

"Heartland" English

*Variation and Transition
in the American Midwest*

Edited by Timothy C. Frazer

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one of the counties of origin (Carter) and three of the contiguous counties (Menifee, Estill, and Owsley). Using all of these sources, we were able to trace some Kentuck lexical items back to eastern Kentucky. The following items were all cited in Wentworth (*bottoms* is also cited in LANCS 24, item 1, as well as McDavid and McDavid 1973; *branch*, *right*, and *poke* are also cited in McDavid and McDavid):

bottoms or *bottom land* 'low land by a stream'
branch 'creek' (they's a walk-log over the branch)
like to 'about to' (like to split off, like to got shot)
meet up with 'encounter' (we met up later with them fellers)
poke 'bag' (called "old-fashioned," may be a put-on; also a nickname)
proud to know you 'glad to meet you'
right 'pretty, quite' (right smart gait, he's right friendly [dog])
soppy 'pan drippings and biscuits'
trafficker 'sheenie, sharp dealer in guns and valuables'
turned and laid off 'plowed and rows marked for planting'

Conclusion

It seems clear that the continuation of Kentuck English in the cutover region is another example of a classic pattern in secondary (or better, tertiary) migration, when the speakers of a dialect move in substantial numbers and for similar reasons to a new location, and when their subsequent social and economic activities are such as to limit their interaction with the residents of surrounding communities. It doesn't mean, as popular wisdom might suggest, a pure, "frozen," and archaic dialect spoken only in Dogpatch and isolated from modern civilization; most of the speakers have become quite familiar with the conventions of the dominant dialect of their new home while retaining a significant number of forms which reflect their historical origins and maintain their family and community identity when they speak together. Perhaps this study of Kentuck speech also demonstrates the great value of the Linguistic Atlas fieldwork and at least a partial fulfillment of its original purpose—to provide the historical backdrop against which subsequent changes in the dialects of the United States might be better understood; indeed, it is hard to imagine how the speech of the residents of Wisconsin's cutover region could be adequately interpreted without the patient and thorough scholarship of the Atlas fieldworkers.

Elements of Midwestern Speech in Oklahoma

BRUCE SOUTHARD

FOR SOME CULTURAL geographers, Oklahoma is an enigma. In *This Remarkable Continent*, a map showing "General Cultural and Popular Regions" identifies Oklahoma as one of the "Regions of Uncertain Status or Affiliation" (Zelinsky 1982: 8-9). Surrounded by "The West" to the west, "The Middle West" to the north, and "The South" to the east and south, Zelinsky's Oklahoma occupies a niche reminiscent of the "No Man's Land" which formed its Panhandle—a land area unclaimed by any state until arbitrarily assigned to Oklahoma Territory by an act of Congress in 1890.

Those cultural geographers who do assign Oklahoma to a particular region present a conflicting melange of possibilities. Information taken from telephone directories, such as business names incorporating "Midwest" or "Southern," identifies the Panhandle and adjoining counties as the "West," the remaining northern one-third of the state as the "Midwest," the southern two-thirds as the "Southwest," and a small triangular area next to Arkansas as the "South" (Zelinsky 1982: 17). Raymond Gastil, however, identifies the lower two-thirds as a separate "Oklahoma" district within the "Western South," while the Panhandle and upper third of the state are placed in the "Western District" of the "Central Midwest" (1975: 174, 205). Finally, Michael Roark, in a "General Culture Area Map of Oklahoma Territory," depicts a "Possible Oklahoman Culture" in the central portion of the state, surrounded to the east and south by a "Southern" culture and to the north and west by a "Midwestern" culture (1979: 354). Roark points out that his analysis is predicated upon a study of Oklahoma Territory as it existed in 1900, and that not "until a study of later twentieth century cultural phenomena is done can this area be confirmed as a hearth [of a new regional culture]" (359). He does, however, embrace Zelinsky's "Doc-

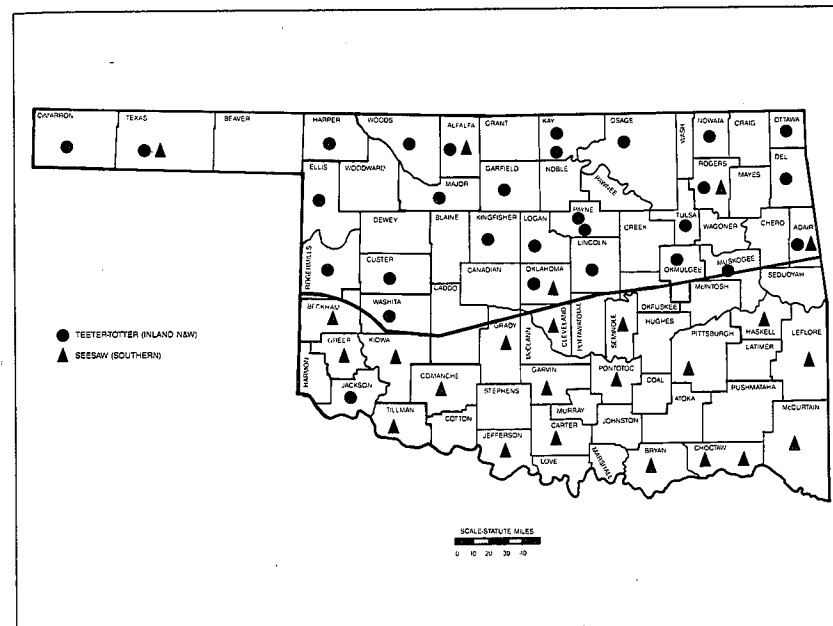
trine of First Effective Settlement," which states that "whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been" (Zelinsky 1973: 13).

