

U.S. English is a salad bowl.

## The Representation of Regionalisms in Standard American English

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## **ABSTRACT**

Dialects in the United States have hardly been endangered by recent changes in American society. Despite the popular conception of American English heading towards homogenization, studies have demonstrated that language in the U.S. still exhibits a great dialectal diversity. Regional variation is tied in with a set of unfounded attitudes that result in some dialects being deemed as more correct than others. Variation is easily perceived in lexicon; so that questions are often raised about which regionalisms are part of the mythical Standard American English and which are not. In this project we present a small sample of regionalisms, most of which serve to illustrate some of the phenomena discussed, and we check them against three main standard dictionaries in order to determine the role that regionalisms play in Standard American English. The analyzed data suggests that lexical variation is to some extent accepted in the definition of SAE, and shows some divergence in the decision of including a regionalism or leaving it out. The present study prompts the argument of how the authority of dictionaries may affect people's ratings in terms of correctness of regionalisms.

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*Anne*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*The accent of our native country dwells in the heart and mind as well as on the tongue –  
François de la Rochefoucauld*

It was four years ago when I first realized that I spoke a dialect. It coincides with the time of my life when I left my home region to pursue a university education in a bigger city. For some reason, I had not been aware that I spoke with an accent until then. My accent was thick and it could easily trace me back to my home community. Every time I happened to mention a dialectal word, conversation was interrupted. It was not a bad thing; it was simply funny. As years have gone by, I have come to learn which words make people laugh and which words simply go unnoticed. So, it is up to me now whether I choose to use them or not. Regional variation became evident so quickly, not only for other people but also for me. However, there was a slight difference, and it had to do with stereotyping. If you are a bit familiar with the Catalan dialectal landscape, you will soon understand what I am talking about. For those of you who are not: the central variety of the Catalan language is simply held in high regard by society. It is often perceived as the “correct” variety – or at least, as a more “correct” one than my own. Consequently, when I unconsciously uttered a regionalism, it was automatically seen as *non-standard* even if the word in question was totally accepted and normative. In her book *Anatomy of English. An introduction to the Structure of Standard American English*, Dorothy Sedley claims that “some researchers have reported a trend among college students to shed their regional accents to protect themselves against the possibility of negative stereotyping that might be attached to the use of any regional variety” (1990:215). This is merely my personal experience, but if we shift the focus towards the dialects in the United States, it applies quite well too. Thus, this is a broader phenomenon than we may initially think.

There is a widely accepted belief that there is a “General American” type of English. Everyone that has a bit of knowledge of English is somewhat aware of the existing difference between British and American English. Not everyone, however, knows that American English has several dialects, which definitely belie the assumption of a homogenized language. I personally became familiar with American dialectology quite

recently. I suspected that there had to be some room for regional variation in a country of such dimensions, but I think it is interesting for a translator to know a little bit more than that. In fact, it is essential for a translator not only to know the source language deeply but also in its existing state, which undoubtedly entails the many varieties that are part of American English. Being aware of the fact that variation does occur within the United States, questions are often raised about what vocabulary is considered Standard and what is considered regional. These questions usually go hand-in-hand with the many unfounded opinions that Americans appear to have about dialects.

In this project, I will study American Dialectology and the notion of Standard American English from a sociolinguistic point of view. Moreover, I will concern myself specially in determining the role that regionalisms play in Standard American English. Accordingly, this project is structured as follows: section 2 and 3 will constitute the theoretical basis for the reader to understand the field of knowledge in which this project is framed. The notion of *standard* and *dialect* will be respectively addressed with reference to the United States. Section 4 deals with the main studies that have been carried out in American Dialectology and which somehow have come to delimit the contemporary dialect areas (section 5). I will proceed to collect a small sample of regional vocabulary, and check it against dictionaries of Standard American English in order to analyze, in section 6, the presence of regionalisms in standard references. I will ultimately present my conclusions. I believe this order is interesting because it leads to the interrelation of regionalisms with the Standard American English.

I study American Dialectology for several reasons. Firstly, dialects are interesting in their own right. Secondly, there are several major studies in the field that otherwise would remain unknown to me. Thirdly, almost everyone dares to say that this or that person speaks with an *accent* –using the word *accent* in an interesting way. And finally, everyone speaks a dialect.

Likewise, I study Standard American English for several reasons, too. In the first place, unlike Spain or France, there is no language academy in the U.S. that gets to define a normative variety. In the second place, almost everyone dares to judge what “correct” or “proper” English is, and some even dare to point on a map where the “best” and the “worst” English is spoken. In the third place, the SAE has become a myth. And last but

not least, I am curious myself to learn about the relationship that regional American English and Standard American English bear.

I have titled this project, “U.S. English is a salad bowl. The Representation of Regionalisms in Standard American English”. While the second part of this title is quite intuitive, I believe the first one may need a bit of explanation. The *salad bowl* is a metaphorical cultural idea that suggests that the different cultures of the United States combine like a salad. Each culture retains its qualities (cf. the ingredients of a salad) but they all share a sense of national identity (the salad). I have used this metaphor to describe American English for I believe that, despite the belief of a “General American English”, the language in the U.S. does have a great dialectal diversity.

I wish I could say I had thought it all myself. However, none of what follows would have been possible without the knowledge that some particular books have shared with me. I have referred to most of these books in various points throughout the project, but a complete list of them can be found in the bibliography. This is merely a brief description of what is about to follow. I encourage you to keep reading and find out what this topic has to offer.

## 2. STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH: DEALING WITH THE MYTHICAL BEAST

In my opinion, the following sentence briefly summarizes what is about to come in this chapter. It is the resolution that the Linguistic Society of America approved at its annual meeting in 1997. It reads:

“All human language systems –spoken, signed, and written- are fundamentally regular” and definitions of socially disfavored varieties as “slang, mutant, defective, ungrammatical, or broken English are incorrect or demeaning”.

In this section, I will reproduce the contributions regarding Standard American English made by several scholars that have achieved great renown in the field of sociolinguistics. I am not going to reveal a definition of Standard American English yet, for the mere reason that it requires a bit more of analysis than that. In fact, SAE –or as Rosina Lippi-Green puts it, the “mythical beast” – is not easy to define.

There is ambiguity in the understanding of SAE. It seems that the popular conception differs considerably from what linguists have observed. People seem well-aware of the idea of a standard language, so much that they tend to call it their way in such erroneous labels as “correct” English, “good” English, and “grammatical” English. Let’s first have a look at what linguists have to say about it.

### **Linguists’ viewpoint**

In their book *American English: Dialects and Variation*, Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes find it necessary to differentiate between the operation of SAE on a formal and an informal level. Thus, they believe there are two types of SAE: a formal or prescriptive Standard English, and an informal Standard English. What follows is a comparison of both of them. To do so, I have listed several characteristics suggested by them that in my opinion, give a great description of the nature of both Standards. In order to avoid repetition, I have dared to shorten formal Standard English as FSE, and informal Standard English as ISE.

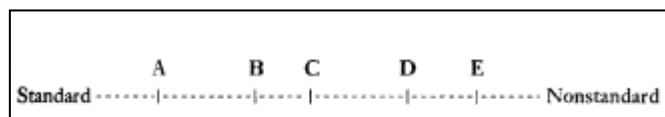
- FSE is more likely to occur in impersonal written language and very formal spoken situations; ISE applies to spoken language.



- FSE is based on objective standards prescribed by language authorities; in ISE, it is the listener that determines the social acceptability of a norm.
- FSE is rather conservative and not prompt to include changes occurring within the language; ISE takes into account regional and social variation.
- FSE is codified in dictionaries, and in grammar and usage books; ISE is subject to multiple norms of acceptability.

The lack of a prescribed authority makes the informal Standard English more difficult to define. This section focuses mainly on the informal Standard English.

Why did ISE originate in the first place? We have seen that the formal Standard English is restricted to written texts or to very formal settings, which means that it is not used in natural spoken conversation. Bearing in mind that there is an apparent difference between written and oral language, I believe it became necessary at a given point to reinvent another *standard variety* for the language that operated in a less formal level of American Society. Informal Standard English is not a categorical notion; rather, Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes (2006:11) suggest a visual representation of how it may be understood:



**Figure 1:** A continuum of standardness (Wolfram, Walt; Schilling Estes 2006)

Thus, informal Standard English may be perceived as a continuum, and a speaker's speech can be judged as more or less standard. The ratings of standards are usually quite subjective and may vary according to the listener's social and regional background.

Vernacularity, like standardness, is represented in a continuum so that a speaker may speak in a more or less vernacular way. A vernacular variety is defined by the use of non-standard forms and by the presence of socially disfavored linguistic structures. It is associated with groups that are less socially respected. Further information could be provided about this topic, but I consider that the mere notion of *non- standard* was relevant here.

### **The importance of socioeconomic groups**

Another reason why it appears to be difficult to delimit ISE is due to the fact that there is not only one informal Standard English but several regional recognized standards within this broad notion. What makes a person's speech to be assessed as standard then? In their book, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes made the following statement that, in my opinion, is quite to the point: "If a person's speech is free of socially disfavored structures, then it is considered standard" (2006:13). Being as surprising as it sounds, socially favored and socially disfavored structures determine if one's speech is considered standard or non standard. Consequently, a speaker that uses a *double negative* or *different irregular verb forms* has a great chance of being considered vernacular.

However, language alone is hardly ever a decisive point when associating a speaker with standardness or vernacularity. Values about different social groups in society play a more important role: it is more likely that a socially subordinate group is considered non-standard than a socially dominant group. Likewise, a socially favored or mainstream group will be associated with SAE for simply enjoying great respect in American society.

### **How accurate are definitions of SAE?**

I have selected a few definitions given by highly-regarded dictionaries, which will allow us to see that, according to these definitions, Standard English leaves no room for social variation. Let's first have a look at the one made by *Merriam Webster's collegiate Dictionary* (10<sup>th</sup> edition, 1993):

"The English that with respect to spelling, grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary is substantially uniform though not devoid of regional differences, that is well established by usage in the formal and informal speech and writing of the educated, and that is widely recognized as acceptable whether English is spoken or understood".

This is a quite typical definition of how Standard English is actually conceived. There would be several aspects that could be the object of remark, but I would like to stress the fact that it states that Standard English is the language of the educated. In addition to

that, the editorial preface of this same dictionary lists “politicians, professors, curators, artists, musicians, doctors, engineers, preachers, activists, and journalists among the type of educated person whose English is consulted as part of this process [it refers to the process of delimitation of standard English]”. Likewise, *Cambridge International Dictionary of English* (1<sup>st</sup> edition, 1995) also names educated speakers as the possessors of the standard language as well as they claim that “most announcers on the BBC speak Standard U.S. English”.

According to these definitions, we could conclude that it is in hands of the most highly-regarded social groups to determine how language is best used. In other words, it really depends on the prestige or value that society assigns to a particular linguistic phenomenon for it to be seen as standard or vernacular.

### **Non-linguists’ viewpoint**

Popular opinions appear to agree with the previous definitions of Standard American English. In her book *English with an Accent*, Rosina Lippi- Green (1997:58) provides the following definition of SAE:

“Standard American English the language spoken and written by persons with no regional accent; who reside in the Midwest, Far west or perhaps some parts of the North east (but never in the South); with more than average or superior education; who are themselves educators or broadcasters; who pay attention to speech, and are not sloppy in terms of pronunciation or grammar; who are easily understood by all; who enter into a consensus of other individuals like themselves about what is proper in language”.

The idea of a Standard language therefore persists because it is still alive and propagated. When people who speak a socially stigmatized variety agree with the fact that Standard is associated with the upper-classes, they help to empower this Standard language ideology.

### **It is a matter of difference, not deficit**

Additionally, Dorothy Sedley, in her book *Anatomy of English*, approaches this phenomenon from a grammatical perspective. At this point, it is no longer a surprise to learn that people talk about “good grammar” or “bad grammar”. However, she asserts

that “it is misleading to talk of “good grammar” or “bad grammar”, when what we have are just *different* grammars” (1990:5). She affirms that all varieties of English are subject to grammatical rules, and therefore of regular systems. That means that a person that uses *he don't*, for example, is not making a grammatical mistake but simply following a different set of grammatical rules from those of Standard English. This rule prescribes that *don't*, *can't* or *won't* remain unchanged whether the subject is *I*, *you*, *he*, *we* or *they*. However, why does *he don't* still make most ears hurt? That leads us to think that grammatical rules of the prestige varieties of American English have been imposed to us to such extent that they are thought to be the only legitimate rules. Whatever does not conform to these rules is socially stigmatized, and therefore considered a mistake.

Obviously, that does not imply that everything is *correct* either. Note that *grammatical* does not exactly mean *correct*, *acceptable* or appropriate. I believe these are not easy concepts to grasp at once. I will thus put an end to this section with an advice, as follows: Consider the situation you find yourself in, throw a quick look at your audience, keep your purpose in mind, and be ready to use the appropriate language. I have intentionally avoided the inverted commas in *appropriate* this time because I do believe that, if such circumstances are contemplated, you will choose well.

### 3. THE NOTION OF DIALECT

*Dialectal variation runs through all languages at all times.* – Frederic G. Cassidy

This section intends to provide the reader a close look into the concept of *dialect*. I am aware that this section goes by the hand of the previous one, and it is therefore highly recommended to have understood the notions of *standardness* and *non-standardness* first. I aim not to repeat information that has already been discussed, so that this part will be kept rather brief. Moreover, I have considered it important to analyze the factors that have led to the development of American dialects in the first place.

What is a dialect? I believe everyone would somehow come up with an answer to this question. Again, it has been observed that there is a great difference between how

linguists understand dialects and how these are perceived in society. In their book *American English: Dialects and Variation*, Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes put into words what characterizes each posture. Both approaches will be described on the basis of the information found in their book:

- Technically, the term *dialect* refers to a language variety that is characteristic of a group of speakers that share a geographical location or a cultural identity. Popularly, it is used to define someone that speaks differently from oneself.
- Technically, there are no “good” or “bad” dialects. Popularly, the term *dialect* is often used to say that a person fails to speak “correct” or “proper” English.
- Technically, everyone speaks a dialect. Popularly, only some language varieties are regarded as dialects.

Dialectal variation occurs in the various layers of language and it can be perceived in vocabulary, pronunciation, morphology, and syntax. Dialectal difference makes itself more noticeable in pronunciation, which may be the reason why *accent* is the non-technical term used for *regional dialect* in the United States. We can often guess what part of the country a speaker comes from by simply hearing his or her pronunciation. There are actually some varieties such as a “southern drawl”, a “Boston accent” or a “New York accent” that are very easily recognized in American Society.

### **What does language tell about us?**

Language varieties not only reveal information about a speaker’s origins, but also reflect social and educational traits. Dialects often have a belief or an attitude behind that connotes them positively or negatively. These connotations are typically based on the social position of the community of speakers in question. Some speakers often feel proud about their origins and accept the dialect label comfortably. Some others, nonetheless, try to disguise it to the extent possible when leaving their home region.

In his paper “Where they speak correct English”, Dennis Preston in *Language Myth* focuses on how non-linguists see the various dialects of the United States in terms of correctness. To find out, he carried out a study in which he asked seventy-six young white undergraduates from Southern Indiana to rank all fifty states, NYC and

Washington DC in reference to language “correctness”. The top of the list is headed by where the “most correct” English is spoken, and position number 52 is occupied by the state where the “least correct” English is thought to be found. The following figure shows the results:



**Figure 2:** Rating of the fifty states, New York City, and Washing DC for language “correctness” on a scale of 1-10 (“1”= “worst English”; “10”= “best English”) (Preston 1989)

Preston’s analysis indicates that these informants place the “best” English in five areas: North Central, Mid-Atlantic (except for NYC), New England, Colorado, and the West Coast. Most of them seem to agree in their positive evaluation of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. The worst standard deviation is said to be in New York City. In addition to this, they concur on the fact that a lack of correct English is found in the South, and ranked Mississippi last.

These judgments are largely made on the basis of grammatical features, without much regard to one’s accent. The figure also agrees with the assertion that there is not a single regional variety that is considered “the standard variety” but rather, some socially favored and some socially stigmatized varieties.

### **Justification of the current dialects**

We should also ask ourselves why there are dialects in the United States in the first place. This topic will be approached from a socio-historical perspective as well as from a linguistic one, which will both help to explain the current dialect landscape. We will

later see that some of the vocabularies, which have been object of study in section 6, illustrate some of the phenomena that follow. The explanation has been based on the research carried out by Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes in their book *American English: Dialects and Variation*. Some of the most important social, cultural, and psychological factors have been listed first, as follows:

- Settlement

It has been observed that some of the most characteristic traits of the American dialects reflect dialect differences that existed in the British Isles before the British colonization of America. That is explained by the fact that early colonists came from different parts of the British Isles. It has been studied that those who set up residence in Eastern New England and Virginia were originally from Southeastern England (which explains their *r-less* pronunciation after vowels and before consonants in words such as *work*). In 1724, thousands of descendants of Scots-Irish arrived in Delaware and proceeded to settle in Pennsylvania, New York and Western New England. They later spread throughout the Mid-Atlantic States and the highlands of the American South. Their speech, characterized by an *r-full* pronunciation, had a persistent impact on American English in general, in which *r* is still predominant today. Others defining features of American dialects can be traced to the varieties that were spoken in the Caribbean and the west coast of Africa. That is so because a variety of African languages followed the slaves that were brought to the New World.

Needless to say, there are many other centers of early settlement that could be addressed here. However, I aimed to simply provide a few examples that would illustrate the importance of settlement patterns in the shaping of American dialects. There is no doubt that their influence is still perceived today.

- Migration

Migratory flows are still reflected in the dividing lines of American dialects. Early colonizers that settled in the East part of the country began immigrating en masse westwards to the North and Midland regions. The Northern and Midland dialect

boundaries began extending: the Northern US, mainly by speakers of the New England region; and the Midland, by speakers from the Upper South, the Mid-Atlantic States, and the New England and New York dialect area. At the same time, the South was expanding too.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, numerous foreign immigrations took place from Ireland, Germany, Italy and Scandinavia. Most of the non-immigrants settled in the North and Midland areas of the country rather than in the South. This phenomenon intensified dialect differences in the South.

- Geography

Geographical factors also played a role in the development of dialects in the United States. This is greatly exemplified if we consider, for example, a terrain that for its natural boundaries happen to isolate a group of speakers. Since this community will not have face-to-face communication with speakers of other regions on a regular basis, it is very likely that they develop their own dialect. For example, this has been the case of the Appalachian Mountains talk.

