



124
193
THS

THE NORTHERN DIALECT IN MICHIGAN

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Mary J. Safar
1966

THESIS

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 10774 0411

~~152~~

~~SEC 237~~

~~062~~

2626 1/2

237 237

90 2000
300 A250

APR 23 1995

JAN 08 2001

THE NORTHERN DIALECT IN MICHIGAN

By

Mary J. Safar

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of English

1966

65-1528
1-7-66

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Roger W. Shuy for his willingness to undertake the guidance of this study and for his constant aid and encouragement throughout the writing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
I THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF MICHIGAN	3
The Eastern Shore Counties	7
The First Inland Counties	9
St. Joseph Valley and Chicago Road . .	9
Kalamazoo Valley and Territorial Road .	11
The Grand River Region	12
II THE NATURE OF THE DATA	15
Check List of Regional Expressions . .	23
III ANALYSIS OF RESULTS	33

LIST OF TABLES

No.		Page
I - A	Counties and old uneducated informants . . .	17
I - B	Counties and middle-aged semi-educated informants	17
I - C	Counties and young educated informants . . .	18
II	Counties and informants	19
III	Items, distribution, and frequency of use. .	36

INTRODUCTION

This study is a word geography of the Michigan Lower Peninsula. It presents, both in tabular and in detailed forms, the current usage of this area, comparing it with the distribution of the regional variations in the Eastern States and analyzing it according to the age and the educational level of the informants. The materials used here are Hans Kurath's A Word Geography of the Eastern States¹ and "The Checklist of Regional Expressions," developed first by Alva L. Davis and modified later by Raven J. McDavid and others. Of the one hundred and fifty-one items included in the questionnaire, sixty were employed for this purpose. These items are matters of vocabulary where dialectal differences are clearly seen.

In order to determine the regional variations which exist in the speech of the State, its settlement history should be studied first: The largest and the most important elements in the population of Michigan were natives of Western New England and New York State, who brought to this

¹Hans Kurath, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States (New York, 1949).

region speech features characterized by their place of origin. Natives of the South Atlantic States, who had sojourned in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were not numerous compared to the first elements. Moreover, they occupied only two sections of the Territory--the St. Joseph and the Kalamazoo Valleys. The foreign elements, although they were distributed throughout Michigan, had a relatively low proportion in the population. The part of the study concerning the settlement history of this region is based mostly upon George N. Fuller's Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan.²

The counties covered here are mostly from the southern half of the lower peninsula, because this section was the first to be settled. Moreover, it was, and still is, important for being representative of the general population movements. Thirty-nine counties are used here, of which seven are represented by three age groups and cultural levels of informants, so that the usage of the different social classes can be determined. In general, all the informants chosen are permanent elements who are natives of the State.

²George N. Fuller, Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan (Lansing, 1916).

CHAPTER I

THE SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF MICHIGAN

When the language of a particular area is analyzed, it is necessary to study the settlement history of that area paying careful attention, as Harold B. Allen observes, "to the place of origin of the earliest settlers, the dates of organization of the various counties (and the) routes of travel to or through the state."³

The Michigan Territory began to receive emigrants from the Eastern States in 1805. Before this year, the only white settlers in Michigan were the French-Canadians who occupied Detroit and the lands near the mouth of the Raisin, the Clinton and the St. Clair. They were chiefly fur traders who could not move to the interior in the early years for two reasons:

1. The hostile attitude of the Indians.
2. The War of 1812.

The first wave of emigration from the Eastern States was brought as the result of the public land sales

³Harold B. Allen, "Aspects of the Linguistic Geography of the Upper Midwest," Studies in Languages and Linguistics, ed. by Albert H. Marckwardt, (1964), pp. 303-314.

in 1818. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 and its effect on steam navigation of the Lakes was significant. It changed the direction of emigration from Ohio to Michigan. In the same year began the survey of the Chicago Road which was built for military purposes to connect Detroit and Chicago. This inland route was soon to become an impulse for settlement in southern Michigan. Then followed a period of extension of the frontier and a survey of the Territorial Road through the Kalamazoo Valley.

In the year 1832, the emigration was retarded in all parts of Michigan by the epidemic of Cholera and the Black Hawk War. In the following year, the Grand River Road was surveyed from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River.

There were activities in all fields in the years 1835 and 1836. Nearly two million acres of lands were sold in 1835 and about four million acres were sold in 1836 but only two million acres were sold in all the years before 1835. Also there was a rapid organization of counties in the farthest parts of the Grand and the Saginaw Valleys from the eastern shore so that by 1850 the line of settlement reached the Saginaw Bay and extended west to Oceana. The advance was slow in the year 1837 because of the economic crisis which deadened all activities in the years to come.

The waves of emigration came chiefly from Western New York State and the western counties of New England, namely, Massachusetts, Vermont and Connecticut. Other

contributors to the population of Michigan were Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio. Most of the foreign elements, other than the Canadian-French, settled in Detroit and the other shore villages. The Germans gathered in Ann Arbor, the English appeared in several points on the Chicago Road and the Scotch settled in northwestern Macomb County.

The factors causing foreign elements to leave their homes and come to Michigan were:

1. The European revolutions of the 1830's.
2. The economic crisis in Ireland.

The Yankees, because of changes in the cost of living in their area, moved westward and were attracted by the cheap and fertile farm land in Michigan. The soil was easy to cultivate. Springs of pure water and mineral water were available, prairies and openings covered large areas of land and various kinds of timber were available in many parts of the region. The rivers and the Indian trails served as transportation routes.

Other than its physical environment, a factor that affected emigration to Michigan was the sale of public land. The Indian titles in the lower peninsula were extinguished by a series of treaties in 1807, 1819, 1821, and 1836. The Southeastern part was transferred to the government by the first treaty and the valleys of the Saginaw, the Grand, the Kalamazoo and the St. Joseph were yielded to it by the

second and third treaties. They were ready to be sold in advance of the needs of the emigrants.

The improvements in transportation--both from the east to Michigan and from the lake shores to the interior--were factors of great importance to the settlement in Michigan. The national military road extended along the waterfront from Fort Gratiot southward. It had branches inland from the important centers of settlement on this main road. The Chicago Road was to become the impulse for the earliest inland settlements except for the settlement in Oakland which was influenced by the Saginaw Road. The Territorial Road went through the Kalamazoo Valley and was second only to the Chicago Road in importance for settlement. The opening of the Erie Canal and the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes were other strong impulses to emigration.

Although there were stimuli to emigration, there were checks as well. These checks were due to the malarial diseases in all parts of the territory which were partial but constant impediments to emigration. Also the emigration was retarded seriously but temporarily by the Black Hawk War in 1832 and the epidemic of Cholera in 1832 and 1834.

The sources of population were determined by the position of the territory (almost directly west of Canada, New York and New England), the relative ease of transportation from the east, the physical nature of Michigan, the

economic pressure in the eastern states and the foreign countries the emigrants came from, and the fact that lands in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois were less attractive than those of Michigan.

The distribution of population was affected by the proximity of the physical sources of life--water power, springs, lakes, trails and fertile soils. The healthfulness of the area and the presence of previous settlements contributed also to the density of population.

The Eastern Shore Counties

Early settlement came from the eastern shore along the rivers and roads to the southeastern part of the territory, moving westward first along the Chicago Road, then along the Territorial Road. The evidence that Kalamazoo was organized before Jackson and Calhoun suggests the influence of settlement from Ohio and Indiana through Cass and St. Joseph. Branch and Hillsdale were organized relatively later because of their dense forests.

The four areas of land to be settled first were on the Raisin, the Detroit, the Clinton and the St. Clair rivers. They are now in Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair Counties, respectively. These counties were the first centers of French-Canadian influence and American settlements.

In 1803, the settlement in Detroit seemed to cover nearly four acres of land and after the fire in 1805, it

began a new life with the beginning of Michigan as a Territory. Its growth was slow until the year 1818 when the settlers were attracted by the public land sales. At the time of the Census of 1837, its population was about ten thousand.

The settlers were mostly from New York and New England. There were few from Virginia and few from Marietta, Ohio. The most significant foreign elements came from Germany, probably after the European revolutions of the 1830's.

As an important settlement area, Monroe, which was established in 1817, was second to Detroit. It was situated on the south bank of the Raisin and was considered a port in southeastern Michigan. It had a population of less than three thousand people at the time of the Census of 1837.

Mt. Clemens (in Macomb County), situated on the Clinton, up to 1818 was considered as a trading post and mission station rather than a center of settlement. Its growth was slower than that of Monroe.

The fourth center of settlement was St. Clair, which was situated at the junction of the Pine and St. Clair rivers. Its growth was very slow. Its chief industry was lumbering.

The First Inland Counties

The inland counties were settled after the shore counties, between 1817 and 1826. These settlements were made between the beginning of the public land sales and the opening of the Erie Canal and the Chicago Road. When the shore was settled, the inland counties were just beginning to receive their first settlers. These settlers were attracted by fertile soil, good water power and plentiful timber. Moreover, the Chicago Road that passed through the area, made emigration easy.

Among the inland counties, Oakland had the first settlements at Rochester in 1817 and at Pontiac in 1818. In Washtenaw County, settlement began at Ypsilanti and at Ann Arbor in 1824. Lenawee County was settled at Tecumseh in 1824 and at Adrian in 1826. The order of settlement in these counties was from north to south but the extension of the frontier was more rapid in the south. Oakland County's priority of settlement stemmed from its comparative nearness to the shore and to Detroit. According to the Census of 1837, Oakland and Washtenaw Counties had populations of over twenty thousand each while Lenawee County contained less than fifteen thousand people.