For some dialectologists, Oklahoma is as puzzling as for cultural geographers. *Dialects, USA* presents Oklahoma as an island labeled "Transition Area" floating in a sea of isoglosses purporting to show dialect distribution in the United States (Malmstrom and Ashley 1963). As with cultural geographers, dialectologists who do attempt to classify dialect distribution within the state present differing pictures. E. Bagby Atwood, for example, contends that "in Oklahoma we seem to see a fading out of the Southern vocabulary as we move northward" (1962: 87). He goes on to suggest a possible "arbitrary" division of Oklahoma into northern and southern halves (88).

Gordon Wood, on the other hand, separates the state into two sections along a line that runs roughly from the northeast corner of the state to its southwest corner. The resultant southeast half of the state is identified as belonging to the "Mid Southern" portion of the larger "Southern" dialect area, while the northwest half constitutes a portion of the "Plains Southern" sub-dialect region (1971: 358).

In the conclusion to his own work, Craig Carver carefully points out that his analysis of data collected for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* results in "a broad sketch whose details will have to be filled in with a finer analysis of the atlas and other data collections" (1987: 249). His summary map of the major dialect regions (248) places much of the southeast quadrant of the state in the "Upper South," with the southeastern tip of that quadrant being in the "Lower South." The Panhandle and most of the upper third of the state are placed in the "Southwest" dialect region, while the remainder of the state, almost one-half of Oklahoma's land mass running diagonally from the northeast corner to the south central and southwest, appears to be in the "West Texas" region.¹

Interestingly, data taken from the protocols for the Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma (LAO) could be viewed as supporting each of these three characterizations of dialect regions in Oklahoma. I examined 50 Atlas items identified by both Wood (1971) and Carver (1987) as being characteristic of particular regional dialect areas.² Map 15.1, which shows the distribution of *seesaw* and *teeter-totter*, divides the state into northern and southern halves, giving Atwood's depiction of dialect distribution within Oklahoma. According to Carver, *teeter-totter* occurs



Map 15.1. ○ teeter-totter (Inland N & W) △ seesaw

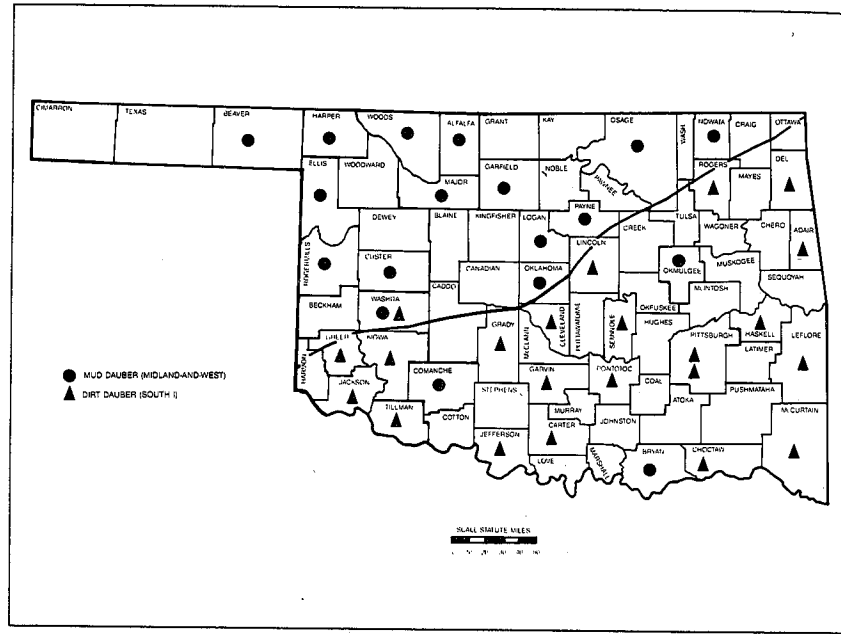
in the Inland North-and-West dialect layer (1987: 274), but he does not characterize *seesaw* as representing a particular area. Kurath, however, points out that *seesaw* is the general term throughout the South, even though it also appears in New England and is gaining currency throughout the United States (1949: 58-59).

Map 15.2 shows the distribution of the Midland-and-West term *mud dauber* and the South II term *dirt dauber*. An isogloss separating the two terms would seem to correspond fairly closely with Wood's diagonal division of the state.

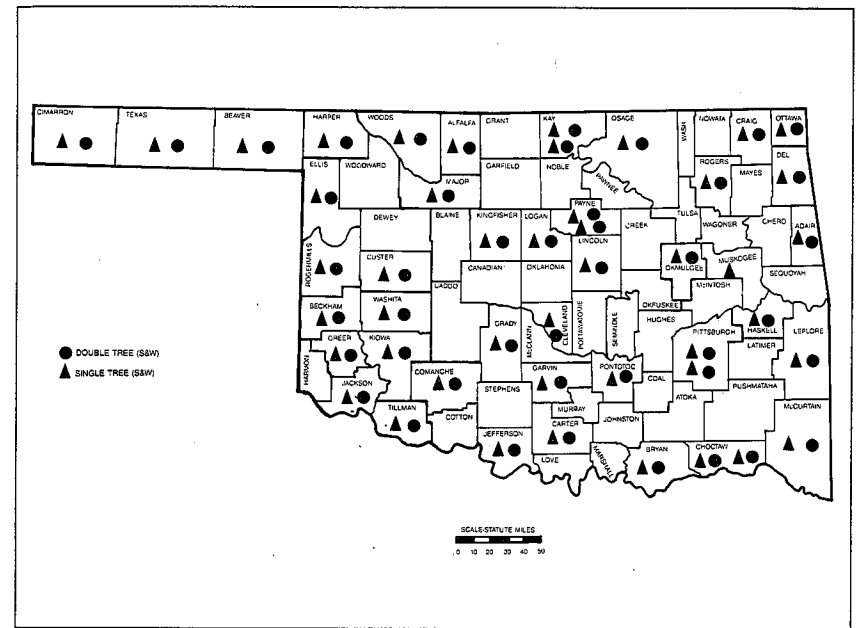
Finally, map 15.3 supports Carver's analysis by isolating both the Lower South term *mosquito hawk* (for *dragon fly*) and the Southern/South Midland term *red worm* (for *earthworm*) (Wood 1971: 30, 36) in the southeast quadrant of the state.

