A study was undertaken "to determine the extent and nature of change, if any, in the speech of two New England communities" since the fieldwork for the "Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE) was completed in 1932. Two rural communities, Granby and Deerfield, Massachusetts, were re-visited in order to interview the same three types of informants as in 1932: Type I--little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts; Type II--better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts; and Type III--superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts." Most of the linguistic patterns investigated were chosen on the basis of differences between the two communities or types of informants in the original survey. Other items investigated were folk pronunciations, terms in danger of extinction, or innovations. Regional phonological variations were also tested. A broad phonetic transcription was used. This report includes short sketches of the informants and the communities, itemized comparisons of LANE and survey responses, and observations. The questionnaire used and a compilation of the 1965 responses are appended. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.] (JD)
A Re-visititation of Two Communities Represented in the
Linguistic Atlas of New England

David R. Carlson
Bachelor of Arts — Upsala College

Thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

University of Massachusetts, Amherst
November 23, 1965

Approved December 9, 1965

Audrey K. Beckert
Vernon P. Helming
Kenneth R. filmminger
In a study of this nature it is axiomatic that its success is due to the cooperation of several other people. My primary debt of gratitude is to the informants whose cooperation and help went beyond the bounds of courtesy. My only regret is that in promising them anonymity I cannot give them the individual thanks which each of them deserves.

I was assisted in securing these informants through the help of the Town Clerk of Granby, the Postmaster of the Old Deerfield Post Office, and Mr. George Melnik of East Deerfield. Mr. Melnik also supplied me with information concerning the history of Deerfield in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

I am also indebted to Mrs. Henry Dickinson for permission to use her husband's unpublished history of Granby. Mrs. Margaret Dickinson, niece of Mr. Dickinson, who is presently writing a history of Granby, was also kind enough to permit me to use her uncle's work in connection with this study.

Special thanks are due to Miss Audrey Duckert whose advice and counsel have aided immeasurably in the completion of this project.

Finally, I am indebted to my wife and family whose patience and understanding during the past five months have made it possible for me to undertake this study.
# Table of Contents

Introduction ........................................ 1

History of Granby .................................... 7

History of Deerfield .................................. 14

The informants ....................................... 23

Comparison of LANE responses and 1965 responses ........................................ 29

Observations ......................................... 84

Appendix I (The Questionnaire) .................. 94

Appendix II (Responses of the 1965 Informants) ........................................ 98

Appendix III (Area Maps) ......................... 118 (not included in MF copy because of copyright restrictions)
Dialect geography is the study of regional variations in phonology, lexicon, and syntax within an area where one language is spoken. These dialect areas may have been established as a result of one or more of the following causes: any large or influential element in the early population, migration, a cultural center, political and/or ecclesiastical boundaries, physical geography, social structure, or a large body of new immigrants. The determination of the extent of a dialect area is the result of the work of field workers who investigate the speech of areas which may evidence phonological, lexical or syntactic variants.

The basic method of obtaining the desired information is to send a trained investigator into a network of selected communities to collect data by means of a prepared questionnaire. The data is obtained from people who are representative of various social levels within the community, and is recorded in a phonetic transcription. An attempt is made to secure the information in as much of a conversational situation as is possible. The most significant published contribution to the study of dialect geography in the United States is the Linguistic Atlas of New England, the first of a series of regional studies which will eventually record the speech patterns of the entire United States and Canada. Although it is the first of its kind in North America, the Linguistic Atlas of New England (LANE) is one of a long series of studies in dialect geography. Earlier atlases have been prepared for France (1896-1908), Swabia (1895), Denmark (1898-1912), Roumania
Leonard Bloomfield has indicated that "the great atlases have given rise to many derivative studies," and this is no less true with \textit{LANE}. Kurath's \textit{Word Geography of the Eastern United States}, Kurath and McDavid's \textit{Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States}, Atwood's \textit{Verb Forms in the Eastern United States}, and articles such as Miss Duckert's "The Linguistic Atlas of New England Revisited" (PADS, No. 39) offer ample evidence of the importance of \textit{LANE}.

It has now been over thirty-two years since the field work for \textit{LANE} was completed. Since that time the social changes which have occurred in America have been phenomenal. The country has worked itself out of a depression, fought in World War II and a "police action" in Korea, and is now involved in combat in Asia. Radio, television, a vastly improved transportation system, and an increasingly mobile population have effected major changes in American life. For these reasons it is more than probable that any individual will have experienced some exposure to the speech of another part of the country. Indeed, it is becoming more and more unlikely for a person not to have been exposed to a dialect other than his own during his lifetime.

Just how much each of these factors has influenced any particular dialect area would be impossible to judge. Nevertheless, because of the material available in \textit{LANE} it is possible to determine to some degree if change has occurred in New England.

The purpose of this study is to determine the extent and nature of change, if any, that has occurred in the speech of two New England
communities within the past thirty-two years. This undertaking is possible only because of the wealth of information concerning New England speech that is available in LANE. Because of the availability of this data it is possible, through a revisitation of two of the same communities, to examine the same type of individual who was interviewed during the original investigation, and to ask similar questions.

To make the comparison as close as possible, the people who were interviewed in 1965 were matched with the descriptions of the informants given in the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England. According to the Handbook, three types of informants were selected by the original Atlas field workers:

- **Type I**: Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts.
- **Type II**: Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts.
- **Type III**: Superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts.

In addition to the comparability of the 1932 and 1965 informants, further comparability was achieved by selecting items for investigation directly from LANE. Most of the items were chosen on the basis of revealed differences in phonology, lexicon and syntax between the two communities or between the types of informants in the original survey. Other items were chosen because they seemed to be relics, i.e., local folk pronunciations or terms which are in danger of
becoming extinct, or innovations, i.e., new terms which are replacing old ones. Other items were chosen to reveal whether or not phonological variations from "standard" pronunciations were still being maintained.

The informants in LAND were all of old Yankee stock; the informants interviewed in 1965 were of a similar background. The method of obtaining suitable informants was a simple one: in Granby (LAND 219) the field worker went to the office of the Town Clerk to secure the names of some of the old Yankee families who were still living in the community. After obtaining this information, he went to the home of one of the suggested families. After a brief discussion in which the purposes of the study were explained, it was discovered that the person was not only willing to be interviewed, but also that she was the daughter of one of the original LAND informants. A later interview revealed that she was the same age as her father when he was interviewed by the LAND field worker! The other Granby informant, who was approached in his barn where he had just finished milking, also displayed interest in the project and agreed to be interviewed. In Deerfield (LAND 228) the postmaster of the Old Deerfield Post Office was instrumental in securing the name of an agreeable informant. In the Pine Nook section of Deerfield the field worker went to the Pine Nook Cemetery to get the names of the old Yankee families in that area. When one of the names from the tombstones was matched with the name on a rural mail box in that section, the final informant was located. It is fortunate that the informant from the Pine Nook section
of Deerfield agreed to be interviewed, since her family is the last old Yankee family in Pine Nook. All of the informants were interviewed in their own homes and at their convenience.

Although the communities and the types of informants visited in 1965 were similar to those in the original Atlas investigation, it is simply not humanly possible to duplicate the exact conditions of the early thirties in 1965. One notable difference was the use of a tape recorder during all interviews in 1965. Whether or not this machine had a significant effect upon the responses of the informants would be impossible to say. It is the field worker's opinion that the presence of the tape recorder was no more disturbing to the informant than the time it took to record the responses in a phonetic transcription.

One other difference between this report and LANF is in the phonetic transcription. The obvious differences are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>LANF</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The field worker's lack of phonetic sophistication has largely precluded the use of diacritics and shift signs, and has resulted
in a broad transcription rather than the finely graded transcription found in LANE. Because of this it may appear that there are significant differences in phonology between the 1965 survey and LANE, whereas, in fact, no such difference occurs. For example, it is entirely possible that the LANE entry of \([l^\text{ouw}]\) which corresponds to the 1965 entry of \([louw]\) may be exactly homophous, although the phonetic transcriptions are not the same.

From this example it can be seen that the 1965 transcription approaches a phonemic transcription in that only significant vowel and consonant sounds were recorded. Thus, all back low rounded vowels were transcribed as \([\text{\textcircled{5}}]\), even though subtle phonetic differences may be perceived by an extremely sensitive ear. In like manner, the voicing of an unvoiced consonant and unvoicing of a normally voiced consonant were largely ignored.