- Language contact

American English has been highly influenced by the contact with other languages during many years. Earlier American English was influenced by French in the New Orleans area; Spanish in Florida; German in Pennsylvania and New York, and by West African languages throughout the Lower South. Of course, the various original American languages played a role too. We can still see the impact on today's lexicon in words such as *bureau*, *hamburger*, *patio*, or *moccasin*, among many others. Sometimes, contact with other languages other than English was restricted to one particular area. For instance, in New Orleans, for their historical strong contact, we will find some dialect-specific terms that originally come from French.

Furthermore, there are also sociological considerations that should be taken into account. It has been observed that differences in education background and social status are of major importance in the development of dialects in the United States.



- Economy

Language possesses some specialized vocabularies which are tied to a particular economic activity. That explains why nautical terms, for example, will be used in a coastal area, where fishing is an important source of income, but they will be barely current in a mountainous region. Moreover, it has been proven that rural and urban lifestyles are also reflected in dialect differences. In American society, agriculturally-based areas have typically been more reticent to change than metropolitan areas, which adopt changes more quickly. This applies to linguistic innovations as well, so that an older form of English is more likely to be found in a rural area, and a new linguistic phenomenon, in a big city.

- Social stratification

This point has already been analyzed when introducing the social connotations about dialects. For this reason, it will be here succinctly approached. In American society, social status differences appear to have a great impact on language. There are some grammatical and pronunciation features like *double negatives*, *different irregular verb forms*, and *doubly-marked comparatives* that virtually cut across all regional varieties, and are rather associated with lower-status speakers in all dialect areas.

- Social interaction and speech communities

The patterning of dialects is also affected by the mobility of American population and the communication with one another. Speakers that are in constant interaction are likely to share some particular language features. William Labov technically uses the term *speech community* to describe a “group of people with shared norms, or common evaluations of linguistic variables”. *Speech communities* will be addressed later, too.

I am going to proceed with the analysis of the linguistic factors which also help us to explain language variation in the United States. In the first place, it is important to understand that language itself is in constant change by nature. As Walt Wolfram and

Natalie Schilling-Estes put it, “language is a dynamic phenomenon, and the only static variety of language is, in reality, a dead one” (2006:8). The English language, for instance, has changed so much over time that scholars have found it necessary to differentiate between Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English. Groups of speakers may react differently to changes, so that it is possible that while some adopt a certain linguistic change, others hold against it. When this occurs, a dialect may be born.

One of the most noticeable differences in language occurs in words and word meanings. Dialectal words differ from each other for several reasons: firstly, because the relationship between the sounds that make up a word and the meaning that is associated with this particular word is totally arbitrary; secondly, because a word may be needed in a region to give name to a reality that simply does not exist or is not usual in another dialectal area. Word meanings, at the same time, also change. That means that a word may not only have a central meaning but also dialectal ones.

The shaping of the American dialects is best explained by the combination of both socio-historical and linguistic factors. It should be considered, though, that dialects are dynamic systems and they may evolve too.

#### **4. MAJOR STUDIES IN AMERICAN DIALECTOLOGY**

*“Well, American dialects have been studied for a hundred years or so” –William Labov*

Anyone who is a bit intrigued about dialects in the United States can get hold of a dialect map quite easily. However, that has not always been so. In fact, it should be considered that a lot of research lies behind the existing boundaries. I myself am curious to learn how these “hidden” varieties were discovered. Thus, in this section, I intend to describe the most important achievements of American Dialectology, to which we owe the current American dialect geography.

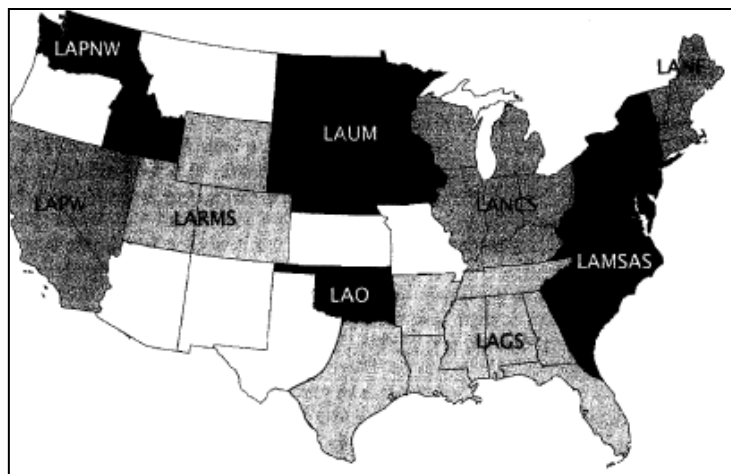
Let’s prepare the ground first. The results of the studies that are about to follow will be presented in the form of dialect maps. A *dialect map* displays visually the geographical

variation of a particular linguistic feature. We will also notice that some lines have been drawn on these maps. The technical term for these lines is *isogloss*, and they are used to set off the speech area in which a certain linguistic feature is current. Sometimes, it may be difficult to draw an isogloss because speakers of an area use two different variants. These are often referred to as *transitional zones*. We also distinguish between major and minor regional areas depending on the accumulation of isoglosses.

Historically, the notion of American English was tied to nationalism. Noah Webster, the parent of generations of English dictionaries, exemplifies this greatly with the following declaration: “As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government”, and “a national language is a bond of national union”. It was said in a time when differences between British and American English became apparent. With the independence of the United States, the focus shifted to the diversity within American English itself. In 1889, the American Dialect Society was founded. By that time, Joseph Wright began editing the *English Dialect Dictionary*, based on data mainly gathered by the English Dialect Society, so a group of American philologists were inspired to produce a similar work for the United States. The American Dialect Society was founded with the aim of “investigating the English dialects in America with regard to pronunciation, grammar, phraseology, and geographical distribution” (Grandgent 1889).

The production of linguistic maps became an important linguistic field in the nineteenth century. The first linguistic atlases were developed in Germany, Switzerland and France in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The basic principles of language cartography were set by the German Georg Wenker and the Swiss Jules Gilliéron who independently carried out their projects *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches* in 1878, and *Atlas Linguistique de la France* in 1880, respectively.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many Linguistic Atlas Projects were carried out in the United States too. The following map summarizes these achievements. If you would like to have more detailed information about each of these atlases, consult the table that appears in the *annex 1*.



**Figure 3:** Linguist Atlas Projects of the U.S, 1931-1998 (from the Linguistic Atlas Project website information pages)

The Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE) stands out for being a pioneer investigation. The plan for mapping the dialects of American English was first set in the 1920s, when the LANE was initiated under the direction of Hans Kurath. The area of focus was the New England region (see figure 3), and the study was based on the phonetic form of the words and phrases representing the responses of participants.

There are three achievements that are of major importance in the field. These are the following:

- A Word Geography of the Eastern United States
- Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)
- The Atlas of North American English (ANAE)

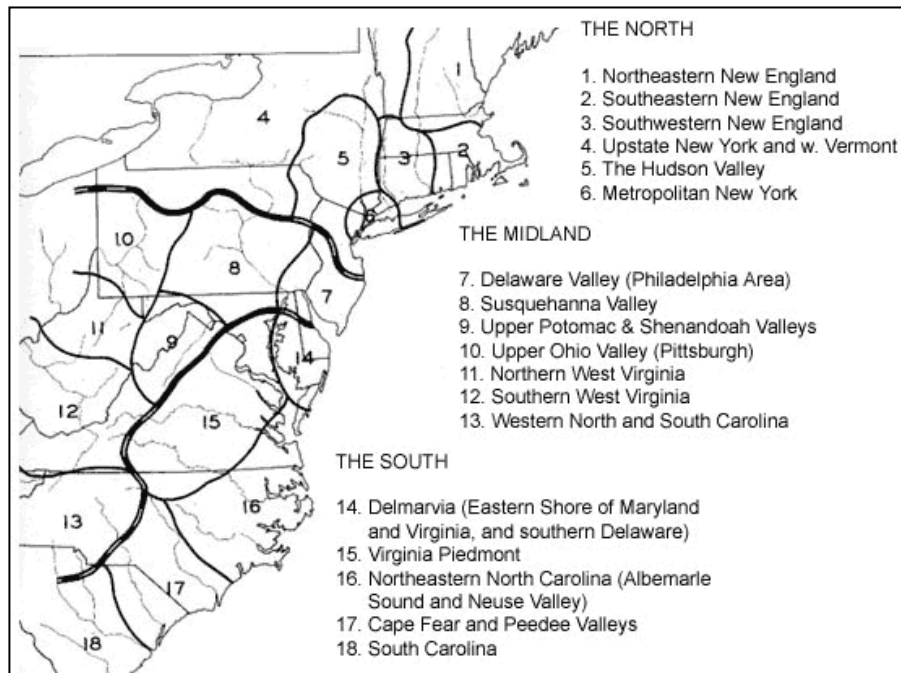
I am going to proceed to describe each of them briefly. I will first provide a little bit of background about each study, but I will concern myself mostly with the innovative contributions that each of them made to the field. The methodology that allows linguists to acquire their empirical data is common to most linguistic studies. Consequently, I am going to enumerate very succinctly the six steps suggested by Schilling-Estes in her paper *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork*:

- a) Designing the field study: the linguist identifies the interests and goals of his or her study and develops a hypothesis.

- b) Selecting the population for study: the linguist focuses on a certain *speech community* that is of his or her interest. A *speech community* is understood to be a group of people who share a linguistic feature and conform to the same speech norms.
- c) Sampling: data has to be accurate and recurrent in order to be representative.
- d) Data collection: linguists can now make use of state-of-the-art automated search engines, statistical procedures, and mapping techniques.
- e) Approaching the field. The linguist enters the community and finds appropriate informants (variety is normally taken into account, so that people will be of all ages, of different race, and will have different educational backgrounds).
- f) Recording and record-keeping. Considerable advances have been made in audio and video recording equipment.

#### **4.1. A Word Geography of the Eastern United States**

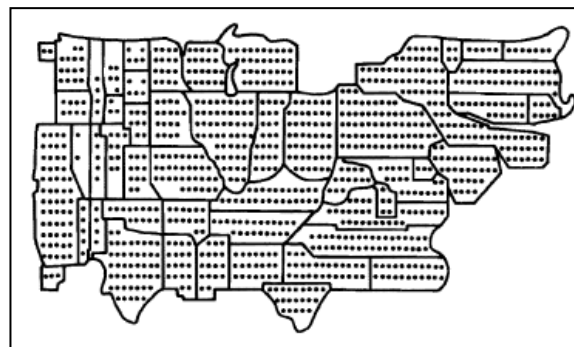
Kurath's work led to the publication of his book *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* in 1949. It focused on the Northeastern States because, for historical reasons, this area is considered speech-wise. This time, Kurath established the dialect divisions on the basis of lexicon. He found out that every word that is not used nationwide has its own regional spread. One of the most outstanding characteristics of his studies lies on the discovery of a Midland area. The Northern and the Southern areas were traditionally recognized, but he asserted the existence of a Midland area that lies between the two. We can also observe that the Eastern part of the country alone was divided into 18 speech areas. This division was based on the isoglosses of more than 400 words that were identified as regional. The solid lines in Pennsylvania and Virginia mark the boundaries between the North, the Midland, and the South. Let's take a look at the map:



**Figure 4:** Dialect areas of the Eastern United States (Kurath 1949)

#### 4.2. Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)

A great progress was made in the study of dialects with regard to lexicon in the 1960s. The Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE) was published under the direction of Frederic Cassidy. It was based on a survey about regionalisms which was conducted on a national scale. Speakers from communities of all states were interviewed. Communities were not randomly chosen but settlement history and economical activities (such as tobacco growing, fishing, and mining) were taken into account. The following map shows the total of 1000 communities that were object of study:

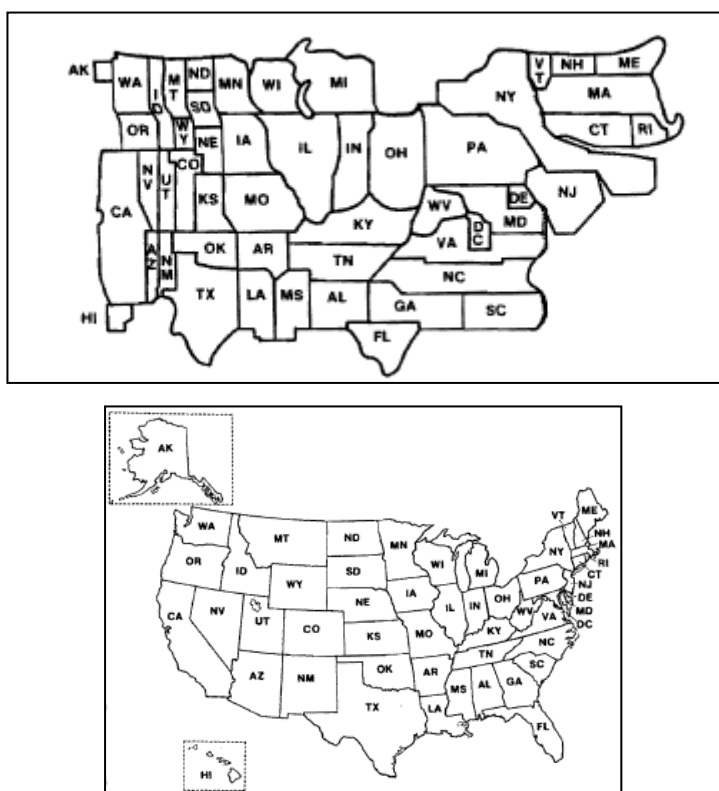


**Figure 5:** DARE's 1000 communities on the DARE map (from DARE)

The survey covered a great diversity of topics and it aimed to get spontaneous responses, since it is likely that they elicit the utterance of regional words. For those of you who are curious, what follows are two examples of the 1847 questions that were asked in the DARE questionnaire:

- “To feel depressed or in a gloomy mood: He has the X today”
- The fieldworker describes a dragonfly and asks for its name.

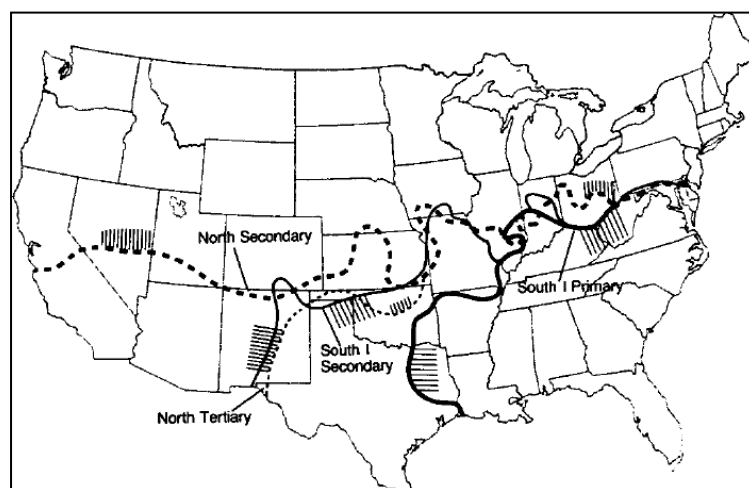
To the first question, they expected to get answers like “feels blue” and “in low cotton”. To the second one, 79 different names such as *feeder*, *snake doctor*, *mosquito hawk*, and *spindle* were given. All these answers were used to make up a national map that would display the regional distribution of words and phrases. The DARE maps differ greatly from conventional maps of the United States because they are drafted in terms of population density. That explains why New York appears as a much bigger state than Nevada, for example. You can see it for yourself below:



**Figure 6:** The DARE map with a conventional map for comparison (DARE 1949)



We should also be aware of the contribution made by the highly-regarded linguist Craig Carver. In 1987, he published a linguistic Atlas for the entire country in his work *American Regional Dialects: A Word Geography*. He focused on approximately 2,000 dialect expressions that led him to state that there was only a Northern and a Southern dialect area. Carver's findings will be interesting later for comparison. This is the map that resulted from his lexical study:



**Figure 7:** American dialect regions based on Carver's studies (Carver 1987)

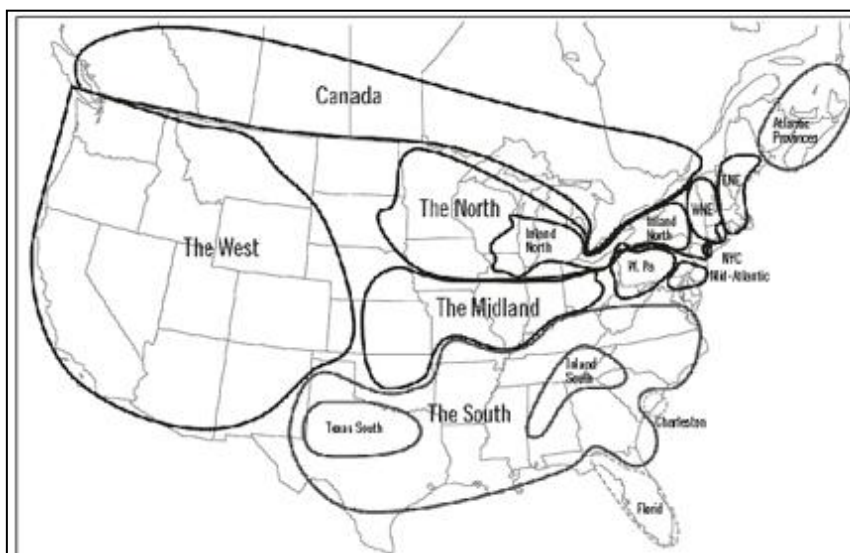
### 4.3. The Atlas of North American English (ANAE)

Let's now have a look at the Atlas of North American English (ANAE). In the 1990s, William Labov and his team revolutionized the field of sociolinguistics when they produced a phonological map of the North American continent as a whole. They chiefly focused on the phonological features that define the dialects of the United States and Canada. In addition to this, they reported that various sound changes are currently in progress in the U.S., which suggested that dialects are becoming more different from one another rather than more alike. Given the complexity of the task in hand, they came up with the so-called TELSUR Telephone Survey to reach speakers more quickly and directly. They contacted participants by phone and asked them questions on various topics, all of which prompted differences in pronunciation and phonology. A pair of examples is given below:

- What is the opposite of *cold*?
- What is the past tense of *catch*?



These questions allowed the linguists to judge on rhyming of the words *hot* and *caught*. The answers given by 762 speakers constituted the basis of the following map:



**Figure 8:** The dialects of North American English from the Atlas of North American English (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006)

This map displays the continental distribution of phonetic and phonological features, which appears to be clearly defined. The level of detail that is characteristic to this map was not previously achieved. Note that major metropolitan areas such as New York City seem to constitute their own dialect regions.