Yet, other terms surveyed present quite different pictures of dialect distribution. Map 15.4, showing the distribution of the South-and-West terms *singletree* and *doubletree*, would seem to indicate that the entire state should be considered part of a South-and-West dialect layer.

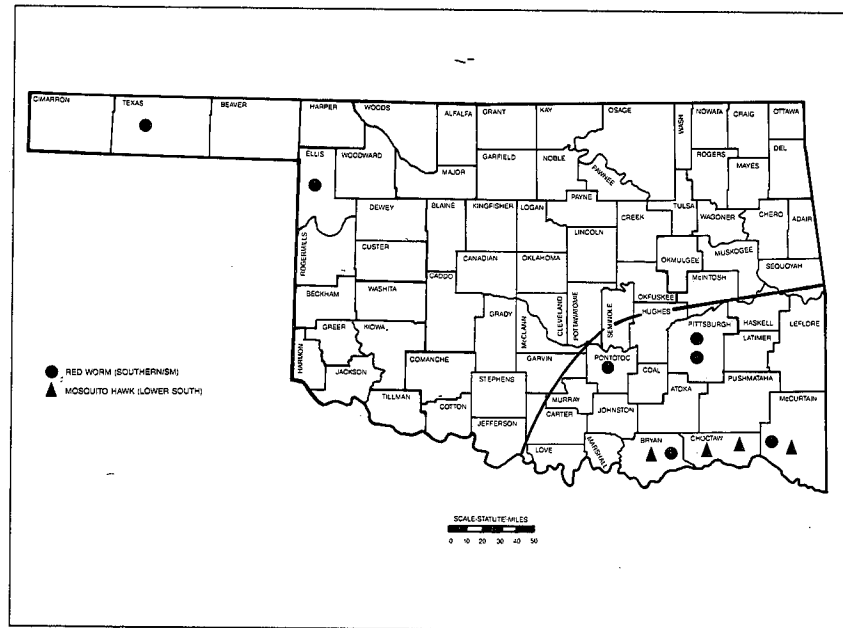
Map 15.5, on the other hand, which plots the North-and-West term *jag* (for *part of a load*) and the South II term *piece of a load*, suggests that Oklahoma belongs to a North-and-West dialect layer.



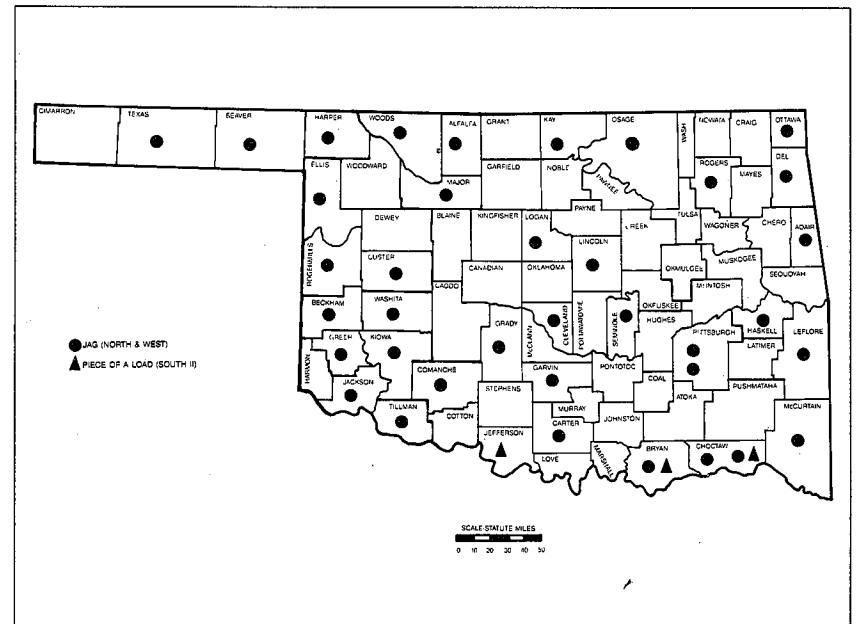
Map 15.2. ○ mud dauber (Midland-and-West) △ dirt dauber



Map 15.4. △ singletree (S & W) ○ doubletree (S & W)



Map 15.3. △ mosquito hawk (Lower South) ○ red worm (Southern/South Midland)