St. Joseph Valley and Chicago Road

The part of the territory which was settled next after the first inland counties consists of the five

counties westward from Lenawee--namely Hillsdale, Branch, Cass, St. Joseph and Berrien. The Chicago Trail, which was the main axis of settlement in that area, passed through these counties.

The first settlements in this area were initiated in the southwest because of the attractive farmland on the prairies of St. Joseph and Cass Counties. On the other hand, the presence of dense forests in southern Hillsdale and Branch Counties and the southwestern part of Berrien County served as barriers for early settlements.

Two different movements of emigration came to this part of the Territory. The earliest waves of emigration to St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien were made from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. These seemed to be of South Atlantic States origin, particularly Virginia and the Carolinas. Some Pennsylvania-Dutch came to this part of the Territory before 1840 but in even greater numbers after that date, contributing heavily to the population of Berrien County.

The emigration from the east was made principally from New York about 1830. Branch and Hillsdale received most of their earliest settlers, who had been natives of some eastern states, from Western New York. The two movements of emigration blended in northern St. Joseph County about this time, but Berrien County was not influenced by the eastern emigration until 1834.

Of foreign elements in 1830, Englishmen appeared in St. Joseph, French-Canadians at the mouth of the St. Joseph River and Germans in Berrien County and in two townships in St. Joseph County.

The settlement in the St. Joseph Valley was prior to that in the Kalamazoo Valley because the first was nearer to Ohio and Indiana and because it was located on a more important trail than that of the Kalamazoo Valley.

Like the St. Joseph Valley, the Valley of the Kalamazoo received two streams of emigration--one from the south and the other from the east. The first was a part of the northward emigration to St. Joseph and Cass Counties and many of the settlers were natives of eastern states. Among the westward movement of population, there were many from the eastern part of the Territory who had first so-journed in Ohio.

Kalamazoo Valley and Territorial Road

Kalamazoo County received its first settlers in 1828 and was organized in 1830. Jackson, Calhoun, Allegan and Van Buren became townships in 1832, 1833, 1835 and 1837, respectively.

The earliest settlement in the Kalamazoo County preceded that of Jackson County because of its abundant prairies, which attracted some of the southern settlers. This superiority was reversed in about 1836, when eastern

emigration along the Territorial Road caused Jackson County to take the lead.

In 1837, settlement in the Saginaw Valley was more advanced than that of the Grand River Valley because the first was easier to reach from Detroit. The movement of population up the Clinton River and along the Saginaw Trail had started as early as 1818.

In 1822 the region was divided into the Counties of Lapeer, Shiawassee and Saginaw. By 1830, there were probably not more than a hundred people in the three counties. Both Lapeer and Saginaw had separate county governments in 1835 and Shiawassee in 1837. Genessee was established and organized in 1835-36 and Livingston was established in 1833 and organized in 1836.

The Grand River Region

The Grand River region was comprised of nine counties, namely Eaton, Barry, Ingham, Ottawa, Kent, Ionia, Clinton, Montcalm and Gratiot. The first three counties were established in 1829, and the rest three years later; but none except Kent had township organization before 1835.

The routes used by pioneers to the region of the Grand River were the "Northern Route", the Grand River Road, the Territorial Road and the Great Lakes.

The "Northern Route", the earliest used, extended from Pontiac in Oakland County westward to the Counties

of Shiawassee, Clinton and Ionia.

The most commonly used route to this region was the Territorial Road. It extended from Ann Arbor in Washtenaw across Jackson, Clahoun and Kalamazoo.

The water route, longer than any other one, was mainly used for the transportation of supplies.

As sources of population, New York State and New England seemed to be the main contributors to the population of the Grand River region.

Then came a period in which the frontier began to fill up so that by 1850 the important settlements reached the Saginaw Bay and extended west to Oceana County. In that year, Michigan had a total population of (397,654), broken down as follows:

Born in:

Michigan	140,648
New York	133,756
Great Britain and Ireland	26,538
Ohio	14,677
British American	14,008
Vermont	11,113
Germany	10,260
Pennsylvania	9,542
Massachusetts	8,167
Connecticut	6,751
New Jersey	5,572

The total population of the whites in the years
1970-1870:

1790	(--)
1800	551
1810	4,618
1820	8,591
1830	31,346
1840	211,560
1850	395,071
1860	736,142
1870	1,167,282

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE DATA

Evidence for the determination of the original regional vocabulary and the current usage in the speech of this area is taken from two sources:

1. Kurath's A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.
2. The Correspondence Questionnaire.

The preparation, the distribution, and the collection of approximately four hundred vocabulary checklists in the State of Michigan was made under the directorship of Professor Roger W. Shuy to whom I am greatly indebted for having an access to them.

Out of the four hundred vocabulary checklists, one hundred and forty-eight were selected and employed in this study. These were filled out by informants who have certain qualifications as to residence, age and education.

The informants chosen are native-born with little or no traveling at all; very often their parents were residents of the state too. In this way, the results arrived at reflects the usage of permanent elements--

elements which are neither foreign-born nor native-born who do not sojourn most of their lives in one locality.

There are thirty-nine Counties represented here, of which seven are more significant, being situated on important routes. The informants, representatives of the seven counties, were arranged into three groups according to age and level of education:

- I. Informants of nearly sixty years of age or older with as little education as possible.
- II. Middle-aged informants from approximately forty to sixty with high school education.
- III. Young informants ranging in age from twenty to forty with college education.

Since the cultural levels are not well defined in the American society, there is no vocabulary which is exclusively used by one type of informant and one type only. Having this in mind, we may classify the informants into types in order to arrive at distribution that reflects the different social levels to which they belong.

Below are lists of the seven counties divided according to the types of the informants in each list--their ages, their cultural levels, and their parents' birthplace:

Table I - A
Counties and Old Uneducated Informants

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
1.	Wayne	65	8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		64	10th Grade	F. & M., Detroit
		63	8th Grade	F. & M., Germany
2.	St. Clair	75	8th Grade	F. & M., Canada
		73	8th Grade	F. & M., Canada
		66	8th Grade	F. & M., St. Clair
3.	Oakland	80	8th Grade	F. & M., White Lake
		78	8th Grade	F. & M., Canada
		59	8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
4.	Ingham	78	12th Grade	F., Indiana M., Mich.
		73	12th Grade	F. & M., Poland
		60	12th Grade	F., Ohio M., Michigan
5.	Jackson	90	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		57	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		55	12th Grade	F. & M., Jackson
6.	Saginaw	76	11th Grade	F., Ohio M., Conn.
		65	12th Grade	F. & M., Germany
		60	12th Grade	F. & M., Germany
7.	Kent	80	8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		76	9th Grade	F., England M., Mich.
		60	9th Grade	F., Kent M., Holland

Table I - B
Counties and Middle-aged Semi-educated Informants

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
1.	Wayne	49	10th Grade	F. & M., Hungary
		46	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		43	12th Grade	F., N. Jer. M., Mich.
2.	St. Clair	48	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		46	12th Grade	F., Ontario M., Mich.
		40	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan

Table I - B (Continued)

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
3.	Oakland	44	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		42	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		41	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
4.	Ingham	46	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		44	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		41	12th Grade	F., N. Jer. M., N. Dak.
5.	Jackson	51	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		47	10th Grade	F., Mich. M., Ind.
		46	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
6.	Saginaw	54	9th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		45	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		48	3rd Grade	F. & M., Michigan
7.	Kent	46	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		44	10th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		36	12th Grade	F., Mich. M., Wiscon.

Table I - C
Counties and Young Educated Informants

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
1.	Wayne	29	B.A.	F. & M., Detroit
		19	3rd Coll.	F. & M., Detroit
		18	1st Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
2.	St. Clair	26	Coll. Grad.	F. & M., Michigan
		21	4th Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	Grad.	F. & M., Michigan
3.	Oakland	32	M.A.	F., Canada M., Detroit
		31	M.A.	F. & M., Michigan
		21	4th Coll.	F., Mich. M., Penn.
4.	Ingham	27	M.S.	F. & M., Michigan
		24	B.A.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	3rd Coll.	F. & M., Michigan

Table I - C (Continued)

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
5.	Jackson	26	4th Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		22	4th Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		21	B.A.	F. & M., Michigan
6.	Saginaw	21	4th Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	3rd Coll.	F. & M., Bay City
		18	1st Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
7.	Kent	24	Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	2nd Coll.	F., Mich. M., Cheltenham
		19	1st Coll.	F. & M., Michigan

The informants in the rest of the counties are natives of the state who have done little or no traveling.