The two communities selected for re-study are Granby (LANE 219) and Deerfield (LANE 228), Massachusetts. Although the communities are no more than twenty-five miles apart, the rate of population growth in Granby has been so much higher than in Deerfield it was thought that linguistic change might be more noticeable in the community with the more rapidly changing social structure. Since 1930, the last date for which population figures were available to the LANE editors, the population of Deerfield has grown from 2882 to 3480, a gain of twenty-one per cent; the population of Granby has grown from 891 to 4770, a gain of five hundred thirty-five per cent.
Granby, Massachusetts

Although it was not established as a separate parish until 1762, and not incorporated as a town until 1768, the history of Granby began more than a hundred years earlier in a religious quarrel within the church at Hartford, Connecticut. A minority of the members of the congregation withdrew from the Hartford church and joined the church at Wethersfield in 1657 or 1658. Mr. John Russell was minister to the Wethersfield congregation, and with a majority of its members he moved to Hadley in 1659.

From available records, however, it is likely that Hadley would have been settled by people from the Hartford area even if there had been no factional quarrel within the church. In May, 1653 a number of men from Windsor, Hartford, and other places petitioned the General Court (the legislative body) of Massachusetts to grant them a new plantation at Nonotuck, above Springfield. Whether or not this petition was approved is not known, and an additional petition for land "either at Nonotuck or elsewhere" was granted to the petitioners from Mr. Russell's congregation on May 25, 1658, with the stipulation that "they submit themselves to a due and orderly hearing of the differences between themselves and their brethren."9

During the early years after the first settlement at Hadley, the town busied itself with the distribution of homelots, the creation of the first buildings, and the establishment of streets and highways. Fortunately for the early settlers, Northampton had been settled some five years before, and people in that community were "happy for the
comfort and refreshment of Christian neighborhood." One of the first projects for any new settlement was the building of a road to the nearest town. Northampton had constructed a road to Springfield on the east side of the Connecticut River, and the Hadley settlers continued that road to their plantation. They built the road on the side of Mt. Holyoke because the land at the bottom of the mountain was "too wet and queasy for a highway." The location of the old Northampton to Springfield road is not known; the extension to Hadley is roughly in the same location as Massachusetts Route #47.

In 1664 the County Court ordered both Northampton and Hadley to construct a highway between Hadley and Windsor, Connecticut on both sides of the river, and to determine the necessary maintenance responsibilities of the highway for each community. These roads would correspond to current U.S. #5 and Alt. #5. The Bay Road to Boston, which was begun in 1661, was located in several places in Hadley, and eventually connected with the Springfield Bay Road in Quabag (Brookfield). Even though Boston was the main commercial center during this period, the main avenue of commerce was the Connecticut River, and the produce that was sent to Boston did not go by the overland route. That this circuitous route did not hamper a close relationship with Boston is indicated by the fact that in 1672 the residents of Hampshire County contributed over one hundred pounds for a "fair and stately brick edifice" at Harvard College.

During the eighty-eight years from 1675 to 1763 the settlers of
the Hadley area were plagued with Indian troubles. Although the details of wars are interesting in themselves, perhaps it will be a sufficient indication of the difficulties of the early settlers if the wars are simply listed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King Philip's War</td>
<td>1675-1676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King William's War</td>
<td>1688-1698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Anne's War</td>
<td>1703-1713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Indian War</td>
<td>1722-1726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Indian War</td>
<td>1744-1748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth Indian War</td>
<td>1754-1763</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although fighting with the Indians was sporadic, the threat of conflict did not encourage new migrations to the area. The entire community of Deerfield was evacuated during King Philip's War; twenty-eight people from Hampshire County were killed and several captured during King William's War; and over one hundred people from Hampshire County were killed in Queen Anne's War. The records of conflict for the later wars are rather sketchy, and, in fact, there are no Hadley records of the Fourth Indian War of 1722-1726.16

Difficult as these times may have been, the people of Hadley were still able to maintain a thriving settlement. Petitions for additional lands were made to the General Court in 1663, 1672, 1683, 1715, and 1727.17 One of the areas of Hadley's expansion was to the land south of the Mt. Holyoke Range. In 1727 settlers from this area petitioned the General Court to be established as a precinct because they were located eight miles from a place of public worship, and the road was mountainous and bad.18 In addition they also asked for
a portion of land, 3 3/8 miles long and 2 5/8 miles wide, known as the Crank. The Crank is now the southeastern part of Granby. This was called the Crank "because such a handle is suggested by the lines forming its northern and western boundary." 19

Soon after its establishment it became clear that South Hadley was divided into a southern part (South Hadley) and an eastern part (Granby). In 1731 it was seen that the southern area with thirty-seven taxable inhabitants was growing faster that the eastern area with eighteen taxable inhabitants. 20 Nevertheless, the eastern area did show steady growth. The following shows the heads of families in the eastern (Granby) section of South Hadley:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Heads of Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just as a congregational quarrel ultimately resulted in the migration to Hadley in 1659, the establishment of Granby as a separate community from South Hadley resulted from a quarrel concerning the location of a meetinghouse. Since no compromise agreement could be reached between the settlers in the eastern and southern portions of South Hadley, the General Court set off the eastern part as the second parish on February 18, 1672. Granby was incorporated as a separate town in 1763. 22

Granby's growth was regular and steady for the first hundred years after its incorporation as a town. A considerable loss in
population, due to the Civil War and the opening of the western frontier, occurred between 1850 and 1880, but after that date the population increased slowly until after World War II. The following figures show the population growth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>4673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>1066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although it was predominantly an agricultural community, several small businesses were established in Granby in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. These included the following: a sawmill and gristmill, an iron forge, three or four distilleries, a woolen factory, and facilities for the manufacturing of buttons, carriages and wagons. Early in the twentieth century a small animal business was started by Miss Abbie Lathrop. In 1908 she discovered that one of her white mice had cancer, and sold it to a laboratory for experimental purposes. The raising of diseased mice became so profitable that she found it necessary to hire helpers in the community. The business soon was disbanded after Miss Lathrop's death in 1918.23

The early twentieth century also saw a small migration of foreigners into old Yankee Granby. The migration of these people,
mostly French-Canadian, Irish and Polish, was so gradual as to be an almost negligible factor in the social structure of the community. There was little or no discrimination, and their numbers were not large enough to promote the establishment of foreign enclaves within the community. Their numbers increased gradually, and it became necessary for Father Crerier, a French priest from Holyoke, to come to Granby to minister to their religious needs. In the thirties services were held in Kellogg Hall, a public building, and a Roman Catholic Church was built in 1948.

More recent population figures from the Massachusetts State Census Reports show the remarkable growth of Granby after World War II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>2853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4770</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the new residents are white and blue collar workers who commute to jobs in Holyoke, Chicopee and Springfield, reflecting the general postwar move to the suburbs. Although increased personnel at nearby Westover Air Force Base have undoubtedly aided in Granby's population boom after the war, most Granby residents do not feel that this is the primary reason for Granby's recent growth. Most of the new residents have either built their own homes or have moved into housing development areas; there are very few apartment buildings in Granby.
The influx of middle class families into middle class Granby has created few social problems. There is no industry in the community, and the residential nature of Granby has not changed. The feeling of the old Yankees in Granby is that the new people are not dissimilar from the people who have lived in the town for generations, and that they are "good people to have."
The history of Deerfield has its beginning in a decision of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1651 to set off two thousand acres of land in Natick, in the eastern part of the state, for an Indian plantation. The purpose of this grant was to encourage the work of the Reverend Mr. John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, in his efforts to convert the Indians. Since this land already belonged to Dedham, the General Court in 1663 offered that community "eight thousand acres of land in any convenient place or places."24

The land which the selectmen of Dedham approved of was a "considerable Tract . . . about 12 or 14 miles from Hadley." Although this location was approved in 1664, it was not until June, 1666 that Colonel John Pynchon of Springfield was authorized to buy the eight thousand acres from the Indians. The fifteen year lapse between the loss of the Natick land and the appropriation of the land near Hadley is an indication that the Dedham settlers had no real interest in a new settlement on wilderness land. Although permission from the selectmen was required to sell land in Pocumtuck (Deerfield), by October 1667 twenty-four proprietors had already sold their rights in the new community.25

In 1670 a committee from Dedham went to the area to lay out town streets and highways, and to set out the division of lands. A year later houseslots were drawn up for thirty-four persons, presumably heads of families.26 Apparently not all of the people for whom houseslots were set out moved to Deerfield, for in 1673 there
were only twenty families in the community.\textsuperscript{27} Prior to the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, the male settlers in Deerfield came from the following places: Dedham and other towns in eastern Massachusetts -- 14; Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton -- 14; Windsor, Connecticut -- 1; England -- 1; New Jersey -- 1; and Unknown -- 2.\textsuperscript{28}

