DIALECT BOUNDARIES IN NEW JERSEY

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ABSTRACT: This article uses a questionnaire to examine phonological, lexical, and grammatical forms that earlier studies identified as markers of dialect distinctions in New Jersey to ascertain whether the boundaries have changed for the youngest generation of speakers. The questionnaire was given to college students and mailed to high schools around the state for completion by college-bound seniors. Results indicate that in some cases the dialect differences more or less match those in existence for many generations, with a north-south division clearly evident. In other instances, the influence of New York City is evident, with variables decreasing in frequency as distance from the city increases. In still other cases, older statewide forms are disappearing, supplanted by variants found more typically outside of the East Coast.

At the time of the American War of Independence, some enterprising wordsmith gave New Jersey the name "the Cockpit of the Revolution," as armies crossed and recrossed the state, battling for possession of this strategically important region. Today it is also a cockpit of sorts when it comes to dialects, with lexical and pronunciation variants vying for supremacy as populations migrate and old lines of demarcation shift in a state dominated by two large metropolitan areas outside its borders, New York City and Philadelphia. Traditional dialect divisions (Kurath 1949; Kurath and McDavid 1961; Carver 1987) show a major regional boundary running east and west through the center of the state, dividing it into northern and southern regions. But where exactly is the boundary and has it changed? New Jersey is the most densely populated of all the states, with a tremendous amount of growth and movement in local populations. As the developers continue their quest for new ground to break and newcomers arrive en masse, have the features that characterize those older dialects been retained by new generations of speakers or have they failed to find purchase in the asphalt of exurbia?

Carver's 1987 study of word geography, based on the words in the questionnaire used by the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE* 1985–), does not say much about New Jersey, but the national maps in it show the northern part of the state falling in with the Upper North, which includes New York State and northern Pennsylvania, while the southern section forms part of the Lower North with the boundary line, as shown in figure 1, running

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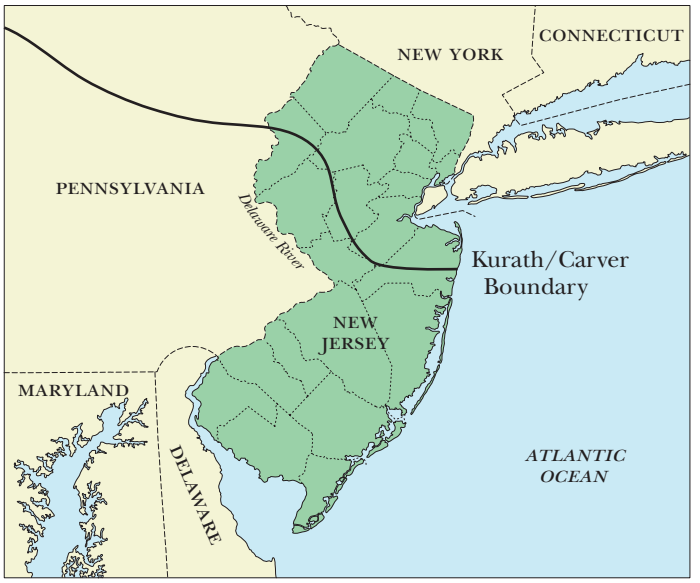
FIGURE 1
Boundary Dividing North and South Jersey, from Kurath (1949) and Carver (1987)



from the Shore (the New Jersey name for the Atlantic coast) just south of Staten Island to Warren County on the upper Delaware (1987, 248). Kurath (1949, 91) shows the same boundary, but he calls his areas the North and the Midlands. Within the Midlands, South Jersey and Philadelphia form the Delaware Valley subdivision, while the northeastern corner of New Jersey is grouped with Metropolitan New York as a subarea of the North.

Phonological studies reinforce those divisions. Kurath and McDavid (1961) used the same boundary lines that appeared in Kurath (1949). More recently, Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) designate most of New Jersey as part of a "Mid-Atlantic Region" that includes Baltimore and Philadelphia, with northeastern New Jersey part of a distinct New York metropolitan subregion, distinguished by its loss of postvocalic /r/ (134, 136). South Jersey is grouped with Philadelphia based on features like the fronting of /ow/ (139), and the midsection of the state around Trenton shows an intermediate system between Philadelphia and New York (238–39). Because Labov, Ash, and Boberg focused on urbanized areas of the United States, parts of New Jersey outside the three major urban areas (New York, Trenton, and Philadelphia) are more difficult to characterize from these data.