The following is a list of the rest of the counties employed, with the ages of the informants, their years of schooling and their parents' birthplace:

Table II
Counties and Informants

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
1.	Macomb	48	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		45	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		21	3rd Coll.	F., Canada M., Scot.
2.	Lenawee	91	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		71	12th Grade	F., Canada M., Mich.
		49	Grad. Stu. M.A.	F. & M., Michigan
3.	Washtenaw	69	12th Grade	F., N.Y. St. M., Mich.
		44	M.A.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	2nd Coll.	F. & M., Michigan

Table II (Continued)

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
4.	Hillsdale	77	8th Grade	F. & M., Ohio
		75	College	F. & M., Michigan
		55	8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
5.	St. Joseph	50	12th Grade	F., Ind. M., Mich.
		49	12th Grade	F. & M., Indiana
		19	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
6.	Berrien	50	12th Grade	F., N.Y. M., Germany
		47	8th Grade	F. & M., Poland
		21	4th Coll.	F., Mich. M., S. Dak.
7.	Calhoun	22	1st Coll.	F., Canada M., Mich.
		20	3rd Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		20	2nd Coll.	F., Canada M., Mich.
8.	Kalamazoo	58	Grad. School University	F. & M., Michigan
		19	1st Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
		19	3rd Coll.	F. & M., Kalamazoo
9.	Lapeer	66	10th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		53	9th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		44	12th Grade	F. & M., England
10.	Genessee	53	11th Grade	F. & M., Canada
		44	12th Grade	F., Mich. M., Iowa
		26	B.A.	F. & M., Michigan
11.	Shiawassee	59	8th Grade	F., Mich. M., Ohio
		55	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		55	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
12.	Livingston	81	8th Grade	F. & M., Germany
		62	9th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		56	Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
13.	Eaton	64	12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan
		50	12th Grade	F., England M., Mich.
		25	12th Grade	F., Lans. M., Det.
14.	Clinton	86	8th Grade	F., Germany M., Mich.
		82	10th Grade	F. & M., Germany
		77	8th Grade	F. & M., Ohio

Table II (Continued)

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
15.	Gratiot	91 73 65	8th Grade 11th Grade 8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan F., Mich. M., Canada F. & M., Gratiot
16.	Ottawa	58 23	8th Grade 12th Grade	F. & M., Poland F.,--- M., Mich.
17.	Allegan	71 67 52	2nd Coll. 12th Grade 2nd Coll.	F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Michigan
18.	Muskegon	63 60 20	11th Grade 12th Grade 3rd Coll.	F., N.Y. M., Wisconsin F. & M., Sweden F. & M., Muskegon
19.	Mecosta	52	B.A.	F., Canada M., Mich.
20.	Midland	74 39 30	11th Grade A.B. 12th Grade	F., Maine M., Canada F. & M., Michigan F., Ohio M., Michigan
21.	Bay	74 73 69	7th Grade 6th Grade 8th Grade	F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Germany F. & M., Canada
22.	Sanilac	76 46 20	5th Grade 10th Grade 12th Grade	F., Canada M., Mich. F. & M., Sanilac F., Sanilac, M., Australia
23.	Huron	82 80 63	4th Grade 6th Grade 12th Grade	F. & M., U.S.A. F., Germany M., Canada F. & M., Ontario
24.	Clare	57 55	8th Grade Coll.	F. & M., Ohio F., Mich. M., N.Y.
25.	Roscommon	78 62	3rd Grade 6th Grade	F. & M., Germany F. & M., Michigan
26.	Ogemaw	42 20 19	12th Grade 12th Grade 12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Michigan

Table II, (Continued)

No.	County	Age of Informant	Education of Informant	Parent's Birthplace
27.	Iosco	20 19	2nd Coll. 2nd Coll.	F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Michigan
28.	Manistee	75 56 19	A County Nor. 2nd Coll.	F. & M., Sweden F. & M., Michigan U.S.A.
29.	Benzie	63	A.B.	F., Ohio M., Mich.
30.	Grand Tr- verse	42 35 19	9th Grade 12th Grade 12th Grade	F. & M., Michigan F. & M., Traverse F., Minn. M., Mich.
31.	Antrim	21	4th Coll.	F. & M., Michigan
32.	Charlevoix	47 20	12th Grade 2nd Coll.	F., Canada M., Denmark F., Charlevoix M., Chi- cago

Of the 151 vocabulary items included in the questionnaire, 60 were chosen in this study since they can be traced to the source areas, and since, through them, one can determine the current usage, both regional and social, within the state.

Taking into account that some of the informants have relatively little education, the questionnaire was constructed in order to be clear. The items were often preceded by explanatory materials.

Preceding the vocabulary items is a series of directions for the informants to follow in recording their usage. Informants were urged to circle the form or forms that they

use, to add any which are not listed but they actually use, and not to mark any which they do not use even though the form might seem familiar.

Following the vocabulary items is an account of the informant's life from which one can determine his age, his cultural level, his residence, his traveling (if any) and his parents' birthplace.

CHECK LIST OF REGIONAL EXPRESSIONS

For many things in daily life, people in different parts of the United States use different words. As Americans moved westward, they brought with them the terms used in their home states. Studies have already been made of many of the different words used in various areas of the Atlantic Seaboard, but the careful study of the Middle West is still to be completed. On the following pages are some items which were picked out as examples of the differences. Will you please help us in this study by recording your own usage?

DIRECTION:

1. Please put a circle around the word in each group which you ordinarily use.
2. IF you ordinarily use more than one word in a group, put a circle around each of the words you use.

3. DON'T put a circle around any word you don't actually use, even though you may be familiar with it.
4. IF the word you ordinarily use is not listed in the group, please write it in the space below the item.
5. IF you never use any word in the group, because you never need to refer to the thing described, don't mark the word.
6. THE MATERIAL IN CAPITALS IS EXPLANATORY ONLY.

EXAMPLE: TOWN OFFICER: selectman, trustee, supervisor,
reeve, councilman

Thank you,

Roger Shuy
 Associate Professor of English
 and Linguistics
 Michigan State University
 East Lansing, Michigan

1. A TIME OF DAY: quarter before eleven, quarter of eleven,
 quarter till eleven, quarter to eleven,
 10:45
2. WHERE GUESTS ARE ENTERTAINED: best room, big house,
 front room, living room, parlor, sitting
 room
3. SHELF OVER FIREPLACE: fireboard, mantel, mantel board,
 mantelpiece, mantel shelf, shelf, clock
 shelf

4. SUPPORTS FOR LOGS IN FIREPLACE: andirons, dogs, dog
irons, fire dogs, fire irons, hand irons
log irons
5. WOOD USED TO START FIRE: fat-pine, fatwood, kindling
wood, lightwood, pine, pitch-pine,
kindling
6. WINDOW COVERING ON ROLLERS: blinds, curtains, roller
shades, shades, window blinds, window
shades
7. DEVICES AT EDGES OF ROOF TO CARRY OFF RAIN: eaves,
eaves spouts, water gutter, gutters,
rain troughs, spouting, spouts, eaves
troughs
8. UPPER PART OF BARN, USED FOR STORING HAY: barn chamber,
barn loft, hay loft, hay mow, loft, mow,
overhead, overden, scaffold
9. LARGE PILE OF HAY OUTSIDE: barrack, Dutch cap, hay cap,
hay rick, haystack, rick
10. SMALL PILES OF HAY IN THE FIELDS: cocks, doodles, hand
stacks, haycocks, hay doodles, hay shocks,
hay tumbles, heaps, mows, piles, ricks,
shocks, tumbles
11. SMALL ROOM FOR HANGING CLOTHES: clothes closet, closet,
clothes press, press, wardrobe

12. LARGE PORCH WITH ROOF: gallery, piazza, porch, portico,
stoop, veranda
SMALL PORCH, OFTEN WITH NO ROOF: platform, porch,
portico, step, steps, stoop, veranda
13. PLACE WHERE COWS ARE ENCLOSED: cow brake, cow lot, cow
pen, cow pound, cow yard, cuppin
14. SHELTER AND YARD FOR HOGS: hog house, hog lot, hog
boist, hog crawl, hog pen, pig pen, pig
sty, sty
15. YARD ADJOINING BARN: barn lot, barn yard, cow lot,
farm lot, feed lot
16. KIND OF WOOD FENCE: pale fence, paling fence, picket
fence, palings, slat fence, pale garden
17. WALL MADE OF ROCKS OR STONES: stone wall, stone fence,
rock wall, rock fence
18. FENCE MADE OF WOODEN RAILS: rail fence, snake fence,
worm fence, zigzag fence, Virginia fence
19. LARGE OPEN TIN VESSEL FOR WATER, MILK, ETC.: pail, bucket
20. VESSEL FOR CARRYING FOOD TO HOGS: slop bucket, slop
pail, swill bucket, swill pail
21. HEAVY IRON UTENSIL FOR FRYING: creeper, fryer, frying
pan, fry pan, skillet, spider
22. IN YARD OR GARDEN: faucet, spicket, spigot, hydrant,
tap
23. PAPER CONTAINER FOR GROCERIES, ETC.: bag, poke, sack,
toot

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008	1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022	1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036	1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050	1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064	1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078	1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092	1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106	1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120	1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134	1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148	1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162	1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176	1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190	1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204	1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218	1219	1220	1221	1222	1223	1224	1225	1226	1227	1228	1229	1230	1231	1232	1233	1234	1235	1236	1237	1238	1239	1240	1241	1242	1243	1244	1245	1246	1247	1248	1249	1250	1251	1252	1253	1254	1255	1256	1257	1258	1259	1260	1261	1262	1263	1264	1265	1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271	1272	1273	1274	1275	1276	1277	1278	1279	1280	1281	1282	1283	1284	1285	1286	1287	1288	1289	1290	1291	1292	1293	1294	1295	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302	1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309	1310	1311	1312	1313	1314	1315	1316	1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1324	1325	1326	1327	1328	1329	1330	1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344	1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358	1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386	1387	1388	1389	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	1400	1401	1402	1403	1404	1405	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420	1421	1422	1423	1424	1425	1426	1427	1428	1429	1430	1431	1432	1433	1434	1435	1436	1437	1438	1439	1440	1441	1442	1443	1444	1445	1446	1447	1448	1449	1450	1451	1452	1453	1454	1455	1456	1457	1458	1459	1460	1461	1462	1463	1464	1465	1466	1467	1468	1469	1470	1471	1472	1473	1474	1475	1476	1477	1478	1479	1480	1481	1482	1483	1484	1485	1486	1487	1488	1489	1490	1491	1492	1493	1494	1495	1
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	------	---