Although relations between the settlers at Deerfield and the local Indians had always been nominally friendly, the Indian attack at Brookfield on August 4, 1675 resulted in a Council of War at Hadley on August 24. On the next day, a detachment of men which was sent to Deerfield was ambushed at "Pocumtuck path, about eighty rods south of Wequamps (Mount Sugarloaf)."\textsuperscript{29} On the same day, Deerfield, whose population at this time was about 125, was also attacked. Northfield was attacked on September 2, and a second attack on Deerfield was made on Sunday, September 12. Six days later Captain Lothrop and his company were massacred by the Indians at Bloody Brook. Deerfield was abandoned on September 21, 1675.\textsuperscript{30}

The town was resettled seven years later; it is believed that the first "permanent settlers" of Deerfield occupied the land in the spring of 1682. By 1687 there were fifty-five property owners in Deerfield, and in the following year Mr. John Williams was ordained as minister of the first church at Deerfield.\textsuperscript{31} It is interesting to note that not a single Dedham man became a permanent resident of Deerfield.\textsuperscript{32}

Peace did not last long in Deerfield, however; the town was
attacked by Indians on September 15, 1694. The General Court declared a bounty in 1695 for Indians captured or scalps taken, and in 1697 Deerfield appealed to Connecticut for "charitable aid." A letter from Mr. John Williams dated October 21, 1703, indicates the difficulties of the early Deerfield settlers:

Strangers tell us they would not live where we do for twenty times as much as we do, the enemy having such an advantage of the river to come down from us.33

Mr. Williams was certainly not exaggerating, for on Leap Year Day, in 1704 Deerfield was attacked by the Indians and virtually destroyed. Half the population was taken prisoner, and most of the buildings in the town were burned. After the February raid, the remaining population voted to abandon the town, but the men were pressed into military service, and the town became a military garrison.34

There was relative peace in Deerfield from 1713 until 1722, but Father Rasle's War (1723-1725) brought more hostilities to the town. Father Rasle was a French priest who accompanied the Indians during their attacks; he was killed by the settlers. During the interval of peace after Father Rasle's War, emigration from the older towns into the "wilderness area was rapid and constant."35 Deerfield suffered through the Old French War (1744-1749) and the Last French War (1754-1763) before peace with the Indians was finally established.36

Because of the danger from the Indians, communication between
Deerfield and the other towns on the Connecticut River was extremely difficult during the eighteenth century. From the beginning of the settlement, there was a road going south to Hatfield and north to Northfield (present U.S. #5). Later, other roads were built linking one section of the town with another. In 1796 there was a line of stages from Hartford, Connecticut to Hanover, New Hampshire. One historian says that in 1799 the "fifth Mass. turnpike from Boston was laid out;" apparently the first four attempts at a road to Boston had to be abandoned.\footnote{37}

The main artery of communication and trade for Deerfield was the Connecticut River. Although several small businesses and stores were established in the eighteenth century, the largest commercial business was the freight business.

The nineteenth century saw the establishment of several small industries in Deerfield. There were at least five sawmills, six or seven commercial cider mills, a pickle works, a cutlery works, and a rope factory. Several small "pocketbook" shops for the making of hand-tooled leather goods began operations during this period. The Deerfield Plastics Company of South Deerfield started as a "pocketbook" shop. By far the most important industry aside from agriculture was the railroad. The freight terminal in Deerfield employed up to two thousand people at its peak; it now employs about three hundred.

Prior to the 1830's the only people living in Deerfield who were not of old Yankee stock were Negroes. Slaves are reported in the
town records as early as 1695, since the marriages and births of all people had to be recorded. One of Deerfield's Negroes, 'Bijah's Luce of Guilford, Vermont is renown for her poem about the massacre at the Bars which occurred during the Old French War. On the whole it appears that the Negroes, most of whom were slaves, were treated well; some of them were allowed to hold membership in the church.

Although there was a small German settlement in Deerfield in the 1830's (John Russell imported about 20 German craftsmen to work in his cutlery works), the first major immigrant group to move to Deerfield was the Irish. Several Irish people began to work on the railroad in the Boston area and followed it westward to Deerfield. The North-South railroad was completed in 1848, and the westward line was completed the following year. With the joining of these two lines, Deerfield added about fifty Irish families.

The French came to Deerfield as a result of the floods of 1869. Flood damage destroyed the mills in Conway, approximately eight miles to the west, and the French came to Deerfield to work in the "pocket-book" shops. Several of the Irish people had gained employment in these small factories, and there was considerable friction between the French and the Irish during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The original quarrel resulted from the feeling of the Irish that the French had taken jobs that had been held almost exclusively by the Irish. From this original quarrel ill feeling between the two groups developed into mutual dislike.

The Polish people came to Deerfield in the 1880's. Francis
Clapp, a farmer from Pine Nook whose sons had left the farm for other work, was having difficulty managing his farm. During a visit to one of his friends in Bridgeport, Connecticut, he noticed that his friend had several Polish boys working for him. When Clapp told of the difficulty he was having running his farm, his friend suggested that he go to Ellis Island and offer work to young Polish immigrants. Clapp went to Ellis Island (the point of debarkation for European immigrants to the United States) and offered jobs to four Polish boys. Since the Polish boys had originally come from farms in Poland, and were willing to work hard, Clapp found that he did not have to give them any instructions in farming. He further discovered that he could get as much work done with his four Polish hands as he would have from twice the number of American workers. In fact, they worked out so well for him that several of his neighbors asked him to get some Polish workers for their farms.

Mr. Clapp was ultimately responsible for bringing 35 or 40 Polish boys to Deerfield. Other farmers went to Ellis Island to secure Polish helpers for their own farms. The Polish boys wrote to Polish girls who were living in a small Polish community in Yonkers, New York and told them of the employment opportunities in the area. Many of the Polish girls worked as helpers in the homes of the old Yankees (They were known as "green girls"), and in inns and restaurants in the area. In 1890-91 the first of several Polish marriages are recorded in Deerfield's town records. There was a continual Polish immigration until the start of World War I.
The Polish immigration has had a more lasting influence on Deerfield than either that of the Irish or the French. Perhaps the reason for it is that the Polish immigrants were farmers, whereas the French and the Irish provided the bulk of the unskilled labor for the small industries in Deerfield and in other communities. At any rate, during the first part of the twentieth century, when a Yankee farmer was ready to sell his farm, there was usually a Polish buyer ready to take out a mortgage on it. It is not true that the Polish influence in Deerfield is simply a result of their having larger families than the Yankees. On the average the Polish people had only slightly larger families than the Yankees. The Yankee, however, usually had more education than the second generation Polish person, and he was able to move to the city or to another part of the country without worrying about being able to get a good job. Thus, when the Yankee farmer died, his children, who were no longer living in the area, often decided to sell the land.

If Deerfield felt a population increase as a result of immigration, she also suffered a heavy loss through the annexation of the most northern section of the town to Greenfield, shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century. Greenfield, Conway, and Shelburne had originally been a part of Deerfield; and the southwest section of the town was annexed to Whately.

One of the reasons for this loss of territory was that these areas, from the beginning of the settlement, never felt that they were a part of Deerfield. These outlying areas had always experienced
difficulty in communication with the business and political center of the community. This difficulty in communication is largely responsible for the sectional settlement of Deerfield, which is a result of the unusual topography of the original settlement. There is a strip of meadow land near the Connecticut River, and a range of highlands to the west. Continuing westward there is a plain or valley, and further high ground to the foothills of Hoosac Mountain. Many of these sections are known by their old names to the present day: Old Street (1671), North Meadows (1671), South Meadows (1671), Cheapside (1689), Wissom (1686), Hoosac, Mill River, Wapping (1687), The Mill (1795), The Bars (1675), Turnip Yard (1753), Sugarloaf, Pine Nook (1709), Great River (1686), and Bloody Brook (1675).41

The following population figures, compiled from Mr. Sheldon's history and the Massachusetts State Census Reports, show the regular and steady growth of Deerfield:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1765</td>
<td>737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1776</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>3532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>2963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>3083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>3086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>3111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>3338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>3480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lack of any sudden rise in population after World War II is apparently not regretted by the citizens of Deerfield. Most of them prefer to live in the kind of town described in the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England*: "Historic agricultural community." Several private schools.

