

SCHLOP SCHOLARSHIP: A SURVEY OF FOLKLORISTIC STUDIES  
OF LUNCHCOUNTER AND SODA JERK OPERATIVES

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Anyone who has ever ordered a "B.L.T." or two "sunny side up" has participated in the folklore of the occupational group that consists of lunchcounter operatives, namely counter men, short order cooks, waiters, waitresses, and that particular American phenomenon -- the soda jerk. Almost exclusively, the lore that has been collected from this group falls under the general category of folk speech, the sub category of dialect vocabulary. Jan Harold Brunvand in The Study of American Folklore defines "dialect" as "the traditional deviation from standard speech" which includes variations in vocabulary (dialect vocabulary).<sup>1</sup> Brunvand considers those linguistic strayings from the presumed standard speech that are ephemeral or technical to be "slang" or "jargon," reserving the term "folk speech" for such language that is longer-lived and more generally used.<sup>2</sup> Although many of the terms used by this occupational group have enjoyed longevity beyond the mass of slang terms and have passed into wider use than is common for jargon, the ephemeral nature of much of this specialized language, combined with its secret, in-group nature has led it to be commonly called either "lingo" or "jargon." Eric Partridge prefers that "lingo" be reserved for a simplified language such as Pidgin-English, while he employs the term "jargon" "for the technicalities of science, the professions, and the trades."<sup>3</sup> While soda jerks can be considered, on the basis of their own testimony, "fountain chemists" or "Licensed Fizzicians,"<sup>4</sup> and thus professional men entitled to speak jargon, Partridge would term their language "slang," which he defines as "language of a highly colloquial type, considered as below the level of standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in a special sense."<sup>5</sup> Thus the term "jargon" best emphasizes the work context that generates the particular terminology of an occupational group. Perhaps, however, to avoid the objections of the linguistically fastidious the synonym for jargon, "shop," might be blended with the noun that the culinary fastidious use to describe the fare of the average Greasy Spoon lunchcounter, and the proper term for the language of this group might then be called schlop.

Lunch counter schlop or jargon has periodically received attention in the journal American Speech. In 1936 Harold W. Bentley of Columbia University in his article "Linguistic Concoctions of the Soda Jerker"<sup>6</sup> sketched the history of the soda fountain which he considers to be "a peculiarly American phenomenon." Bentley devoted the bulk of his article to a discussion of various terms which he collected and alphabetically listed at the end of his article. His collecting method consisted, he informs us, "of personal visits to a large number of soda fountains in New York City during the year 1934-1935."<sup>7</sup> In no case does he cite informants, though it would seem that many of the terms are so cryptic as to demand explanation by an insider, particularly those terms that were used to warn fellow workers, such as "white bread" - the boss is around.

Despite the lack of informant citation, Bentley's article is very important for the scholar for two reasons. First, it is the earliest collection and as such provides a means of measuring the durability of this jargon. Second, in this writer's opinion it contains the most colorful terms of all the jargon collections, often giving us insight into the popular prejudices (ethnic, racist, sexist, and others) of the period. Here are a few of the most vivid and ear-catching terms as reported by Bentley:

B.M.T. - Bacon and Tomato Sandwich  
 I.R.T. - Lettuce and Tomato Sandwich, this and the above are based on names for New York's subway system  
 Black Bottom - Chocolate sundae with chocolate syrup  
 High Yellow Black and White - Chocolate soda with vanilla ice cream  
 Hebrew Enemies, A couple of - Two Pork Chops  
 Irish Turkey - Corned Beef and Cabbage  
 Italian Hurricane - Spaghetti with garlic  
 Looseners - Prunes  
 Maiden's Delight - Cherries  
 Make it Virtue - Cherry Coca Cola  
 Midget from Harlem - Small Chocolate Soda  
 Mug of Murk - Cup of coffee without cream  
 Radio Sandwich - Tuna fish Sandwich

Bentley says that "radio" for tuna fish came by way of association with "tune in." The term is still used in a lunchcounter called "The Japs" (although the owners are Korean) near Columbia University. I frequented the establishment from 1962-66 and "radio" meant a tuna fish sandwich with lettuce and mayonnaise on white toast.