24. LARGE BAG LOOSELY WOVEN: burlap bag, burlap sack,
coffee sack, croker sack, crocus sack,
gunny sack, gunny bag, guano sack,
jute bag, jute sack, sea grass sack,
tow sack
25. SHAFT BETWEEN TWO HORSES HITCHED TO A FARM WAGON: neap,
pole, tongue, neb, spear
26. PART OF A ONE-HORSE VEHICLE: fills, shafts, thills,
shavs
27. BAR TO WHICH A SINGLE HORSE IS HITCHED: singletree,
swingletree, swiveltree, whiffletree,
whippletree
28. TRANSPORTING FIREWOOD IN WAGON: carrying, carting,
drawing, hauling, teaming, toting
29. VEHICLE ON RUNNER FOR MOVING STONES FROM A FIELD: drag,
stone drag, stone boat, mud boat, stone
sled, mudboat
30. THE AMOUNT OF WOOD YOU CAN CARRY IN BOTH ARMS: armful,
armload, stone chance, load, turn
31. PLAYGROUND EQUIPMENT: dandle, ridy horse, seesaw, teeter,
teeter board, teetering board, teetering
horse, saw horse, teeter-totter, tilt(s),
tilting board, tinter, tinter board,
hicky horse, cock horse, see horse

32. VESSEL FOR COAL: coal bucket, coal hod, coal pail, coal scuttle
33. FLAT PIECE OF STONE TO SHARPEN KNIVES OR SCYTHES: whet, whet rock, whet seed, whetstone, whetter
34. FUEL FOR LAMPS: carbon oil, coal oil, kerosene, lamp oil
35. BED COVER FILLED WITH COTTON; TIED, NOT QUILTED: comfort, comfortable, comforter, hap tied quilt
36. NAME FOR GENTLE SOUND MADE BY COW AT FEEDING TIME: bawl, beller, bellow, loo, low, hum, mew, moo
37. BONE FROM CHICKEN BREAST: breakbone, lucky bone, pull bone, pulley bone, pulling bone, wishbone
38. TIME WHEN FARM ANIMALS ARE ATTENDED TO: chore time, feeding time, feed time, time to feed
39. CALL TO COWS TO GET THEM IN FROM PASTURE: boss(ie)!, co-boss(ie)!, come boss(ie)!, co-ee!, co-wench!, here boss(ie)!, soo!, sook(ie)!, sook-boss(ie)!, sook-cow!
40. HORSE ON THE LEFT SIDE IN PLOWING OR HAULING: leader, lead horse, line horse, near horse, near-side horse, nigh horse, saddle horse, wheel horse
41. A SHORT DISTANCE: (Just) a ways, a little piece, a little way, a little ways, a piece
42. SECOND GROWTH OF HAY OR CLOVER: aftergrass, aftermath, lattermath, rowen, second crop, second cutting, volunteer (crop)

43. BREAD MADE OF CORN MEAL: corn bread, corn dodger(s),
corn pone, hoe cake(s), johnnycake, pone
bread
44. BREAD IN LOAVES MADE OF WHITE FLOUR: bread, light-bread,
loaf bread, wheat bread, white bread,
yeast bread, riz bread
45. ROUND, FLAT CONFECTION WITH HOLE IN CENTER, MADE WITH
BAKING POWDER: crull, cruller, doughnut, fat-cake, fried-
cake, cake doughnut, raised doughnut
46. MEAT FROM SIDES OF HOG, SALTED BUT NOT SMOKED: bacon,
flitch, middlin, middlin meat, salt pork,
side pork, side meat, sowbelly, fatback
47. THICK SOUR MILK: clabber, clabber milk, clabbered milk,
cruddled milk, curdled milk, bonny-clabber,
lobbered milk, loppered milk, thick milk,
bonny-clapper
48. HOME-MADE CHEESE: clabber cheese, cottage cheese, curd
cheese, curd(s), dutch cheese, home-made
cheese, pot cheese, smear-case
49. FOOD EATEN BETWEEN REGULAR MEALS: a bite, lunch, a piece,
piece meal, a snack, a mug-up
50. OF BEANS: to hull, to pod, to shell, to shuck
51. BEANS EATEN IN PODS: green beans, sallet beans, snap
beans, snaps, string beans, beans
52. SMALL, SQUIRREL-LIKE ANIMAL THAT RUNS ALONG THE GROUND:
chipmunk, grinnie, ground squirrel

53. WORM USED FOR BAIT IN FISHING: angledog, angleworm,
bait worm, eaceworm, earthworm, eelworm,
fish bait, fishing worm, fishworm, mud-
worm, rainworm, redworm
54. INSECT THAT GLOWS AT NIGHT: fire bug, firefly, glow
worm, june bug, lightning bug
55. LARGE WINGED INSECT SEEN AROUND WATER: darning needle,
devil's darning needle, dragon fly,
ear-sewer, mosquito hawk, sewing needle,
snake doctor, snake feeder
56. TREE THAT PRODUCES SUGAR AND SYRUP: hard maple, rock
maple, sugar maple, sugar tree
57. VEHICLE FOR SMALL BABY: baby buggy, baby cab, baby
carriage, baby coach
58. SICK _____: at his stomach, in his stomach,
on his stomach, to his stomach, of his
stomach
59. NOISY PRANKISH CELEBRATION AFTER A WEDDING: belling,
belling bee, bull band(ing), calathump,
horning, horning bee, serenade, chivaree,
skimmelton, tin panning
60. GREETINGS AT CHRISTMAS TIME: Christmas box! Christmas
gift! Merry Christmas!

We would appreciate your filling in the following blanks about yourself, because we are interested in tracing these expressions to the Atlantic Seaboard or further, and we need as complete information as possible in order to measure our results.

Sex _____ Race _____

Have you filled out this same
questionnaire before:

Age _____ Highest grade level
reached in school _____

_____ Yes _____ No

State _____ County _____ Town _____

How long have you lived here? _____ years

Birthplace _____
(town) (State)

Other towns, states, or nations you have lived in (please
give approximate dates).

Have you traveled much outside your native state? _____

(Yes or No)

If so, where? _____

Parents birthplace (state or nation):

grandfather _____

Father _____ grandmother _____

grandfather _____

Mother _____ grandmother _____

Do you speak any non-English language? _____ If so,
which? _____ (Yes or No)

Occupation_____

If retired, former occupation_____

If housewife, state your husband's occupation_____

Father's occupation_____

Mother's occupation_____

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

On the basis of a number of regional expressions, Kurath, in his A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, has divided the Atlantic Coast States into three major dialect areas, namely, the Northern, the Midland and the Southern. The Northern dialect area consists of New England, New York State, the northern part of New Jersey and the northern part of Pennsylvania. The Midland area consists of the southern parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the northern parts of Delaware and Maryland, and the mountainous south. The Southern area extends from Delaware to Florida. Each major dialect area consists of distinctive sub-areas. Thus, the sub-areas of the North are Western New England and the New England settlement of New York State; Eastern New England; and the Hudson Valley. The Midland may be divided into North Midland and South Midland. The sub-areas of the South are Chesapeake Bay area, Virginia Piedmont, and the Carolinas east of the Midland boundary.

The Westward movement from Western New England and New York State was the major contribution to the population of Michigan and therefore, the speech features of this region are characterized by the extension of the Northern dialect of the Eastern States. A second contribution to the population, which seems to be of minor importance compared to the first, was the northward movement to the Valley of St. Joseph--particularly to St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien Counties--and afterwards to the Kalamazoo Valley. This movement was expected to contribute some elements of its dialect to the speechways of these sections since it had been of the South Atlantic States origin, which has distinctive dialect features of its own; but there is no indication of the prevalence of Southern expressions in these sections.

In order to determine the original regional and social variations in the speech of this region and to account for them in terms of their current usage, words and their variants are tabulated, together with description of their distribution on the Atlantic Coast and their frequency of use in Michigan.

Following the tabulation is a detailed analysis--a comment on the regional and social distribution of the item in the Eastern States, on the extent to which each area contributes to the speech features of Michigan, and

on the influences which affect the vocabulary change.

Sixty vocabulary items will be noted.

The counties represented here are mostly from the lower half of the lower peninsula: The shore counties--Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair; the first inland counties--Lenawee, Washtenaw and Oakland; the counties passed through by the Chicago Road--Hillsdale, St. Joseph and Berrien; the counties passed through by the Territorial Road--Jackson, Calhoun and Kalamazoo; the Saginaw Valley--Saginaw, Lapeer, Genessee, Shiawassee and Livingston, and the Grand River region--Ingham, Eaton, Clinton, Gratiot, Kent and Ottawa. Seven counties, other than the twenty-three counties mentioned above, are scattered among them so that all the region is represented; these are: Allegan, Muskegon, Mecosta, Midland, Bay, Sanilac, and Huron. The upper part of the lower peninsula is represented by nine counties spaced geographically to cover the region, they are: Clare, Roscommon, Ogemaw, Iosco, Manistee, Benzie, Grand Traverse, Antrim and Charlevoix. The reason why the lower sections are represented by more counties than the upper sections is that they were the first to be settled. Moreover, they were, and still are, representative of the general population movements, being situated on important routes.