If there is one regret the citizens of Deerfield have, it is that their attempt to retain the historicity of eighteenth century Deerfield may have attracted too many tourists, and thereby disturbed the peace of a "quiet New England country town."
Granby informants in Language

1. Retired farmer, 73. -- F, PGF, PGH born here. Ancestors among first settlers. M, MBF, MBM born in South Hadley (adjoining town), descended from original settlers. -- High school. (Sisters well educated.) -- Grange. Knows many townspeople, but not the foreign-born. -- Content with his status as dirt farmer. -- His contempt for learning (moderated only by some natural pride in his sisters’ achievements) may be partly responsible for his pure rustic dialect. Normal tempo. Slight nasalization. -- B 11. 43

2. Cultured informant. Farmer, 77. Taught school 1 year in southern New Jersey, age c. 28, and the following 3 years here. -- F born in N.H., but lived here 50 years; PGF from Worcester. M born here, descended from original settlers of Hadley. -- Elementary school here; 2 years at Monson Academy (c. 15 m. southeast). 1 year, aged c. 21 at Williams College (Williamstown); next three years at Amherst College (c. 10 m. north of here). Has recently interested himself in genealogy. (Wife went to Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley.) -- Grange, church organizations. Formerly knew nearly everyone in town, now knows as friends only the older people. Eager to help with the investigation. -- Considers ungrammatical speech vulgar. Theory of correctness somewhat compensated by informant’s feeling for dialect and genuine sense of local idiom. Tempo rapid, spasmodic and staccato. Rather careful articulation, except when tired. -- B 9. 44
Granby informants in 1965

R-219.1 Farmer, 62. Born in Granby. Began school in Shirley, Massachusetts, and graduated from South Hadley High School. He returned to Granby in 1916, aged 16. He is a member of the Congregational Church, the Grange, and the Masons. F, PGF, PGM, -- all from Granby. N, MIF, and KIM from Manchester, Vt. Informant seemed to enjoy the interview and expressed interest in the project. Courteous and hospitable. No nasalization. -- Generally consistent in loss of postvocalic $\text{r}^-$, although the sound was heard infrequently in conversation. Tempo slow and deliberate. The informant ends nearly every utterance with voiced aspiration and a glottal stop.
No expressed notions on correct grammar.

R-219.2 Cultured informant. Retired librarian, 77. Informant is the daughter of LAND informant 219.2. Born in Granby and attended local schools. B.A. Middlebury (Vt.) College. Taught in Leominster and Westfield, Mass. as well as at a private school in New Hampshire before becoming a librarian at the Holyoke Public Library. She now serves as the librarian for the Granby Public Library. She is active in the Congregational Church and is a member of the Western Massachusetts and Massachusetts Library Association. She is also a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution. F born in Granby. PGF born in Chesterfield, New Hampshire and moved to Granby as a boy. PGM born in Granby. M and KIF born in Granby. MIM born in Hinsdale, Massachusetts. Informant has firm notions on correct
usage. Little nasalization. Somewhat rapid tempo. Inconsistent
loss of postvocalic [r]. The [r] tends to be retained after [d].
She is genuinely interested in the project since her father was one
of the original informants.
Deerfield informants in LANE


Deerfield informants in 1965

R-228.1 Farmer's wife, 74. Born in Guilford, Vt. and moved to East Colrain, Mass. when she was 8. Attended grammar school in East Colrain and two years of high school in Greenfield. Upon her mother's death she was forced to leave school to take care of the family. Married at 17, she and her husband moved to Deerfield (Pine Nook) after their marriage. Father's family is from Deerfield. Mother and her family came from Brattleboro, Vt. Her great-grandfather had two wives. A son by the first wife was her grandfather; a son by the second wife was her husband's grandfather. The informant was courteous and agreeable, although she felt that she didn't know enough to supply the "right" answers to the questionnaire. This lack of confidence may account for nervousness and hesitancy in some responses. Her conversational tempo was rather rapid. Slight nasalization with consistent loss of postvocalic [r]. In her conversation she used such expressions as [wʌt] for wanst, and the short "o" in [bɔt], both.

R-228.2 Housewife, 72. Born in Deerfield and educated at home until she entered Deerfield Academy. B.A. from Wellesley (Mass.) College in 1915. Informant taught school at Amherst High School for two years and four years at Westfield High School. She was a hostess at Deerfield Academy for one year until she was married. She is active in the First Congregational Church of Deerfield and has served on various church committees. She is a vice president
of the local historical society. F born in Deerfield. PGF originally from Windham, VT and came to Deerfield in 1862. PGM from Warren, Mass. M born in Deerfield. MGM was originally from Athol, Mass. and later taught at Deerfield Academy. MGF born and lived in Deerfield. The informant indicated little concern for correctness, although she was obviously disappointed when she was unable to give a response to a question. Genuinely interested in the investigation, she was courteous and agreeable. No nasalization. — Tempo normal. Consistent loss of postvocalic [r].
Comparison of LANEE Responses and 1965 Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Sought</th>
<th>LANEE</th>
<th>Map No.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drain</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loam</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brook</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back road</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloudy day</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clouds decreasing</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clouds increasing</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind increasing</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drought</td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind decreasing</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second crop of hay</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pail</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunch box</td>
<td>130</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frying pan</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbage pail</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funnel</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repair</td>
<td>152</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch bar</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harrow</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tube</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trough</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minnow</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angleworms</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firefly</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radish</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poached egg</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolk</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sour milk</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cottage cheese</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft drink</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snack</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofa</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soot</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantry</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roof</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porch</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitten</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caught</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gave</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knelt</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridden</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rang</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>were</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ought not</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item sought</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angloworm</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back road</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitten</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonny clapper</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brook</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buttery</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caught</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clouds decreasing</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clouds increasing</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloudy day</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cottage cheese</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drain</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dropped egg</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drought</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch cheese</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firefly</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frying pan</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funnel</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbage pail</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gave</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadn't ought</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harrow</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knelt</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning bug</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loan</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunch</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunch box</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minnow</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ought not</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pail</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantry</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piazza</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch bar</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poached egg</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porch</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radish</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rang</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repair</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridden</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roof</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rowen</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second cut of hay</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shiner</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snack</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soda</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sofa</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scot</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sour milk</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swill pail</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trough</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tube</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>were</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind decreasing</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind increasing</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolk</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The part of the United States which includes N.Y., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I. *

219.1  
219.2  
228.1  
228.2  
R-219.1  
R-219.2  
R-228.1  
R-228.2  

* The items in the questionnaire were designed to elicit responses similar to those in LANE. The questions are not the same ones used in the LANE investigation.
Map #32  When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are __________.

219.1  **drain**

219.2  **drainage**

228.1  **drain**

228.2  **drain**

R-219.1  **dren**

R-219.2  **dren and df**

R-228.1  **dren**

R-228.2  **dren**
Map #33  What do you call the heavy dark soil used for lawns, gardens, etc.?  

219.1  | v i m  
219.2  | o^v m  | u' m  
228.1  | l u m  
228.2  | o v m  
R-219.1  | l u m  
R-219.2  | l o m  
R-228.1  | l u m  
R-228.2  | l o m  

Map #41 What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

219.1 bruk
219.2 rivë, brok, rivët
228.1 rivë, brok, stërm
228.2 rivë, brok

R-219.1 bruk
R-219.2 bruk
R-228.1 bruk
R-228.2 bruk
Map #44 What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>219.1</td>
<td>backroad, lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219.2</td>
<td>kasi t road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228.1</td>
<td>backroad, medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228.2</td>
<td>backroad, large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-219.1</td>
<td>sekanderi road, back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-219.2</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-228.1</td>
<td>kantri road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-228.2</td>
<td>kantri road, back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map #47. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How ______ is it to Boston."

219.1  haa f3r  
219.2  haa fa'r  
228.1  c. hav f3  
228.2  hav fa"r  
R-219.1  fa'  
R-219.2  far  
R-228.1  fa, c. f3 iz  
R-228.2  fa
Map #65  Name the month between January and March.