John Riordan's article in The California Folklore Quarterly<sup>8</sup> offers a contrast with Bentley's piece, since it deals with the jargon of Berkeley, the San Francisco Bay area, Fresno, and Boulder, Colorado, and was published nine years later. Students of national and regional culture could well use these lists to determine, on the cultural level marked by occupational jargon, what jargon motifs are found in both the San Francisco and New York areas. The traditionality of the jargon is important in terms of culture change and cultural conservatism. In regard to the latter, it is significant to note that both Riordan and Bentley report the use of "Adam and Eve on a Raft," although in California the term referred to two fried eggs on toast, while in New York City it designated two poached eggs on toast. Bentley relates an anecdote about Henry Ward Beecher who "having been greatly impressed by the originality and resourcefulness of soda dispensers in coining names for their servings, decided on one occasion to put the slinguistic imagination of one particular dispenser to a test. Upon taking his seat at the lunchcounter or soda fountain Mr. Beecher placed an order for two eggs on toast and then added 'Please scramble the eggs.' The challenge was met, so the story goes, without hesitation on the part of the waiter who reeled off to the cook what is now a worn-out call, 'Adam and Eve on a raft'; followed by 'and wreck 'em'."<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, no source for this personal legend (or lunchcounter legend, if you will) is given by Bentley, but it does attest to the traditionality of this type of jargon. Riordan does better than Bentley in providing anecdotes actually told by lunchcounter operatives. Although the following story does not seem to be an actual text, it

nevertheless indicates how the jargon gives rise to anecdotes which are doubtless shared by the workers of this occupation. Riordan names his informant, a Mrs. Owen of the Owen's Sandwich Shop, Boulder, Colorado, and relates the anecdote thusly:

"Shoot a sissy and stretch it!" does not refer to the execution of an effeminate young man by means of firearms and the rack. It is a large vanilla "coke."<sup>10</sup> Once a freshman at the University of Colorado sat at a large table with about a dozen co-eds. Suddenly a waiter behind him yelled: 'Shoot a sissy!'. The hapless neophyte was terrified and embarrassed, prepared for an impromptu hazing by vigilant sophomores. 'It's o.k., bud,' said the waiter, 'I just ordered a vanilla "coke" for one of the girls.'<sup>11</sup>

Riordan, like Bentley, appends an alphabetical list of terms to his article. He notes the distribution of the terms in the several cities that he deals with, and he gives the names of informants from each of the several regions.

Ten years after Bentley's article, American Speech published Robert Shafer's short work on "The Language of West Coast Culinary Workers."<sup>12</sup> This work, like the two previously mentioned, contains a lexicographical list which was drawn from the San Francisco East Bay area. There is some overlap with Riordan's list, though Shafer's shorter lexicon contains terms unreported by Riordan.

Shafer, like his predecessor of the previous decade, lists himself as the sole informant. Though he gives us no anecdotes or other examples of folkloric genres in connection with lunchcounters, he does make the observation that "learning slang is no help in getting service. The waitress does not understand you. You do not belong to her sorority."<sup>13</sup> My own experiences lead me to conclude that this is generally true for the establishments that cater to the general public, but not true for eateries that specialize in serving college students. Here the patrons use the jargon in ordering, and the place assumes an in-group atmosphere that includes both workers and student patrons. Though we shall have more to say on this subject shortly, at this point it should be noted that, as Shafer observes, in the average (non-college) context, customer appropriation of the jargon is resented by the operatives, for the jargon belongs to the group. Once after several weeks of observing the calls in one particular restaurant in New York City, I ventured to join the fraternity by ordering "two with and a draw" only to have the waitress turn and yell to the cook, "Ordering two hamburgers with a side order of French Fries and a cup of coffee with cream, please!"<sup>14</sup>

Shafer's lexicographical list of jargon is distinguished by his attempts at etymology, an analytical mode missing, except for a few passing comments, in the lists of Bentley and Riordan.

There is one term that is worth singling out for comment because of the way it demonstrates how jargon of this type can illuminate an area of America's cultural past. Bentley lists under "expressions signifying Coca Cola" several terms containing the phrase "shoot." Unfortunately, he makes no attempt at etymology. These expressions are:

"Shoot one, shoot one from the South (strong), shoot one in the red (with cherry flavor), shoot a pair and spike it (two, flavored with lemon), shoot it yellow (with lemon flavor)... shot in the arm,...walk a shot (so strong of Coca-Cola that it can walk)."<sup>15</sup>

Riordan too lists terms for Coca Cola such as:

"shoot a dilly - small lime 'coke'; shoot one - small plain 'coke'; shoot one yellow - artificially flavored lemon 'coke', small."<sup>16</sup>

He then offers a tentative etymology for the above terms. "'Shoot one'," he says, "apparently refers to the process of squirting Coca-Cola syrup into a glass and shooting into this some carbonated water under pressure."<sup>17</sup> This explanation is in error for two reasons. First, the squirting of carbonated water under pressure is not limited to Coca-Cola but is done in the making of ice-cream sodas and other drinks as well, and yet only the Coca-Cola is called "shoot one." Second, and more importantly, Riordan's explanation does not explain enough, for allied to the problem of the origin of "shoot one" is the origin of other terms used to signify Coca-Cola.