## 5. THE CURRENT DIALECTAL LANDSCAPE

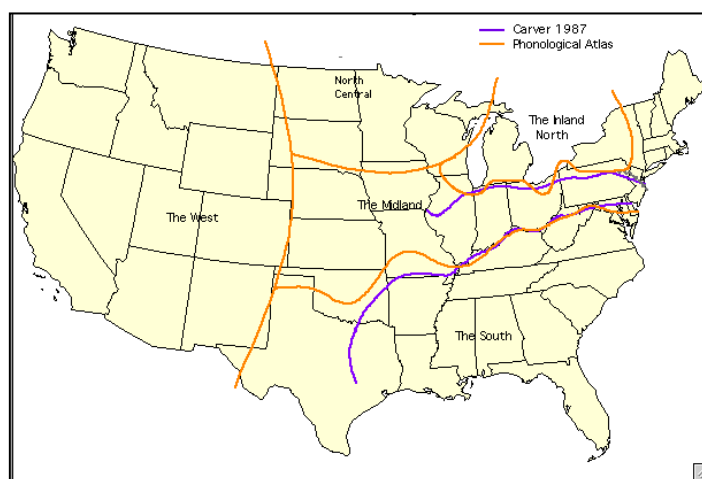
*And instead of getting a pepper-and-salt effect, we find very clear and sharp divisions between the dialects of the United States, which are getting more different from each other as time goes on – William Labov.*

So far, the path that led linguists to the existing distribution of American dialects has been analyzed. In this section, I will help my reader to envisage the most recent dialectal landscape of the U.S. Almost a century has gone by since the first studies on American Dialectology were conducted. Bearing in mind that language is a dynamic system; we should consider the possibility that Kurath fieldworks and DARE had

become obsolete in respect with the newest publication of Labov's ANAE. Let's examine this a bit more closely:

In his book *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*, Kurath asserted that there was not only a Northern and a Southern part of speech but also a Midland. If we check later research, for example, the ANAE, we can easily see that the Midland area has been maintained. Our mental image will thus have three differentiated parts, too.

Now, I suggest that you take two atlases that were made on a national scale. Let's say, Carver's and Labov's ones. The first map was sketched on the basis of lexical features and the second one was based upon phonological traits. However, if we try to place one on top of the other, we will come up with something like this:

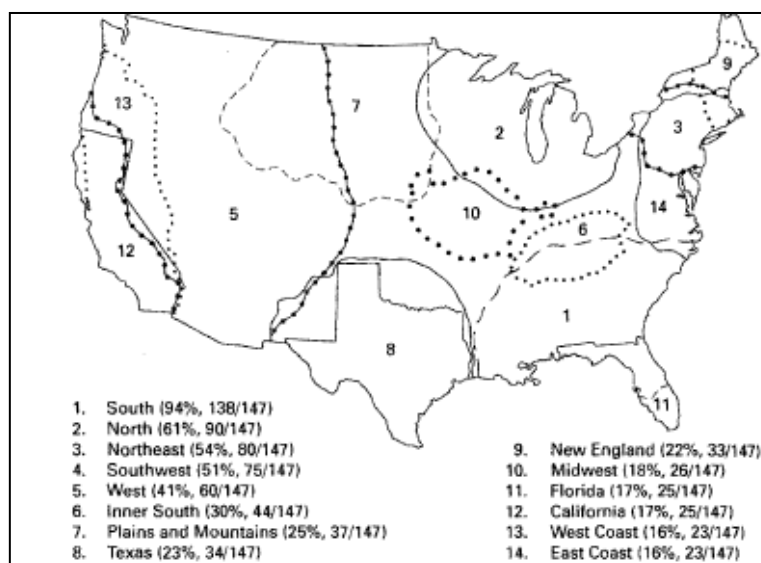


**Figure 9:** Comparison of the major dialect boundaries of Carver 1987 and the boundaries of the Phonological Atlas of North American

We can see that the major dialect boundaries that derived from both studies mostly converge. We can therefore conclude that the most recent study, the ANAE, reaffirms the persistence of the same major speech areas that were established in earlier studies. That should clearly reinforce our confidence that the data is accurate, and the American dialects, existent.

At some point of this project, we have also analyzed people's untrained perceptions concerning dialect variation. In his paper *They Speak Really Bad English Down South and in New York City*, Dennis R. Preston conducted a study in which he asked 147

participants from Southeastern Michigan to sketch their own dialect map. According to them, this is how lines around regional speech areas were drawn:



**Figure 10:** Perceptual map of American English dialects (Preston 2003: 242)

However, having read thus far, I will feel fully fulfilled if our mental picture rather resembles the previous maps.

## 6. REGIONALISMS IN STANDARD REFERENCES

### 6.1. Design of study

I am going to carry out a study which will allow me to give an answer to the various questions I have asked myself during these past months that I have been immersed in the relationship between Standard American English (SAE) and regional American English. These can be summed up in three broad questions as follows:

- What is Standard American English in the first place?
- What do dictionaries describe? Is it “Standard American English”, or do they also include regionalisms? If so, how?
- Can we assert that regionalisms are part of the SAE?

The first question is undoubtedly a recurring one. I am aware that this topic has already been addressed at the beginning of this project. But, being as confusing as it is, we will

all have a clearer understanding of it after having conducted this study. The two other questions are basically the core of what is about to follow. Even though I may somehow expect what the results will be like, I would not be able to answer these questions right now. So, I am quite curious to see the data that will arise from my research, and finally form a backed up opinion about the topic.

Variation –specifically, regional variation– may occur in every layer of language. It persists mainly in pronunciation, and it is probably where difference is seen most obviously. Regional variation also exists in vocabulary, even if, let’s put it like this, it is less frequent. The reason why this is so is quite simple: we can all choose to use or not to use certain words according to the situation we find ourselves in, but this is not the case or –at least, not so automatic– with accents. In addition to this, it is quite easy to see regional variation in vocabulary. Thus, I will study American Dialectology from a lexical approach.

A set of 20 words has been chosen, all of which are marked regionally. Needless to say, if more words had been selected, the study would have been more extensive and it would probably gain in credibility. Nonetheless, time has been a restriction and I believe this small sample will allow me to draw some backed up conclusions, too. I have not selected these words randomly, but I have followed some criteria. It is known that some lexical fields are more prompt to reflect regional differences than others, and this has basically been the first clue about where to start looking. Dorothy Sedley in her book *Anatomy of English* provides the following list of lexical fields, where it is very likely to find regionalisms: household, farm, or industrial equipment, fences and buildings, stores and market, places to park, places to eat, games and recreation, plants, animals, insects, and food items. You will realize that most of the words objects of study belong to one of these categories. I have also used an onomasiological exercise suggested by Dorothy Sedley to help me extract the words. In this activity, as shown next, the reader was given several definitions and was asked to find the term he or she would use or expect to hear in his or her home region. The regionalisms selected have been marked in bold.

- a) Window coverings that roll up
- b) **A drink made with milk, flavored syrup, and ice cream**

- c) **Carbonated soft drinks**
- d) **Container used for mop water**
- e) **The paper container for carrying groceries from the store**
- f) **The sandwich made on a large roll and containing a variety of cold meats and cheese**
- g) **The elastic band for holding things together**
- h) The kind of footwear worn for protection from rain and snow
- i) A limited-access, high-speed road without traffic lights or crossroads
- j) **The space between opposite-direction traffic on such a road**
- k) The strip of grass between the sidewalk and the curb
- l) The device to which a firefighter attaches a hose to get water
- m) The amusement park ride on tracks that goes up and down at breakneck speed
- n) **The call that children use to interrupt a game of hide and seek or kick the can to call in all the players without penalty**

The completed exercise can be found in the *annex 1*. As I was doing the exercise, I realized that I could only come up with the most standardized word of each definition, since I honestly was not familiar with most of the regionalisms that were supposed to emanate from this activity. I contacted some of my American friends, who fortunately come from different parts of the United States, and asked them to complete this exercise. Thanks to that, as well as to some online discussions that I consulted, I obtained an average of three different words for each definition. I proceeded to somehow check the presence of these words in the reference work *Dictionary of American Regional English* (DARE). The criterion that carried most weight in selecting one word of the approximately three that resulted from each definition was whether it appeared in DARE or not. Thus, I can state that DARE was used as my reference source in the selection of the twenty regionalisms (See *Major studies in American dialectology* in section 4 for a detailed description of DARE). I have taken variety into account too. That is, I have intended to work with words being different in nature, so that they would illustrate some of the sociohistorical and linguistic factors that have been addressed in *Justification of the current dialects* (point 3).

The twenty regionally marked vocabularies that constitute the basis of my research are listed below:

- **All (in free)**
- Brook
- **Cabinet**
- Corn cake
- Feest
- Fireboard
- French harp
- givey
- **Hoagie**
- **Median**
- **Pail**
- **Pop**
- Pully bone
- Rippet
- **Rubber binder**
- **Sack**
- Skelly
- Smearcase
- Wienie
- Wiggler

Getting back to the list suggested by Dorothy Sedley, we can classify some of the words into the following lexical fields: household (*fireboard, pail, sack*); games and recreation (*skelly, all (in) free*); insects (*wiggler*), and food items (*wienie, smearcase, pop, hoagie, corn cake, cabinet*).

The reader is so far familiar with the meaning of the words marked in bold. I believe it will also be important to know the exact connotation of the word to which we are referring (if it has more than one). Thus, a brief definition from DARE of the remaining regionalisms will be provided, as follows:

- Brook: a small stream
- Corn cake: cornbread shaped in a flat cake and fried on a griddle or sometimes baked in a pan
- Feest: disgusted with, sated by, made nauseous by
- Fireboard: a mantel over a fireplace
- French harp: a harmonica
- Givey: of weather: humid, muggy, damp
- Pully bone: the wishbone
- Rippet: a noisy disturbance, dispute, or fight
- Skelly: a children's street game
- Smearcase: a soft cheese made of curds of skimmed milk; cottage cheese
- Wienie: wiener
- Wiggler: the larva of a mosquito

Keeping in mind the goal of this research –to determine the relationship between regionalisms and SAE–, we see that we have so far examined one side of the balance. We are now left with the Standard American English. I hope that we all agree that one of the most obvious representations of SAE is found in dictionaries. I am aware that the word *dictionary* is vague, since the market has many different types of dictionaries to offer. But I would dare to state that when thinking of a dictionary, we tend to think of the authoritative-kind-of-dictionary that describes what has been branded as “correct”, “standard” and therefore, has been accepted into the volume. Henri Béjoint in his book *The Lexicography of English* names the monolingual general-purpose dictionary as the prototypical dictionary. He puts it as follows:

“The monolingual general-purpose dictionary is the dictionary that every household has, that most people think of first when the word *dictionary* is mentioned, it is the type that is most often bought, most often consulted, and the one that plays the most important role in the society that produces it”.

We expect it to be some kind of conduct book that tells us what to do and especially, what not to do if the word we are looking for has been left out. Thus, this is the type of dictionary that I have consulted when conducting my research.

The selection of dictionaries has not been easy. It was actually a very important step, because they are the ground on which conclusions will be laid. It is actually through these three “standard” dictionaries that I intend to assert whether regionalisms are part of the SAE or not. Therefore, I have carefully chosen three dictionaries that are considered to be authoritative, large, well-known, comprehensive, and quite obviously, based on the American English variety. I have used the book *Which dictionary? A consumer’s guide to select English language dictionaries, thesauri and language guides* by Brendan Loughridge to find dictionaries that met my criteria. That has led me to qualify various dictionaries as appropriate and some others as inappropriate. By that, I am not saying that one dictionary is better or worse, but certain dictionaries can be more or less suitable according to the task in hand. It is therefore important to evaluate a dictionary when making the selection. Brendan Loughridge suggests six checkpoints

that we may want to take into account. Two of them are especially relevant to my study and these are the following:

- 1) Target readership and purpose. It is useful to consider where, when, why and by whom a dictionary is likely to be used.
- 2) Linguistic information and labeling. [...] Labeling of words, to identify slang terms, taboo words, dialect or regional vocabulary and specialist or scientific or technical words, is now a familiar feature of most good dictionaries and should also be examined for consistency of practice and intelligibility.

The latter criterion will be extensively discussed when analyzing the results of the study and will deal with the *how* dictionaries include regionalisms, if included at all.

Bearing that in mind, I will name the three dictionaries that I have considered appropriate as my reference works (that means that there are a few I have considered inappropriate too) and I will give a brief description about each of them.

- Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English language.
- The New Oxford American Dictionary
- The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.

They share a few characteristics, since they are all monolingual, general, alphabetized and geared to adult native speakers. But they do differ in some aspects, too. Let's have a look at their defining traits that are relevant to this study.

The first dictionary listed above, *Merriam-Webster's*, uses three types of status labels: *temporal*, *regional*, and *stylistic*. Regional labels –both *dial* for “dialect” or simply the name of the specified region– signal that a word is current in several or one particular region, respectively. I believe that when a word is labeled, it appears more visible to the reader, who should become aware of the “differentiation” of this particular word from others. This differentiation lies on the fact that a particular word is not considered standard.



In the introduction to the *The New Oxford American Dictionary*, it is clearly stated that this dictionary focuses on the terms that have achieved a general currency among American speakers. It somehow asserts that the model of language described is similar to the speech of most national broadcasters or to the younger educated speakers. They bear in mind, though, that there is an enormous variety of regional varieties, as well as social ones, to be found in the community. They have cared to mark this restricted use by using a series of register labels, such as *formal, informal, dated, archaic, historical, literary, poetic, technical, rare, humorous, offensive, derogatory, vulgar, slang*, and of course, *dialectal*.

The last dictionary consulted, *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, is innovative because it has been the first to include social variation into account. It has therefore taken a new perspective of linguistics into consideration: language varies not only by region but by social group. Moreover, dialect labels, among other types, have also been put into use to indicate that a word is used in a specific area of the U.S. As *Merriam-Webster's, The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* differentiates between general (marked as *regional*) and specific (for example, *New Orleans*) descriptors. Any entry that has been dialectally labeled carries a green rhombus next to it. We can classify these labels into three main groups: *major areas of distribution, subcategories of distribution, and Midwestern and Midland*. We can see that the so-called major areas of distribution coincide with the major dialectal areas of the United States that have derived from the various studies conducted in the field. Descriptors such as *Northern U.S., Southern U.S., Eastern U.S. and Western U.S.* belong to this category. There are also various subcategories within the major areas which have been labeled as *New England, Northeastern U.S., Upper Midwest, Southeastern U.S., North Atlantic Coast*, among others.

As far as labels are concerned, we have observed that the three dictionaries employ regional labels. Nonetheless, we will later examine the extent to which these labels have been used and more precisely, if the words object of my research, if included in the dictionary at all, have been signaled or not.

## 6.2. Data

Having selected a set of twenty dialectal vocabularies and three standard dictionaries, I carried on with looking up the words. The table that follows displays the results of these multiple queries. It mainly shows if the word in question is included in the several dictionaries or not. In certain cases, some information about labeling, or other name variants have been added. The exact entry of each regionalism in DARE as well as in the three standard dictionaries, if included, can be found in the *annex 2*. Note that the table is a summed up representation of the results, so that if more detailed information is wanted, please consult the annex.

Dictionary Regionalism	The New Oxford American Dictionary	Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language.	The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language
All (in) free	No	No	No
Brook	Yes (origin of the word is given)	Yes	Yes (specifically labeled; reference to <i>creek</i> ; regional note at <i>run</i> )
Cabinet	No (other connotations are included)	Yes (specifically labeled)	Yes (specifically labeled; reference to and regional note at <i>milk shake</i> )
Corn cake	Yes	Yes (specifically labeled; subject to regional variation; reference to <i>pancake</i> )	Yes (specifically labeled; reference and regional note at <i>johnnycake</i> )
Feest	No	No	No
Fireboard	No	Yes (specifically labeled)	Yes (specifically labeled; reference to <i>mantel</i> )
French harp	No	No	Yes (specifically labeled; reference to <i>harmonica</i> ).

Givey	No	Yes (specifically labeled)	No
Hoagie	Yes (other names are given too)	Yes (other names are given too; specifically labeled; regional variant: <i>hero sandwich</i> )	Yes (other names are given too; specifically labeled; regional note at <i>submarine</i> )
Median	Yes (also called <i>median strip</i> )	Yes (appears as <i>median strip</i> ; other names are given too)	Yes (also called <i>median strip</i> , <i>medial strip</i> ; all specifically labeled; regional note at <i>neutral ground</i> )
Pail	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pop	Yes (labeled as informal)	Yes (labeled as informal for <i>soda pop</i> ; generally labeled as regional; reference to <i>soda pop</i> )	Yes (specifically labeled; regional note at <i>tonic</i> )
Pully bone	No	Yes (but with spelled differently <i>pulley bone</i> ; specifically labeled)	No
Rippet	No	No	No
Rubber binder	No	No	No
Sack	Yes	Yes	Yes
Skelly	No	No	No
Smearcase	No	Yes (specifically labeled; other names are given too; origin is stated)	Yes (specifically labeled; reference to <i>cottage cheese</i> ; regional note at <i>gum band</i> ; origin is given, too)
Wienie	No (but <i>wiener</i> and <i>weenie</i> are included).	Yes (labeled as informal; other names such as <i>weenie</i> or <i>weeny</i> are given too)	No (but <i>wiener</i> is included)
Wiggler	Yes (generally labeled as <i>dialectal</i> )	Yes (generally labeled as <i>regional</i> )	Yes

**Table 1:** it displays the results of checking 20 regionalisms against three dictionaries of SAE.

### 6.3. Discussion

Let's take some time to examine this table closely. To do so, I have asked myself the following questions which should bring me a step closer to the final conclusions. The answers will not be answered directly but the reader will be able to respond to them after reading the analysis.

- Are all terms entered in the three standard dictionaries previously selected?
- Do any of them carry labels identifying them as dialectal? If yes, how are these?
- What do dictionaries do when facing a regional word? Do the three of them act similarly?

The first question is probably for its conclusive nature the most intriguing one. The other two, however, leave more room for interpretation because they deal with the manner in which the words are treated (the ones that have been included, of course).

I am going to sort the words into two categories: the ones that have been entered in the three standard dictionaries and the ones that simply have been left out. The analysis will be structured according to this initial classification.

Take a quick glance at the table. Would you say that the *no*'s are more recurring than the *yes*'s? I think that the answer is quite balanced but, find it surprising or not, some phrases such as *rubber binder*, *all (in) free* or words such as *skelly*, *rippet*, *feest* are not entered in any of the three dictionaries at all. There must be a reason why the three dictionaries coincide in the exclusion of these particular regionalisms. Apparently, I thought to myself that the answer should be quite simple: they must be very –or *too*– dialectal. That is, they must have currency in only one specific region in the U.S. and therefore, it should be understood that they do not appear in dictionaries with such characteristics. That was partly right. This has actually been the case of *skelly*, *rippet* and *feest*. According to DARE, *skelly* is only used in NYC; *rippet* is chiefly used in the South Midland, and *feest*, occurs chiefly in Dutch settlement areas, especially in NY. Bearing that in mind, I believe they somehow have an excuse for not being included. However, this becomes a bit trickier: even though *rubber binder* and *all (in) free* are described as “scattered” and “throughout the U.S.”, respectively, by DARE, they are not

entered in any of the three dictionaries object of study. In my opinion, this latter phenomenon is not so well justified, and we would proceed to see if enough written citations can be found to demonstrate the words' currency, and argue if these two words should be included or not.