219.1 february
219.2 february
228.1 february
228.2 february
R-219.1 february
R-219.2 february
R-228.1 february
R-228.2 february
What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

219.1  $\dagger \bar{u}z \bar{d}i$

219.2  $\dagger \bar{u}z \bar{d}i$

228.1  $\dagger u^wzd_i$

228.2  $\dagger u^wzd_i$

R-219.1  $\dagger u^2zd_i$

R-219.2  $\dagger u^2zd_i$

R-228.1  $\dagger uzd_e$

R-228.2  $\dagger uzd_i$
Map #88  What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

219.1  loor
219.2  door
228.1  glum'laori'
228.2  klav'di, la'ori'
R-219.1  lau'or
R-219.2  dol
R-228.1  dori
R-228.2  

R-219.1  "Probably use cloudy more. People used to talk about lowery weather."
Map #39  What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?

219.1  brekin we
219.2  kli\^ri\y
228.1  kli\^rin d\-'f
228.2  kli\^arin d\-'f
R-219.1  brekin ap
R-219.2  kli\^rin, breking awed
R-228.1  kli\^rin d\-'f
R-228.2  kli\^rin d\-'f

219.2  "[S\'e\'n\'d\'z\'i\y]\), usually of a change for the better."
Map #90  What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

219.1

219.2  s. orêtnêß

228.1  gitn waß

228.2  tševindaßy

R-219.1  getin ëkays

R-219.2  its kladîr

R-228.1

R-228.2  hezîn ep, kladîr ep
Map #91  What do you say when the wind is increasing?

219.1  blow up hard

219.2  in krish, raezin

228.1  blow up hard c. kumin ap

228.2  raiizin

R-219.1  kumin ap

R-219.1  raiizin

R-228.1  

R-228.2  blow up astm
What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?

219.1  \textit{drought}

219.2  \textit{drought}

228.1  \textit{drought}

228.2  \textit{drought}

R-219.1  \textit{drought}

R-219.2  \textit{drought}

R-228.1  \textit{drought}

R-228.2  \textit{drought}
Map #99  What do you say when the wind is decreasing?

219.1  let ' n r p

219.2  dae ' n da ' on

228.1  go ' w y da ' on

228.2  go ' y da ' on

R-219.1  da ' y da ' un

R-219.2  da ' y da ' un

R-228.1  ka m

R-228.2  ———
Map #125

What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?

219.1  V3. w3. n

219.2  ra'ou̞n, aほうたまえ (new)

228.1  

228.2  ra'ou̞n

R-219.1  ra'ou̞n

R-219.2  ra'ou̞n

R-228.1  ra'ou̞n

R-228.2  ra'ou̞n

R-219.1  "They call it second cutting a good deal now."
Map #129  What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?

219.1  pail; bakit
219.2  pail; bakit, bakit
228.1  peat; bakit
228.2  peit

R-219.1  pei
R-219.2  pei
R-228.1  s. pei
R-228.2  pei

219.1  "tin pail, wooden pail"
219.2  "Bucket has bulging sides and made of wood -- pail either wood or metal."
228.1  "Tin bucket, sap bucket (formerly of wood), pail may be either wood or metal."
228.2  "Pail -- either wood or metal."

R-219.1  "Bucket was wooden."
R-219.2  "I'm apt to think of a bucket as wooden."
R-228.1  "What we used to call buckets is wooden."
R-228.2  "Maple sugar buckets are the last buckets we had. You might call it a bucket if it was wooden."
If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?

219.1  lant's baks
219.2  diner pel
228.1  dinə pēt
228.2  a pel a tin pel

R-219.1  diner pel
R-219.2  lənc baks
R-228.1  
R-228.2  dine bəkit

219.1  "We used to use a wooden [baťo baks]."
228.2  "We used a [tə kuw tëpet]."
What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?

219.1  [Answer: skillet]
219.2  [Answer: skillet]
228.1  [Answer: skillet]
228.2  [Answer: skillet]

R-219.1  [Answer: skil\textsc{let} or \textsc{skil\textsc{let}}]
R-219.2  [Answer: skil\textsc{let} or \textsc{skil\textsc{let}}]
R-228.1  [Answer: skil\textsc{let} or \textsc{skil\textsc{let}}]
R-228.2  [Answer: skil\textsc{let} or \textsc{skil\textsc{let}}]

219.2  "skillet -- round bottom cast iron pan with a handle or a bail and three short legs for use in the fireplace."

R-219.1  "I'm not much on cookin' utensils."
R-219.2  "If it had three legs on it I'd call it a kettle."
R-228.1  "Why did they used to call it a spider?"
R-228.2  "We have iron spiders that we always talk about. I don't believe you hear that too much today."
Map #135  Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?

219.1  ga*b!dz peil;~ ken
219.2  ga*b!dz peil;~ ken
-228.1  swil peol
228.2  swil peil

R-219.1  g abi*j peil
R-219.2  g abi*j ken
R-228.1  g abi*j peil
R-228.2  g abi*j dispouzol~ peil

R-219.1  "We used to call it swill pail."
R-228.1  "We had a different pail for swill."
R-228.2  "You don't hear swill pail around here anymore."
Map #145

What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?

219.1  \( \tan \theta \)

219.2  \( \tan \theta, \tan \theta, \tan \theta \)

228.1  

228.2  \( \tan \theta \)

R-219.1  \( \tan \theta \)

R-219.2  \( \tan \theta \)

R-228.1  \( \tan \theta \)

R-228.2  \( \tan \theta \)
If an item is broken and you want to make it usable again, you'd say you mend it.

R-228.2 "Mending is repairing something with some kind of adhesive. You'd fix a fence."
Map #154  What do you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?

219.1  pints ba

219.2  2'ean ba; pints

228.1  kro' ba'

228.2  kro' bar

R-219.1  krouba

R-219.2  krobar

R-228.1  krouba

R-228.2  krouba
Map #154  A smaller iron bar with a curved end.

219.1  pint sha
219.2  a'een ba pint-
228.1  kro' ba*’
228.2  kro’ ba

R-219.1  rekinhara’s pine ba
R-219.2  
R-228.1  s. pine ba
R-228.2  s. rekinhba pine ba
A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called ________.

219.1 ha'ro, xero
219.2 ha'ro
228.1 ha'ro, mauer
228.2 ha'ro
R-219.1 xero
R-219.2 xerou
R-228.1 xerou
R-228.2 xerou
Map #146

If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner.

219.1 $J \mu b$
219.2 $\pm a \cdot b$
228.1 $\mu b$
228.2 $\mu b$
R-219.1 $\mu b$
R-219.2 $\mu b$
R-228.1 $\mu b$
R-228.2 $\mu b$
Map #208  What do you call the long wooden things that pigs eat out of?

219.1  72®
219.2  72®
228.1  7r®
228.2  7r®
R-219.1  7r®
R-219.2  7r®
R-228.1  7r®
R-228.2  7r®
What do you call small fish often used for bait?

219.1  Sænæ

219.2  Sænæ, minouz

228.1  minoz

228.2  minoz

R-219.1  Sænæ

R-219.2  

R-228.1  minuz

R-228.2  minouz
What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait?

| 219.1 | W3mz    |
| 219.2 | W3mz    |
| 228.1 | W3mz    |
| 228.2 | W3mz    |
| R-219.1 | W3mz |
| R-219.2 | W3mz |
| R-228.1 | W3mz |
| R-228.2 | W3mz |
Map #238

What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail?

219.1 laetnin bag
219.2 laetnin bag, c. - nin-
228.1 s. laitnin bag
228.2 laitnin bag

R-219.1 fairy flair
R-219.2 fairy flair
R-228.1 laitnin bag
R-228.2 fairy flair
Map #295

What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water?

219.1  ? poxt$teg$
219.2  d\text{rap}teg$
228.1  d\text{rapeg}$
228.2  d\text{rap}teg$

R-219.1  drop$
R-219.2  d\text{ rapeg}$
R-228.1  d\text{ rap}teg$
R-228.2  pou\text{et}$

219.1  "Poached — dropped into hot milk."

R-228.2  "I call it egg on toast. I never call it dropped."
Name the parts of an egg.

219.1  jark
219.2  jotk
228.1  jekk
228.2  jook
R-219.1  joolk
R-219.2  joolk
R-228.1  jellk
R-228.2  joolk
Map #298  Milk that has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called ________.