In the older word geographies, farming words like *stone boat* and *whiffletree* provided many of the distinctive forms. But to paraphrase the old co-

nundrum: if a whiffletree falls to the ground in a forest and no one knows what it is, does it make a dialect boundary? Are the terms that have hitherto been gathered into bundles to delineate boundaries too archaic or esoteric to mean anything in the twenty-first century? In keeping with other recent work with questionnaires (Chambers 1994; Coye 1994; Vaux and Golder 2004; Boberg 2005), the present study is an effort to investigate some lexical, phonological, and grammatical forms in general use today that are markers of dialect distinctions and to determine whether in fact boundaries have shifted in New Jersey.

METHODOLOGY

This study began as a project in History of the English Language classes at the College of New Jersey, which is located outside Trenton and whose student body is 95% from within the state. Every September a ritual is repeated as first-year undergraduates discover the humor in each other's pronunciations of the salient phonological features: the fronted /o/ of South Jersey (exemplified by the phrase *phone home*) and the raised diphthongal /ɔ/ of the northeastern counties bordering New York City (*call Paul*). It is difficult to investigate those particular phonological distinctions in questionnaires, but other features can be investigated in this way, like the merger of *Don* and *Dawn*, vowels before intervocalic /r/, and variations in word geography. From 1999 to 2003 students were asked to use a short questionnaire to interview friends from the college. The only stipulations were that they be native speakers of English and have lived in the same community since they were five years old. That initial, short questionnaire (see appendix A) was fairly limited, focusing on only nine variables. An expanded questionnaire (see appendix B) was introduced in a 2004 freshman seminar on dialectology at the college and forms the basis of this study. In that class students were asked to use the questionnaire to interview five other first-year students from the college who had lived in one town since they were five. The questionnaire was also given to students in other classes I taught in the spring and fall of 2004. This provided data on dozens of communities throughout the state, but given the collection procedure, there were significant gaps in some areas.

To fill those gaps, in the spring of 2005 the questionnaire was mailed to targeted high schools. To limit the informants to the student-aged population and inspired by the *Wenkersätze*, the methodology used to collect data on German variations at the dawn of dialectology,[1] a cover letter was addressed to the chairs of the English departments at the selected high schools, asking that the questionnaire be given to three college-bound seniors. A stamped

return envelope and three blank questionnaires were provided. The teacher was asked to select only students who had lived in that community since the age of five. As an extra incentive, a summary of some of the dialect features of New Jersey was included for the teacher's use in the classroom.

The results were encouraging. With no prior contact with the teachers, the return rate was 44% (i.e., 28 returned of the 63 sent) and many of the gaps were filled. Moreover, some of the teachers were so enthusiastic about the project that they had entire classes fill out the questionnaire. Many of the teachers were incredibly appreciative. They reported that they now had something to build a lesson around in an area of study that had piqued the interest of their students.

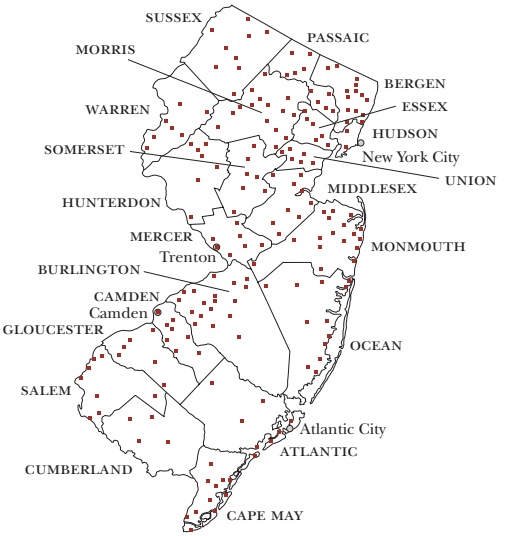
There are several caveats that apply to this study: (1) the students may not have filled out the form accurately, (2) there may be self-reporting errors if informants misjudged what forms they actually use, (3) nonstandard spellings that represent phonological features may have been misinterpreted, (4) the large urban centers are underrepresented (Newark, Hudson County, New Brunswick, Camden), and (5) it should be emphasized that the survey population is limited to young "cultivated" speakers, either currently in college or college-bound, though some of them come from working-class backgrounds. Nevertheless, these hundreds of responses provide a rough picture for this generation of educated speakers.