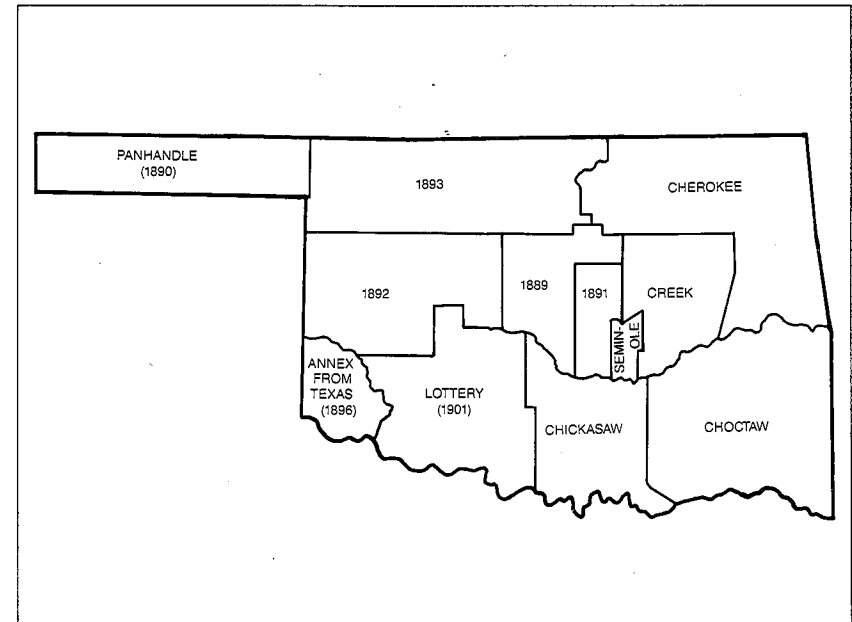
Map 15.5. ○ jag (North & West) △ piece of a load (South II)

A complete analysis of the LAO data may help resolve these confusing pictures, presenting a clear depiction of dialect distribution which may assist cultural geographers in better defining Oklahoma's place within the regional cultures of the United States. Until that analysis is finished, however, preliminary studies of LAO data suggest an intricate correlation between the settlement history of Oklahoma and its current dialect distribution. The LAO, an autonomous regional project which is part of the larger Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, is particularly significant in identifying dialect distribution within Oklahoma. It represents the most complete and detailed study ever conducted of language within the state. Moreover, it differs in three important ways from other American atlas projects: (1) all data were collected within a four-year span (1960–63) by a single interviewer, W. R. Van Riper, using a consistent interview style; (2) all interviews were recorded on tape and the original tape recordings were placed with the Library of Congress so that other scholars are able to corroborate phonetic transcriptions and calibrate their own transcriptions with those for the LAO; (3) all interviews were transcribed by a single, highly competent phonetician, Raven I. McDavid, Jr., whose interviews and transcriptions constitute a substantial body of the data collected for all the Atlas projects and whose participation ensured a continuity with the other Atlas projects.

Constituting a separate project within the framework of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, Oklahoma is particularly important to dialect study, for it may provide a "laboratory case" for the study of language interaction when a sparsely populated area is rapidly settled by a new linguistic stock representing various dialects of one language. With the land runs which began in the late nineteenth century, the western half of Oklahoma ("Oklahoma Territory") was settled literally overnight by English-speaking peoples. The eastern half of the state, which constituted "Indian Territory" at the time of the land runs, soon had an Anglo admixture joining the Indian tribes which had been resettled predominantly from southeastern states. The Anglo settlers in Indian Territory followed more traditional migratory paths and timetables, gradually moving in from Missouri, and Arkansas and Texas in particular.

Map 15.6 depicts the land divisions within Oklahoma immediately prior to statehood in 1907. Indian Territory encompassed land reserved exclusively for Indian nations, particularly the "Five Civilized Tribes" (the Cherokees, the Chickasaws, the Choctaws, the Creeks, and the Seminoles) whose allotments are identified by tribal name on map 15.6.

Earlier, from 1830 to 1855, virtually all of Oklahoma save the



Map 15.6. Oklahoma land divisions prior to 1907.

Panhandle was dedicated by treaty to the Five Civilized Tribes. At the time of the Civil War, however, these tribes signed treaties of alliance with the Confederate States of America and even sent more than 5,000 men to fight on the side of the Confederacy (Gibson 1980: 120). Following the war, the tribes were forced to sign Reconstruction treaties with the United States. These treaties provided for the cession of tribal lands to the federal government; the Seminoles ceded virtually their entire domain (2.17 million acres) to the United States for fifteen cents per acre (Gibson 1980: 128). The other tribes were also forced to cede their westernmost lands, which supposedly were to be used to settle tribes from other parts of the United States.

Ultimately, pressure from Anglos who wanted access to cheap land led to these ceded lands, which constitute most of Oklahoma Territory, being made available via land run for settlement. The dates on map 15.6 identify the areas opened by land run from 1889 to 1893. The Panhandle, as mentioned above, was added to Oklahoma Territory by Congress in 1890 and was open at that time to settlement by homesteaders; it was divided into its present three counties at conferral of statehood in 1907. The area identified on map 15.6 as "Annex" was the former Greer County of Texas. The Supreme Court ruled in 1896 that

the Prairie Dog Fork of the Red River, and not its North Fork, constituted the boundary between Texas and Oklahoma Territory and that Greer County be added to Oklahoma Territory; longtime settlers were allowed to file homesteads of 160 acres and to purchase additional land for one dollar per acre (Gibson 1980: 181). Finally, "Lottery" identifies the area of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache reservations opened to settlement in 1901 by lottery rather than land run.