Some other words like *pulley bone*, *French harp*, *wienie*, *fireboard*, *smearcase*, *givey* and *cabinet* do not appear in some of the dictionaries but they do in some others. By that, we see that the three dictionaries in question have differed in the decision of including or excluding a word. Curiously, there are a few coincidences that allow us to assert that *The New Oxford American Dictionary* repeatedly does not cover several words (such as *fireboard*, *cabinet* and *smearcase*) that the other two dictionaries do. The *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language*, on the other hand, includes all words except *French harp* that are to be found in the other two dictionaries (obviously, not considering the words that are not included in any of them and that have already been mentioned). It is probably too soon to draw conclusions, but in respect to the aspect in question, it all leads to think that *Merriam-Webster's* is more concerned about regionalisms than *The New Oxford American Dictionary* is.

Let's move on to the words that do appear in at least one of the dictionaries. Thus, I am going to focus here on the *manner* in which these words have been treated. Firstly, I would like to remark on the way I have used descriptive regional labels in the table. We basically distinguished into *specifically labeled* and *generally labeled*. On the one hand, *specifically labeled* means that the dictionary in question precisely names the regions or areas where a given regionalism is current (this information is available in the annex). On the other hand, the tag *generally labeled* conveys that a certain word has been marked as regional or dialectal but no specific area is given. The words labeled as *specifically labeled* clearly outweigh the ones carrying a *generally labeled* tag (the latter ones occurring mainly in *Merriam-Webster's* but not often enough to focus on them). That means that, in most cases, the reader gets to know where exactly the word is used, and not merely that it is considered dialectal (in some cases, *DARE* completes the information with maps, which can be consulted in the annex).

With a quick look at the table, we see that two extremes have been met: *the Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* practically marks every word as dialectal as well as

it includes exactly where it is current (which definitely conveys a caring attitude towards regionalisms), while *The New Oxford American Dictionary* does not place any regional label on any words except for *wiggler* (which has been marked generally as dialectal). *The New Oxford American Dictionary* gives other variants of the word, adds some information on register, but dialect labels are practically inexistent. In this case, I have simply used the descriptor *yes*, to mean that a particular word is present.

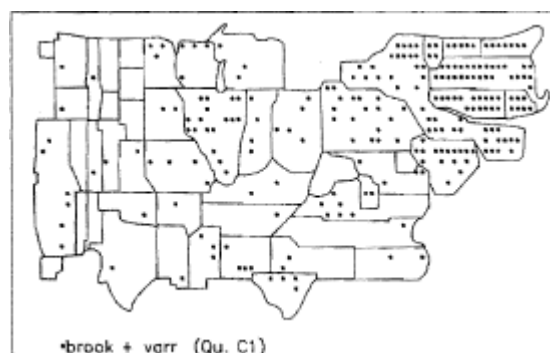
This occurs with *sack* and *pail*, which have been entered in all three dictionaries without carrying any label. Why is that so? If we have a look at DARE, we will find that *sack* is entered for a slightly different reason: it is widespread (in the sense of a container), but less frequent in New England and south Pennsylvania. Moreover, there is no consensus of how a *sack* looks like in terms of size or material around the country. However, the word is widespread and this is supposedly the reason why lexicographers of the three dictionaries in hand have no longer considered it a need for it to be marked as dialectal. The entry is still present in DARE, though, which suggests that some shade of meaning is still present across the U.S. Regarding *pail*, as its most obvious connotation as a noun, we see that the three standard dictionaries describe it as a bucket. DARE asserts that they are basically synonymous, too, but remarks that many speakers who are familiar with both terms often distinguish between them. Being treated as any other “standard” word, why is this word interesting at all? Well, the answer lies in the fact that *pail* has not always been as widespread as it is now. It was formerly used chiefly in the North and this exemplifies the migration phenomenon that was approached in the *Justification of the current dialects* (point 3).

While the three dictionaries have opted not to mark *sack* or *pail* as regional, there is inconsistency in respect with the posture they have adopted towards *brook*, *wiggler*, and *corn cake*. One word should be enough to explain this. If we have a look at *brook*, we notice that *The New Oxford American Dictionary* and *Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* have treated the word as standard (not marking it as regional), while *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* has specifically marked it (saying that it is used chiefly in Northeastern U.S.). This can be explained by the fact that DARE portrays it as being mainly used in New England in the past, and being widespread now but especially common in the North

East of the country (see Figure 11). All this allows us to see the extent to which the various dictionaries treat regionalisms.

Moreover, *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* shows to pay a special attention to regionalisms because it includes the so-called *regional notes*, which are useful explanations about regionalisms. As far as I am concerned, this is a characteristic that makes this dictionary stand out from the two others. Bearing in mind the aspects so far examined, I would dare to put the three dictionaries in a scale from little concerned to very concerned with dialectal lexicon. The order would be as follows: The New Oxford American Dictionary, Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language, and The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.

I have thus far analyzed the results from a linguistic perspective. Since this is a sociolinguistic topic, I believe a social approach should be taken too. In fact, various authors agree that differences in morphology and syntax are not so much subject to regional variation but to level of education, and social class. I have picked *brook*, *fireboard*, and *givey* because I believe they illustrate some important social phenomena. Let's take a close look at the word *brook*. What does DARE say about it? DARE affirms that it mainly has its origins in New England. I ask myself why this word originated in New England and not in any other part of the country. Presumably, this can be attributed to the fact that words are used where they are needed. If we go back to the settlement period, it is well-known that many early residents of New England earned their livings from the sea, and it is therefore expected to find nautical terms in their traditional dialect. Bearing the same relationship, New England's waterways once powered industrial activities. Thus, we may think that *brook* exists there because of the landscape features that the region has to offer. Likewise, DARE adds that this same word is now widespread (even if especially common in the North East). That implies that this word has undertaken a migratory route in hand of the peoples that once travelled westwards. The following map, which was devised by DARE, points out the communities in which the word *brook* was the response of informants.



**Figure 11:** currency of the word *brook* in the USA (from DARE)

If we draw a line from its origins in New England to the rest of the country where it is now also used, it clearly shows the east-west flow of early colonizers. We can therefore conclude that *brook* reflects both original colonization and migratory flows.

I have selected *fireboard* because I believe it exemplifies another social phenomenon of major importance. If we look up *fireboard* in DARE, we are not only informed about where this word is used but also by whom. DARE states that it is common “among speakers with little formal education”. I do not think this word is associated with poor education as directly as a *double negative* may be, but it does show that social stratification is an issue in American society. It may also be interesting to exemplify colonization. According to DARE, *fireboard* is a sign of Scots-Irish influence, since it can still be heard in Ulster in the British Isles.

With respect to *givey*, DARE informs that it is a word that applies to tobacco. They provide the following example “it takes givey weather [to strip tobacco]”, which was registered in Kentucky and Missouri in 1967. That somehow reflects the relationship between words and economical occupations as well as its use in a rural setting.



## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Words appear to have a life: some become obsolete; some drop out of use; some are replaced by a more widely used variant. This bachelor's thesis has undoubtedly demonstrated that regionalisms, however, continue to make their way into American English.

Rumor has it that American English has been homogenized. This popular belief is justified by the fact that the geography of the United States has been compressed. It is undeniable that the many advances in transportation and media have made it easier for Americans to move across the country and communicate with one another. This project has further described that linguists not only disagree with this assumption but they also affirm that dialect diversity has well persisted to this day. They argue that it is possible that a repositioning of American dialects is taking place but they assert that the present boundaries that delimit each dialect area are too deeply embedded in the historical origins of American dialects for them to be dying out.

It has furthermore been observed that Standard American English continues to be something mythical for society. A wide variety of speakers regards the "unregional" variety of English as the prestige variety and therefore perceives *accents* as unwanted. In short, SAE is popularly referred to as the variety of English devoid of socially stigmatized features, be these grammatical, lexical or phonological. Likewise, it has further been demonstrated that dialects still carry a professional or intellectual stigma, which makes some of them "better" or more "standard" than others. It has been observed that these assumptions are usually made on the basis of grammatical rather than on lexical features, so that a speaker will rarely be stigmatized on the basis of saying "fireboard" vs. "mantel", for example. Yet, it has been proved that there is usually correlation to other language features that are more socially complex. The following assertion is clearly supported by the current findings: "[...] American English speech samples rated as Standard English by a cross-section of listeners exhibit a range of regional variation in pronunciation and vocabulary items, but they do *not* contain grammatical structures that are socially stigmatized" (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006:12). It is important to bear in mind, however, that there is not only one Standard variety of English but several regional Standards, even if these receive less public

attention than SAE. Concurrently, regional Standard English simply differs from the regional variety in that it avoids socially stigmatized features.

We agree that SAE is somehow materialized in standard dictionaries. This study has attempted to see if standard dictionaries, regarded as authoritative, are somewhat *responsible* for the fact that regional variants are still accounted as incorrect. I believe that if a given regionalism has repeatedly been left out of various dictionaries, the speaker who cares to look up the word in question is somehow excused to believe it is not –or less– “correct” than a word that does appear. Insofar as this study serves to illustrate regionalisms within SAE, it may be said that regionalisms are included in standard dictionaries to some extent. It has been observed that the words included are mainly spread across a wide range of dialect areas, while those that are excluded are most likely to be found in just a regional subset of speakers. In her book *Anatomy of English. An Introduction to the Structure of Standard American English*, Dorothy Sedley asserts that “[dictionary editors] gather millions of bits of evidence of how words are actually used by speakers and writers, and report their findings” (1990: 204). The present study has led me to think that “speakers”, as Sedley puts it, should be further specified. It has been proven that the language used in the making of a dictionary is the language of the upper-class and the educated, which are likely to speak with a local accent but comply with morphological and syntactical norms. Thus, variation is not taken into account. If dictionaries are regarded as an authoritative source to describe “correct” English, we will automatically perceive as “incorrect” any words that have been excluded. Social stigma may then be born.

Naturally, differences —rather than similarities— are emphasized between dialects; but in reality, standard and vernacular dialects do not differ so greatly. In this study, I have come to observe that the authentic nature of dialects remains disguised under the many unjustified stereotypes that perpetuate in society. I believe that if dialects were properly understood, they would be rather perceived as a personal distinctiveness and a community heritage. Let us then do our bit to promote an appreciation for language variation.

My conclusions have been presented on the basis of the small sample analyzed. Therefore, I am aware that my ideas could be further developed.

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**ANNEX I:**

		Field- work begun	Field- work ended	No. of subjs.	Lexi- cal pub'n.	Phon- etic pub'n.	Maps
LANE	Linguistic Atlas of New England	1931	1933	416	1943	1943	Yes
LAMSAS	Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and Atlantic States	1933	1974	1162	1949	1961	Yes
LANCS	Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States	1933	1978	1564			No
LAGS	Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States	1968	1983	1121	1993	1993	
LAUM	Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest	1949	1962	208	1976	1976	No
LAO	Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma	1960	1962	57			
LARMS	Linguistic Atlas of the Rocky Mountain States	1988			[1971]		No
LAPW	Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific West	1952	1959	300	1971		No
LAPNW	Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest	1953	1963	14			No
ANAЕ	Atlas of North American English	1992	1999	762		2005	Yes

**Table 2:** Achievements of Linguistic Atlas Projects in the United States

**Exercise suggested by Dorothy Sedley in her book *Anatomy of English: An Introduction to the Standard American English* (1990:212)**

- a) Window coverings that roll up  
Curtains, drapes, blind, roller shade, window shade, roller blind  
venetian blind
- b) A drink made with milk, flavored syrup, and ice cream  
Milkshake, milk shake, frappe, cabinet
- c) Carbonated soft drinks  
Soda, pop, coke
- d) Container used for mop water  
Bucket, pail
- e) The paper container for carrying groceries from the store  
Paper back, sack
- f) The sandwich made on a large roll and containing a variety of cold meats and  
cheese

- Submarine sandwich, sub sandwich, hero, a hoagie, a grinder, or a zep
- g) The elastic band for holding things together  
Rubber band, rubber binder, elastic band, lackey band, laggy band, or elastic
- h) The kind of footwear worn for protection from rain and snow  
Rain boots, rubber boots, rubber footwear, wellingtons
- i) A limited-access, high-speed road without traffic lights or crossroads  
Highway, motorway, freeway, expressway
- j) The space between opposite-direction traffic on such a road  
Median, median divider island, parkway, median strip
- k) The strip of grass between the sidewalk and the curb  
Road verge, verge, boulevard, city grass, nature strip, parking strip, planting strip, sidewalk buffer, tree belt, tree lawn, utility strip, parkway
- l) The device to which a firefighter attaches a hose to get water  
Fire hydrant, fire plug, johnny pump
- m) The amusement park ride on tracks that goes up and down at breakneck speed  
Roller coaster
- n) The call that children use to interrupt a game of hide and seek or kick the can to call in all the players without penalty  
All in, all in free, all come in free, all come home free

*ANNEX 2: Entries from DARE as well as from the standard dictionaries consulted*

- All in free

DARE

**all in** exclam

1 See **all (in) free**.

‡2 Time out!

1968 *DARE* (Qu. EE17, *In a game of tag, if a player wants to rest, what does he call out so that he can't be tagged?*) Inf MN16, All in.

**all in but one's shoestrings** adj phr Also *~shoelaces, ~bootstraps* Nth Cf **all in** adj

1 Exhausted.

1940-41 Cassidy *WI Atlas* ceWI, All in but my shoestrings. 1941 *LANE* Map 482 enVT, 1 Inf, I'm all in but my shoestrings. 1950 *WELS* (*Very tired*) 1 Inf, seWI, All in but my shoe strings; 1 Inf, eWI, All in but my boot straps. 1966-69 *DARE* (Qu. X47) Infs IL5, NY219, All in but my shoestrings; WA1, All in but my shoestrings, and they're hanging out; (Qu. KK30) Inf NY109, All in but my shoelaces.

2 Characterized by a general feeling of discomfort.

1968 *DARE* (Qu. BB5) Inf WI24, All in but the shoestrings.

**all (in) free** exclam Also *all come in (free), all come in home free* [Abbr for *all who are out may come in free*] throughout US in this and numerous other forms: see *DS* EE15 and separate entries.

In the children's game of hide and seek: the phrase called out by the seeker ("it") after he has caught the first of the hiders (who will succeed him as "it").

1956 [see *Ole Ole Olson all in free*]. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. EE15) 61 Infs, throughout US, All free; 29 Infs, chiefly east of Missip R, All in free; AL26, DC8, FL10, MD46, PA49, TX101, VA93, All come in free; CT23, MA57, NJ57, OK52, PA36, All in; MO15, All come free; NM12, All come in; IN81, All come in home free; PA152, All all in free.

*All in free* is not included in any of the three dictionaries in question.

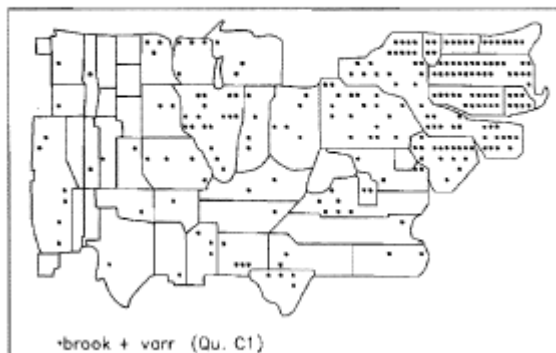
- Brook

DARE

**brook** n, also attrib Occas *brooklet* orig chiefly NEng, now widespread but esp common NEast See Map Cf *branch, creek* n<sup>1</sup> B2, run

A small stream.

1612 *Smith Map VA* 2, Here are mountains, hills, plaines, valleyes, rivers and brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay. 1668 in 1901 *Derby CT Town Rec* 10, A little Brook or spring that Runs into the beaver River North. 1734 in 1885 *Boston Registry Dept. Records* 12.71, All Fish caught in Rivers, Ponds, and Brooks, shall be . . . sold in the Market. a1817 (1821) *Dwight Travels* 2.149 NEng, It is impossible for a brook of this size to be modelled into more diversified, or more delightful, forms. 1843 (1940) *Arnold Diaries* 166 VT, Finished the road down the brook-hollow. 1892 *Eggleston Hoosier Schoolmaster* 229, From the ancient Hoosier folk-speech . . . *Brook* is . . . absent. A small stream was . . . called a *branch*. 1912 *DN* 3.566 eNY, *Brook* . . . Small stream tributary to a creek . . . Little used on Long Island, near Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Missouri, but common in New England. 1939 *LANE* Map 41, *Brook* is the usual term throughout New England for a fresh-water stream of small or moderate size, but, *river*, which is applied to many small tributaries as well as to the larger watercourses, competes with it. Few *brooks* flow directly into the sea . . . they empty into *rivers* or (salt) creeks. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. C1), . . . *A small stream of water not big enough to be a river*) 230 Infs, widespread, but esp common NEast, Brook; NY92, Feeder brook; MO26, VA8, Brooklet; NY213, Little brooklet; NJ1, Spring brook; NY183, Windfall brook. 1968 *Amherst Rec.* (MA) 27 Nov 2/1, A temporary foot bridge is being built for residents of the South side of the brook.



The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language



**brook**<sup>1</sup> (brōk) *n.* Chiefly Northeastern U.S. See **creek** (sense 1). See Regional Note at **run**. [Middle English, from Old English *brōc*.]

**Regional Note** Terms for "a small, fast-flowing stream" vary throughout the eastern United States especially. Speakers in the eastern part of the Lower North (including Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, and southern Pennsylvania) use the word *run*. Speakers in the Hudson Valley and Catskills, the Dutch settlement areas of New York State, may call such a stream a *kill*. *Brook* has come to be used throughout the Northeast. Southerners refer to a *branch*, and throughout the northern United States the term is *creek*, a variant of *creek*.

## Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**brook**<sup>1</sup> (brōk), *n.* a small, natural water. [bef. 900; ME; OE *brōc* stream; *Bruch* marsh.] —**brook**'less, *adj.* —**br**

## The New Oxford American Dictionary

**brook**<sup>1</sup> (brōk) *n.* a small stream. > Old English *brōc*; related to Dutch *broek* and German *Bruch* 'marsh.' —**brook**-let (-lēt) *n.*

### • Cabinet

## DARE

**cabinet** *n.* [Etym. uncert but see quot 1968] **RI, seMA** Cf **frappe, velvet**

A milkshake.