REGIONS OF NEW JERSEY

There are several distinct areas in New Jersey (see figure 2):

1. the densely populated industrial cities and suburbs of New York City in the northeast (Bergen, Passaic, Hudson, Essex, and Union counties);
2. the Shore (the Atlantic Coast—Monmouth, Ocean, Atlantic, and Cape May counties);
3. the sparsely populated Pine Barrens, which make up much of the interior of Atlantic, Ocean, Burlington, and Camden counties in the south;
4. the flat, farming areas of South Jersey with Delaware Bay to the southwest (Cumberland and Salem counties);
5. Camden and its suburbs, across the Delaware River from Philadelphia (Burlington, Camden, and Gloucester counties);
6. the suburban/semirural central region with the cities of Trenton in the west and New Brunswick in the east (Mercer, Middlesex, and Somerset counties);
7. the hilly, rural northwest bounded on the west by the upper Delaware and on the north by New York State, with parts of the region becoming more densely populated as the New York suburbs expand (Sussex, Warren, Hunterdon, and Morris counties).

FIGURE 2
New Jersey Counties and Communities Surveyed



Nearly all rural areas are under pressure from developers. The rail and Interstate systems make daily commuting to New York and Philadelphia possible in much of the state, and farmland is being converted to bedroom communities at sometimes astonishing rates. The population of New Jersey grew 9% from 1990 to 2000, led by (formerly) rural Somerset County (24%), which in turn was led by Montgomery Township bordering Princeton (82%).[2]

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The long questionnaire was completed by 429 informants from 198 communities, supplemented by 220 informants from 68 additional communities in the short questionnaire. Communities represented in the responses to the long questionnaire are shown in figure 2 and numbers by county are listed in table 1. Informants were born between the years 1975 and 1990, with the vast majority for the long questionnaire respondents born in 1985, 1986, and 1987; 36% were male and 64% female. On the long questionnaire, 12 (3%) listed their race as black, 16 (4%) as Hispanic or Puerto Rican, 10 (2%) as Asian, 2 (.5 %) as mixed, and 87% listed their race as Caucasian or white. Sixteen (4%) did not respond to the question on race.[3]

TABLE 1
Number of Informants and Communities Represented by County

County	*Long Questionnaire*		*Short Questionnaire*	
	Number of Informants	*Number of Communities*	*Number of Informants*	*Number of Additional Communities*[a]
Sussex	19	10	11	4
Passaic	13	9	6	0
Bergen	17	14	27	15
Hudson	5	2	4	1
Essex	7	6	6	3
Union	7	6	16	6
Middlesex	51	10	17	5
Monmouth	41	17	15	5
Ocean	17	12	20	1
Atlantic	11	7	4	2
Cape May	40	13	2	0
Cumberland	5	4	5	1
Salem	18	8	0	0
Gloucester	10	7	6	1
Camden	9	8	15	5
Burlington	24	18	10	3
Mercer	32	7	18	1
Hunterdon	9	8	5	1
Somerset	12	8	14	4
Morris	17	15	14	8
Warren	65	9	5	2
TOTAL	429	198	220	68

a. Indicates additional communities not already covered by the long questionnaire respondents.

Target questions were rarely left blank, but when they were, the percentages reported throughout this article were calculated based on the number of those who responded to a given question.

The results have been grouped into four categories:

1. Illustrations of a north-south divide as described in Kurath (1949) and Carver (1987). Survey results show the existence of a predominantly northern variant and a predominantly southern variant with a mixed region between them. The mixed area varies in breadth and location, but the boundary is usually located near Atlantic City on the eastern coast, running northwest to Trenton. In some cases the mixed boundary area continues further north along the Delaware into Warren County, which corresponds to the Kurath/Carver line (figure 3).