Little is known of the type of English spoken or the extent to which it was spoken by the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory prior to statehood. Full bloods apparently tended to remain isolated, speaking their native languages and leading a subsistence type of life, relying on hunting, fishing, and small crops for their livelihood. Their way of life gave rise to the derogatory term *blanket Indian*, which one may still encounter in Oklahoma. The mixed bloods, however, tended to emulate Southern whites, developing large farms and plantations in fertile river valleys and even owning slaves. Because the Indians' original homelands were in what came to be the Confederate States and because the mixed bloods emulated numerous elements of Southern culture, even sending their children to private schools and colleges in the South, one might reasonably expect their language to be generally Southern. The migrants from Texas, Arkansas, and southern Missouri who entered Oklahoma following statehood undoubtedly added to the development of a Southern or South Midland dialect in the former Indian Territory.

In contrast to the fuzzy picture of English in Indian Territory, a great deal is known about the settlers of Oklahoma Territory. Much of this information is summarized in Michael Roark's 1979 dissertation, "Oklahoma Territory: Frontier Development, Migration, and Culture Areas," which contains an extensive study of the origins of migrants to Oklahoma Territory. Although there is some variation from land-run area to land-run area, Roark's analysis of 1900 census data disclosed the following proportions for state of origin of settlers in Oklahoma Territory as a whole: "Lower Midwest 47%, Upper Midwest and Northeast 5%, Upper South 30% and Texas-Lower South 17%. Of the four states with the largest number of migrants three were adjacent to the Territory: Kansas (19%), Missouri (15%), Texas (11%), and Illinois (9%)" (131).

An examination of the land-run area of 1889 discloses particularly pertinent information about this earliest Oklahoma Territory settlement. The 1890 census, taken one year after the 1889 land run, shows a total population in the area of 53,822.³ Table 15.1 shows the distribution by state of origin for the nine states contributing the greatest

Table 15.1
State of Origin of Settlers of 1889 Land Run

Kansas	10,048	19%
Missouri	7,421	14%
Texas	5,381	10%
Illinois	5,347	10%
Indiana	4,090	8%
Ohio	3,734	7%
Iowa	3,003	6%
Kentucky	2,895	5%
Tennessee	2,507	5%

number of settlers. Population figures are followed by approximate percentage of total population. Roark points out that "grouping the states together shows that 42% of the population of the Territory came from five Midwestern states and that 21% of the population came from three Upper Southern states. This suggests that a Midwestern cultural imprint was significant during the formative period" (1979: 96).⁴

In all of the land-run areas, moreover, the settlers were generally from the Midwest, as table 15.2 discloses, although there was some variation from land run to land run. The 1893 Land Run, for example, was predominantly composed of settlers from the Lower and Upper Midwest. Settlers in the Land Runs of 1889 and 1891 tended to divide into northern and southern halves. Compare Cleveland County, at the southern extreme of the 1889 Land Run area, with the other counties formed from that Land Run, for example. The 1891 Land Run shows a considerable disparity between the northern Lincoln county and the southern Pottawatomie. The 1892 Land Run area tends to divide into eastern and western halves, with such sparsely populated western counties as Roger Mills (6,190) having a considerably greater percentage of Southerners (79.8%) than the more densely populated eastern counties, such as Blain (10,658) with 34.2% from the South. The figures in table 15.2 represent percentages of total population and accordingly do not reflect density of population. Logan County, with a 1900 population of 26,563, for example, had a population more than four times that of Roger Mills County. Accordingly, these data give only approximations as to the influence of different areas of origin.

Land settlement in the Panhandle, Greer County, and the Lottery lands followed a different pattern than did settlement for the areas opened by land run. In both the Panhandle and Greer County, settlers had occupied the lands prior to their addition to Oklahoma Territory, and thus followed more traditional settlement patterns. In the lands

Table 15.2
Origin of Settlers in Oklahoma Territory (Percentages)