1957 *Rose Block Is.* 176 **sRI**, Only ten cents for an ice cream soda, fifteen for a college ice, a cabinet or a banana split. 1963 *Francis Engl. Lang.* 121 **RI**, A drink made by beating up milk, flavoring, and ice cream is variously known as a *frappe*, a *cabinet*, a *frost*, or a *milk shake* in different parts of the country. 1968 *DARE* File MA (as of 1920s), *Cabinet* is said by Dorothy Cahill of Fall River to have originated in a drugstore there, named by the pharmacist who concocted it. The ice cream was kept in those days in a cabinet that was part of the soda-fountain set-up. c1970 *DARE* File Providence RI, Fall River MA,

**Cabinet**—an ice-cream milk shake. 1971 *Today Show Letters RI*, What they call a *milk shake* in New York and Connecticut and a *frappe* in Massachusetts, they call a *cabinet* in Rhode Island. A *milk shake* in Rhode Island is without ice cream, while a *cabinet* has ice cream. 1982 *Smithsonian Letters RI*, **Cabinet**—In Rhode Island this term more likely refers to a milkshake (using milk, syrup and ice cream) than a piece of furniture. I grew up five miles from the Massachusetts border. As a child I could order a cabinet in R.I., but had to remember to order a frappe just five minutes to the west [sic].

## The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**cab·i·net** (kăb'ə-nĭt) *n.* 1. An upright, cupboardlike repository with shelves, drawers, or compartments for the safekeeping or display of objects. 2. *Computer Science* The box that houses the main components of a computer, such as the central processing unit, disk drives, and expansion slots. 3. often **Cabinet** A body of persons appointed by a head of state or a prime minister to head the executive departments of the government and to act as official advisers. 4. *Archaic* A small or private room set aside for a specific activity. 5. *Rhode Island & Southeastern Massachusetts* See **milk shake** (sense 1). See **Regional Note** at **milk shake**. **adj.** 1. Suitable for storage or display in a cabinet, as because of size or decorative quality. 2. Of, relating to, or being a member of a governmental cabinet: *cabinet matters*; a *cabinet minister*. 3. Used in the making of cabinets: *teak and other heavy cabinet wood*. [French, partly from diminutive of Old North French *cabine*, gambling-room (perhaps alteration of Old French *cabane*, small house; see **CABIN**) and partly from Italian *gabinetto*, closet, chest of drawers; akin to Old North French *cabine*. *N.*, sense 5, possibly from the square wooden container in which the mixer was encased.] —**cab**'i·**net**·ful *n.*

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged  
Dictionary of the English Language



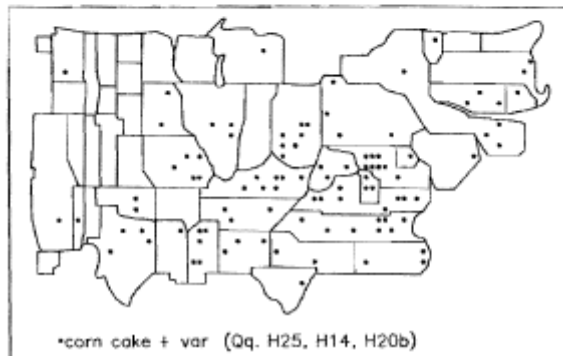
**cab-i-net** (kab'ə nit), n. 1. a piece of furniture with shelves, drawers, etc., for holding or displaying items: a curio cabinet; a file cabinet. 2. a wall cupboard used for storage, as of kitchen utensils or toilet articles: a kitchen cabinet; a medicine cabinet. 3. a piece of furniture containing a radio or television set, usually standing on the floor and often having a record player or a place for phonograph records. 4. (often cap.) a council advising a president, sovereign, etc., esp. the group of ministers or executives responsible for the government of a nation. 5. (often cap.) (in the U.S.) an advisory body to the president, consisting of the heads of the 13 executive departments of the federal government. 6. a small case with compartments for valuables or other small objects. 7. a small chamber or booth for special use, esp. a shower stall. 8. a private room. 9. a room set aside for the exhibition of small works of art or objets d'art. 10. Also called **cabinet wine**, a dry white wine produced in Germany from fully matured grapes without the addition of extra sugar. 11. *New Eng.* (chiefly *Rhode Island* and *Southern Massachusetts*), a milk shake made with ice cream. 12. *Archaic*, a small room. 13. *Obs.*, a small cabin. —*adj.* 14. pertaining to a political cabinet: a cabinet meeting. 15. private; confidential; secret. 16. pertaining to a private room. 17. of suitable value, beauty, or size for a private room, small display case, etc.: a cabinet edition of *Milton*. 18. of, pertaining to, or used by a cabinetmaker or in cabinetmaking. 19. *Drafting*, designating a method of projection (**cab'inet projec'tion**) in which a three-dimensional object is represented by a drawing (**cab'inet draw'ing**) having all vertical and horizontal lines drawn to exact scale, with oblique lines reduced to about half scale so as to offset the appearance of distortion. Cf. **axometric**, **isometric** (def. 5), **oblique** (def. 13). See *illus.* under **isometric**. [1540-50; < MF, equiv. to *cabine* hut, room on a ship (of uncertain orig., but frequently alleged to be alter. of *cabane*) + *-et*]. —*Syn.* 4. advisers, ministry, counselors.

The *New Oxford American Dictionary* includes the word but not this connotation.

- Corn cake

DARE

**corn cake** n Also *cornmeal cake* chiefly Sth, Midl See Map Cf *hoecake*, *johnnycake*  
Cornbread shaped in a flat cake and fried on a griddle or sometimes baked in a pan.  
1791 (1958) *Bartram Travels* 38, It (shellbarked hickory) . . . is an ingredient in most of their cookery, especially homony and corn cakes. 1852 *Stowe Uncle Tom's Cabin* 39, Her corn-cake, in all its varieties of hoe-cake, dodgers, muffins, and other species . . . was a sublime mystery to all less practised compounders. 1903 *N.Y. Sun* 1 Nov. (*DA*), Corn cakes as a substitute for bread are popular in the South. 1946 *PADS* 5.16 VA, *Corn cakes*. . . Cornmeal griddle cakes; fairly common. 1949 *Kurath Word Geog.* 68, On the lower Susquehanna and in northern Delaware griddle cakes made of cornmeal are known as *corn cakes*, and this term now competes in Maryland with *johnny cake*, in the Shenandoah valley and the Northern Neck of Virginia with *hoe cake*. 1958 *PADS* 29.8 TN, *Corn cake*. c1960 *Wilson Coll.* **csKY**, *Corn cakes*. . . Griddle cakes made of cornmeal. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. H14, *Bread . . . made with cornmeal*) 45 Infs, chiefly Sth, S Midl, Corn cake(s); (Qu. H20b, . . . *Other names . . . for pancakes*) 12 Infs, chiefly Appalachians, wPA, Corn cakes; (Qu. H25, . . . *Fried cornmeal*) 55 Infs, chiefly Midl, Sth, Corn cakes; **OK56**, Cornmeal cakes.



Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**corn' cake'**, Midland and Southern U.S. a flat corn bread baked on a griddle. [1785-96, Amer.]  
— **Regional Variation.** See **pancake**.

### The New Oxford American Dictionary

**corn cake** (also **corn-cake**) *n.* cornbread made the form of flat cakes.

### The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

♦ **corn cake** or **corn•cake** (körn'kāk') *n.* Chiefly Southern & Midland U.S. See **johnnycake**. See Regional Note at **johnnycake**.

♦ **john•ny•cake** also **jon•ny•cake** (jōn'ē-kāk') *n.* New England  
Upper Midwest Cornmeal bread usually shaped into a flat cake and fried or fried on a griddle. Also called regionally **ashcake**, **butter bread**, **corn cake**, **corn pone**, **linen cake**, **journey cake**, **pone**, **Shawnee cake**. [Perhaps by folk etymology from **johnnie**.]

When the Native Americans showed the Pilgrims how to make johnnycake, a bread whose thick batter is shaped into a flat cake and fried on a griddle. Johnnycake, also spelled jonnycake and ash cake and Shawnee cake, is a New England specialty, especially in Rhode Island, where it is celebrated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Usquepaugh, Rhode Island, johnnycakes are made of white Indian corn called flint corn. In the Upper Midwest the name johnnycake is best known in the Upper Midwest. The food itself is most popular in the South and South Midwest. Here it is known as ashcake, butter bread, buttercake, corn pone, or hoesake. The color of the cornmeal, the consistency of the batter, the size of the cake, and the cooking method can vary from region to region. For example, an ashcake, according to a Georgia informant, is made by wrapping cornbread batter in cabbage leaves and burying it in the back of the fireplace" (Dudley Clendinning).

- **Feest**

### DARE

**feest** *v.* Also sp **feast**, **fees** [Du *vies* dirty, filthy; particular, **feest** (Dutch) chiefly in Du settlement areas, esp NY, N Cent  
with *of*: Disgusted with; sated by; made nauseous by;  
sated; see also quot 1932.

*Feest* is not included in any of the three dictionaries in question.

- **Fireboard**

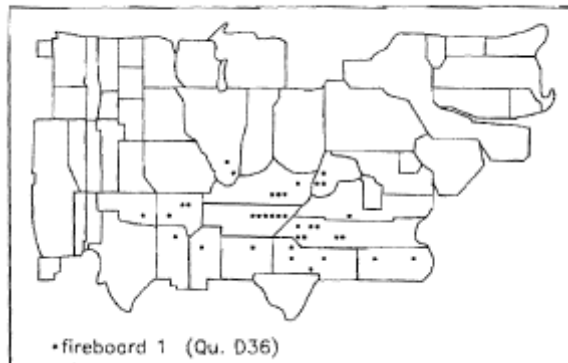
DARE

**fireboard** n

1 A mantel over a fireplace. [See quot 1984] chiefly S Midl  
See Map chiefly among speakers with little formal educ Cf  
mantelpiece

1886 S. Bivouac 4.350 sAppalachians, Fire-board (mantle-piece).  
1915 DN 4.183 swVA, Fire-board. . . Framework around a fire-place,  
usually a shelf. 1933 AmSp 8.2.28 eKY, To this day his folks cook at the  
open fireplace and cut pumpkin in rings and dry it on a stick suspended  
from the *foir-board* (the mantel). 1941 Writers' Program Guide AR 298,  
An ancient clock on the mantle above the fireplace ("fireboard," they  
call it). 1948 AmSp 23.194 SC, With little experience a speaker learns  
that the folk forms ['lɑntə-d], *lightwood*, and ['fɔə-bɔəd], *fireboard*, do  
not have the prestige of the corresponding standard forms *kindling* and  
*mantelpiece*. 1949 Kurath Word Geog. 51, The South Midland, includ-  
ing the drainage basin of the Kanawha, has the distinctive expression *fire-  
board*, which has spread down to the Atlantic between the Cape Fear and  
the Pee Dee rivers. 1955 Roberts S. from Hell-fer-Sartin 5 seKY, The  
fireboard above the archrock is covered with spools of thread, boxes o  
notions, a carbide lamp, and an old ticking clock. c1960 Wilson Coli  
csKY, *Fireboard*. . . Mantel or mantelpiece. Most common usage is  
area. 1965-70 DARE (Qu. D36, . . . *The shelf over the fireplace*) 36 Infs  
chiefly S Midl, Fireboard. [23 Infs were gs educ or less] 1984 AmS  
59.321, *Fire board*. . . is clearly a sign of Scotch-Irish influence; *fir*

*board*. . . is recorded in the British Isles only in Ulster . . . where it can still  
be heard.



The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**fireboard** (fīr'bɔrd', -bɔrd') n. Upper Southern U.S. See mantel

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**fire-board** (fīr'bɔrd', -bɔrd'), n. 1. a board used to close a fireplace. 2. Chiefly South Midland U.S. a mantel; mantelpiece. [1820-30; FIRE + BOARD]

*Fireboard* is not to be found in *The New Oxford American Dictionary*.

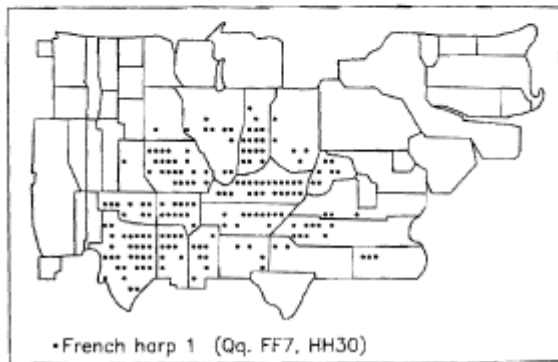
- **French harp**

DARE

**French harp** n

1 A harmonica. chiefly W Midl, TX, Cent See Map

1891 Riley *Swimmin'-Hole* 11 IN, A slice of water-melon's like a frenchharp in theyz hands. 1905 DN 3.80 nWAR, *French harp*. . . Harmonica. Common. 1908 DN 3.313 eAL, wGA. 1912 DN 3.568 MS, MO. 1915 DN 4.183 swVA. e1940 *Hall Coll.* wNC, eTN, I was told of an accomplished player . . . known as 'French Harp' Slim, who . . . has made some phonograph records. 1958 Humphrey *Home from the Hill* 51 neTX, And from his jumper pocket he would draw his battered old French-harp . . . and sound a chord. e1960 *Wilson Coll.* eSKY, French harp. 1965-70 DARE (Qu. FF7, *A small musical instrument that you blow on, and move from side to side in your mouth*) 182 Infs, chiefly W Midl, TX, Cent, French harp; (Qu. HH30) Infs KY78, TX1, VA42, French harp. 1973 Allen *LAUM* 1.207 (as of e1950), *Mouth harp*. . . dominates the Midland speech area [in the Upper Midwest] except for the extreme southeastern sector, where South Midland speech is typical and where the accepted form is *French harp*. 1986 Pederson *LAGS Concordance (Harmonica)* 336 infs, chiefly inland Gulf Region, eTX, French harp(s).



The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

♦ **French harp** n, South Midland U.S. See harmonica (n6)

This word is not included in *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* or in *The New Oxford American Dictionary*.

- Givey

## DARE

### givey adj

1 also *giffy*; also sp *giv(v)y*; Of weather: humid, muggy, damp; by ext, moist, pliable. [Cf *EDD give* v. II. 9 "Of things: to be covered with moisture; to become moist or soft from damp or fermentation, to 'sweat.' . . Hence *Givey* or *Givy*. . . Of the ground: damp, soft, full of moisture."] chiefly Mid and S Atl 1829 *VA Lit. Museum* 1.457 (*OEDS*), *Givy*, 'muggy'. The weather is said to be givy when there is much moisture in the atmosphere. 1859 (1968) Bartlett *Americanisms* 170, *Givy*. A term applied to tobacco leaves, in a certain condition of their preparation for market. 1899 (1912) Green *VA Folk-Speech* 197, *Givy*. . . Damp, moist; "givey weather," said of damp weather. 1915 *DN* 4.183 VA, *Givey*. . . Soft; moist:—of earth. 1942 (1965) Parrish *Slave Songs* 41 GA coast, "Giffy" . . . on Sapelo means damp. 1949 *AmSp* 24.109 SC, *Giffy* [gɪfɪ]. . . Damp and cold ('Negro'). 1950 *PADS* 14.32 SC, *Giffy* [gɪfɪ]. . . Cloudy and damp, applied to the weather. 1954 *PADS* 21.28 Charleston SC, *Giffy*. . . Of lumber, waterlogged and unfit for use. 1965 in 1983 Johnson *I Declare* 52 nwFL, It's givvy weather. . . Cloudy, hazy, hot, clammy. Damp, but not quite raining. Givvy weather. "Clothes won't get hard dry" when it's givvy weather. . . They "give" when you take them off the line. 1967 *Key Tobacco Vocab*. KY, MO, *Givey weather*. . . moist weather which makes dry tobacco leaves pliable. "It takes givey weather" [to strip tobacco]. 1969 *DARE* FW Addit NC, It's givey and sticky. [FW: Talking about a hot, humid day.] 1986 Pederson *L4GS Concordance*. 1 inf, neGA, A givey morning—damp, unpleasant—not always [=necessarily] cool.

### 2 Unsteady.

1895 *DN* 1.371 KY, NC, TN, *Givey*: unsteady. "That table's givey." 1926 *DN* 5.400 Ozarks, *Givey*. . . Unsteady. "Th' big cheer's a-gittin' a leetle givey lately." 1984 Wilder *You All Spoken Here* 17 Sth, *Givey*: Unsteady, as a just-dropped calf or a bar patron.

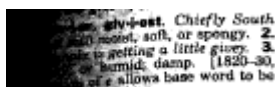
### 3 ?Yielding, not firm.

1968 *DARE* Tape GA69, The peach that they grow. . . it's tough, it's spongy, an' it's givey and it does look exceptionally good in the can.

### 4 Generous.

1963 *DE Folk. Bulletin* Oct 40/2, *Give-y* (generous). 1970 *DARE* (Qu. U32, . . . A very generous person) Inf VA74, *Givey*.

## The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language



This word cannot be found in *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* or *The New Oxford American Dictionary*.

## Hoagie

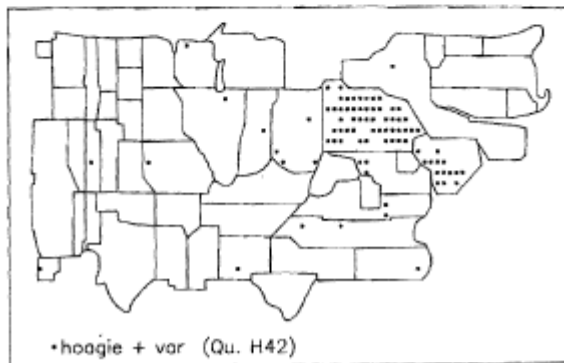
### DARE

**hoagie**, n, also attrib Also sp *hoagy*, *hogie* [Etym uncert; cf *AmSp* 42.283-4] chiefly PA, NJ, but becoming more widely recognized See Map and Map Section Cf Cuban sandwich, grinder 3, hero, poor boy, torpedo

A submarine sandwich.