The origin of "shoot one" or "a shot in the arm," as fountain terms for Coca-Cola, is questionably supplied us by Shafer when he lists:

"A shot - Coaca-Cola. From 'a shot in the arm' of drug addicts?"<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, Shafer's explanation is on the right track, for the terms employing "shot in the arm" and "shoot" refer back to a folk belief about the nature of Coca-Cola. That Coca-Cola was equated with drugs is documented by James W. Tuttleton in his note in American Speech of 1963.<sup>19</sup> Tuttleton first quotes documentary evidence dating from 1915 that reports that a large proportion of Coca-Cola drinkers called for the beverage as "dope." Other evidence cited by Tuttleton dating from 1931 notes that "dope," meaning Coca-Cola, was a regional dialect term found in the Southeastern United States where soda shops were called "dope shops" by native speakers. Tuttleton next goes on to explain how, in his opinion, the term "dope" became a substitute for Coca-Cola due to the "confusion of the abbreviation for cocaine...That coke was an abbreviation for cocaine in Atlanta [the home and first distribution point of Coca-Cola] can be demonstrated from Roy Stannard Baker's Following the Color Line (1908)."<sup>20</sup> "Shoot one" and "shot in the arm" are not only terms that demonstrate how culture laden occupational jargon can be but also, perhaps, show that widespread familiarity with drugs is not a novelty but a phenomenon that in previous decades was known from coast to coast, as attested to by soda fountain lingo.

A minor contribution to the study of the jargon of this occupational group was made by three English students of the University of Florida. Presumably from personal observation, they compiled a list of terms current in Gainesville, Florida in 1949.<sup>21</sup> Students represent a potentially rich source of information concerning the folklore of lunchcounter operatives since they make up a large segment of the work force in this occupation, particularly as waiters, waitresses, and soda jerks. Therefore, it is surprising that no data could be found in the Archives of the Folklore

Institute. I can only assume that student collectors are encouraged by their instructors to report on self-knowledge of the "exotic" genres of ghost stories, folktales, superstitions, and jokes while the category of occupational folklore is entirely overlooked. With encouragement from the Folklore faculty, I believe it quite likely that many anecdotes and possibly whole cycles of personal legends and other types of schlop lore could be turned up by student self-informants who have worked in lunch-counters and soda fountains.

American Speech continued its interest in the occupational language of soda jerks. In 1967 it published an article by Michael Owen Jones entitled "Soda Fountain, Restaurant, and Tavern Calls."<sup>22</sup> This work, like the others previously mentioned, had a lexigraphical focus, but unlike the others it was not based on personal observation or random contact with jargon users. Jones interviewed one Paul Sinclair who had worked at the Jayhawk Cafe in Lawrence, Kansas, as a waiter during his student days at the University of Kansas before World War II and who owned and operated the cafe from 1946 to 1964. Jones's research is valuable for its contribution to occupational dialect. However, more important than this linguistic aspect is the fact that it provides us with a context by means of which the phenomenon of dialect vocabulary can be studied, not atomistically as a series of isolated linguistic fragments, but as part of a total work situation. Even though Jones was primarily interested in a long attachment to a single place, he could not help but collect other genres of occupational folklore as well as valuable data regarding the sociology and psychology of this type of occupation.

In his introduction to the glossary of terms used in the Jayhawk Cafe, Jones first gives a typology of the calls. Next he presents a brief but important structural analysis of the jargon, noting that:

"the 'structure' of a call consists first of fountain order, then the modifications of number and size, and last of the special instructions. For example, an order for three tall (10 ounce) glasses of Dr. Pepper, two of which have cherry flavoring added, would be M.D.'s a crowd, in the air, a pair to the right."<sup>23</sup>

Of all the collectors surveyed, Jones is the only one to offer a structural analysis. That this is so is due, I believe, to the fact that he is the only researcher to do intensive interviewing. An examination of his taped interview with Paul Sinclair<sup>24</sup> shows that Sinclair himself repeatedly explained the structure of the calls. As Sinclair puts it in the interview:\*

"Jones: If you wanted five limeades...?"