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>219.1</td>
<td><strong>sau</strong> <strong>w</strong> <strong>ê</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219.2</td>
<td><strong>b</strong> <strong>a</strong> <strong>n</strong> <strong>i</strong> <strong>k</strong> <strong>ê</strong> <strong>ô</strong> <strong>ê</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228.1</td>
<td><strong>d</strong> <strong>ê</strong> <strong>p</strong> <strong>ê</strong> <strong>d</strong> <strong>m</strong> <strong>î</strong> <strong>î</strong> <strong>k</strong>, <strong>s</strong> <strong>â</strong> <strong>w</strong> <strong>ê</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228.2</td>
<td><strong>b</strong> <strong>a</strong> <strong>n</strong> <strong>i</strong> <strong>k</strong> <strong>ê</strong> <strong>ê</strong> <strong>b</strong> <strong>ê</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**R-219.1**  **sawwe**

**R-219.2**  **sawwe**

**R-228.1**  **d bad**

**R-228.2**  **sawd, kidâld**

---

**R-219.1**  "You might say it's curdled." Informant has heard 'bonny clapper'.

**R-228.1**  Informant has not heard the term 'bonny clapper'.

**R-228.2**  Informant has not heard the term 'bonny clapper'.
Map #299  What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk?

They used to call it Dutch cheese."

If you went into a store and asked for Dutch cheese I don't think they'd know what you want."
Map #312 What do you call a soft drink, usually but not always carbonated?

They used to call it tonic when I was a boy.
Map #314  What do you call it when you eat between meals?

219.1  snack
219.2  lunch, snack
228.1  snacks
228.2  snack
R-219.1  snack
R-219.2  snack, lends
R-228.1  snack
R-228.2  snack
Map #316  In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach

219.1  swac'larit
219.2  swac'loolit
228.1  swac'larit
228.2  swac'larit
R-219.1  swac'lool
R-219.2  swac'lool
R-228.1  swac'lool
R-228.2  swac'lool
What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends, which is large enough for two or more people?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nra13</th>
<th>026</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>219:1</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219:2</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228:1</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228:2</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R=219:2</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R=219:4</td>
<td>kanč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R=228:1</td>
<td>dževnproš, kanč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R=228:2</td>
<td>sofa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map #335  What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

219.1  SUT

219.2  SU†

228.1  SUT

228.2  SUT

R-219.1  SUT

R-219.2  SUT

R-228.1  SUT

R-228.2  SUT
Map #344  What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

219.1  pantry

219.2  pantry, butter

228.1  pantry, butter

228.2  pantry, butter

R-219.1  pantry

R-219.2  pantry

R-228.1  pantry, butter

R-228.2  pantry

228.1  "Buttery, formerly sometimes an addition to the regular pantry."

R-219.1  "Old Yankees called it that (buttery); they used to keep butter in it."

R-228.1  Informant does not use buttery now; she says that it is an older term.
Map #348  What do you call the top of the house?

219.1  ruf
219.2  ruf
228.1  ruf
228.2  ruf
R-219.1  ruf
R-219.1  ruf
R-228.1  ruf
R-228.2  ruf
Map #351  What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

219.1  *stair, piazza, parts*

219.2  *piazza, stair, stair*

228.1  *courts, c. piazza*

228.2  *parts, parts, parts, piazza*

219.1  *piazza*

219.2  *piazza, part*

228.1  *bzwez, pizzaz, s. piazza*

228.2  *p. z.*

R-219.2  "I usually say piazza."

R-228.1  "Maybe they called *em [b. z]."

R-228.2  "You'd go up the steps to a piazza."
Map: #5363

If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say "I ___________."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>219:1</th>
<th>bit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>219:2</td>
<td>hit n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228:1</td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228:2</td>
<td>hit n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-219:1</td>
<td>dog hit mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-219:2</td>
<td>was hit n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-228:1</td>
<td>got bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-228:2</td>
<td>had hit hit n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map: #641. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I _____ a dozen trout last week."

2191. **Ket**
2192. **Kot**
2281. **Ketf**
2282. **Kot**
2282. **Kot**
2282. **Kot**
2282. **Kot**
2282. **Kot**
2282. **Kot**
Map #649  In referring to an item you received for your birthday, you would say "my wife _____ it to me on my birthday."

219.1  C. giv
219.2  gev
228.1  C. giv
228.2  gev
R-219.1  gev
R-219.2  gev
R-228.1  gev
R-228.2  gev
Map #652

If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you
would say, "he ____________ ."

219.1. ni·td
219.2. nel t
228.1. ni·ld
228.2. nel t
R-219.1. nel t
R-219.2. nel t
R-228.1. nel t
R-228.2. nel t
In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback you might say, "I have ______ many horses."

219.1  round
219.2  ridn
228.1  round
228.2  ridn
R-219.1  ridn
R-219.2  ridn
R-228.1  round
R-228.2  ridn
If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children you might say "Those kids ___ my doorbell a hundred times yesterday."

R-219.1  RAN
R-219.2  RAN
R-228.1  RAN
R-228.2  RAN
R-228.1  RAN
R-228.2  RAN
In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire you might say, "If I ___ you I wouldn't get any closer."

219.1  fæə wz juu
219.2  if əə wə ju.
228.1  if ə₁ wa₂ ju.
228.2  if ə₁ wə ju.
R-219.1  w3
R-219.2  w3
R-228.1  w3
R-228.2  w3
In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday you might say "he________________."
Although the number of items chosen for investigation is not large enough to warrant the drawing of far-reaching conclusions concerning the speech patterns of Granby and Deerfield, it is still possible to point out certain tendencies of linguistic change which appear to be occurring in both communities. The changes which have occurred are found in all three areas under consideration: phonology, lexicon and syntax. In addition to linguistic change there are also some striking similarities between the 1965 results and the 1932 field work in LANE.

Since the LANE field workers chose their informants on the basis of pre-selected types, and the 1965 investigation was conducted with the same "types", it will be helpful in the discussion of linguistic change to indicate the "type" of each informant. According to the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, the informants are classified as the following:

- 219.1 . . . . . . . . . Type II
- R-219.1 . . . . . . . . . Type II
- 219.2 . . . . . . . . . Type III
- R-219.2 . . . . . . . . . Type III
- 228.1 . . . . . . . . . Type I
- R-228.1 . . . . . . . . . Type I
- 228.2 . . . . . . . . . Type III
- R-228.2 . . . . . . . . . Type III

Among the items in which phonological change was noted, we can see that some normalization of pronunciation has occurred. In both communities the Type I informants offered the following responses
in LANE: drain was pronounced with an [i] ; the terminal vowel in 
harrow and swallow was the [ɔ] ; [ɔ] was given as the vowel sound in 
far; and [ɛ] was the first vowel sound in radish. In 1965 all 
informants gave the "standard" pronunciation of [drɛn], [næsrəʊ], 
[ʃɔʊl] [ɔfɑr], and [rædɪʃ] , respectively in response to 
the questionnaire, although the Type I informant in Deerfield 
gave [ʃɪf] in conversation. In 1965 the terminal consonant in 
trough was given as [θ]; LANE's Type III informant in Deerfield 
gave [ʃ]. The fact that none of the 1965 informants has adopted the 
so-called "standard" pronunciation of trough is a clear indication 
of the conservatism of dialect pronunciations.

Loam presents an interesting coincidence with the LANE results 
in that both Types I and II informants gave [ʌm], and all Type III 
informants gave [ʌm]. Soot shows that [ʊ] has not completely 
over taken the pronunciation, since [ʌm] was readily given as a 
response by the Type III informant in Granby in 1965. The vowel [ʊ] 
appears to have completely taken over in the pronunciation of roof, 
since the Type I informant in Deerfield in LANE was the only informant 
who gave [ɹʊf] as a response.

Another interesting phonological feature is the absence of a 
glide in Tuesday and tube in 1965: LANE reported a glide, [ɹjuːb], 
for all informants in tube, and for both Granby informants in 
Tuesday [ɹjuːdɛs]. Among all the informants, both LANE and 1965, 
a glide was substituted in the pronunciation of February [fɛbɪˌwɛrɪ].

It was not unusual to find lexical variations between the 1965
field work and LAND. Whereas lovery was given by all but the Type III informant in Deerfield in LAND, this form occurs only in the response of the Type II informant in Granby in 1965. Spider, which was given for frying pan by all of the informants in LAND, was found only in Granby in 1965 where it was the primary response of the Type III informant. In Deerfield, will pail has apparently been replaced by garbage pail. This perhaps cannot be considered as an authentic innovation, since will is a particular term used for inedible food which is saved for the feeding of hogs.