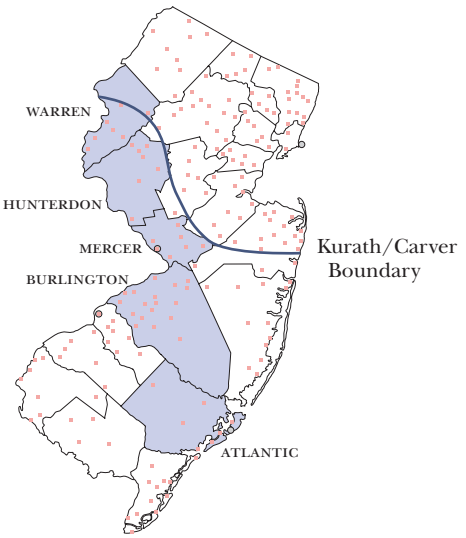
2. Illustrations of the influence of New York City, with a variant common in the metropolitan region diminishing in frequency to the west and south.
3. Instances where earlier studies showed a feature of New Jersey speech that is now clearly recessive.
4. Features that do not fall into any of the other categories, often illustrating localized words and pronunciations.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE: BOUNDARY FROM ATLANTIC CITY TO TRENTON

One of the findings of this study is that the traditional boundary separating North and South Jersey (as mentioned, the regions have been given different names in past studies) now seems to be further to the south along the Shore than for earlier generations. Where Carver (1987) and Kurath (1949) place the boundary in Monmouth County on the northern Shore, the following variables showed the divide to be near Atlantic City, about 40 miles to the south for this generation and this group of words. In addition it should be noted that in keeping with the Kurath/Carver line, for some items on the questionnaire variation extended into the upper Delaware north of Trenton, but for others it did not.

The variables that best show this divide are described below with the counties of the boundary region highlighted in figure 3. Figures 4–7 show

FIGURE 3
Counties on the Boundary between North and South Jersey

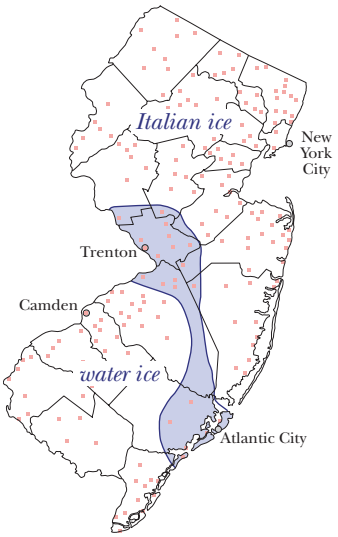


some of the isoglosses that cross the state in these border counties, from which it can be seen that in some cases the counties along this swath of the state group with the north and at other times with the south.

ITALIAN ICE/WATER ICE. This variable is mentioned first because responses provided the cleanest north-south division line in the survey (figure 4). Terms for this product, flavored soft ice, separate north (*Italian ice*) from south (*water ice*) quite clearly with Atlantic County (Atlantic City) and Mercer County (the Trenton area) on the dividing line. The upper Delaware in this case is firmly in the northern camp, but there are a few exceptions to be found on both sides of the boundary. *DARE* evidence points to *Italian ice* formerly being more widespread, even including Philadelphia.

POSITIVE *ANYMORE* 'NOWADAYS'. Students were asked to indicate whether the sentence *Cars are so expensive anymore!* "sounded OK," "sounded incorrect," or if they were "not sure." About half found it acceptable on the upper Delaware and South Jersey, south of the line of demarcation from Atlantic City to Trenton (figure 5). Virtually no one outside these areas accepted its use. At the time of *DARE*'s research, it was found in South Jersey and in various locations throughout the United States, particularly in Appalachia. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, 294, map 21.3) note mixed responses to positive *anymore* in New Jersey, with the fewest using it in the northeastern part of the state.