Sinclair: That'd be squeeze a handful uh, it could be to the right, a lot of 'em used cherry limeade, so if you had five limeades, two of 'em cherry, you'd call initially squeeze five, a pair to the right...Squeeze five. That gives the bartender the designation of how many is his full order. Then if there's any deviations or additions to 'em that comes later."<sup>25</sup>

\*The author thanks Prof. Jones for his kind permission to quote from his interview.

After a discussion of the typology and structure of the calls, Jones moves on to discuss the genesis of the jargon. Most of the terms, he concludes, are the result of wordplay based on association, such as "patch" for strawberry ice cream. Descriptions of some physical characteristics of the food or its container give rise to another type of call, exemplified by "bucket of mud" for a dish of chocolate ice cream. The Jayhawk Cafe presents the sole case in the literature of lunchcounter jargon where terms of location are recorded. "To the left" was used to signify lemon flavor which was dispensed from the left of the coke dispenser, and "to the right" signified cherry flavor. Other factors in the genesis of terms are the method of preparation, which gives rise to terms, such as "drop" for an ice cream sundae, abbreviations of words and phrases, such as "c-pie l-a" for cherry pie a la mode, and finally, as noted by Jones, there are contractions or blends, such as "glamottle" (glass that holds more than a bottle) which indicates a 13 ounce glass of Budweiser draught beer.

When Jones queried Paul Sinclair as to how certain calls were created he uncovered anecdotes which were attached to certain of the terms. The following anecdote related by Sinclair is significant not only as an example of the existence of folklore other than jargon, that in general has gone uncollected, but also for the data it offers those interested in popular stereotypes, in this case the football player.

"Jones: You were telling me about the origin of 'one of the best' (a bottle of Coca-Cola). Would you go over that again?"

Sinclair: Yeah, uh, prior to the automatic dispenser you had to dispense your Coke out of a pump by hand, and it was s'posed to measure a quantity of Coke. But as you continue to use your pump it could get, oh coagulate up the syrup or something. In other words, you couldn't measure the actual amount of syrup only by sight. A Coke should have about an ounce of syrup in a six ounce glass. So we tried, we had some of the football players working there to pursue their education. And this particular individual was typically a football player weighing about two sixty, stand about six-two, and didn't know his left hand from his right. And I was working him on the fountain and he couldn't possibly make a Coke. He'd have about four ounces of syrup or he'd have about an ounce of syrup. So in a joking manner someone told him the best Coke he could make is a bottle Coke. So from then on, why, a bottle Coke was 'one of the best'.

Jones: And you say his name was 'Lobo' Jenkins?"

Sinclair: 'Lobo' Jenkins. I don't know what his first name was. Course 'Lobo' was his nickname."<sup>26</sup>

The interview method employed by Jones turned up not only anecdotes connected with certain jargon but accounts of ritual behavior. Thus, in reply to the question how he got his nickname, "Buffie", Sinclair, as part of his explanation, described how certain of his clientele would

croak at him as they came in the door. As Sinclair remarked to Jones, he tolerated this demeaning behavior because "it was good for business."

"Jones: Where did you get the name "Buffie"?"

Sinclair: Well, now, course that's a story that's been handed down for many years. When I first came out of the army I was real, real slender. Weighed about a hundred forty, forty-two pounds. Through no fault of the army I don't think. But anyhow, immediately when I got back from the army I was standing about five-seven and a half or eight and I got to weighing about two-thirty. Could hardly walk down the aisle I was so huge (he now weighs about 150 or 160). Had a very good friend of mine that was getting his doctor's degree, he was in entomology, and uh. I had one of these high stools back of the counter. And I was so huge, and I would sit on this stool, you know, and so one evening he come up to me and said, 'Paul, you look like a big old fat toad and "buffis" is the scientific name for a toad.' So he says, 'By golly,' he says, 'I'm just gonna start calling you buffis.' And he says, 'Your friends, here, we'll call you buffis.' And it's stuck ever since. And croak, they used to croak at me. They'd come in and instead of saying hello they'd go 'croa-a-a-k.' Betas took that up. Every Beta that come in that place, when they hit that door they'd go 'croa-a-a-a-k.' But all those things good for business. If you asked anybody on the hill who Paul Sinclair was, they couldn't 've told you. Ninety-nine and nine tenths of the people wouldn't know who Paul Sinclair was. I - I didn't encourage it but I went along with the idea because gosh, you know, especially kids that age, if anything like that why they string along with it. It's just very good business."<sup>27</sup>