Authentic innovations can be seen in funnel which has replaced tunnel, and snack which has replaced lunch. Tunnel, which was given in all responses in LAND has been entirely superseded by funnel in both communities. Snack, which was heard but not used by the LAND Type III informant in Deerfield, is given by all informants in 1965. Lightning bug, which was given by all informants in LAND, is given as a response only by the Type II informant in Granby in 1965; the others given firefly. Bonny clapper has unquestionably been replaced by either sour or curdled milk; although the term was offered by the informants in Granby in LAND, it has not been heard by the Granby informants in 1965. The comments by the 1965 informants indicate that Dutch cheese is no longer a common term, even though this was the primary response offered by three of the four LAND informants.

No less interesting are the terms which are being retained. Rowen, angleworm, dropped egg, and piazza all continue to be in
current usage. A case of personal usage can be seen in the Type III informant in Deerfield in 1965 who gave poached as the primary response; the informant added that she calls it "egg on toast."

On LANE map #154 the terms crowbar and pinch bar are both given as the primary response for an iron bar used for purposes of leverage. In the belief that these two words are not used to describe the same implement, the 1965 questionnaire was designed to elicit two separate and distinct responses. The responses given were crowbar for the long iron bar used for purposes of leverage, and pinch bar as well as wrecking bar for the smaller iron bar with a curved end. The term wrecking bar was not found in either community in LANE.

Verbs do not show as much of a marked contrast between types of informants in 1965 as they did in LANE. Caught, gave, rang and the subjunctive were were all given in the so-called "standard" forms in 1965, whereas in LANE the Types I and II informants offered "ungrammatical" substitutes. A curious standardization appears to have occurred with the past tense of the verb to kneel: LANE has kneeled for the Types I and II informants and knelt for the Type III informants. The 1965 investigation found knelt to be the response by all informants. The past participle of the verb to ride was offered as rode by the Types I and II informants in LANE, and by the Type I informant in Deerfield in 1965; all others gave ridden. The negative form of the verb ought to was given in LANE as hadn't ought to by all but the Type III informant from Deerfield.
The 1965 investigation revealed that hadn't ought to was given as a response only by the Type II informant in Granby.

An interesting duplication of response can be seen in the terms used to describe the condition when the clouds are decreasing. All of the informants in Deerfield (both LANE and 1965) use the term clearing off; in Granby the Type II informant in LANE gave breaking way, and in 1965 breaking up; the Type III informant in Granby in LANE gave clearing while the 1965 counterpart gave clearing, with breaking away as a secondary response. The retention of a different term for the same item is seen in LANE map #234; Granby still uses shiner while Deerfield uses minnow to describe the small fish used for bait. The pronunciation of egg yolk shows a pattern of distribution similar to the one found in the description of decreasing clouds. Both the LANE and the 1965 informants in Granby pronounce the $\theta[\eta]$; both Type I informants in Deerfield gave $\theta[\varepsilon\eta]$; and both Type III informants in Deerfield pronounce it as $\theta[o\varepsilon\eta]$, without the $\theta[\eta]$. Whereas the term bonny clapper has evidently been replaced by sour or curdled milk, the Type I informant in Deerfield in 1965 offered $\theta[\rho\rho\eta\eta]$, similar to LANE's Type I informant from Deerfield who gave $\theta[\rho\rho\eta\eta]$. This is particularly interesting since both Type I informants also gave $\theta[\varepsilon\eta]$. On the basis of the information presented here we can see that there are striking similarities between the results of the 1965 investigation and LANE. There are also enough differences between the results of the two surveys to indicate that a subtle and almost
imperceptible linguistic change is occurring in both communities. The tenacity of relics (lowery, spider, and \( \text{ʃ}/k \)), and the acceptance of innovations (funnel and smack) indicate both the resistance to and the acceptance of change in the language.

The nature of the linguistic change which we have seen offers little evidence to support the proposition that such change is greater in Granby because of its more rapidly changing social structure. Rather than a difference in the rate of change between communities, there seems to be a tendency towards standardization in the use of language among the different types of informants. The Type I and Type II informants in 1965 offer fewer variants in phonology, lexicon and syntax than their counterparts did in the original LANL investigation. In another thirty or so years it would not be surprising to find that the differences among types would be further minimized.

With the tendency towards standardization of language it must not be assumed that this will ultimately lead to a loss of distinctive dialect features within a given area. The pervasiveness of the loss of postvocalic \( \text{ʃ} \), and the phonemic significance that the low back rounded vowel \( \text{ɔ} \) continues to have in words like hot, pot, cot, etc. in New England indicate that mass media, improved transportation, and continued urbanization have had a much greater influence on lexicon and syntax than on phonology. In the future, it is more than likely that dialect areas will be distinguished more by phonological variation than by any other linguistic phenomenon.
Footnotes


2 Ibid., pp. 488-490.


4 Ibid., p. 325.


6 Ibid., p. 44.


8 Ibid., p. 3.

9 Ibid., p. 11.

10 Ibid., p. 21.

11 Ibid., p. 35.

12 Ibid., pp. 35-37.

13 Ibid., p. 93.

14 Ibid., p. 96.

15 Ibid., passim.

16 Ibid., p. 333.

17 Ibid., pp. 185-187.

18 Ibid., p. 387.

19 Henry N. Dickinson, "Sketches of Granby History" (unpubl.), p. 3.

20 Judd., p. 281.

21 Ibid., p. 403.

22 Ibid., p. 393.


25 Ibid., I, 4-9.

26 Ibid., I, 13-19.

27 Ibid., I, 42.

28 Ibid., I, 43-48.

29 Ibid., I, 91.

30 Ibid., I, 82-111.

31 Ibid., I, 161-198.

32 Ibid., I, 36.

33 Ibid., I, 289.

34 Ibid., I, 243-323.

35 Ibid., I, 512.

36 Ibid., I, 529-672

37 Ibid., II, 915-916.


39 Sheldon, II, 888-905.

40 Ibid., passim.

41 Ibid., I, 23-24.


43 Ibid., p. 195.

44 Ibid., p. 196.

46 Ibid., p. 198.
47 Ibid., p. 47.


Appendix I

The Questionnaire

1. The part of the United States which includes Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I.

2. When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are

3. What do you call the heavy, dark soil used for lawns, gardens, etc.?

4. What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

5. What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

6. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How ______ is it to Boston?"

7. Name the month between January and March.

8. What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

9. What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

10. What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?

11. What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

12. What do you say when the wind is increasing?

13. What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?

14. What do you say when the wind is decreasing?
15. What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?

16. What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?

17. If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?

18. What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?

19. Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?

20. What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?

21. If an item is broken, and you want to make it usable again, you say you _____ it.

22. What do you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?

23. A smaller iron bar with a curved end.

24. A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called ________.

25. If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner ________.

26. What do you call the long wooden things that pigs eat out of?

27. What do you call the small fish often used for bait?

28. What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait?

29. What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail?

30. What is the name of the small, red and round vegetable with a white inside, which is often used in salads? It is commonly grown in a home garden.
31. What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water?

32. Name the parts of an egg.

33. Milk which has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called ________.

34. What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk?

35. What do you call a soft drink, usually but not always carbonated?

36. What do you call it when you eat between meals?

37. In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach you ________.

38. What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends which is large enough for two or more people?

39. What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

40. What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

41. What do you call the top of the house?

42. What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

43. If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say "I ________."  

44. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I ________ a dozen trout last week."  

45. In referring to an item you received for your birthday you would say, "My wife ________ it to me on my birthday."  

46. If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you would say, "He ________."
47. In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback, you might say, "I have ______ many horses."

48. If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children, you might say, "Those kids ______ by my doorbell a hundred times yesterday!"

49. In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire, you might say, "If I ______ you I wouldn't get any closer!"

50. In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday, you might say, "He: ____________!"
Appendix II

Responses of the Informants

Responses of R-219.1

1. The part of the United States which includes Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I.

2. When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are ________.

3. What do you call the heavy, dark soil used for gardens, lawns, etc.?

4. What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

5. What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

6. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How _____ is it to Boston?"

7. Name the month between January and March.

8. What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

9. What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

10. What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?
11. What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

12. What do you say when the wind is increasing?

13. What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?

14. What do you say when the wind is decreasing?

15. What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?

16. What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?

17. If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?

18. What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?

19. Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?

20. What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?

21. If an item is broken and you want to make it usable again, you say you _____ it.

22. What do you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?
23. A smaller iron bar with a curved end. [ṭeṭan bai ṣ. paṇa bai]

24. A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called [hərou]

25. If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner [taقب]

26. What do you call the long wooden thing that pigs eat out of? [təro]

27. What do you call small fish often used for bait? [ʕa:nəz]

28. What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait? [w3mə]

29. What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail? [fərət lər]

30. What is the name of the small, red and round vegetable with a white inside, which is often used in salads? It is commonly grown in a home garden. [ɾəd-iɾəz]

31. What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water? [drəp]

32. Name the parts of an egg. [ˈjouklk]

33. Milk which has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called [ˈsauw̃d]

34. What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk? [kʃiʃ ʔiːz]
35. What do you call a soft drink, usually Sodas but not always carbonated?