FIGURE 4
Distribution of *Italian ice* and *water ice*



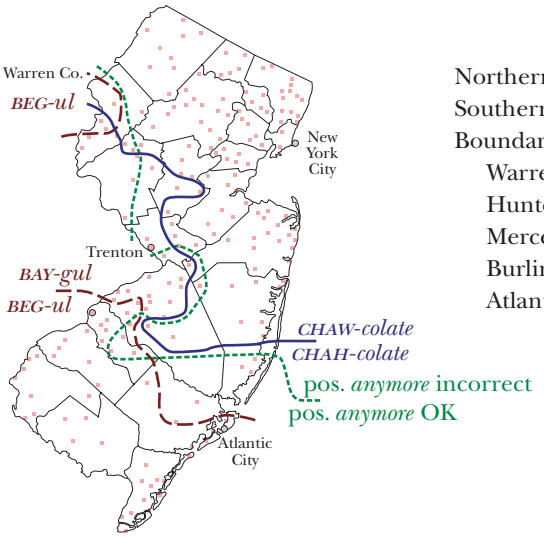
	Percentage of Informants		
	Italian ice	*water ice*	*Both*[a]
Northern counties	98	2	0
Southern counties	4	92	4
Boundary counties			
Warren	98	2	0
Hunterdon	89	11	0
Mercer	38	56	6
Burlington	17	83	0
Atlantic	64	36	0

NOTE: Shaded region indicates mixed usage.

a. While "both" was not given as an option, some informants wrote it in or circled both forms.

FIGURE 5
Boundary between North and South Jersey: Three Isoglosses

	Precentage of Informants					
	Positive anymore			*bagel*		
	OK	*Incorrect*	*Not Sure*	*BEG-ul*	*BAY-gul*	*Both*
Northern counties	8	91	1	1	98	1
Southern counties	42	58	0	19	70	11
Boundary counties						
Warren	52	42	6	14	81	5
Hunterdon	22	56	22	11	88	0
Mercer	33	67	0	7	93	0
Burlington	17	83	0	13	83	4
Atlantic	18	63	18	8	75	17



	chocolate	
	CHAH-	*CHAW-*
Northern counties	27	73
Southern counties	89	11
Boundary counties		
Warren	30	70
Hunterdon	63	37
Mercer	22	78
Burlington	82	18
Atlantic	80	20

BAGEL (PRONOUNCED *BEG-UL* AND *BAY-GUL*). Chosen by students as one of the distinctive markers of South Jersey speech, the results show that the pronunciation *BEG-ul* is almost entirely restricted to South Jersey, with the boundary running from the Camden suburbs to Atlantic City (figure 5). However, even in this area, *BAY-gul* was also reported in most counties and usually predominated. The pronunciation *BEG-ul* also appeared in Warren County on the upper Delaware, reported by 19% of informants.

CHOCOLATE (PRONOUNCED WITH *CHAH-* OR *CHAW-*). Disregarding those informants who merge *Don* and *Dawn* (see below),[4] there is a distinct north-south boundary for the reported pronunciation of the first syllable of *chocolate*, with

South Jersey favoring *CHAH-* and North Jersey favoring *CHAW-*. The boundary again begins north of Atlantic City, and crosses the state to Trenton (figure 5). However, in this case there are many examples of crossovers, especially in the north. Freehold in Monmouth County, for example, showed 3 out of 14 (21%) using the southern form *CHAH-*, as did 11 out of 37 (35%) in South Amboy in Middlesex County (opposite Staten Island).

CRAYON (PRONOUNCED *CRAY-AHN*, *CRAY-UN*, *CRAN*, OR *CROWN*).[5] The vast majority in all parts of the state report pronouncing *crayon* as *CRAY-ahn*, with two syllables, both with full vowels. There are, however, three other pronunciations that appear in the state: *CRAY-un*, with a weakening of the last vowel to schwa, was virtually unknown in North Jersey, but was reported in South Jersey by 18% of informants. The monosyllabic *CRAN* (rhyming with *Anne*), the form commonly found in the Great Lakes region (Coye 1994, 275), was extremely rare in South Jersey, but did appear in small numbers in North Jersey. The last variant, a homophone with *crown,* was reported in significant numbers in South Jersey, approaching one-third of the total in some areas, and in smaller numbers in the upper Delaware region (figure 6). It was virtually unknown in the New York City area. This reinterpretation of *crayon* as *crown,* found also on the Chesapeake (Coye 1994, 275), results from reduction in the second syllable to schwa and the raising of the first element of the diphthong /aw/ for speakers in this region (Kurath and McDavid 1961, map 28).