The extensive evidence and compilations of lunchcounter and soda fountain jargon has prompted several attempts to explain why this type of dialect is used. Harold Bentley analyzes a group of terms for such items as citrate of magnesia, castor oil, and Bromo-Seltzer. He postulates that the jargon for these terms, "Mary Garden," "Manhattan Cocktail," and "blue bottle" respectively, was devised to avoid embarrassing the customers. Bentley offers another interesting group of terms which he characterizes as the insiders signal system. These insider terms fall into two sub-categories: terms to warn the workers that supervisory personnel is present and terms to call attention to certain customers or unusual events. Examples of the former are:

Ninety-eight - the manager  
 Ninety-nine - head soda man  
 Thirteen - one of the big bosses is drifting around  
 White Bread - manager or boss

Examples of the latter are:

Eighty-seven and a half - girl at table with legs conspicuously  
crossed or otherwise attractive  
Fix the Pumps - see the girl with large breasts  
George Eddy - man who gives no tips  
Ninety-five - a customer walking out without paying  
Pittsburgh - a warning that toast is burning  
Saturday Night Special - this girl can be dated for Saturday  
night  
Vanilla - there's a nice looking girl out in front<sup>28</sup>

As regards the category of the insiders signal system, the motivating reason for the use of such terms is self-evident.

Briefly, we find that there are three causative factors that underlie the use of the jargon.<sup>29</sup> The first is that of functionality which would include considerations of secrecy, such as discussed above, and efficiency, such as provided by the ordering system, as explained by Sinclair, and the use of abbreviations or short "catchy," distinctive phrases. The term "radio," for instance, is both efficient in terms of length of words and ability to be remembered.

The second factor is what we would term the social cause. Under this heading would go such considerations as the fact that the jargon creates a desired atmosphere that attracts customers. The interplay and fusion of the functional factor and the social factor is expressed by Paul Sinclair: "The reason, actually, of course, was for the atmosphere - the college lingo, slang, or whatever you wanna call it. But actually, as we went into it, over a period of years, all the boys readily agreed it made their ordering a lot easier to remember. Actually, it was a help, a big help."<sup>30</sup>

Sinclair encouraged his customers to use the jargon so that they would feel "in the know" and regard his establishment as their "in" place to eat. As already noted, customer use of the jargon, in a setting different from the Jayhawk Cafe, may bring a rebuke from the workers. This shows that occupational speech of this type operates to establish a boundary that is used by service personnel to insulate themselves, the "insiders," from the customer - "outsider" to whom the jargon does not belong.

There is another aspect of the social factor, that should be borne in mind by the folklorist, and this is the aspect of dimensionality. If the lunch-room or soda fountain is considered as a social setting in which the various workers perform, then the "front region" can be considered as the place where the performance is given and the "back region" is "a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course."<sup>31</sup>

All the jargon, anecdotes, and behavior collected in the articles discussed so far belongs to the front region. The customer-observer collection method of Bentley, Riordan, Shafer and the English students virtually assures us that the only lore they will collect will be that which the customers are meant to see or hear. Similarly the interview technique of Jones, focused as it was on the collection of calls, also provides us with the lore that was meant to be perceived.



In order to collect the lore of the back region it is necessary that the work group be unaware of the fact that they are being observed. Thus, back region occupational lore can only be collected by interviewing an informant who is himself a worker and is willing to give away the secrets of this trade or by the method of participant-observation called "complete participation." The best informant would be a trained folklorist working incognito as a lunchcounter or soda fountain man.<sup>32</sup>

George Orwell, who qualifies as a "complete participator," having been a dishwasher in the back region of restaurants, writes in his book Down and Out in Paris and London<sup>33</sup> about the difference in bearing and gestures between the spontaneity of emotion and the in-feeling of the kitchen and the tense guarded "front" manner assumed in performance with the customers. The situation is, of course, different in the lunchcounter, and the presence of jargon may serve as a defensive measure on the part of the help to keep the atmosphere unassuming. However, the kind of anecdotes related by Orwell is suggestive of the types of stories one can collect about back region behavior. Thus, Orwell relates how he was scolded by a waiter. "Fool, why do you wash that plate? Wipe it on your trousers. Who cares about the customers? They don't know what's going on. What is restaurant work? You are carving a chicken and it falls on the floor. You apologize, you bow, you go out; and in five minutes you come back by another door - with the same chicken. This is restaurant work."<sup>34</sup>