1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. H42, *The kind [of sandwich] in a . . . large . . . bun . . . that's a meal in itself*) 83 Infs, chiefly PA, NJ, Hoagie; PA163, Hoagie [FW: Inf says it's the same as a submarine, although a local restaurant makes a "steak hoagie," which is ground round steak on a hoagie bun.]; PA221, Hoagie bun. 1967 *AmSp* 42.283, [The term] *hoagie* . . . is used primarily in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey area, with a small representation in other regions of the country. 1972 *NYT Article Letters* ceMO, Different names for the same sandwich: Philadelphia—Hoagie or Hogie . . . St. Louis—Heroes. 1976 *Badger Herald*

(Madison WI) 1 July 8, The Philadelphia Food Factory has opened its doors . . . and brought a new alien food to . . . [Madison]; to wit, the mighty Hoagie, otherwise known as the Grinder, the Sub and Hero. 1977-78 Foster *Lexical Variation* 34 NJ, The most important lexical set for . . . understanding . . . the relative influence of Philadelphia and New York City is the sandwich terms *hero*, *hoagie*, and *sub(marine)*. *Ibid* 118, [Footnote:] *Sub shops* are found in Philadelphia, but they sell *hoagies* . . . [In] one New York City deli, *the Hoagy Hero*, like the *Submarine Hero* . . . designate[s] sandwiches with specific ingredients. 1982 McCool *Sam McCool's Pittsburghese* 16 PA, *Hoagie*: a submarine sandwich, heated and spicy. 1986 Pederson *LAGS Concordance Gulf Region* (*Hero sandwich*: this question was asked chiefly in urban areas) 17 infs, Hoagie (sandwich); 2 infs, Hoagie—heard; 1 inf, Hoagie—heard in cafeteria, packaged at food store; 1 inf, Hoagie—I don't know where I picked that up; 1 inf, Hoagie—northern; 2 infs, Hoagie—submarine sandwich (or super sub); 1 inf, Hoagie—shorter than submarines [with] bologna, ham, etc. 1988 *DARE File Madison WI*, At *Cellar Subs* the counter person said "We have only one hoagie, called 'Hoagie Heaven.' It's all fresh ingredients—two kinds of cheese, tomatoes, cucumbers, sprouts, mayonnaise, lettuce, and sliced turkey." *Ibid Philadelphia PA* (as of 1950s), Hoagie is a common word . . . in Philly. 1989 *Ibid Philadelphia PA* (as of 1937), When my mother was dating, a common thing to do was to go to one of the neighborhood groceries on the south side, in the Italian area, and get a hoagie. The grocery owner would make the sandwich on a large Italian bread roll. My mother's hairdresser's mother, an Italian-American, thinks that originally the roll itself was called a hoagie. My mother thinks that the way hoagies spread throughout the city was that the cops would go down there to get these sandwiches and then drive around eating their hoagies.



### The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

♦ **hoagie** also **hoagy** (hō'gē) n., pl. **-gies** Chiefly Penn. New Jersey See **submarine** (sense 2). See Regional Note at **submarine**. [Alteration of **hoagy**.]



Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**hoo-gy** (hoo'gē), n., pl. **-gies**. *New Jersey and Pennsylvania* (chiefly Philadelphia). a hero sandwich. Also, **hoo'gie**. [1965-70, Amer.; a number of anecdotal hypotheses have been advanced as to the orig. of the word, most claiming it to be derivative of *hog*, either in reference to pork as an ingredient, or as an epithet for a person capable of eating such a sandwich, or alluding to *Hog Island*, an industrial and shipping area of South Philadelphia; but corroborating evidence is lacking; see -ix]  
—**Regional Variation**. See *hero sandwich*.

The New Oxford American Dictionary

hoo'gy / hoo'gie (also hoo-gy) (pl. -gies) another name for SUBMARINE SANDWICH. of unknown origin.

• **Median**

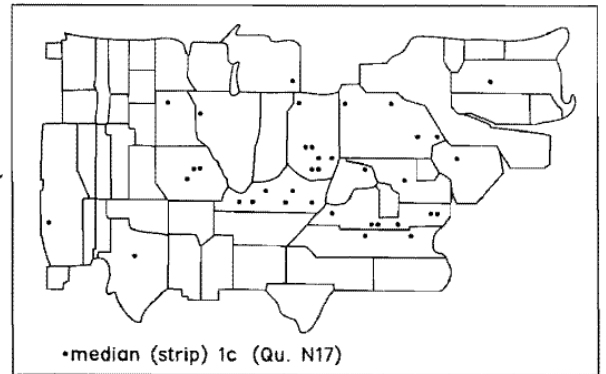
DARE

**median (strip)** n

1 The divider that separates opposing lanes of traffic on a four-lane (or larger) road; see below. Cf **boulevard 2**

a as *median (strip)* and varr. **widespread exc Pacific, Rocky Mts, LA, MS** See Map Cf **neutral ground**

1954 *Ingraham Mod. Traffic Control* 31, Choice of the type of median strip—solid concrete, grass and curbing, or grass alone. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. N17) 280 Infs, **widespread exc Pacific, Rocky Mts, LA, MS, Median**; 63 Infs, **scattered, but esp Nth, Midl**, Median strip; NH5, TN37, WI65, Median line; PA165, Divided median; CT22, Median divider. 1967 *Boston Sunday Herald* 7 May 1/1 (*OEDS*). A fence erected on the median strip to discourage the road-crossings. 1995 *WI State Jrl.* (Madison) 18 June sec B 1/2, Civil engineers . . . flocked to see the autobahn's state-of-the-art dual-lane highways, separated by 16-foot grassy medians. . . New York's Bronx River Parkway in 1923, [was] the first to use medians.

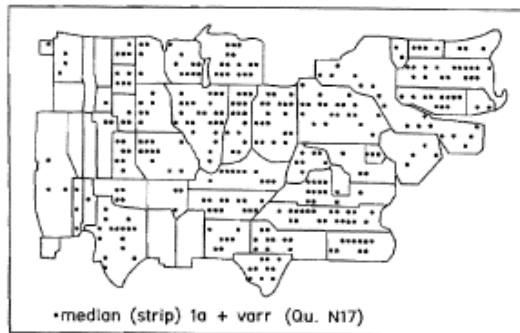


d as *media (strip)*. [Perh var of *medial (strip)* by vocalization of [l] (cf *Pronc Intro* 3.II.27), but perh infl by *media* in other senses]

1966-70 *DARE* (Qu. N17, . . . *The separating area in the middle [of a four-lane road]*) Infs ME10, MI112, OH80, PA3, 34, 72, VA50, *Media (strip)*.

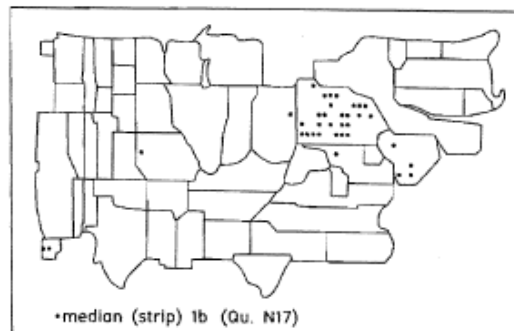
e as *meridian (strip)*; pronc-sp *meridan*. **scattered, but rare Sth, West** See Map

1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. N17, . . . *The separating area in the middle [of a four-lane road]*) 22 Infs, **scattered, but rare Sth, West, Meridian (strip)**; RI4, *Meridan* [merden].



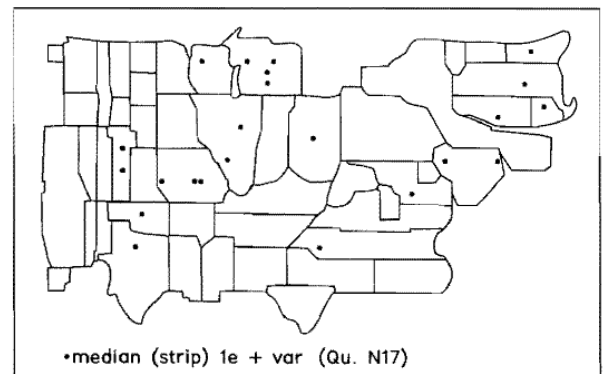
b as *medial (strip)*. **chiefly PA, sNJ; also HI** See Map

1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. N17, . . . *The separating area in the middle [of a four-lane road]*) 35 Infs, **chiefly PA, sNJ**, *Medial (strip)*. 1972 *McCormick Vocab. HI* 71, *Medial strip*—Grass strip in center of divided road



c as *medium (strip)*. [Perh by folk-etym] **chiefly Midl** See Map

1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. N17, . . . *The separating area in the middle [of a four-lane road]*) 37 Infs, **chiefly Midl**, *Medium (strip)*. 1986 *Pederson LAGS Concordance*, 13 infs, **Gulf Region**, *Medium (strip)*—concrete c grass strip between road lanes.



f as *medrin*. [Cf *Intro* "Language Changes" 1.8]

1968-69 *DARE* (Qu. N17, . . . *The separating area in the middle [of a four-lane road]*) Inf KY53, ['midrən]; MI97, *Medrin* ['midrɪn].

2 also *medium*: The grassy strip that separates the street from the sidewalk. Cf **boulevard 1, parking strip**

1968-70 *DARE* (Qu. N44, *In a town, the strip of grass and trees between the sidewalk and the curb*) Infs DE4, SC66, *Median*; MO2, VA20, *Medium*. 1984 *DARE File nCA, CO*, *In a town, the strip of grass and trees between the sidewalk and the curb*: *Median (strip)*. 1986 *Pederson LAGS Concordance (Strip of green grass between the sidewalk and the street)* 4 infs, nTN, neAL, *Medium*.

**media (strip)** See **median (strip) 1d**

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

♦ **medial strip** *n.* *Pennsylvania* See **media** at **neutral ground**.

**me•di•an** (mē'dē-ən) *adj.* **1.** Relating to or toward the middle. **2. Anatomy** Of, relating to a plane that divides a bilaterally symmetrical body into two halves; mesial. **3. Statistics** Relating to or concerning a middle value in a distribution. ♦ *n.* **1a.** A median point, **median strip**. See Regional Note at **neutral ground**. **3. Mathematics a.** A line segment drawn from a vertex of a triangle to the midpoint of the opposite side. **b.** The line segment joining the midpoints of the nonparallel sides of a trapezoid. *dius, middle.* See **medhyo-** in Appendix I.]

♦ **median strip** *n.* *Eastern, Midwestern, & Southern* area, either paved or landscaped, between two lanes of some highways. Also called *median*; also called *medial strip*, *meridian*, *neutral ground*. See **neutral ground**.

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**me'dian strip'**, a paved, planted, or landscaped strip in the center of a highway that separates lanes of traffic going in opposite directions. Also called **me'dial strip'**, **median**. [1945-50]

The New Oxford American Dictionary

**me•di•an** /'mēdēən/ ▶ *adj.* [*attrib.*] **1** denoting or relating to a value or quantity lying at the midpoint of a frequency distribution of observed values or quantities, such that there is an equal probability of falling above or below it: *the median duration of this treatment was four months.* **2** denoting the middle term of a series arranged in order of magnitude, or (if there is no middle term) the average of the middle two terms. For example, the median number of the series 55, 62, 76, 85, 93 is 76. **3 technical, chiefly Anatomy** situated in the middle, esp. of the body: *the median part of the sternum.*  
▶ *n.* **1** the median value of a range of values: *acreages ranged from one to fifty-two with a median of twenty-four.* **2** (also **median strip**) the strip of land between the lanes of opposing traffic on a divided highway. **3 Geometry** a straight line drawn from any vertex of a triangle to the middle of the opposite side. >late Middle English (denoting a median vein or nerve): from medieval Latin *medianus*, from *medius* 'middle, middle of.' —**me•di•an•ly** *adv.*



- Pail

DARE

**pail** *n* Cf **bucket**, **slop pail**

1 A usu cylindrical vessel of wood, metal, or plastic having a handle, used esp for carrying liquids. **formerly chiefly Nth, now more widespread** Note: Although *bucket* and *pail* are basically synonymous, many speakers who are familiar with both terms distinguish between them in various, often idiosyncratic, ways. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see 1972 *AmSp* 48.62-3.

1622 Mourt's Relation *Journall Plimoth* 12 MA, We found . . . also an English Paile or Bucket. 1874 (1895) Eggleston *Circuit Rider* 214 sOE (as of early 19th cent), This vile vender of Yankee tins, who called a bucket a "pail," and said "noo" for new, and talked nasally. 1891 Eggleston *Hoosier Schoolmaster* 180, The total absence of the word *pai*

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**pail** (*pāl*), *n.* 1. A watertight cylindrical vessel, open at the top and fitted with a handle; a bucket. 2. The amount that a pail can hold. [Middle English *payle*, probably from Old French *paele*, warming pan, perhaps cognate with *patella*, small pan. See PAELLA.] —**pail'ful** *n.* **par** (*pī-yār'*) *n.* A slice of veal, chicken, or beef that is pounded very thin and cooked quickly. [Origin unknown.] **palisse** also **pal'liasse** (*pāl-yās'*, *pāl'yās'*) *n.* A thin mattress stuffed with straw or sawdust. [French, from Old French, from *paille*, straw, from Late Latin *palea*, from Latin, chaff.]

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**pail** (*pāl*), *n.* 1. bucket. 2. the amount that a pail can hold. [bef. 1000; ME *payle* wooden container, liquid measure, from Old English *pægel* wine container, liquid measure, cf. MD, LG *pegel* half pint), by assoc. with *patella* < L *patella*; see PATELLA] —**Regional Variation.** 1. See **bucket**.

The New Oxford American Dictionary

**pail** /*pāl*/ *n.* a bucket. ▷Middle English: origin uncertain; compare with Old English *pægel* 'gill, small measure' and Old French *paelle* 'pan, liquid measure, brazier.' —**pail-ful** /*-fōl*/ *n.* (*pl.* **-fuls**)

• Pop

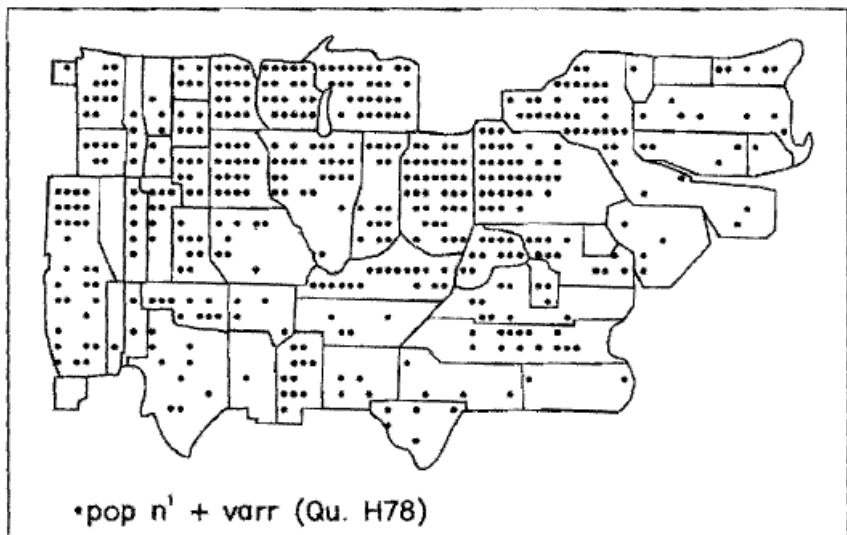
DARE

**pop** n<sup>1</sup> Also rarely *pop beer*, ~ *juice*, ~ *water* **widespread**, but less freq N Atl, ePA, Sth, eMO, sIL See Map Note: The comb *soda pop* is not included here. Cf *coca-cola* B, *cola*, *dope* n 4, *soda*, *tonic*

A carbonated soft drink.

1840 Kennedy *Quodlibet* 139 Sth, [He] was not a man to be put down by the frothy, ginger-pop eloquence. 1882 Peck *Peck's Sunshine* 167 seWI, He would be justified in going into the hotel and ordering a bottle of pop, and then refusing to pay for it. 1899 (1912) Green *VA Folk-Speech* 330, *Pop*. . . An effervescent drink, like soda water, in bottles, flavoured. 1929 *AmSp* 5.71 NE, The milker . . . fills the small bottle, perhaps a "pop," bottle. 1941 LANE Map 312 (*Soft drink*), [*Pop* is scattered throughout NEng]; 6 infs, 5 ME, NH, VT, Pop beer; 6 infs, CT, MA, Ginger pop [2 infs call it old-fashioned]; 1 inf, seVT, Pop water.

1948 Manfred *Chokecherry* 74 nwIA, Wilbur was sitting beside him *Galena Gaz. & Advt.* (IL) 27 holding a bottle of pop fizzing with alcohol spike. 1965-70 DARE (Qu. ange pop. 1968 *Montevideo* H78, *Ordinary soft drinks, usually carbonated*) 468 Infs, **widespread**, lerson . . . suffered a fractured but less freq N Atl, ePA, Sth, eMO, sIL, Pop; VA26, Pop juice; DC12, toppled over on him. 1982 *Barrick Coll. csPA*, *Pop*—soft drink. *Soda* in this area is only an ice-cream concoction. 1986 Pederson *LAGS Concordance (Soft drinks)* 28 infs, **scattered Gulf Region**, Pop; 1 inf, enGA, Heard of pop, not a local term; 1 inf, SMS, Nobody says "soda" or "pop"; 1 inf, cnTN, Pop—used in the North. 1994 DARE File, I grew up in Michigan where it [= a carbonated beverage] was "pop." When I visited relatives in Georgia "pop" was a Popsicle or similar frozen treat. *Ibid* OH, My daughter used to refer to sparkling water as "coke water" and my son refers to it as "pop water." My daughter was born in N.C. while my son was born in Ohio. 1998 DARE File MN, Minneapolis . . . used to be very definitely "pop" country. But now I see more and more signs which say "soda." *Ibid* KS, wMO, Kansas and western Missouri are pop areas too. I agree that 'soda' is taking over. 2000 DARE File MS, I . . . asked one of the African American secretaries if she ever said "pop" for coke. She said, "Sometimes. It depends on my environment." When I asked her what kind of environment made her say "pop," she laughed and said "when I'm among my own kind." The two African American student workers who were listening to our conversation laughed and nodded. I told them why I was asking, and they all three said . . . that "pop" was the common term among African Americans but that they often switched to "coke" in inter-racial conversations.



The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

... in the southern United States.  
**v. popped, pop•ping, pops** —*intr.* **1.** To make a short, sharp sound. **2.** To burst open with a short, sharp, explosive sound. **3.** To come or appear quickly or unexpectedly; appear abruptly: *At last she popped into view.* **4.** To open wide suddenly: *The child's eyes popped in astonishment.* **5. Baseball** To hit a short high fly ball, especially one that can be caught by an infielder: *popped out to shortstop.* **6.** To fire (a gun or arm), such as a pistol. **7.** To release (a clutch) suddenly. **8.** To cause to make a sharp bursting sound. **2.** To cause to explode

with a sharp bursting sound: *popped the balloon.* **3.** To put or thrust suddenly or unexpectedly: *"popping a crisp plump shrimp into her mouth"* (Kathleen Winsor). **4a.** To discharge (a firearm). **b.** To fire at; shoot. **5.** To hit or strike: *popped me on the head.* **6. Baseball** To hit (a ball) high in the air but not far. **7. Slang a.** To take (drugs), especially orally: *"To calm a case of the jitters . . . the bride popped Valium"* (People). **b.** To have (a drink): *popped a few beers after work.* **v. n.** **1.** A sudden sharp, explosive sound. **2.** A shot with a firearm. **3.** Chiefly *Midwestern U.S.* See **soft drink.** See *Regional Note* at **tonic.** **4. Baseball** A pop fly. **v. adv.** **1.** With a popping sound. **2.** Abruptly or unexpectedly. —**phrasal verbs:** **pop for** *Informal* To pay for: *I'll pop for the video if you buy some snacks.* **pop in** To visit briefly: *just popped by to say hello.* **pop off** *Informal* **1.** To leave abruptly or hurriedly. **2.** To die suddenly. **3.** To speak thoughtlessly in a burst of released anger. —**idioms:** **a pop** *Slang* A piece; each: *Tickets to the benefit were \$100 a pop.* **pop the question** *Informal* To propose marriage. [Middle English *poppen*, from *pop*, a blow, stroke, of imitative origin.]

