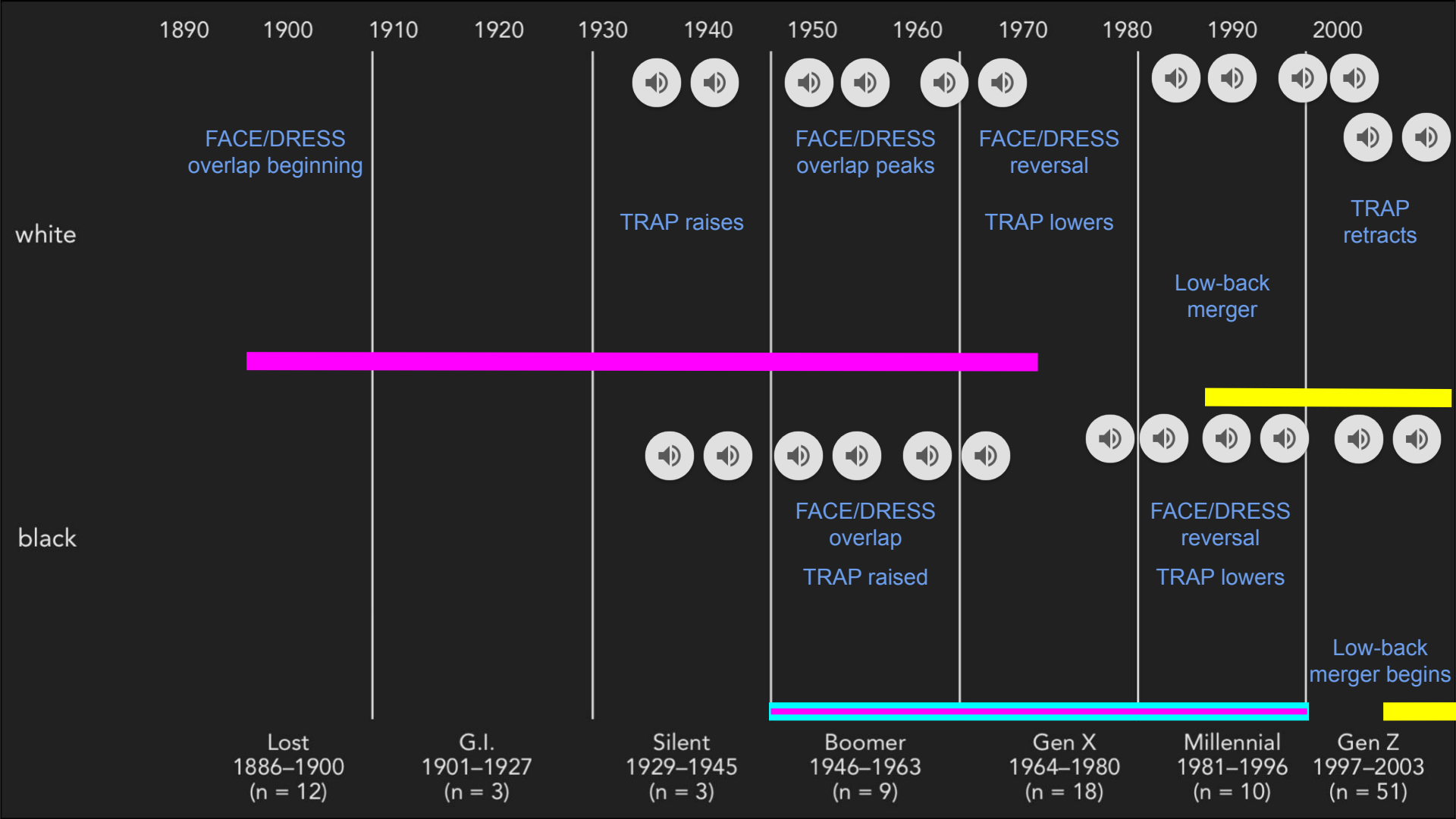
PRIZE: younger -> more diphthong

SVS retreat

PIN/PEN: younger -> less merged,
but a lot of variation!

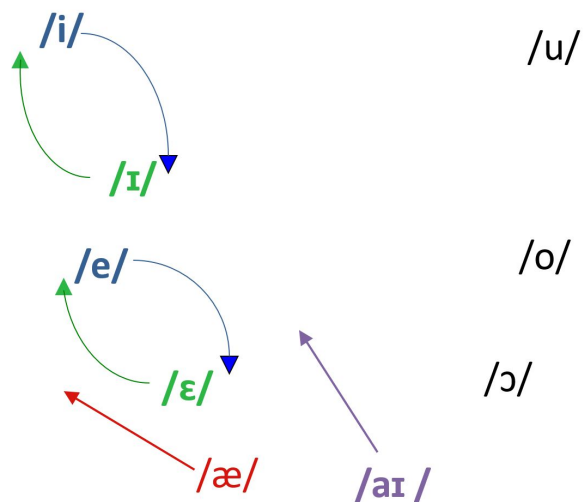
“Southern” feature going
strong!; merger vs. vowel space
features?