Table III
Items Distribution and Frequency of Use

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
1.	quarter to eleven 10:45 quarter of eleven quarter till eleven	North and South --- North Midland	78 30 18 5
2.	living room front room parlor sitting room best room	general distribution in the Eastern States general distribution in the Eastern States general distribution in the Eastern States general distribution in the Eastern States ---	85 23 5 3 0
3.	mantel mantelpiece (mantel) shelf shelf	most parts of the Eastern States most parts of the Eastern States Eastern Virginia and parts of North Carolina Eastern Virginia and parts of North Carolina	80 14 5 5
4.	andirons log irons fire irons hand irons dogs dog irons fire dogs	almost general in the Eastern States --- --- in the andirons area (common folk) South and South Midland South and South Midland South and South Midland	54 11 9 1 0 0 0
5.	kindling kindling wood pitch pine fat pine pine lightwood	Philadelphia area and Maryland Philadelphia area and Maryland Midland Midland Midland South	62 54 1 0 0 0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
6.	window shades	Hudson Valley and South	59
	shades	Hudson Valley and South	36
	blinds	Midland	11
	(roller) shades	Hudson Valley and South	7
	curtains	Southern Coast and North except Hudson Valley	5
	(window) blinds	Midland	2
7.	eaves troughs	North except the Hudson Valley	85
	eaves	---	24
	gutters	South and South Midland, Hudson Valley, New Jersey and Eastern New England	8
	spouts	North Midland and West Virginia	1
	spouting	North Midland and West Virginia	0
8.	(hay) mow	parts of the North and North Midland	54
	(hay) loft	---	53
	mow	---	7
	loft	most parts of the Eastern States	7
	overhead	Pennsylvania	1
	scaffold	North except the Hudson Valley	1
	overden	Pennsylvania German area	0
9.	haystack	general distribution in the Eastern States	95
	barrack	Dutch settlement area	0
	rick	West Virginia and western-most North Carolina	0
10.	haycocks	North and Midland	27
	piles	Atlantic Coast from Delaware to Georgia, and Eastern Pennsylvania	14
	(hay) shocks	South and South Midland	12
	cocks	New England and North Midland	10
	shocks	South and South Midland	6
	heaps	parts of New England and Pennsylvania German area	3

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
11.	(clothes) closet	almost general in the Eastern States	62
	closet	almost general in the Eastern States	52
	clothes press	North and Midland (rural areas)	5
12A.	porch	general distribution in the Eastern States	88
	veranda	---	7
	stoop	North without Eastern New England	5
12B.	porch	general distribution in the Eastern States	43
	steps	---	20
	stoop	North without Eastern New England	15
	platform	---	10
13.	cow pen	North and North Midland	27
	cow yard	localized in Eastern New England	25
	cow lot	scattered in South and South Midland	4
14.	pig pen	Western New England	70
	hog pen	Western New England	23
	pig sty	Coastal New England	12
	hog house	Western New England	9
	hog lot	---	5
	sty	Coastal New England	1
15.	barn yard	almost general in the Eastern States	93
	(barn) lot	South and South Midland	1
	cow lot	South and South Midland	0
	farm lot	South and South Midland	0
16.	picket fence	almost general in the Eastern States	87
	slat fence	---	5
	paled fence	Midland and South	0
	paling fence	Midland and South	0
	palings	Midland and South	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
17.	stone wall	North	80
	stone fence	North Midland and Chesapeake Bay	13
	rock wall	parts of North Carolina (beside rock fence)	5
	rock fence	South and South Midland	1
18.	rail fence	Southern area, New York State, North Pennsylvania and West Virginia	88
	snake fence	(sporadic term)	1
	zigzag fence	(sporadic term)	1
	worm fence	Midland	0
	Virginia fence	New England	0
19.	pail	North	91
	bucket	Midland and South	11
20.	swill pail	North	39
	slop pail	---	24
	slop bucket	Midland and South	22
	swill bucket	---	5
21.	frying pan	general distribution in the Eastern States	68
	skillet	Midland	26
	spider	North except Hudson Valley and the Southern Coast	23
	fry pan	---	7
22.	faucet	North	94
	tap	---	11
	hydrant	---	1
	spicket	Midland and South	0
	spigot	Midland and South	0
23.	bag	general distribution in the Eastern States	75
	sack	general distribution in the Eastern States	67
	poke	Midland (beside bag or sack)	0
	toot	Pennsylvania German	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
24.	burlap bag	(burlap) general in the Eastern States	61
	gunny sack	Westernmost part of Pennsylvania	45
	burlap sack	(burlap) general in the Eastern States	19
	guano sack	Maryland and Shenandoah Valley	8
	gunny bag	---	6
25.	tongue	general distribution in the Eastern States	80
	pole	New England and Hudson Valley. The Coast from New Jersey to Virginia	3
26.	fills	North except Hudson Valley	30
	shafts	Midland, south and Hudson Valley	18
	thills	North except Hudson Valley	10
	shavs	(another pronunciation of shafts)	5
27.	whippletree	North	27
	singletree	Midland and South	25
	whiffletree	North	7
	swingletree	Midland and South	3
28.	hauling	general distribution in the Eastern States	83
	drawing	North without Eastern New England	7
	carting	North Carolina Coast (beside hauling)	7
	carrying	Coastal South (beside hauling)	6
	toting	South	3
29.	stone boat	North without Eastern New England	62
	stone sled	Midland	5
	drag	Eastern New England	5
	stone drag	Eastern New England	3
30.	armful	North and North Midland	76
	armload	Midland	26
	load	Midland	6
	turn	South	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
31.	teeter-totter	Northern New Jersey and New England settlement area	75
	seesaw	almost general in the Eastern States	25
	teeter-board	North except Hudson Valley	10
	teeter	North except Hudson Valley	9
	teetering board	North except Hudson Valley	1
32.	coal scuttle	Hudson Valley to Lake Erie. New Jersey Westward to New York State	50
	coal bucket	Midland and South	30
	coal pail	scattered in the North (beside coal scuttle)	22
	coal hod	North except Hudson Valley	1
33.	whetstone	North and Midland	88
	whetrock	South and South Midland	2
34.	kerosene	North and the Carolinas	95
	coal oil	Eastern Pennsylvania and Chesapeake Bay	6
	lamp oil	Midland without Delaware Bay	1
35.	comforter	North	82
	hap tied quilt	(hap) Central Pennsylvania (tied quilt) New England	3
	comfortable	North	2
	comfort	Midland and South	1
36.	moo	almost general in the Eastern States	56
	low	from Baltimore southward and Southern New England	7
	mew	---	5
	beller	New England	4
	bawl	Midland	3
	bellow	New England	0
37.	wishbone	almost general in the Eastern States	99
	breakbone	---	1
	lucky bone	Northern New England (common folk)	0
	pull bone	Midland and South	0
	pully bone	Midland and South	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
38.	chore time	North except Hudson Valley	80
	feeding time	Midland	19
	time to feed	---	3
39.	Come-boss(ie)!	North	36
	Co-boss(ie)!	North	35
	here boss(ie)!	---	9
	boss(ie)!	North	4
	Co-ee!	South	0
	Co-wench	South	0
	Sook(ie)!	Midland	0
	Sook-boss(ie)!	---	0
40.	lead horse	Midland without Delaware Bay	18
	near horse	North and Midland	9
	nigh horse	North	6
	leader	Midland without Delaware Bay	5
	wheel horse	Piedmont of Virginia	3
	line horse	Piedmont of Virginia	1
41.	a (little) way(s)	general distribution in the Eastern States	49
	a (little) way	general distribution in the Eastern States	38
	a piece	Midland	5
	a (little) piece	Midland	3
	(just) a way(s)	general distribution in the Eastern States	2
42.	second cutting	Coastal from Delaware Bay to North Carolina, Ohio Valley	62
	second crop	Midland and South	17
	aftermath	New England area and Delamarvia (relics)	1
	aftergrass	New Brunswick and Northeastern Maine (relics)	0
	rowen	North except Hudson Valley	0
43.	johnnycake	North	62
	corn bread	general distribution in the Eastern States	60
	corn pone	Midland and South	0
	pone bread	Midland and South	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
44.	white bread	Eastern New England (beside bread)	55
	bread	almost general in the Eastern States	47
	yeast bread	Eastern New England and Chesapeake Bay	4
	loaf bread	Southern Coast	3
	wheat bread	Midland and North except Eastern New England (beside bread)	1
	light bread	South and South Midland	0
	riz bread	Eastern New England	0
45.	doughnut	general distribution in the Eastern States	56
	fried-cake	North except Eastern New England	56
	raised doughnut	---	3
	fat cake	Pennsylvania German area	1
	cruller	Western New England, New Jersey, Southeast Pennsylvania and in Baltimore	1
	crull	Northern West Virginia and Western North Carolina	0
46.	salt pork	New England and New England settlement area of New York State	54
	side pork	Hudson Valley and New England Counties of Pennsylvania and Western New York State	32
	bacon	North and Midland	20
	side meat	North Midland and Chesapeake Bay	3
	flitch	Pennsylvania	0
	middlin	South and South Midland	0
	middlin meat	South and South Midland	0
47.	curdled milk	Eastern Pennsylvania and Metropolitan New York	32
	cruddled milk	Western Pennsylvania	9
	clabber	South and South Midland	7
	clabber milk	South Midland	5
	clabber(ed) milk	South Midland	5
	lobbered milk	North except Eastern New England	4
	thick milk	Pennsylvania	4
	loppered milk	North except Eastern New England	3

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
48.	cottage cheese	general distribution in the Eastern States	65
	dutch cheese	North except Hudson Valley	18
	home-made cheese	Western North Carolina and parts of the Appalachians	11
	smear-case	North Midland and Chesapeake Bay	3
	clabber cheese	South Midland and South	1
	curd cheese	Eastern New England and Coastal South	0
	curd(s)	Eastern New England and Coastal South	0
	pot cheese	Hudson Valley	
49.	snack	South and South Midland	68
	lunch	---	22
	a bite	North	9
	a piece	North Midland and Chesapeake Bay	3
	a piece meal	Blue Ridge and the Kanawha	3
50.	to shell	general distribution in the Eastern States	43
	to shuck	---	23
	to pod	---	16
	to hull	Midland	9
51.	string beans	North and Midland	66
	green beans	Midland without Delaware Bay	57
	beans	---	9
	snap beans	South Midland and South	7
52.	chipmunk	North	87
	ground squirrel	Midland and South	13
53.	angle worm	North	84
	earthworm	Southern Coast	12
	fishworm	Midland	9
	redworm	South Midland	6
	fishing worm	Midland	5
	fish bait	South Central Pennsylvania and Western Piedmont of North Carolina	3
	angledog	South Western New England	0