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**pop**<sup>1</sup> (pop), v., **popped, pop-ping**, n.  
**v.** **1.** to make a short, quick, explosive sound. **2.** to burst open with such a sound, as a cork or corn in roasting. **3.** to come or appear quickly or unexpectedly: *She popped into the room.* **4.** to shoot with a firearm. **5.** to protrude from the sockets: *The pop. 6. Baseball. a.* to hit a pop fly. **b. to pop out. —*v. t.* **7.** to cause to make a sharp bursting sound. **8.** to cause to burst open. **9.** to open suddenly or violently: *to pop the lid of a can; to pop the tab on a beer can.* **10.** to appear quickly, suddenly, or unexpectedly: *He popped up from the sofa.* **11. Informal.** to discharge: *He popped his rifle at the target.* (usually fol. by *at, off, etc.*): *He popped a shot.* **12. Slang.** to pop, to take or swallow (pills), esp. in excess: *He popped those pills will land him in the hospital.* **13. Brit. Slang.** to pop, to take or swallow (pills), esp. in excess: *He popped those pills will land him in the hospital.* **14.** to pop, to take or swallow (pills), esp. in excess: *He popped those pills will land him in the hospital.* **15. pop** *Informal.* to buy for oneself or another, esp. as a drink: *I'll pop for the first round of drinks.* **16. pop in** *Informal.* to visit briefly and unexpectedly: *Maybe we'll pop in after the movie.* **17. pop off** *Informal.* **a.** to die, esp. suddenly and abruptly. **b.** to express oneself violently, sometimes irately or indiscreetly: *He popped off at the injustice of the verdict.* **18. pop out** to be put out by hitting a pop fly caught by the opposing team. **19. pop the question** to propose marriage: *They dated for a year before he popped the question.* **20. pop up** to appear suddenly. **21. a pop** a short, quick, explosive sound. **22. a pop** a shot with a firearm. **23. a pop** a drink or portion of food, as a drink of whiskey or a glass of beer. **24. a pop** a couple of pops on the way home. **25. a pop** a pop fly. **26. a pop** *Slang* each; apiece: *He popped a pop.* —*adv.* **27.** with an explosive sound: *the door flew open!* —*adj.* **28.** without prior warning or announcement: *He gave us a pop quiz.* [1375-1425; *pop*, a blow; (v.) *poppen* to strike; of expressive origin.] —**Syn.** **3.** appear, burst. —**Regional Variation.** **24.** See **pop****



The New Oxford American Dictionary

► *n.* **1** a sudden sharp explosive sound: at first there were just a few pops, perhaps from pistols. **2** informal short for **SODA POP**. **3** (also **pop fly** or **pop-up**) *Baseball* a ball hit high in the air but not deep, providing an easy catch. **4** an attempt: he grabs with a paw and hooks about two hundred berries at a pop.

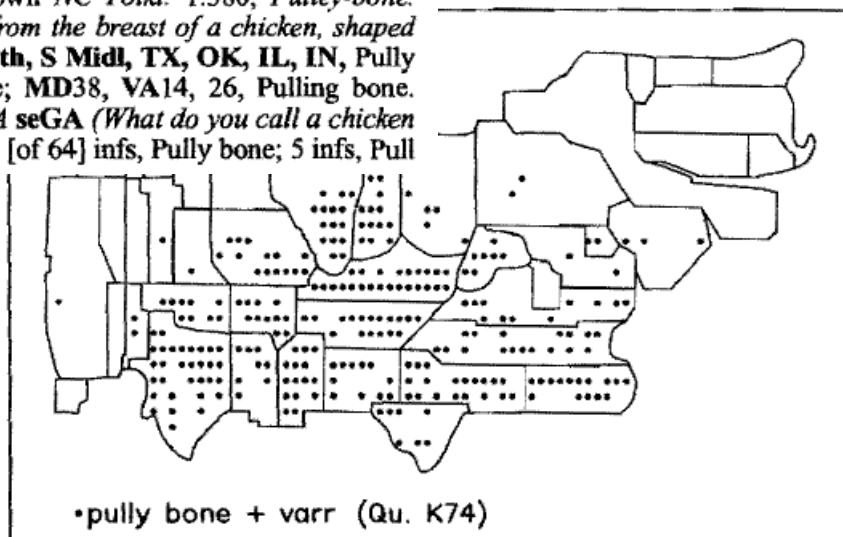
- Pully bone

DARE

**pully bone** *n* Also *pull(ey) bone, pulling bone* [EDD *pull bone, pulling bone*] chiefly Sth, S Midl, TX, OK, IL, IN See Map Also called **boy 2, breakbone, breastbone, chicken bone 1, crossbone 2, funnybone 3, good-luck bone, hook ~, hug-me-tight 3, love bone, lucky ~ 1, marriage ~, pullet ~, merrythought**  
The wishbone.

1877 Bartlett *Americanisms* 502, *Pulling-Bone*. The common name in Maryland, Virginia, &c., for the yoke-like breast-bone of chickens, by pulling which till it breaks children and young ladies settle which will be the first married. 1905 *New Engl. Cook Book* 274, You will dislodge the V-shaped bone, corresponding to the "merrythought" or "pull-bone" of chickens. 1906 DN 3.152 nWAR, *Pully-bone*. . . Wishbone. 1909 DN 3.360 eAL, wGA, *Pull(y)-bone*. . . Wishbone. Very common. 1912 DN 3.586 wIN, *Pully-bone*. . . Wishbone, which is rarely heard. 1915 DN 4.188 swVA, *Pully-bone*. . . Wishbone. 1923 DN 5.218 swMO, *Pulley bone*. . . The wish bone of a fowl. 1933 *AmSp* 8.1.51 Ozarks, *Pulley bone*. 1939 LANE Map 215 (*Wishbone*) 1 inf, neMA, *Pulling-bone*. 1946 PADS 5.34 VA, *Pull bone, pulling bone*. . . Wishbone; east of the Blue Ridge. . . *Pully bone*. . . Wishbone; west of the Blue Ridge and in the southern Piedmont. *Ibid* 6.24 eNC, *Pullybone*. . . The wishbone. 1949 Kurath *Word Geog.* 63, *Wishbone*. . . The V-shaped clavicles of a fowl are variously known as *wishbone, pully-bone, pull-bone (pulling bone)*, and *lucky-bone*. . . The usual Southern and South Midland expression is *pully-bone, pull-bone*. This term is also current among the older folk in the North Midland, notably in southern New Jersey and southwestern Pennsylvania. . . *Pull-bone* is characteristic of southern New Jersey, Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac Valley, and the Charleston area of South Carolina. 1952 Brown *NC Folkl.* 1.580, *Pulley-bone*. 1965-70 DARE (Qu. K74, *A bone from the breast of a chicken, shaped like a horseshoe*) 251 Infs, chiefly Sth, S Midl, TX, OK, IL, IN, *Pully bone*; 12 Infs, scattered, *Pull bone*; MD38, VA14, 26, *Pulling bone*. e1970 Pederson *Dial. Surv. Rural GA seGA (What do you call a chicken bone . . . that children like to have)* 26 [of 64] infs, *Pully bone*; 5 infs, *Pull*

is *Cold Sassy* 64 nGA (as of 1906), my favorite piece of fried chicken ile TN, *Pulley bone*.



Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**pul'ley bone'**, *South Midland and Inland South*.  
wishbone (def. 1). [1935-40, Amer.]

It is not included in *The New Oxford American Dictionary* or *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*.

- Rippet

DARE

**rippet** n Also sp *rippit* [Scots dial; *OED2* *rippit* 1508 →]  
chiefly S Midl

A noisy disturbance, dispute, or fight; hence v *rippet* to cause a disturbance; to fight.

1870 (1935) Duval *Advent. Big Foot* 270 TX, At last the manager threw his hat among 'em and called out, "Stampede all," and the "rippit" commenced. 1884 Smith *Bill Arp's Scrap Book* 97 GA, They all put on their working aprons and went to beating eggs and stirring batter, and some more young ladies dropped in to help and I never heard such a rippet as they kept up all day. 1887 (1967) Harris *Free Joe* 111 nGA, Folks has mighty bad luck when they go a-rippitin' hether an' yan on the mounting. 1890 DN 1.66 KY, *Rippit* . . a great noise. "He made a great rippit." 1909 DN 3.364 eAL, wGA, *Rippit* . . A fight, a mix-up. Universal. 1913 Kephart *Highlanders* 294 sAppalachians, If he and his neighbor dislike each other, there is a hardness between them; if they quarrel, it is a ruction, a rippit, a jower, or an upscuddle. 1952 Brown *NC Folkl.* 1.585, *Rippit* . . A fight; to fight. 1968 DARE (Qu. KK16, *A great noise or disturbance: "I wish they'd stop making that awful \_\_\_\_\_."*) Inf VA21, *Rippet*. 1975 *Appalachian Jrl.* 2.157 wNC, The many words that mean *fight* attest to the prevalence of the activity. . . A *racket* implies more actual contact, whereas *ruckus* or *rookus*, *fraction*, and *fray* all mean a fist fight or gun fight. *Rippit* is sometimes used in this connection, but it may also mean, as one man defined the term, "a cuttin' up sort of a night, a rousin' good time, drunk and dancin'."

*Rippet* is not included in any of the three dictionaries consulted.

- Rubber binder

**rubber binder** n Also *binder* scattered, but esp MN

A rubber band.

1950 *WELS Suppl. cwWI, Minneapolis MN*, Binder—meaning rubber-band. . . "The boys are using binders to shoot paper wads." 1958 *Ibid cwWI* (as of 1940s), "Rubber-binder" was at least as familiar to us as "rubber-band." 1967-70 DARE (Qu. F49, . . *Rubber band*; not asked in early QRs) Infs IN66, MS85, TX17, 36, Rubber binder; IN28, Rubber band; rubber binder [FW sugg]; MN34, Rubber band; binder—hear in Minneapolis—most common term there; rubber binder; WV3, Rubber band, rubber binder—old-fashioned. 1978 *AP Letters swMN*, My wife, a native Minnesotan (Montevideo), still says "rubber binder" for rubber band. . . Certain areas of Minnesota and the Dakotas are the only regions where "rubber binder" is used. 1993 DARE File MN, I lost my rubber binder. 1997 Keillor *Wobegon Boy* 166 MN, Dad died on the

DARE

next-to-top basement step on his way upstairs from having taken to the basement a box of rubber binders that Mother had told him to get rid of.

*Rubber binder* is not included in any of the three dictionaries consulted. *Rubber band*, on the contrary, is included in two of them, as follows:

### The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**rubber band** *n.* An elastic loop of natural or synthetic rubber used to hold objects together. Also called regionally *gum band*.

### Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**rub/ber band'**, a narrow, circular or oblong band of rubber, used for holding things together, as papers or a box and its lid. [1890-95]

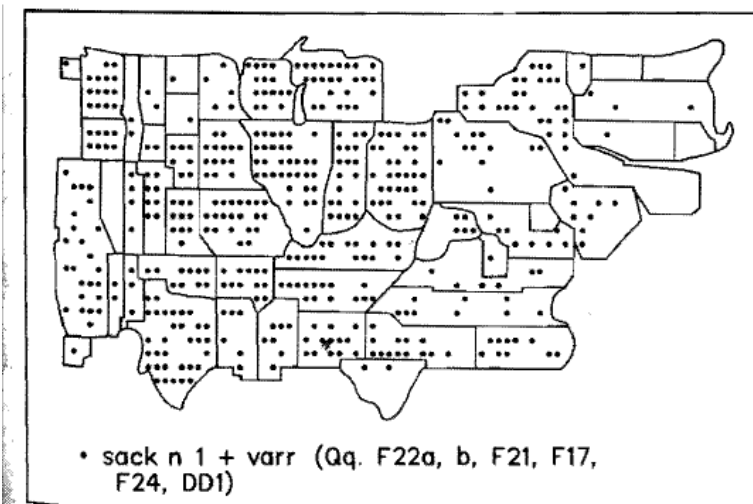
- Sack

### DARE

#### **sack** *n*

**1** A container of heavy paper permanently closed on the sides and bottom. **widespread, but less freq** NEng, sPA See Map Cf **poke** *n*<sup>1</sup> **1a**

**1903** DN 2.352 WA, *Sack*. . . A bag of any material, and of any size. A paper bag is here called a sack. At the grocery, 'I'll put these eggs in a sack, and send them round.' **1904** DN 2.420 nWAR, *Sack*. . . Bag. 'Put the apples in a paper sack.' **1909** DN 3.365 eAL, wGA, *Sack*. . . A bag of any kind. "Put it in a paper sack." Universal. **1928** DN 6.60 Ozarks, A paper bag is always a *sack* or a *poke*, since *bag* means scrotum in the hill country. **1946** McAtee *Dial. Grant Co. IN Suppl.* 3 8 (as of 1890s), *Paper sack*. . . paper bags ordinarily seen in stores. **1946** PADS 5.31 VA, *Paper sack* (see *poke*): A paper bag; not common. **1965-70** DARE (Qu. F22a, *A smaller paper container for bringing groceries home from the store*) 339 Infs, **widespread, but less freq** NEast, (Paper) sack; 14 Infs, **scattered**, Grocery sack; (Qu. F22b, *A smaller paper container for carrying a lunch: "He had his lunch in a \_\_\_\_\_"*) 346 Infs, **widespread, but less freq** NEast, (Paper) sack; TN66, Lunch sack; (Qu. F21, *A cloth or paper container that you buy flour in*) 19 Infs, **scattered**, Paper sack; IL134, Grocery sack; TX91, Poke sack—old-fashioned; (Qu. F17) Infs MO15, 39, OH84, PA131, Sack; MO14, Paper sack; (Qu. F24, *The container for kitchen parings and scraps—inside the kitchen*) Infs CA59, MI94, OH78, Paper sack; (Qu. DD1, *What different forms does chewing tobacco come in around here?*) Infs IA11, KY85, MD20, OH41, TN26, Sack; OH23, Cans and sacks; PA57, Loose in a paper sack. **1972** PADS 58.15 cwAL, (*Paper*) bag (18 [of 27 infs]) is more common than (*paper*) sack (8). [**1986** AmSp





61.205 IN, There is no consensus in Bloomington, Indiana, about the term for a paper container. Epitomizing the indecision is a sign outside the cafeteria at Eigenmann Hall, an Indiana University dormitory: "Sack lunch bags may not be taken into the cafeteria."] 1994 NC Lang. & Life Project *Dial. Dict. Lumbee Engl.* 10 seNC, *Sack*. . . Paper bag. Generally replaced by *bag*, but still used to a limited extent by older speakers. Help me with this sack of groceries, will you?

### The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**sack**<sup>1</sup> (sāk) *n.* **1a.** A large bag of strong coarse material for holding objects in bulk. **b.** A similar container of paper or plastic. **c.** The amount that such a container can hold. **2.** also **sacque** A short loose-fitting garment for women and children. **3.** *Slang* Dismissal from employment: *finally got the sack after a year of ineptitude.* **4.** *Informal* A bed, mattress, or sleeping bag. **5.** Baseball A base. **6.** Football A successful attempt at sacking the quarterback. **♦** *tr.v.* **sacked, sack·ing, sacks** **1.** To place into a sack. **2.** *Slang* To discharge from employment. See synonyms at **dismiss**. **3.** Football To tackle (a quarterback attempting to pass the ball) behind the line of scrimmage. —**phrasal verb:** **sack out** *Slang* To sleep. [Middle English, from Old English *sacc*, from Latin *saccus*, from Greek *sakkos*, of Semitic origin. See **sqq** in Appendix II.]

**Word History** The ordinary word *sack* carries within it a few thousand years of commercial history. *Sack*, which probably goes back to Middle Eastern antiquity, has a long history because it and its ancestors denoted an object used in trade between various peoples. Thus the Greeks got their word *sakkos*, "a bag made out of coarse cloth or hair" from the Phoenicians with whom they traded. We do not know the Phoenician word, but we know words that are akin to it, such as Hebrew *saq* and Akkadian *saggu*. The Greeks then passed the *sack*, as it were, to the Latin-speaking Romans, who transmitted their word *saccus*, "a large bag or sack," to the Germanic tribes with whom they traded, who gave it the form *\*sakkiz* (other peoples have also taken this word from Greek or Latin, including speakers of Welsh, Russian, Polish, and Albanian). The speakers of Old English, a Germanic language, used two forms of the word, *sac*, from *\*sakkiz*, and *sacc*, directly from Latin; the second Old English form is the ancestor of our *sack*.

### Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

a large bag of strong, coarsely woven cloth, potatoes, or coal. **2.** the amount a bag. **4.** *Slang.* dismissal or discharge, of the sack. **5.** *Slang.* bed: in the sack. **6.** a loose-fitting dress, as a gown with one fashionable in the late 17th of the 18th century. **b.** a loose-fitting **7.** Baseball a base. **8.** South Mid- of a cow. **9.** **hit the sack,** *Slang.* to hit the sack before midnight. **10.** bag (def. 18). —**v.** **11.** to put into **12.** Football to tackle (the quarter- line of scrimmage before the quarter- a pass. **13.** *Slang.* to dismiss or a job. **14.** **sack out,** *Slang.* to go to (def. 1000, 1940-45 for def. 5; ME *sak* < OE *sacc* (n.) < L *saccus* bag, sackcloth [orig. cf. Heb *saq*] —**sack**/'like', *adj.* **15.** *Slang.* See **bag**.