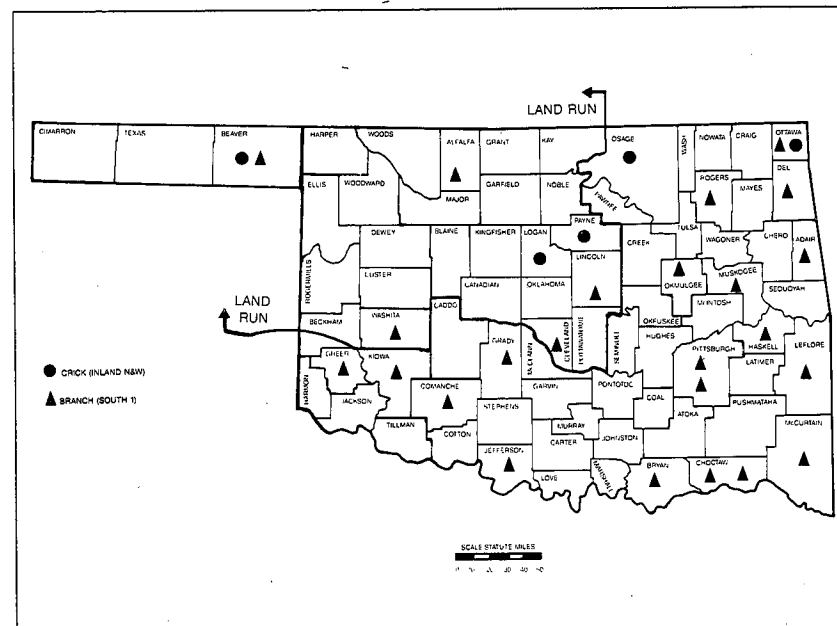
Land Run and County 1889	LMW ^a	UMW ^b & NE	Upper South ^c	Texas & Lower South	Other US	Foreign
Canadian	45.1	13.1	19.9	5.7	1.9	14.8
Cleveland	21.5	3.2	38.0	31.6	0.6	5.6
Kingfisher	43.1	14.0	23.3	8.0	1.0	10.9
Logan	38.6	11.7	27.1	15.5	0.0	7.3
Oklahoma	35.6	9.0	28.8	14.4	1.2	11.5
Payne	52.9	10.1	26.2	6.9	0.5	3.8
1891						
Lincoln	45.1	6.7	30.2	11.4	0.4	6.7
Pottawatomie	23.6	4.3	39.9	26.0	1.2	4.7
1892						
Blaine	32.7	15.5	20.4	13.8	4.9	11.4
Custer	33.2	11.4	29.4	17.3	2.1	6.4
Day	31.7	9.0	22.7	27.2	0.0	9.0
Dewey	40.5	13.2	28.3	14.3	0.0	11.0
Roger Mills	10.4	6.0	36.7	42.6	0.0	4.4
Washita	17.7	3.4	29.4	33.5	2.0	14.4
1893						
Garfield	46.1	16.3	23.8	4.1	0.0	11.0
Grant	58.7	8.1	20.9	1.5	1.0	9.1
Kay	49.7	13.4	24.1	3.6	0.0	8.8
Noble	53.9	10.2	17.0	7.7	0.6	10.6
Woods	56.0	10.1	21.2	1.4	0.0	9.8
Woodward	42.1	17.4	20.5	9.7	3.3	7.7
Panhandle	44.4	14.0	11.1	8.4	5.6	16.7
Greer County	6.2	1.2	34.3	57.3	0.0	1.2
Lottery	not yet open for settlement by Anglos					

Source: Adapted from Roark (1979: 134); classifications from Roark (1979: 6-52).

^a LMW = Lower Midwest = Central and Southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Kansas, Iowa, Nebraska, and Northern Missouri

^b UMW = Upper Midwest = Northern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota

^c Upper South = Kentucky, Tennessee, Southern Missouri, Arkansas, Western Virginia, and North Carolina



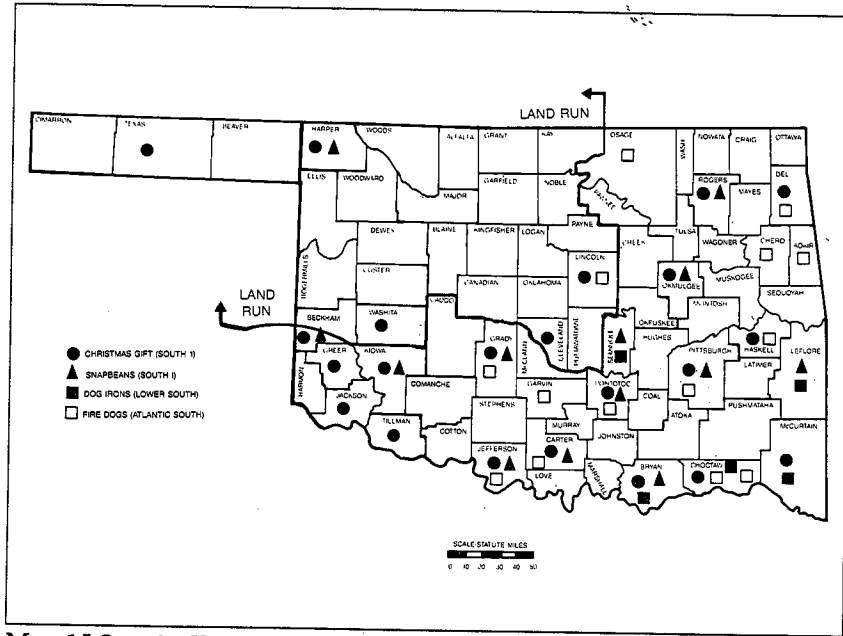
Map 15.7. ○ crick (Inland N & W) △ branch (South I)

assigned by lottery, the greatest number of registrants were from Texas and other Southern states.

Despite the complexity of the settlement of Oklahoma, there appear to be two distinct cultural areas within the state: (1) a Southern area composed of Indian Territory, the land annexed from Texas, and the land allotted by lottery; and, (2) a "Midwest" area composed from the land runs of 1889, 1891, 1892, and 1893. The Panhandle may also be added to this area, although its status is less certain because of population shifts prior to 1900 and subsequent migration from the area (its 1960 population being less than that of 1900).

Map 15.7 provides support for this analysis, showing the occurrence of the South I term *branch* 'running stream' and the Inland North-and-West term *crick*. An isogloss separating *branch* from the area where only *creek* or *crick* appear would correspond closely to the line in map 15.7 which separates the land-run area from the remainder of the state.

Map 15.8 shows the distribution of two South I terms, *Christmas gift* 'Christmas morning greeting' and *snap beans* 'string beans', as well as two terms identified with the Lower South, the Inland South *dog irons* and the Atlantic South *fire dogs* 'andirons'. Once again, these Southern terms cluster outside the land-run area.