Along the same line, we can assume that there is a whole series of hash or stew anecdotes. The jargon reported by Bentley, such as "Clean up the kitchen," "Gentleman will take a chance," and "Yesterday, today and forever" - all referring to hash - suggest that the diligent collector may turn up legends about such a dish.

Returning to the question of the factors that lead to the use of jargon, the third factor may be viewed as cultural in nature. When, as in many lunchrooms, waitresses are employed who call their orders to the counter-men the male workers may feel that their status domination over women is being threatened. As William F. Whyte states, "In our society most men grow up to be comfortable in a relationship in which they originate for women and to be uneasy, if not more seriously disturbed, when the originations go in the other direction."<sup>35</sup> Similarly, the food handling role of the counter-men of short order cooks may itself be felt to be less than manly.<sup>36</sup> The use of jargon, I feel, may be an attempt by the male workers to reassert their sexual and status dominance over the waitresses or over what they perceive to be their womanly role. The jargon serves to reassert male sexual and status dominance by substituting a non-food term for a food term. The customer orders a "food" but by means of the jargon the male workers are called upon to engage in technical processes described in non-food dialect terms. Thus, the jargon represents the reassertion of manly virtue. Instead of making a chocolate malted milk shake, the soda jerk is told to "shake one and burn it." The jargon also allows the workers who are service personnel to speak a language that is vigorous, hard, and forceful. The jargon allows them to speak and hence "perform" as technical operatives engaged in mechanical-like production, rather than as service individuals.

A change in the culture of the work group means that the occupational folklore will alter and in some cases die. Bentley's list of terms current in New York City in 1934-35 speaks unashamedly of racism and of the

blason populaire. Riordan in 1945 listed terms that spoke of the theatre of war: "blackout" - a cup of coffee and "blitz it" - hurry up the order. After the outbreak of war there is a disappearance of the ethnic references in the reported dialect, although the lore of this occupational group still, up to 1964 in the Jayhawk Cafe in Kansas, reflects a mild racist orientation in the use of "through Georgia" to mean chocolate flavor added to a drink. Regionalism<sup>37</sup> is of course evident in the glossaries of terms. Thus, in California "Arizona" means buttermilk, and in Florida "make sea-board" means to be taken out by the customer. Finally, when an establishment changes hands or serves a different clientele the jargon is apt to wither and disappear. This was the case with the Jayhawk Cafe, for as Jones observes, "When Sinclair sold the Jayhawk in 1964, these calls immediately died...drastic changes in decor, the absence of student waiters and a different clientele may be partially responsible for the death of the calls."<sup>38</sup>

Jargon of the kind we have been dealing with demands a certain culture. I have interviewed workers in the New Age Delicatessen in Bloomington, Indiana. This is an organic restaurant-cafe that serves natural foods (no meat) and possesses a powerful stereo set that plays rock music full blast. The workers are conscious members of the counter-culture. They have told me that they try to regard each other as members of one family. They have told me, and I have observed, that they eschew any form of lunchroom jargon. The orders are always referred to by their proper names, and they walk unnecessarily close to the cook, from the point of view of efficiency of communication, in order to deliver their order. As "Merlin" a twenty-one year old waitress told me, "People who yell out don't look at each other...instead of treating each other as waitresses and dishwasher and server, we treat each other as friends."<sup>39</sup>

The question of why the folklore of the industrial and occupational group has been so ignored in relation to the folklore of country life and racial groups has important theoretical implications for our discipline. It may be that the ideology of 19th century primitive romanticism is still with us. If, as Dorson says: "Ultimately American folklore will take its place alongside American literature, American politics, the history of American ideas, and other studies that illuminate the American mind",<sup>40</sup> then occupational folklore must be given more and fuller treatment, for the American mind rests atop the world's most industrialized and urbanized giant. Non-rural occupations account for the work of more than seventy-five percent of its population.