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
54.	lightning bug	general distribution in the Eastern States	67
	firefly	North except Hudson Valley	52
	glow worm	---	5
	june bug	---	5
	fire bug	Pennsylvania	1
55.	dragon fly	general distribution in the Eastern States	59
	darning needle	North	18
	devil's darning needle	North	10
	sewing needle	---	5
	mosquito hawk	Southern Coast	2
	snake feeder	Midland	1
	snake doctor	Eastern Pennsylvania and Chesapeake Bay	0
56.	sugar maple	almost general in the Eastern States	61
	hard maple	North except Eastern New England	23
	sugar tree	Midland without Delaware Bay	2
	rock maple	Eastern New England	0
57.	baby buggy	Western Pennsylvania and Northern West Virginia	80
	baby carriage	North and South	18
	baby cab	Western Pennsylvania and Southeastern Ohio	6
	baby coach	Eastern Pennsylvania and Chesapeake Bay	0
58.	to his stomach	North	90
	at his stomach	almost general in the Eastern States	6
	in his stomach	Southeastern Pennsylvania and the tidewater area	3
	on his stomach	Pennsylvania German settlement area	1
59.	chivaree	South Midland, Northern New England (localized)	62
	belling	Midland	13
	horning	North except Hudson Valley	5

No.	Item and Variants	Distribution in the Eastern States	Frequency of use in Michigan
59.	(Continued)		
	horning bee	Rhode Island and from Berkshires to Lake Erie	3
	serenade	Eastern New England and Southern States	1
	tin-panning	Maryland	1
60.	Merry Christmas	general distribution in the Eastern States	99
	Christmas gift	Midland and South	4

1. A time of day

It is indicated that to, in the expression 'quarter to eleven', is current in the Northern and the Southern areas of the Eastern States, and that of and till are in general use in the North and the Midland areas respectively. To shows currency of use in the Michigan materials, while of appears at a low **frequency** of eighteen. Unexpectedly, 10:45, for which no **source area is known**, appears at a relatively high frequency of thirty especially among the younger and the better educated.

2. Where guests are entertained

Living room and sitting room are shown to be in general distribution in all the Eastern States. In Michigan, sitting room seems to be abandoned in favor of living room. Best room has slightly a different meaning being used for formal occasions. That best room was called parlor in

the past and is now known as front room is reflected in the correspondence materials. The former declines in frequency with the age and the cultural level of the informant which suggests its dying out, while the latter is more prevalent among the younger and the better educated.

3. Shelf over fireplace

For 'shelf over fireplace', mantel and mantelpiece are current in most parts of the Eastern States and the occurrence of shelf is limited to Eastern Virginia and parts of North Carolina. According to the checklist data, mantel appears with a frequency of eighty per cent while mantelpiece is found in a scattered fashion of fourteen per cent only.

4. Supports for logs in fireplace

The South Midland and the Southern expressions for 'supports for logs in fireplace' are dogs, dog irons and fire dogs which are never encountered in the Michigan materials. Moreover, the Northern expression andirons occurs at a low frequency of fifty-four per cent and the folk word hand irons appears only once. The declining importance of fireplaces and what is related to it, is reflected in the limited number of the returns on the checklists to seventy-five per cent only.

5. Wood used to start fire

Pine, fat pine and pitch pine are forms used in the Midland area for 'wood used to start fire', while the

Southern area has lightwood instead. The checklist data show that kindling and kindling wood are used side by side in Michigan although the former has slightly higher frequency of use than the latter. The Midland and the Southern forms never occur at all.

6. Window covering on rollers

In New England and the New England settlement area, curtains is indicated to be widely used. The widespread occurrence of the expression is not reflected in Michigan. On the other hand, the commercial expression (window) shades, together with the general term shades constitute ninety-five per cent of the usage, with the latter being employed more by the younger and the better educated. The Midland term blinds appears in scattered instances which constitute altogether eleven per cent only.

7. Devices at edges of roof to carry off rain

In the source areas, it is observed that eaves troughs is current in New England and the New England settlement area. The prevalence of the Northern term in Michigan is clearly shown in the eighty-five per cent of the checklists, being marked in its favor. The commercial term gutters appears in scattered instances of eight per cent, while the North Midland spouts and spouting never occur at all.

8. Upper part of barn, used for storing hay

'The upper part of barn' is known as (hay) loft or (hay) mow in most parts of the Eastern States and they appear

in about the same extent in the Michigan materials. The former is becoming more popular since it is in wider use among the younger and the better educated. On the other hand, the latter is declining in use with the age and the cultural level of the informant.

9. Large pile of hay outside

Hay stack is widely current throughout the Eastern states for a 'large pile of hay outside'. The Dutch word barrack prevails in the Dutch settlement area and rick in most of Virginia, in Maryland, and in Delaware Bay. In the Michigan responses, the first is seen with a high frequency of ninety-five, while the last two never show up at all.

10. Small piles of hay in the fields

It is investigated that (hay) cocks is the North and the North Midland expression while the South and the South Midland areas have (hay) shocks instead. In Michigan, (hay) cocks seems to be more prevalent among the old and the uneducated informants, piles among the middle-aged and semi-educated, and (hay) shocks among the young and the well-educated. On the other hand, the limited number of the checklist returns to seventy-three per cent only suggests the dying out of farm knowledge and its vocabulary.

11. Small room for hanging clothes

In the rural areas of the New England settlement area and the North Midland, clothes press is still used for

'small room for hanging clothes'. Few scattered instances appear in favor of this term, while clothes closet and closet appear with a percentage of sixty-two and fifty-two respectively. The former declines in frequency with the youth and the cultivation of the informant. By contrast, the latter seems to be gaining ground among the young and the well educated.

12. A. Large porch with roof
 B. Small porch often with no roof

According to A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, the screened porches are known everywhere as porches. The checklist materials confirm this assertion except for seven per cent in favor of veranda and five per cent for stoop.

As for the unscreened porches, the returns show varying frequency. Although the most commonly used variant is still porches, being used by forty-three per cent of the informants, other regional expressions show relatively high frequency. The combined percentages of steps, platform and the Dutch expression stoop are forty-five.

13. Place where cows are enclosed

The local expression cow yard which is common in Eastern New England seems to be used by the side of cow pen in Michigan since they appear with a percentage of twenty-five and twenty-seven respectively. Barn yard, which is not listed among the variants, is seen in seven per cent.

The small number of returns on the checklists shows that not all the people, especially in urban areas, need using expressions that are connected with cows.

14. Shelter and yard for hogs

In Kurath's A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, sty and pig sty are common in coastal New England, but Western New England has hog house, hog pen and pig pen instead. The correspondence materials show that the coastal New England forms are rare in Michigan. The Western New England pig pen is used with a frequency of seventy per cent while the combined percentages of hog house and hog pen are thirty-two. Moreover, pig pen is more frequently used by the younger and the better educated, while both hog house and hog pen decline in use with the youth and the cultivation of the informant.

15. Yard adjoining barn

For 'yard adjoining barn', Kurath observes that barn yard is almost general in the Eastern States, and lot, stable lot, barn lot and farm lot are its South Midland and Southern variants. The widespread use of barn yard in the Eastern States in general and in the North in particular is reflected in Michigan where its frequency of use reaches ninety-three per cent, while only one instance appears in favor of (barn) lot.

16. Kind of wood fence

The trade expression picket fence is in widespread use almost everywhere in the Eastern States. It prevails

in Michigan where it appears in eighty-seven per cent of the checklists. No other variant shows up except slat fence which has a low frequency of five per cent only.

17. Wall made of rocks or stones

'A wall made of rocks or stones' is known as stone wall in the New England settlement area, as stone fence in the North Midland, and as rock fence in the South Midland and the South. In the checklist data, stone wall appears to be in regular use throughout Michigan being marked by eighty per cent of the informants, while stone fence--the second in popularity--appears in thirteen per cent.

18. Fence made of wooden rails:

This old fashioned fence is known as rail fence in the Southern area, in New York State, and in Northern Pennsylvania; as Virginia rail fence in New England; and as worm fence in the Midland. Rail fence, and not the New England form, prevails with a frequency of eighty-eight per cent while no other term appears more than once.

The lack of ten per cent in the returns on the checklists confirms Kurath's statement that this kind of fence is old-fashioned.

19. Large open tin vessel for water

For the 'metal container', pail and bucket are common in the source areas. The former is in general use in the New England settlement area and the Hudson Valley,

and the latter in the Midland and the South. As is expected, the Northern expression prevails in Michigan and appears at a high frequency of ninety-one per cent, while the Midland and the Southern bucket is seen in scattered instances of eleven per cent only.

20. Vessel for carrying food to hogs

Swill pail, slop bucket and slop pail are used side by side in Michigan, though the Northern expression swill pail is slightly more prevalent, being found in thirty-nine per cent of the checklists. Slop pail and the Midland slop bucket occur at relatively high percentages of twenty-four and twenty-two respectively. Also, slop pail seems to be coming into use since it increases in frequency with the youth and the cultural level of the informant, while swill pail is more frequently used by the older and the less educated.