Map 15.8. ○ Christmas Gift (South I) △ snap beans (South I)
 □ dog irons (Lower South) ■ fire dogs (Atlantic South)

Table 15.3
 Lexical Items and Frequency of Possible Occurrence
 in the Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma

	Indian Territory (N = 22)	Oklahoma Territory (N = 17)	Lottery Lands (N = 5)	Annexed from Texas (N = 3)	Panhandle (N = 3)
<i>South I Terms</i>					
pully bone	18 (82%)	11 (65%)	2 (40%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)
comfort	14 (64%)	10 (59%)	5 (100%)	1 (33%)	3 (100%)
light bread	14 (64%)	10 (59%)	3 (60%)	3 (100%)	1 (33%)
branch	14 (64%)	3 (18%)	4 (80%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)
quarter 'til	13 (59%)	14 (82%)	5 (100%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)
whetrock	13 (59%)	7 (41%)	3 (60%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)
seesaw ^a	13 (59%)	3 (18%)	5 (100%)	2 (67%)	1 (33%)
toad frog	13 (59%)	3 (18%)	1 (20%)	2 (67%)	0
snake doctor	13 (59%)	3 (18%)	1 (20%)	2 (67%)	0
cherry seed	12 (55%)	6 (35%)	2 (40%)	0	1 (33%)
tushes	11 (50%)	8 (47%)	4 (80%)	1 (33%)	0
weather board	11 (50%)	7 (41%)	4 (80%)	1 (33%)	3 (100%)
Christmas gift	10 (45%)	3 (18%)	4 (80%)	3 (100%)	1 (33%)
paling fence	9 (41%)	3 (18%)	3 (60%)	3 (100%)	1 (33%)
snap beans	8 (36%)	1 (6%)	3 (60%)	1 (33%)	0
souse	6 (27%)	4 (24%)	4 (80%)	1 (33%)	0
male cow	2 (9%)	2 (12%)	0	0	0
Total	194 (52%)	98 (33%)	53 (62%)	26 (51%)	15 (29%)
<i>South II Terms</i>					
dirt dauber	14 (64%)	3 (18%)	3 (60%)	2 (67%)	0
tow sack	13 (59%)	5 (29%)	4 (80%)	2 (67%)	0
middlins	11 (50%)	1 (6%)	2 (40%)	1 (33%)	0
clabber cheese	4 (18%)	0	2 (40%)	1 (33%)	0
piece of a load	2 (9%)	0	1 (20%)	0	0
Total	44 (40%)	9 (11%)	12 (48%)	6 (40%)	0
South I & II	238 (49%)	107 (29%)	65 (59%)	32 (48%)	15 (23%)
<i>North-and-West Terms</i>					
jag	16 (73%)	11 (65%)	4 (80%)	3 (100%)	2 (67%)
sweet corn	12 (55%)	9 (53%)	2 (40%)	0	2 (67%)
head cheese	11 (50%)	11 (65%)	1 (20%)	2 (67%)	2 (67%)
toad	8 (36%)	11 (65%)	2 (40%)	1 (33%)	2 (67%)
comforter	5 (23%)	5 (29%)	0	2 (67%)	0
hay mow	4 (18%)	7 (41%)	0	0	1 (33%)
baker's bread	2 (9%)	6 (35%)	0	0	0
white bread	0	3 (18%)	0	0	0
Total	58 (33%)	63 (46%)	9 (23%)	8 (33%)	9 (38%)

^a Based on Wood's classification.

Table 15.3 summarizes the number and frequency of possible occurrence of seventeen South I lexical items, five South II items, and eight North-and-West items. The table is separated into the land areas formed by the Indian Territory of 1900, Oklahoma Territory of 1900 (excluding the Panhandle and land annexed from Texas), the land settled by lottery in 1903, the land annexed from Texas, and the Panhandle.

The percentage of occurrence of these terms supports the thesis that the land-run area (Oklahoma Territory) differs in language use from the rest of Oklahoma. The percentage of possible occurrence of total South I and South II terms ranges from a high of 59% in land awarded by lottery to a low of 23% in the Panhandle. Indian Territory shows a frequency of occurrence of 49%, while Oklahoma Territory has a frequency of occurrence of only 28%; land annexed from Texas shows a frequency of 48%.

Other terms not included in table 15.3 show a clear difference of distribution between Oklahoma Territory (OT) and Indian Territory (IT). The Inland North-and-West term *teeter-totter* occurs with 100% frequency in OT, but only 45% in IT. The Inland Upper North-and-West lexical item *cherry pit* occurs with a frequency of 65% in OT, but only

27% in IT. In contrast, the Upper South *surlly* (for *bull*)¹ occurs with a frequency of occurrence of 32% in IT, but only 6% in OT. Lower South *mosquito hawk* and *red bug* occur with 14% and 27% frequency in IT, but do not occur in OT. The Inland South *dog irons* occurs with a frequency of 50% in IT, but only 6% in OT, while the comparable Atlantic South *fire dogs* occurs with a 23% frequency in IT, but does not occur in OT.

The frequencies of occurrence for South I, South II, and North-and-West lexical items were subjected to two statistical tests to determine whether the differing percentages were statistically significant. A one-way analysis of variance and a paired *t*-test were conducted for the five land areas of Indian Territory, Oklahoma Territory, lottery land, land annexed from Texas, and the Panhandle. Both statistical procedures test the hypothesis that the means of two groups of observations are equal; because the informants do not constitute a random sample of the population and because two or more responses could be given for each lexical definition, these procedures are suggestive rather than definitive.

Nevertheless, the frequencies of occurrence for the South I, South II, and North-and-West lexical items for Oklahoma Territory were found to be different in a statistically significant manner from the corresponding terms for Indian Territory. Moreover, the differences between Oklahoma Territory and the lottery lands were statistically significant. For South I and South II lexical items, the responses for the Panhandle were different in a statistically significant manner from those for Indian Territory and the lottery lands, and for South II terms only, the Panhandle differed from the land annexed from Texas. The small number of informants in the Panhandle, the lottery lands, and the annexed area, however, make these latter comparisons especially tentative.