Much of the occupational lore that has been collected is concentrated almost exclusively in one genre or another. Folkloristic material other than the dialect vocabulary of lunchcounter operatives has been collected only accidentally and sparsely. However, this does not mean that occupational lore is by definition a one genre field. Mody Boatright's Folklore of the Oil Industry<sup>41</sup> is a full treatment of that industry, replete with personal and place legends, customs, beliefs, superstitions, songs, poetry, tall tales, anecdotes, and even a folk hero. Archie Green in his excellent article "American Labor Lore: It's Meaning and Uses"<sup>42</sup> demonstrates how the folklore of labor unions, specifically the genres of tales, dialect, ritual, and custom-belief, "adds a dimension of understanding to unionism." Occupational folklore because of its intrinsic integrity and its utility for the understanding of modern American life deserves increased attention.

## NOTES

1. Jan Harold Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore: An Introduction (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1968), p. 29.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. Eric Partridge, Slang: Today and Yesterday (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970 - fourth Ed., Revised), p. 3.
4. These two professional designations are reported by John Lancaster Riordan in his article "Soda Fountain Lingo," California Folklore Quarterly 4 (1945): 50.
5. Partridge, op. cit., p. 2.
6. American Speech 11 (1936): 37-45.
7. Ibid., 41.
8. Riordan, op. cit., 50-57.
9. Bentley, op. cit., 38.
10. Mrs. Owen's anecdote begins here. It is unlikely that she would introduce her story in the above manner.
11. Riordan, op. cit., 52.
12. American Speech 21 (1946): 86-89.
13. Ibid., 86.
14. "Two with, draw one" - used in The College Inn, Broadway and 113th St., N. Y. C., 1964. Despite its name and proximity to Columbia University, The College Inn was a neighborhood restaurant in spirit rather than a college hangout, for example N. Y. C. police and cab drivers ate there.
15. Bentley, op. cit., 40.
16. Riordan, op. cit., 56.
17. Ibid., 51.
18. Shafer, op. cit., 87.
19. James W. Tuttleton, "Coca-Cola and Dope: An Etymology," American Speech 38 (1963): 153 & 154.
20. Ibid., 154.
21. Jeanette Hazouri, Douglas Martin, Arthur J. Palin, "The Argot of Soda Jerks, Car-Hops, and Restaurant Waiters in the Vicinity of Gainesville Florida," American Speech 27 (1952): 231-233.
22. Michael Owen Jones, "Soda Fountain, Restaurant, and Tavern Calls," American Speech 42 (1967): 58-64.
23. Ibid., p. 58.
24. On deposit in The Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University. Accession number: 66-202-F. Title: North American, U. S., Kansas, Paul Sinclair, Michael Owen Jones, 1966.
25. Taped interview with Paul Sinclair.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Bentley, op. cit., 43-45.
29. The terminology is that of William R. Bascom in his paper on "Four Functions of Folklore" in the Journal of American Folklore 67 (1954): 333-349. We are following certain of his analytical suggestions.
30. Jones, op. cit., 60.
31. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 112. Our discussion of what we call dimensionality is based on Chapter III, "Regions and Region Behavior." The terms "setting," "front region," "back region," and "performance" are Goffman's.

32. See Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces 36 (1958): 217-223.
33. George Orwell, Down and Out in Paris and London (London: Secker and Warburg, 1933), p. 86.
34. Ibid., p. 114.
35. William Foote Whyte, "The Social Structure of the Restaurant," American Journal of Sociology 54 (1949): 305.
36. Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., David W. Sonnenschein, and Eric L. Metzner, "The Hasher: A Study of Role Conflict," Social Forces 44 (1966): 510.
37. Just as folktales may be studied using the Finnish Historical-Geographical method, so may the regional distribution of lunch-room terms and specialty items be investigated by this method. This was done by Andrea Greenberg in her paper "The Egg Cream" (Unpublished term paper, Folklore Institute, Indiana University, 1970).
38. Jones, op. cit., p. 60.
39. Personal interview at the New Age Delicatessen, Bloomington, Indiana, April 19, 1971. I have also observed at the restaurant.
40. Richard M. Dorson, "A Theory for American Folklore," Journal of American Folklore 72 (1959): 212.
41. Mody C. Boatright, Folklore of the Oil Industry (Dallas: Southern Methodist Univ. Press, 1963).
42. Archie Green, "American Labor Lore: Its Meanings and Uses," Industrial Relations 4: 2 (Feb. 1965): 51-68.

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Do not fight with your friend even if you think you know his secrets.

-- A Yoruba Proverb