### The New Oxford American Dictionary

**sack**<sup>1</sup> /sək/ *n.* **1** a large bag made of a strong material such as burlap, thick paper, or plastic, used for storing and carrying goods. **2** the contents of such a bag or the amount it can contain: *a sack of flour.* **3** a loose, unfitted, or shapeless garment, in particular: **3a** *historical* a woman's loose gown. **3b** *historical* a decorative piece of dress material fastened to the shoulders of a woman's gown in loose pleats and forming a long train, fashionable in the 18th century. **4** **(the sack)** *informal* bed, esp. as regarded as a place for sex. **5** **(the sack)** *informal* dismissal from employment: *he got the sack for swearing | they were given the sack.* **6** *informal* Baseball a base. **7** Football an act of tackling a quarterback behind the line of scrimmage before he can throw a pass. **8** *v.* [trans.] **1** *informal* dismiss from employment: *any official found to be involved would be sacked on the spot.* **2** **(sack out)** *informal* go to sleep or bed. **3** Football tackle (a quarterback) behind the line of scrimmage before he can throw a pass. **4** *rare* put into a sack or sacks. **5** Old English *sacc*, from Latin *saccus* 'sack,

sackcloth,' from Greek *sakkos*, of Semitic origin. Sense 1 of the verb dates from the mid-19th century. —**sack-a-ble** *adj.* —**sack-like** /-lɪk/ *adj.* **PHRASES** **□ hit the sack** *informal* go to bed. **□ of potatoes** *informal* used in similes to refer to someone who is lazy, listless, or unceremonious toward the person or thing in question: *he dragged his feet like a sack of potatoes.*

- Skelly

DARE

**skelly** n [Origin unknown] NYC

\ 1 also *skelsy*, *scully pit*, *skellzies*, *skully*: A children's street game; see quotes.

1953 Brewster *Amer. Nonsinging Games* 115, *Skelly* [New York]—This game is usually played in the street. Each player is equipped with one “checker,” a small block of wood or a flat stone. He pitches first at square 1. If his “checker” stops inside that square, he is entitled to another shot, and so on. . . The space separating the boxes in the inner group is called “skelly,” and no player whose “checker” lands here may shoot again until some kind-hearted player knocks it out. 1967 *DARE* FW Addit NYC, *Skully*—game board chalked on sidewalk, yard square; bottle caps filled with wax must be shot to different points within the square. 1975 Ferretti *Gt. Amer. Book Sidewalk Games* 230, *Skelly*, surely the quintessential New York City street game, uses checkers—bottle caps filled with wax for weight, glass bottle tops worn smooth, brick chips, and the caps from half-gallon wine jugs as shooters. . . Also known as *Skelsy*, *Scully Pit*, *Tops*, and *Caps*. . . The object of the game is to go from box 1 to box 13 (in . . progression . . ), then return the same way from 13 to 1. 1977 *NY Times* (NY) 6 July 29/3 NYC, As everyone knows, *skelsy*—or *skelly*—is a form of street pool played with bottle caps in which players go through, croquet-style, a series of boxes numbered 1 to 13. 1980 *DARE* File NYC, One friend tells me it [= *skelly*] is also called *scully*; another that it was known as *skelsy*. 1994 *NY Times* (Natl. ed.) (NY) 18 Aug sec B 8/1 NYC, All it takes to play *skellzies* (also known as *skelly* or *skully*) is chalk, a sidewalk and a bottle cap for each player. The game's name comes from the skull and crossbones that surround the No. 9 box. [*Ibid*, The game . . has lasted a long time; about as long as the crown-rimmed bottle cap (circa 1910).] 2001 *DARE* File Bronx NYC (as of 1955), The essence of *skelly* was to fillip a weighted “checker”—usually a bottle-cap into which a washer had been placed and hot wax poured in—through a course of numbered boxes painted on the ground. The weight allowed one to strike the checkers of one's opponents out of the course with added force increasing your chance of completing the course and winning the game before they did. *Skelly* was a fixture of playground life and the Parks Department and Housing Authority would paint *skelly* courses on playground surfaces.

The word is not included in any of the three dictionaries consulted.

- Smearcase

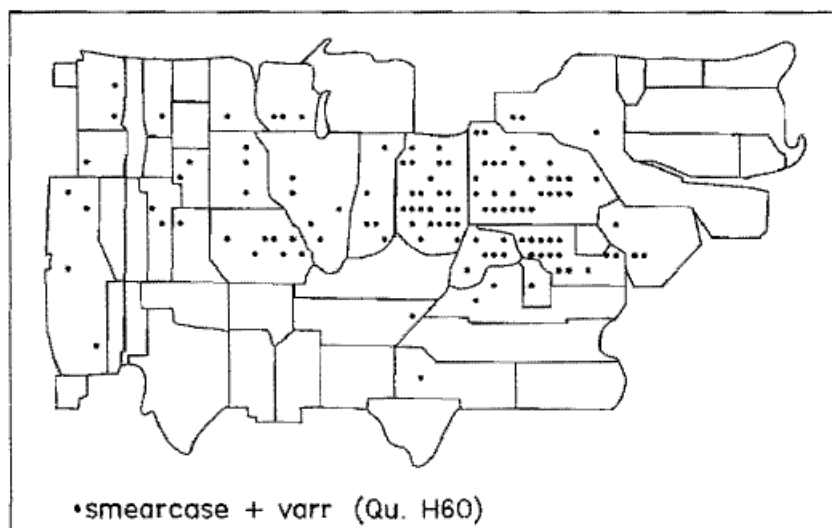
DARE

**smearcase** n Usu ['smɪr,kes] [PaGer *schmierkaes* (Ger *schmierkäse*), literally “spread-cheese”] Also *shmearcas*,



*smear cheese, smiercase, smierkase* chiefly N Midl, esp PA, OH, MD, WV See Map Cf cook cheese, Dutch ~, pot ~  
A soft cheese made of curds of skimmed milk; cottage cheese.

1829 Royall *Pennsylvania* 1.471, A dish, common amongst the Germans, . . is curds and cream. It is very palatable, and called by the Germans *smearcase*. 1848 Bartlett *Americanisms* 314, *Smear-Case*. . . A preparation of milk made to be spread on bread, whence its name; otherwise called Cottage-Cheese. 1892 *KS Univ. Qrly.* 1.99 **KS**, *Smearcase*: a preparation of clabber, often called 'Dutch cheese.' 1906 *DN* 3.157 **nWAR**, *Smear-case*. . . Pot cheese, cottage cheese, clabber cheese, curd (Mississippi). 1909 *Daily Gaz. & Bulletin* (Williamsport PA) 22 Jan 6/5, [Advt:] Smear case, per ball. . . 5[¢]. 1915 Thomas *Mary at Farm* 277 **cePA**, From three quarts of sour milk you should obtain one good pound of smier-kase. 1930 *DN* 6.88 **ceWV**, *Smearcheese*, cottage cheese. 1934 *AmSp* 9.319 **IN**, **Ohio Valley**, *Smearcase*. Cottage cheese, from German *Schmierkäse*—Pennsylvania Dutch. 1946 *PADS* 5.38 **VA**, *Smear case*. . . Cheese made of the drained curd of sour milk; west of the Blue Ridge. 1946 *PADS* 6.27 **swVA**, *Smearcase*. . . Cottage cheese. 1958 *PADS* 29.16 **TN**, *Smearcase*: Cheese made of curd and sour milk. 1965–70 *DARE* (Qu. H60, *The lumpy white cheese that is made from sour milk*) 102 Infs, chiefly N Midl, esp PA, OH, MD, WV, Smearcase; CA212, IL82, PA74, 95, 242, TN11, ['šmirke(t)s]; MD8, MO12, ['šmirke(t)s]; MO25, ['šmirkæs]; MO36, Shmearcase; OH98, ['šmækəs]; IL113, ['šmerkers]; PA29, VA26, ['smirkes]; CO20, MO21, Smear cheese; MO13, ['šmrkæis] cheese. [36 of 119 Infs indicated that this term was old-fashioned or that they remembered it from the speech of a parent or grandparent.] 1969 *DARE* Tape IL66, The folks used to always make . . smearcase. . . They would take that milk and clabber it. 1976 Allen *LAUM* 3.292 **Upper MW** (as of c1950), *Cottage cheese*. . . *Smearcase*. . . moved with the westward migration into southern Iowa and Nebraska, where more than one-third of infs. knowing the term consider it now old-fashioned. *Ibid* 293, 2 infs, **ceIA**, **ceNE**, Smear cheese. 1982 *Barrick Coll.* **csPA**, *Smear case*—cottage cheese. 1985 *AmSp* 60.234 **sePA**, Today in the Pennsylvania German area, *smear case* no longer means 'curds'. As a former student of mine who is employed as a salesperson in a farmers' market in Bird-in-Hand, Lancaster County, puts it: "Today *smear case* is never related to cottage cheese, but to a smooth, spreadable cheese." Indeed, the term is very much alive in the area—a fact clearly demonstrated by the availability of such "smooth, spreadable cheese" under this name at many local markets.



The American  
Heritage

Dictionary of the English Language

♦ **smear•case** (smir'käs') *n.* *Pennsylvania* See **cottage cheese**. See Regional Note at **gum band**. [Pennsylvania Dutch *Schmierkees*, from German *Schmierkäse*, a kind of spreadable cheese : *schmieren*, to smear (from Middle High German *smirwen*, from Old High German) + *Käse*, cheese (from Middle High German *kaese*, from Old High German *kāsi*, from Latin *cāseus*).]

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**smear•case** (smēr'käs'), *n.* *Chiefly North Midland U.S.* any soft cheese suitable for spreading or eating with a spoon, esp. a sour cottage cheese. Also, **smier•case**, **schmierkäse**. [1820–30, *Amer.*; half trans., half adoption of G *Schmierkäse*, equiv. to *schmier(en)* to spread, **SMEAR** + *Käse* **CHEESE**]  
— **Regional Variation**. See **cottage cheese**.

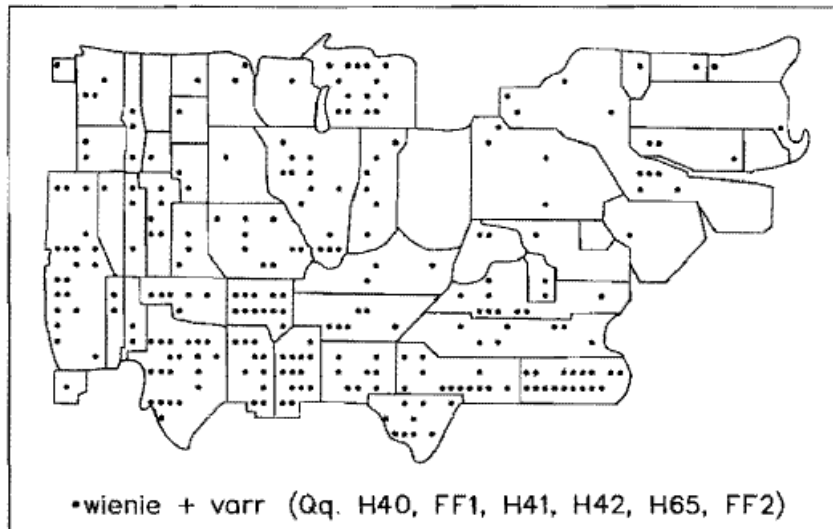
*Smearcase* is not included in *The New Oxford American Dictionary*.

- **Wienie**

DARE

**wienie** *n.* Also sp *weenie*, *weinie* **widespread, but chiefly Sth, S Midl, N Cent, West** See Map  
= **wiener**.  
1891 *Tacoma Daily News* (WA) 19 Mar 5/1, Just as they were struggling fiercely a wiener wurst peddler came along. . . and all three fell in a heap. When they got up again . . . a string of weenies was round the officer's neck. 1902 *Daily IA State Press* (IA City) 17 Jan 1/5, Toy steins were favors and "wienies" were refreshments. 1905 *Duluth News Tribune* (MN) 12 Aug 6/1, [Advt:] Weinies. . . 10¢—Bologna. . . 8¢. 1907 *Cedar Rapids Eve. Gaz.* (IA) 28 June 1/6, All of the diseased meat . . . was . . . destroyed, together with a large quantity of bologna, weenies and sausage. 1916 *Morning Oregonian* (Portland OR) 16 July sec 3 10/6, A bonfire each Friday night . . . with a menu of campfire edibles such as toasted weinies, sandwiches and coffee. 1925 *AmSp* 1.151 **West**, There is something characteristic in the names given to different varieties of food. . . There are "weenies," from "wieners," from "wiener-wurst," the Eastern Frankfurters and the universal "hot dogs." 1965–70 **DARE** (Qu. H40, *A small sausage that is put into a long roll or bun to make a sandwich*) 222 **Inf**s, **widespread, but chiefly Sth, S Midl, N Cent, West**, **Wienie**; **LA6, SC34**, **Wienie-sausage**; (Qu. FF1, . . . *A kind of group meeting called a 'social' or 'sociable' . . . [What goes on?]*) 40 **Inf**s, **scattered, but infreq West**, **Wienie roast**; (Qu. H41, . . . *Kinds of roll or bun sandwiches . . . in a round bun or roll*) **Inf OK1**, **Wienie** and

chili; CA32, Wienie roast; (Qu. H42, . . . [A sandwich] . . . in a much larger, longer bun, that's a meal in itself) Infs OK32, TN24, Wienie; (Qu. H65, Foreign foods favored by people around here) Inf OK9, Sauerkraut and wienies; (Qu. FF2, . . . Kinds of parties) Infs CO9, OK6, TX38, Wienie roasts. 1989 Pedcrson LAGS Tech. Index 393 Gulf Region, Sausage . . . (roast) wienie (29 [infs]). 2007 DARE File—Internet MI, The club organizes the Minard Mills Bicycle Tour and Wienie Roast.



The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**wie•ner•wurst** (wē'nər-wŭrst', -wŏrst') *n.* A smoked pork or beef sausage similar to a frankfurter. [German: *Wiener*, of Vienna, Austria + *Wurst*, sausage; see WURST.]

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**wie•ner** (wē'nər), *n.* 1. frankfurter. 2. See **Vienna sausage**. Also, **wie•ner•wurst** (wē'nər wŭrst', -wŏrst'). [1865-70, Amer.; < G, short for *Wiener Wurst* Viennese sausage]

**wie•nie** (wē'nē), *n.* Informal. weenie.

The New Oxford American Dictionary

**wie•ner** /'wēnər/ (also informal **wee•nie**, **wie•nie**) *n.* 1 a frankfurter or similar sausage. 2 another term for **WEENIE**. ▶early 20th cent.: abbreviation of German *Wienerwurst* 'Vienna sausage.'

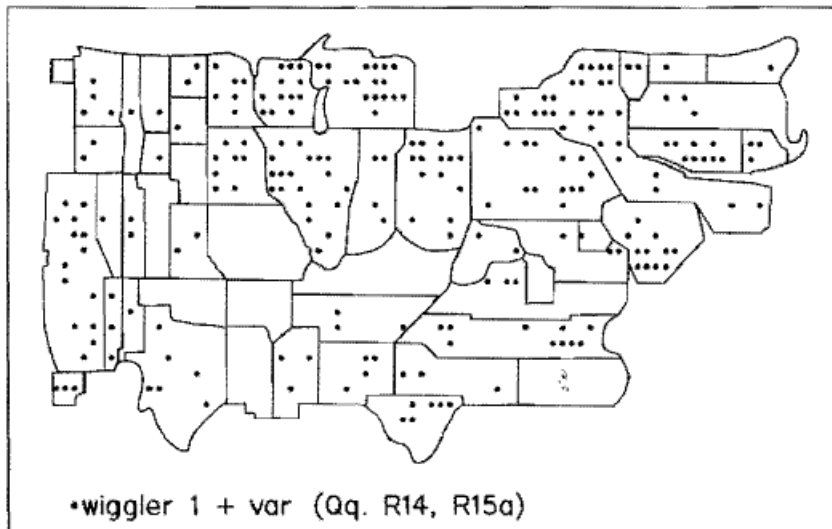
- **Wiggler**

DARE

**wiggler** n

~1 The larva of a **mosquito** n<sup>1</sup> **B1**. **widespread, but less freq Lower Missip Valley** See Map Also called **crawler** n<sup>1</sup> **4**, **jigger** n<sup>2</sup> **3**, **pollywog** **2**, **rainworm** **2**, **snapper** **6**, **tadpole** **2**, **wiggle**, **wiggletail** **1**, **wiggle-woggle** **2**, **wiggleworm** **2**, **wriggler** **1**, **wriggletail** Cf **tumbler** **2**

1854 *Horticult. Rev. & Bot. Mag.* 4.517, The larva of musketoes consume myriads of infusoria that grow in stagnant water. The millions of "wigglers" that may be seen in reservoirs of rain water, grow and wax fat on something more substantial than air or pure water. 1859 (1968) Bartlett *Americanisms* 498, *Waggletail*. The larva of the mosquito, etc.; also called a wiggler. 1863 *Scientific Amer.* 8.356, The young trout, when first hatched, is about half an inch long, and looks and acts more like a wiggler you often see in rain-water. 1900 *Daily Northwestern* (Oshkosh WI) 8 Jan 3/1, They are the wigglers that used to infest the rainwater barrel at the corner of the house "in the early days." 1907 *DN* 3.204 **NH**, The water in the hogshead is full of wigglers. 1909 *DN* 3.422, *Wiggler*. . . Small rapidly moving animals in standing rain water, supposed to be young mosquitoes. 1914 *DN* 4.114 **KS**, Wiggle-wag-



gle. . . =wiggler; a larval mosquito. 1938 Steinbeck *Long Valley* 182 **CA**, Jim could see the mosquito wigglers, tumbling up and down, end over end, in the water. 1950 *WELS WI* (*Small worm-like things [seen in rain barrels or standing water] that hatch into mosquitoes*) 24 **Inf**s, **Wigglers**; 11 **Inf**s, **Wrigglers**. 1965-70 *DARE* (Qu. R14, *Small worm-like things [seen in rain barrels or standing water] that hatch into mosquitoes*) 233 **Inf**s, **widespread, but less freq Lower Missip Valley**, **Wiggler(s)**; **CA150**, Mosquito wigglers; (Qu. R15a, . . . *Names or nicknames . . . for mosquitoes*) **Inf FL27**, **Wiggler**. 2006 *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis MN) 21 July sec C 8 (Internet), Adults of the dragonflies are enemies of mosquitoes. They gobble them down as mosquito wigglers when they are nymphs, and they snatch them out of the air as flying mosquitoes when they are adult dragonflies.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

**wig·gler** (wig'lər) *n.* **1.** One that wiggles, such as a worm or a restless child. **2.** The larva or pupa of a mosquito.

Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language

**wig·gler** (wig'ler), *n.* **1.** a person or thing that wiggles. **2.** wriggler (def. 2). **3.** Southern U.S. an earthworm. [1890-95; WIGGLE + -ER<sup>1</sup>]  
— **Regional Variation.** See **earthworm.**

The New Oxford American Dictionary

**wig·gler** /'wig(ə)lər/ *n.* a person or thing that wiggles or causes something to wiggle. ■ *Physics* a magnet designed to make a beam of particles in an accelerator follow a sinusoidal path, in order to increase the amount of radiation they produce. ■ *dialect* an earthworm. ■ *informal* a mosquito larva.