21. Heavy iron utensil for frying:

The commercial term frying pan is used in the Eastern States especially in urban areas. This is reflected in the Michigan responses where the term is more prevalent among the younger and the better educated. Two regional terms appear in the checklist materials--the Northern spider and the Midland skillet are seen at the percentages of twenty-three and twenty-six respectively.

22. Over a sink

It is observed that faucet is in general use only in the North, while the expressions common in the Midland and the South are spicket and spigot. The checklist data show that faucet prevails in Michigan and among all social groups while spicket and spigot do not show up at all. Tap, which is of Canadian origin, appears in a scattered fashion of eleven per cent.

23. Paper container for groceries, etc.

Both (paper) bag and (paper) sack are in widespread use in the Eastern States. They are current in Michigan too although the former seems to be more popular than the latter being seen in seventy-five per cent of the checklists while the latter appears with a percentage of forty-five.

24. Large bag loosely woven

Both burlap sack and bag are observed to be current in the East. The former seems to be losing ground in Michigan in favor of the latter. What confirms this observation is that the latter is more commonly used by the younger and the better educated. On the other hand, the commercial term gunny sack, which is originated in the Ohio Valley, appears in a relatively high frequency of forty-five per cent.

25. Shaft between two horses hitched to a farm wagon

For 'shaft between two horses hitched to a farm wagon', tongue is used in all parts of the Eastern States. This term is found to be in general use in Michigan being given by eighty per cent of the checklist informants. However, the item itself seems to be declining in use since it appears in eighty-three per cent of the checklist returns, and since it is less frequently used by the younger and the better educated who are unfamiliar with the use of horses and what is connected with it. Besides tongue, only pole, originally used in New England and the Hudson Valley, appears in three per cent of the questionnaires.

26. Part of a one-horse vehicle

'The part of a one-horse vehicle' is known as fills or thills in the rural areas from New England to Lake Erie; and as shafts in the Hudson Valley, the Midland and the South. These expressions, being connected with the use of horses, are not common in the urbanized areas which is reflected in the scanty returns on the checklists being sixty-three per cent only. Moreover, what confirms their decline, is that they are more frequently used by the older and the less educated.

27. Bar to which a single horse is hitched

Kurath observes that whiffletree and whippletree are Northern expressions though the former is a more usual variant. In Michigan, whippletree is found to be more

frequently used than whiffletree. Also, both whippletree and the Midland-Southern singletree are used to about the same extent.

The percentage of the returns on the checklists is sixty-two only, which shows that not all the people to-day are familiar with the vocabulary relating to horses or at least, they do not actually use it. What confirms this, is the more limited responses among the younger and the more educated.

28. Transporting firewood in wagon

It is observed that hauling is current nearly everywhere in the East although, in the North, the regional expression drawing or carting is more generally used by the common folk. The checklist data show that hauling is current in Michigan and among all social groups although it is less frequently used by the younger and the better educated. Carrying, carting and drawing are seen in scattered instances of six, seven and eight per cent respectively.

29. Vehicle on runner for moving stones

In A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, it is stated that stone sled is in common use in the Midland area, and stone boat in Western New England, while Eastern New England has drag or stone drag instead. In Michigan, this item seems to be declining in use since the returns on the checklists constitute seventy-seven of

the total number. Moreover, it is far less used by the younger and the better educated, probably because this generation, especially in urban areas, does not need to refer to a vehicle of this kind.

30. The amount of wood you can carry in both hands

In A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, 'the amount of wood that one carries to the stove or the fireplace' is called armful in the North and the North Midland, armload or load in the Midland, and turn of wood in the South. As expected, the Northern expression predominates in the responses, the Midland occurs at a frequency of twenty-six per cent and the Southern never occurs at all.

31. Playground equipment

The literary expression seesaw is found to be in general use in the Atlantic Coast States, and teeter-totter predominates in New Jersey and in the New England settlements of New York State. According to the checklist data, the most commonly used form in Michigan is teeter-totter which is seen in seventy-five per cent of the checklists and which is more prevalent among the younger and the better educated, while seesaw occurs with a comparatively low percentage of twenty-five and shows an even distribution among all social levels. On the other hand, teeter and teeter board, characteristic of New England and the New England

settlement area, appear at a relatively low frequency of nine and ten per cent respectively.

32. Vessel for coal

The original regional term for 'a vessel for coal' in New England and to some extent in the New England settlement area is coal hod which is marked by two informants only. On the other hand, coal scuttle, the Hudson Valley expression, which has spread into the New England settlement area, has found its way to Michigan. Although coal scuttle appears at a frequency of fifty per cent, it declines in use with the youth and the cultural level of the informant. By contrast, the Midland coal bucket is more frequently used by the younger and the better educated.

33. Flat piece of stone to sharpen knives or scythes

For 'flat piece of stone to sharpen knives or scythes' whet stone is in widespread use in the North and the North Midland and whet rock in the South Midland and most parts of the South. The questionnaires reveal that the former is current in Michigan while only three instances occur in favor of the South Midland and the Southern expression.

34. Fuel for lamps

The commercial term kerosene, which is also Northern according to Kurath, predominates in the checklist returns with a high percentage of ninety-five. The regional expressions coal oil and lamp oil appear at a low frequency of six and one respectively.

35. Bed cover filled with cotton, tied, not quilted

Although the regional expressions comforter and comfortable are described to be general in the North, the former predominates in Michigan being used by eighty-two per cent of the informants, while the latter as well as the Midland-Southern comfort appear in very few scattered instances.

Over ten per cent of the informants do not mark any of the variants which suggests that this kind of bed cover is going out of use.

36. Name for gentle sound made by cow at feeding time

The 'gentle sound made by cows at feeding time' is called mooing in the North and the North Midland. This expression is used by fifty-six per cent of the checklist informants. The low percentage is due to some of the informants, being unfamiliar with the expressions of this kind or at least they do not need to refer to them. This term seems to be going out of use since it declines in frequency with the youth and the cultivation of the informant. On the other hand, in spite of its low frequency of use, low is more frequent among the younger and the better educated.

37. Bone from chicken breast

The North and the North Midland expression for 'bone from chicken breast' is wishbone which prevails in the Michigan questionnaires with a frequency of ninety-nine

per cent. No instance is found in favor of the South Midland and the Southern expressions pull bone and pully bone.

38. Time when farm animals are attended to

In A Word Atlas of the Great Lakes Region, Davis indicates that chore time predominates in the North Atlantic States except for the Hudson Valley, and feeding time is common in the Midland area. The Michigan responses show the prevalence of the Northern expression which is slightly more current among the older and the less educated. They show also the occurrence of chore time with feeding time in a ratio of four to one.

39. The call to cows to get them in from pasture

The 'call to cows to get them in from pasture' is boss(ie)!, co-boss(ie)!, or come-boss(ie)! in New England and the New England settlements of New York State. The combined percentages of the Northern forms in the Michigan questionnaires are seventy-five. No other variant, besides the Northern forms, seems to be used in Michigan except here-boss(ie) which is found in nine per cent of the questionnaires. Another observation is that the returns on the checklists are eighty-four per cent out of the total number which show that some of the people nowadays do not need to use this expression. Moreover, this expression is slightly more common among the older and the less educated.

40. Horse on the left side in plowing or hauling

The forms that appear in the Michigan materials are lead horse, near horse, nigh horse, leader, wheel horse, and line horse. It is worth noting that their combined percentages are limited to forty-one per cent out of the total number. This points to the declining importance of the horses and what is related to them and shows that their vocabulary is on its way to be forgotten. Moreover, the expression in general is more commonly used by the older and the more educated.

41. A short distance

For 'a short distance' a little way(s) has a general distribution in the Atlantic Coast States, and a little piece is restricted to most parts of the Midland area. In the Michigan questionnaires, a little way and a little ways are used by eighty-seven of the informants, while seven scattered instances appear in favor of the Midland expression.

42. Second growth of hay or clover

In A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, it is shown that the Midland and the Southern areas have the expression second crop and that the usage in the New England settlement area is complicated. Two forms for 'second growth of hay or clover' appear in the Michigan questionnaires--second cutting and second crop--which are

found in sixty-two and seventeen per cent respectively. Again the decline in farm knowledge is shown by the limited number of the returns to seventy-nine per cent.

43. Bread made of corn meal

According to Kurath, the national term corn bread "now predominates in the urbanized areas and is widely used by the better educated in most rural areas as well"⁴ and that johnny cake is in general use in New England and in the New England settlement area. The checklist responses show that corn bread is more popular than johnny cake among the younger and the better educated informants. In general use, however, the former is used to about the same extent as the latter.

44. Bread in loaves made of white flour

Bread is the North and the North Midland expression for 'loaves made with white flour', white bread is used in Eastern New England, and light bread in the South Midland and the South. The checklist data show that white bread is used in Michigan along with bread although the former is slightly more frequent than the latter. Moreover, the former seems to be getting into use since it is more prevalent among the younger and the better educated. The South Midland and the Southern expressions do not occur.

⁴ Hans Kurath, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States (New York, 1949), p. 67.

45. Round, flat confection with hole in center, made with baking powder

It is indicated that doughnut is current everywhere in the Atlantic Coast States with fried-cake in use in most parts of New England and in the New England settlement area of New York State and Northern Pennsylvania. The former appears in the checklist materials to exactly the same extent as the latter although it increases in frequency with the youth and the cultural level of the informant, while the latter is more commonly used by the older and the less educated. Three instances of raised doughnut appear in this sense.

46. Meat from sides of hog, salted but not smoked

Salt pork is the form used in New England and in the New England settlements of New York State, side meat in the North Midland, and side pork in the Hudson Valley and Western New York State. The South and the South Midland have middlin(g) and middlin meat.