36. What do you call it when you eat between meals?

37. In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach you

38. What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends which is large enough for two or more people?

39. What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

40. What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

41. What do you call the top of the house?

42. What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

43. If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say, "I"

44. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I a dozen trout last week."

45. In referring to an item you received for your birthday you would say, "My wife it to me on my birthday."

46. If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you would say, "He ".

\[
\text{Sodas} \\
\text{Snacks} \\
\text{Swallow} \\
\text{Sofa} \\
\text{Smoke} \\
\text{Pantry} \\
\text{Rooftop} \\
\text{Balcony} \\
\text{Dog bite me} \\
\text{Catch} \\
\text{Give} \\
\text{Nest} \\
\]
47. In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback you might say, "I have ______ many horses."

48. If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children you might say, "Those kids ______ my doorbell a hundred times yesterday."

49. In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire you might say, "If I ______ you I wouldn't get any closer."

50. In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday you might say, "He _____________."
1. The part of the United States which includes Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I.

2. When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are _______

3. What do you call the heavy, dark soil used for lawns, gardens, etc.?

4. What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

5. What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

6. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How __ is it to Boston?"

7. Name the month between January and March.

8. What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

9. What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

10. What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?

11. What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

12. What do you say when the wind is increasing?
13. What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?

14. What do you say when the wind is decreasing?

15. What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?

16. What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?

17. If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?

18. What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?

19. Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?

20. What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?

21. If an item is broken and you want to make it usable again, you would say you mend it.

22. What do you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?

23. A smaller iron bar with a curved end.

24. A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called a 

[draw] 
[dairin] 
[raun] 
[peel] 
[one boks] 
[spadz] 
[garbi kän] 
[ten!] 
[mend] 
[kro bar] 
[hərəu]
25. If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner __________.
26. What do you call the long wooden thing that pigs eat out of?
27. What do you call small fish often used for bait?
28. What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait?
29. What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail?
30. What is the name of the small, red and round vegetable with a white inside, which is often used in salads? It is commonly grown in a home garden.
31. What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water?
32. Name the parts of an egg.
33. Milk which has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called __________.
34. What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk?
35. What do you call a soft drink, usually but not always carbonated?
36. What do you call it when you eat between meals?
37. In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach you _____________.

38. What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends which is large enough for two or more people?

39. What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

40. What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

41. What do you call the top of the house?

42. What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

43. If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say, "I _________."

44. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I ________ a dozen trout last week."

45. In referring to an item you received for your birthday you would say, "My wife ________ it to me on my birthday."

46. If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you would say, "He _________."

47. In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback you might say, "I have ________ many horses."
48. If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children you might say, "Those kids ___ my doorbell a hundred times yesterday."

49. In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire you might say, "If I ___ you I wouldn't get any closer."

50. In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday you might say, "He ___ ."
Responses of R-228.1

1. The part of the United States which includes Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I.

2. When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are

3. What do you call the heavy, dark soil used for lawns, gardens, etc.?

4. What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

5. What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

6. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How is it to Boston?"

7. Name the month between January and March.

8. What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

9. What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

10. What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?

11. What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

12. What do you say when the wind is increasing?
13. What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?  c. [dry]

14. What do you say when the wind is decreasing?  [kamə]

15. What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?  [raʊnɪn]

16. What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?  s. [pərl]

17. If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?  

18. What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?  c. [fræxɪn ˈpæn]

19. Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?  [ɡæbɪʃ ˈpɛr]  

20. What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?  [fən ˈl]  

21. If an item is broken and you want to make it usable again, you say you _____ it.  [mɛnd]  [fɪks]  

22. What would you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?  [krəʊˈba]  

23. A smaller iron bar with a curved end.  s. [pɪnə ˈba]  

24. A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called _____.  [hərəˈru]
25. If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner _______.

26. What do you call the long wooden thing that pigs eat out of?

27. What do you call small fish often used for bait?

28. What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait?

29. What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail?

30. What is the name of the small, red and round vegetable with a white inside, which is often used in salads? It is commonly grown in a home garden.

31. What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water?

32. Name the parts of an egg.

33. Milk which has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called _______.

34. What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk?

35. What do you call a soft drink, usually but not always carbonated?

36. What do you call it when you eat between meals?
37. In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach you _________.

38. What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends which is large enough for two or more people?

39. What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

40. What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

41. What do you call the top of the house?

42. What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

43. If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say, "I _________."

44. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I ________ a dozen trout last week."

45. In referring to an item you received for your birthday you would say, "My wife ________ it to me on my birthday."

46. If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you would say, "He _________."

47. In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback you might say, "I have ________ many horses."
48. If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children you might say, "Those kids ___ my doorbell a hundred times yesterday."

49. In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire you might say, "If I ___ you I wouldn't get any closer."

50. In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday you might say, "He ___"
Responses of R-229.2

1. The part of the United States which includes Me., N.H., Vt., Mass., Conn., and R.I.

2. When you remove water from a swamp in order to build on it you are ________.

3. What do you call the heavy, dark soil used for lawns, gardens, etc.?

4. What do you call running or flowing water not large enough to be a river?

5. What do you call less important roads going off a main highway?

6. If you wanted to know the distance from here to Boston you would say, "How _____ is it to Boston."

7. Name the month between January and March.

8. What day comes between Monday and Wednesday?

9. What other names do you have for a cloudy day?

10. What do you say when the clouds are decreasing?

11. What do you say when the clouds are increasing?

12. What do you say when the wind is increasing?
13. What do you call a prolonged period of time with little or no rainfall?

14. What do you say when the wind is decreasing?

15. What do you call it when hay is cut more than once in a season?

16. What would you use to carry five gallons of water outside the house?

17. If a farmer goes to work in the fields all day long, what does he carry his noon meal in?

18. What is the name of the shallow metal pan with a handle on it, used for preparing meat for a meal?

19. Where do you put unusable items of food after a meal?

20. What would you use to get liquid into a container with a narrow opening?

21. If an item is broken and you want to make it usable again, you say you mend it.

22. What do you call the long iron bar used to assist in removing large stones from the earth?

23. A smaller iron bar with a curved end.

24. A farm implement with discs or teeth used to smooth out a field is called.
25. If a bicycle tire has been punctured by a nail you have to fix the inner ________.

26. What do you call the long wooden thing that pigs eat out of? ________

27. What do you call small fish often used for bait? ________

28. What do you call the long thin things that boys dig up in gardens to use for bait? ________

29. What is the name of the small insect that flashes light from its tail? ________

30. What is the name of the small, red and round vegetable with a white inside, which is often used in salads? It is commonly grown in a home garden. ________

31. What do you call an egg that is taken out of its shell and cooked in boiling water? ________

32. Name the parts of an egg. ________

33. Milk which has been sitting out for a few days becomes thick and is called ________

34. What do you call the lumpy cheese made from sour milk? ________

35. What do you call a soft drink, usually but not always carbonated? ________

36. What do you call it when you eat between meals? ________
37. In order to get food from your mouth into your stomach you _____.

38. What do you call a piece of upholstered furniture with arms on both ends which is large enough for two or more people?

39. What do you call the black stuff on the inside of a fireplace?

40. What do you call the little room off of the kitchen where dishes and unrefrigerated foods are kept?

41. What do you call the top of the house?

42. What do you call the part of the house that is outside, sometimes screened in, and may be either in back or in front?

43. If your flesh had been torn by the teeth of a dog yesterday, you would say, "I _____.

44. If you had an extremely successful fishing trip last week you might say, "I _____ a dozen trout last week."

45. In referring to an item you received for your birthday you would say, "My wife _____ gave it to me on my birthday."

46. If someone was on his knees in church last Sunday you would say, "He _____.

47. In talking about the number of times you have been on horseback you might say, "I have _____ many horses."
48. If you had been bothered by the neighborhood children you might say, "Those kids ___ my doorbell a hundred times yesterday."

49. In warning a child who was getting too close to a fire you might say, "If I ___ you I wouldn't get any closer."

50. In talking about something a child shouldn't have done yesterday you might say, "He _______."