Regardless, the statistical data for Oklahoma Territory, combined with information shown in maps 15.7 and 15.8, strongly suggest that an area in north-central Oklahoma, and perhaps extending into the Panhandle, constitutes a dialect area distinct from the remainder of the state. Originally settled by immigrants predominantly from the Lower and Upper Midwest, this area differs from the Upper Southern and Lower Southern areas which constitute the remainder of the state.

Should Zelinsky's "Doctrine of First Effective Settlement" apply to dialect distribution, the importance of this dialect area is profound, for the area encompasses Oklahoma's two major public universities, the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma State University, as well as the state capitol in Oklahoma City. With governmental and higher educa-

tional functions focused in the area, then, one might expect this "Midwestern" dialect area to form the focal area for a prestige dialect which will expand its boundaries into the surrounding Southern dialect areas. The Linguistic Atlas of Oklahoma will constitute an important early picture of dialect distribution within the state which will allow later studies to determine whether this change in dialect distribution does indeed take place.

can be understood as being based on the notion that since linguistic variables arrive in a given geographic area or social class over a period of time, the appearance of a later-arriving variable in an individual speaker or group of speakers should imply the co-existence of an earlier-arriving variable as well.

12. As a matter of record, it may interest readers that the sentences most often responsible for causing an individual not to fit the implicational pattern in table 11.2 were 15 and 20, which were sometimes ranked higher than ninth and eighth, respectively.

Chapter 12

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1. The Missouri Oral History and Folklore Project, begun in 1972, is directed by Adolf E. Schroeder of the University of Missouri-Columbia. The purpose of his study is to gather cultural and folkloric information for Missourians who still maintain Old World traditions; thus the interviews did not specifically elicit dialect information. As part of the project, I also interviewed several individuals in Ste. Genevieve County in 1980 and in Atchison and Nodaway Counties in 1981. For the present study, we copied sample portions of conversations from 33 of these tapes and transcribed them, looking for specific features of South Midland and North Midland pronunciation. Thirteen of the speakers lived within 10 counties with strong German settlement (8 males, 5 females), and 20 lived in counties with proportionately smaller German populations (14 males, 6 females).

2. The 10 counties are Perry, Ste. Genevieve, Jefferson, St. Louis, St. Charles, Franklin, Warren, Gasconade, Osage, Maries, and Cole.

3. The Illinois counties with considerable German populations are Calhoun, Madison, St. Clair, Monroe, Bond, Clinton, and Washington.

4. The five unpublished master's theses were Bettie Bronson Shull, "A Survey of the Vocabulary of Eight Western Missouri Valley Counties" (1953); Erna E. Raithel, "A Survey of the Vocabulary of Eight West Central Missouri Counties" (1954); Rachel B. Faries, "A Survey of the Vocabulary of Seven Eastern Missouri Valley Counties" (1954); Gordon Ray Sanders, "A Vocabulary Survey of Seven Northeast Missouri Counties" (1957). The doctoral dissertation was Rachel B. Faries, "A Word Geography of Missouri" (1967). See Faries and Lance (ch. 16) in this volume.

5. The two main dialect terms for cottage cheese in German are *Schmierkäse* 'spread cheese' and *Quarkkäse* 'curd cheese', the Pennsylvania term coming from the Rhineland dialects. The terms *curds*, *curd cheese*, besides being possible loan translations, are standard British terms for cottage cheese

that occur in New England and in the Coastal South; there were 11 occurrences in Missouri, only one of which was in the German area.

6. In the analysis of the taped data, I have expanded the "German area" to include the 10 counties mentioned above plus the community in Montgomery County where one informant lives (just across the River from the well-known town Hermann) and the community of Concordia in Lafayette County, because one of the principal features of this particular city is a small Lutheran college; both the college and the city reflect very strong German influence.

Chapter 15

1. Unfortunately, Carver's analysis of Oklahoma may rely entirely on data from the Dictionary of American Regional English, which itself relies much too heavily on informants from the eastern half of the state: of 46 informants from thirteen communities, 32 (70%) are from the former Indian Territory, 4 (9%) from lottery land, 3 (7%) from the Panhandle, and only 7 (15%) from the former Oklahoma Territory.

2. Unless noted otherwise within the text, I will follow Carver's (1987) terminology for dialect areas and will use his terms for identifying individual lexical items as being characteristic of a particular region. Essentially, Carver posits only two dialect regions, the North and the South. These regions, however, are analyzed into numerous layers, whose names I use within this paper without attempting to define them. Those interested in such definitions should consult Carver, especially his concluding chapter (1987, 245-49).

3. Census data are taken from Roark (1979), except for 1900 county totals, which are from the U.S. Census for 1900.

4. Roark's figures actually disclose that the five Midwestern states of Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Iowa contribute 50% of the population, rather than 42%, and that the three Upper Southern states of Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee contribute 24% of the population, rather than 21%. This discrepancy may be accounted for in part by Roark's division of Missouri into Lower Midwest and Upper South portions and by his taking into account the parental home of settlers from Kansas.

Chapter 16

1. For a listing of Vance Randolph's many publications on Ozark language, see Randolph (1987), Randolph and McCann (1987), and Cochran and Luster (1979).

2. The classifications used here are those established in Kurath (1949: 11-49).