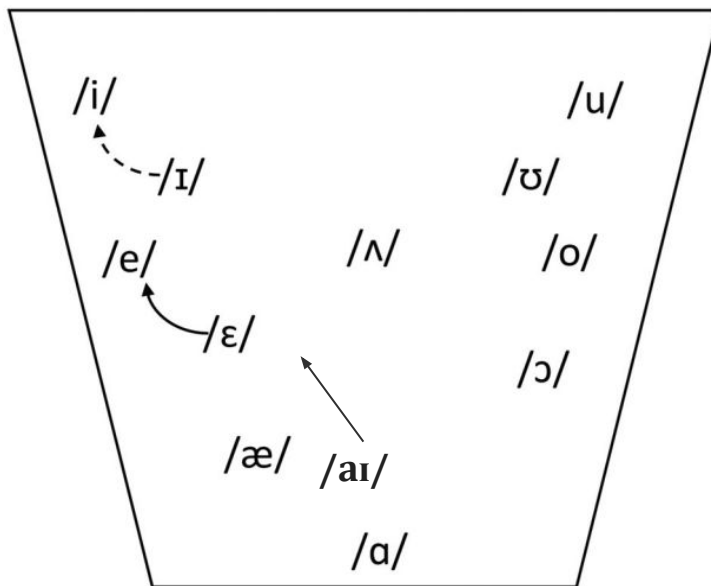
INTRODUCE VOWEL SHIFTS AND COLOR-CODING

Southern Vowel Shift



(Labov 1991, Labov et al. 2006)

African-American Vowel Shift



Speakers b. 1887-2004!

Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (LAGS; Pederson et al. 1986): legacy collection including speakers from Georgia, b. 1887-1965

Atlanta Speech Project (2003): speakers from Atlanta, b. 1919-1979

Roswell Voices project (2003-2008): speakers from Fulton County, b. 1936-1984

UGA, GT (2016--present): student speakers, grew up all around Georgia, b. 1989-2004

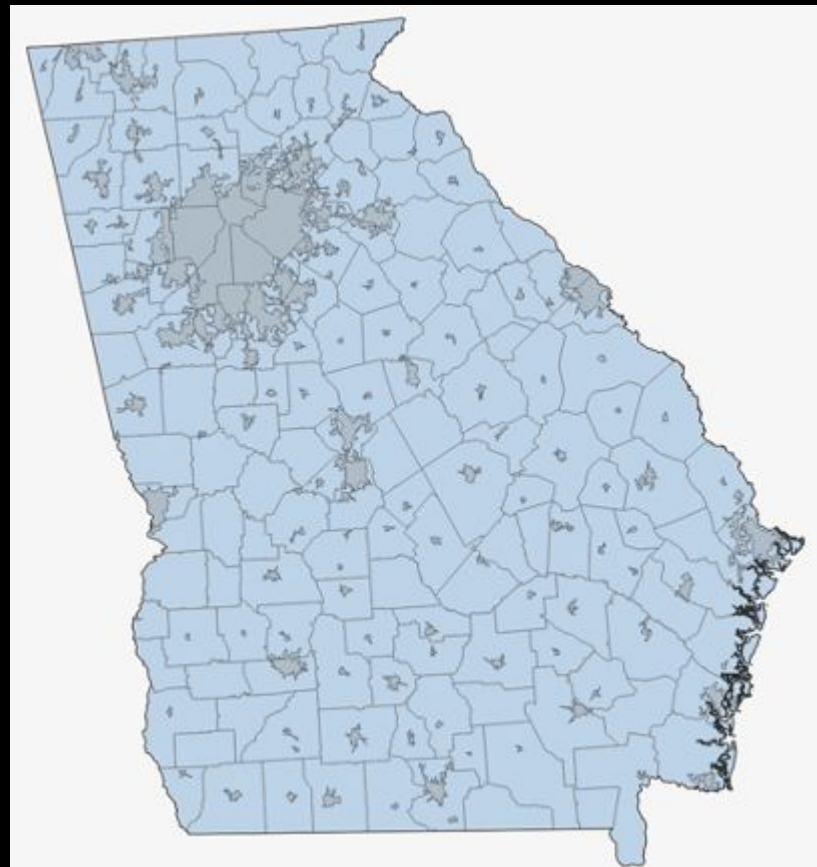
Spoken English in Georgia

Speech in Georgia is understudied

Georgia's urban areas typically shows few features of the SVS, according to Labov et al. 2006

Studies focusing on vowels have used data from around the state:

- rural Southern GA (Moultrie and Skidaway, Thomas 2000; St. Marys, Renwick & Olsen 2017)
- Atlanta (Prichard 2010)
- Atlanta's suburbs (Roswell, Andres & Votta 2009, Lawrenceville, Kim 2018)
- small towns (Griffin, McNair 2005; Oconee County, Decker 2018).



Overview

110 speakers from Georgia b. 1887–2004 (White, Black; women, men)

Large-scale, ongoing enterprise!

Show changes in FACE/DRESS, TRAP, GOAT, LOT/THOUGHT

Across genders, ethnicities, time

Illuminate diachronic trajectories of Southern Vowel Shift, African American Vowel Shift, Low Back Merger Shift

Map of Georgia 2



Vowels implicated in regional, ethnic, diachronic shifts



FACE: lower in SouthVS

DRESS: higher/fronter in SouthVS, AfrAmVS; lower in Low Back MS

GOAT: fronter in SouthVS, Low Back MS; backer in AfrAm VS

TRAP: higher/fronter in SouthVS, AfrAm VS; lower/backer in Low Back MS

LOT, THOUGHT: merged in Low Back MS