The most frequently used expression in Michigan is salt pork which appears in fifty-four per cent of the questionnaires although it is going out of use since it declines in frequency with the youth and the cultural level of the informant. On the other hand, bacon which appears with a relatively low frequency of twenty per cent seems to be coming into use since it is more prevalent among the younger and the better educated. As for the other forms, side pork

is seen with a percentage of thirty-two, while there are only three instances of the North Midland expression.

47. Thick sour milk

For 'thick sour milk', Kurath indicates that clabber is used in the South, clabber milk in the South Midland, lobbered milk or loppered milk from Connecticut River to the Great Lakes, curdled milk in Eastern Pennsylvania and cruddled milk in Western Pennsylvania. These forms, together with thick milk and sour milk appear at varying frequency in the Michigan questionnaires ranging from three to thirty-two per cent. The most commonly used form is curdled milk and the least given is loppered milk.

48. Home-made cheese

The commercial cottage cheese predominates everywhere in the Eastern States especially in urban areas. The checklist data reveal the prevalence of this expression in Michigan over the other variants. The second in frequency of use comes Dutch cheese which is common in the New England settlements of New York State, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and which is seen in fifteen per cent of the Michigan questionnaires. Home-made cheese, although it occurs in eleven per cent seems to be gaining ground since it increases in frequency with the youth and the educational level of the informant. By contrast, cottage cheese is more prevalent among the older and the less educated. Five

instances of smear case appear and none of the Southern expressions are found in these data.

49. Food eaten between regular meals

Although Kurath states that bite predominates in the North, piece in the North Midland, and snack in the South Midland and South; the Southern expression prevails at the expense of the Northern expression and is seen in sixty-eight per cent of the questionnaires. Piece, a borrowing from Pennsylvania German, occurs at a very low frequency of three per cent.

50. Of beans

According to Kurath, shelling is used throughout the Eastern States for 'removing beans from pods'. In this sense, the Midland area has hulling beside shelling.

The most prevalent form in the Michigan responses is shell which is given by forty-three per cent of the checklist informants. Shuck, pod and hull appear at a relatively high frequency of twenty-three, sixteen and nine per cent respectively. Shuck seems to be more popular among the younger and the better educated while shell slightly declines in frequency with the youth and the cultivation of the informant.

51. Beans eaten in pods

For 'beans eaten in pods', string beans is indicated to be current in the North and the North Midland, green beans in the West Midland, and snap beans in the South

Midland and the South. The checklist data show that string beans and green beans are used side by side in Michigan, although the former is more popular than the latter especially among the young and the well-educated generation. Snap beans and beans appear in a scattered fashion of seven and four per cent respectively.

52. Small squirrel-like animal

Chipmunk is the general form in the North for the 'small squirrel-like animal;;, while the expression common in the South Midland and the South is ground squirrel. The checklist responses show a regular prevalence of the Northern term over its counterpart--the South Midland and the Southern term in a ratio of eighty-seven to thirteen per cent.

53. Worm used for bait in fishing

It is observed that angleworm is in widespread use in New England and the New England settlements. It also predominates in the Michigan materials being seen in eighty-four per cent of the checklists. Earthworm, which is a city word in New England, New York City, and Philadelphia appears at a low frequency of twelve per cent of the questionnaires. It seems to be coming into use since it increases in popularity with the youth and the educational level of the informant. Fish bait, fishing worm, red worm and fish worm appear with varying frequency ranging from three to nine per cent.

54. Insect that glows at night

The 'insect that glows at night' is called lightning bug everywhere in the Eastern States and fire fly in Northern New England. Lightning bug is used in Michigan along with fire fly among all social groups. This is reflected in the questionnaire materials where they appear with percentages of sixty-seven and fifty-two respectively.

55. Large winged insect seen around water

Darning needle is stated to be in general use in the New England settlement area and the Dutch settlement area. It is seen, together with devil's darning needle in twenty-eight per cent of the Michigan checklists. It seems to be dying out since it declines in frequency with the youth and the educational level of the informant. On the other hand, the literary term dragon fly shows considerable currency among the younger and the better educated and appears in fifty-nine per cent of the checklist materials.

56. Tree that produces sugar and syrup

It is indicated that sugar maple is used in nearly all parts of the Eastern States, rock maple in Eastern New England, and hard maple in Western New England and the New England settlement area. According to the checklist data, the most commonly used expression in Michigan is sugar maple which occurs at the frequency of sixty-one per cent. The second in frequency of occurrence is hard maple which is

found in only twenty-four per cent of the responses. It is also more commonly used by the older and the less educated informants.

57. Vehicle for small baby

The 'vehicle for small baby' is called baby carriage in the North and the South Atlantic States. In the Michigan materials, this expression occurs at an unexpected low frequency of eighteen per cent, while the commercial baby buggy proves to be in general use among all social groups and is marked by eight per cent of the checklist informants. Only nine instances appear in favor of baby cab.

58. Sick---

To in the phrase 'to his stomach' is shown to be current in Northern New England, and the Michigan findings confirms its currency. This expression appears at a high frequency of ninety per cent while the Southern and the Midland expression 'at his stomach'--which is, in turn, more frequently used than the other variants, occurs in a low percentage of six only.

59. Noisy prankish celebration after a wedding

The serenade after a wedding is called chivaree in Northern and New England and the South Midland. This expression occurs in sixty-two per cent of the Michigan checklists and is stronger among the older and the less educated. Undoubtedly it is stronger among the older

and the less educated because this custom has been long abandoned by most Michiganders. Other expressions of varying frequency are belling and horning which are seen in thirteen and five per cent respectively.

60. Greetings at Christmas time

Merry Christmas is indicated to be in widespread use in the North and the North Midland of the Eastern States. It is current too among the younger generation in the South Midland and the South. In the Michigan materials, this expression is marked by nearly every checklist informant. Four instances appear in favor of Christmas gift.

On the basis of the tabulation and the detailed analysis given above, it seems that Michigan constitutes one dialect speech area, and therefore, no isoglosses can be drawn, since in drawing isoglosses, there should be a pattern of distribution in a way that vocabulary items dominate in an area while they do not show up elsewhere. Contrary to this, whenever dialectal features appear in Michigan, they are either current everywhere or occur in a scattered fashion throughout the whole Territory.

Since the dialect of Michigan is considered as the extension of the Northern dialect area of the Atlantic States, we find the prevalence of speech features characterized by the place of origin. This is almost, but not

always true, for there are few regional expressions characterized by the Midland or the Southern speech areas, yet they prevail in the state at the expense of the Northern or the general distributed terms. Also few local terms in the Eastern States are generalized in this Territory or general terms localized. In other words:

1. Expressions of general and almost general distribution in the Eastern States are also in widespread use in Michigan.
2. Expressions which are current or almost current in the North are also in common use in this Territory.
3. Eastern New England terms are rare in Michigan with the exception of white bread and to some extent cow yard.
4. Northern New England terms are not established with the exception of Chivaree.
5. Expressions which prevail in the Hudson Valley are also rare in Michigan with the exception of (window) shades and coal scuttle.
6. Midland and Southern expressions are few with the exception of the Western Midland baby buggy and lead horse, the Coastal Midland and the Southern and the Ohio Valley expression second cutting, and the South and the South Midland snack.

So far, terms of regional significance have been discussed. Social levels are not well defined for there

are no speech features characterized by a particular class and that class only, yet, many variants show significant social distribution being more frequently used by a specific social group and cultural level.

Many of the variants that determine social levels in the North Atlantic States are still significant for this purpose in the new environment, yet, some are no longer significant in this region, being found in use to the same extent by all social groups. On the other hand, new variants emerge to be socially important which are of no social importance in the source area.

The reasons for the emergence or regression of specific social expressions are not always easy to analyze. The factors which affect vocabulary change--expansion or contraction, persistence or disappearance--in the new environment may be either economical or social. In general, terms related to farm knowledge, animals, and animal calls decline in use with the age and the cultivation of the informants. They are also less current in urban areas. On the other hand, literary and commercial expressions are more commonly used among the young and the well-educated. They are also in more general use in urban areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, Harold B. "Aspects of the Linguistic Geography of the Upper Midwest," Studies in Languages and Linguistics, ed. Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor, 1964), 303-314.
- Atwood, E. Bagby. The Regional Vocabulary of Texas. Austin, 1962.
- _____. A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States. Ann Arbor, 1953.
- Davis, Alva L. A Word Atlas of the Great Lakes Region. University of Michigan dissertation on microfilm, Ann Arbor, 1948.
- Drake, James A. "The Effect of Urbanization on Regional Vocabulary," American Speech, XXXVI (February, 1961), 17-33.
- Francis, W. Nelson. The Structure of American English. New York, 1958.
- Fuller, George N. Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan. Lansing, 1916.
- Hankey, Clyde T. "A Colorado Word Geography," PADS, XXXIV (November, 1950).
- Halmstrom, Jean and Annabel Ashley. Dialects USA, Illinois, 1963.
- Kurath, Hans. A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, Ann Arbor, 1949.
- Marckwardt, Albert H. "Folk Speech in Indiana and Adjacent States." Indiana History Bulletin, XVII (1940), 120-140.
- _____. "Principal and Subsidiary Dialect Areas in the North Central States," PADS, XXVII (April, 1957), 3-15.
- Mencken, H. L. American English. New York, 1963.

Norman, Arthur M. Z. "Migration to Southeast Texas: People and Words," Southwestern Social Sciences Quarterly, XXXVI (1956), 149-158.

Reed, David W. "Eastern Dialect Words in California," PADS, XXI (April, 1954), 3-15.

Shuy, Roger W. "The Northern-Midland Boundary in Illinois," PADS, XXXVIII (1962).

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293107740411