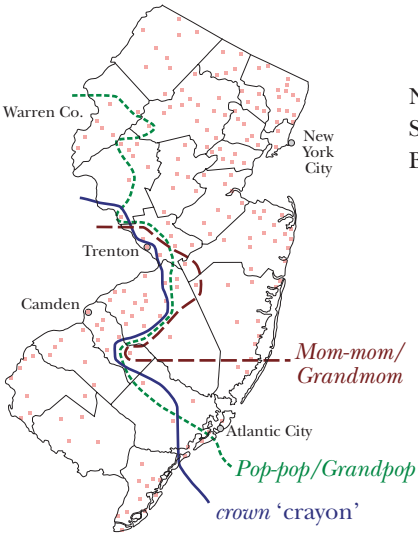
GRANDMA/MOM-MOM, *GRANDMOM*. On the long questionnaire, informants were asked to indicate the terms they used to refer to their maternal grandmothers from a list of possible forms and pronunciations. To obtain the forms used in both referential and vocative contexts, a target sentence was provided for each (see appendix B).

The most common vocative form in the northern part of the state was *Grandma*. The spelling on the questionnaire that was usually circled was *GRAM-mah* or *GRAN-mah*, indicative of a full final /ɑ/. In South Jersey *Mom-mom* or *Grandmom* are used about half the time (figure 6). *DARE* shows that *Mom-Mom* and *Grandmom* are limited mainly to Pennsylvania, South Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland and that the various pronunciations of *Grandma* are found throughout the northern United States.

Gramma with a final schwa (*GRAM-muh* on the questionnaire) was found in small numbers in every part of the state, except the southwest. *Nana* (found in *DARE* in North Jersey, New England, and Pennsylvania) was reported 15 times, mostly in the north. It made a particularly strong showing in Warren County on the upper Delaware, with 16% of informants using it. In addition to the choices provided, there were several write-ins:

FIGURE 6
Boundary between North and South Jersey: Northern Extent of Three Variables

	Percentage of Informants					
	CROWN	*CRAN*	*CRAY-un*	*CRAY-on*	*Mom-mom/ Grandmom*	*Other*
Northern counties	2	9	1	88	3	97
Southern counties	12	1	18	69	50	50
Boundary counties						
Warren	7	13	13	67	6	94
Hunterdon	14	14	0	72	0	100
Mercer	8	6	2	84	25	75
Burlington	29	0	12	59	29	71
Atlantic	20	0	20	60	45	55



	Pop-pop/ Grandpop	*Other*
Northern counties	14	86
Southern counties	74	26
Boundary counties		
Warren	34	66
Hunterdon	13	87
Mercer	45	55
Burlington	38	62
Atlantic	30	70

Nannie, reported 9 times, again mostly in the north; *Grammy* and *Gram*, found in the area between Trenton and Camden 7 times; *Grandmother*, used as the vocative 6 times; and a host of special names.[6]

The questionnaire also showed that in New Jersey there is a fairly even mix of those for whom the referential and vocative forms are the same and those who differentiate, with no regional patterns evident. For those who did distinguish the two, *grandmother* was usually the choice for the referential form in North Jersey, while in the south *grandmother* and *grandmom* appeared about equally.

GRANDPA/POP-POP, GRANDPOP. As with the terms for grandmothers, informants were asked to indicate the terms they used to refer to their paternal

grandfathers in referential and vocative contexts. The results parallel those for *Grandma/Mom-Mom*. *Grandpa* with a full final /ɑ/ is the northern vocative form, while in South Jersey *Pop-pop* is the overwhelming choice, with some instances of *Grandpop*. The chief difference in patterning between *Pop-pop* and *Mom-mom* is that the former is also found in significant numbers in North Jersey, particularly the northwest, whereas the latter is not (figure 6). However, a large section of central New Jersey, on the eastern side of the state from Atlantic City to Essex County, showed no instances of *Pop-pop* or *Grandpop*. This extension of the southern form into the northwestern part of the state is consistent with the results shown on the map in *DARE*.

Grampa with final schwa (*GRAM-puh* on the questionnaire) was found scattered throughout the state in small numbers, and *Grandfather* was used as the vocative 10 times, primarily in North Jersey. There were many additional names reported as well.[7]

As with *grandmother*, about half the informants distinguished referential terms from the vocative. Referential *grandfather* was found throughout the state, with *grandpop* also attested in the south.

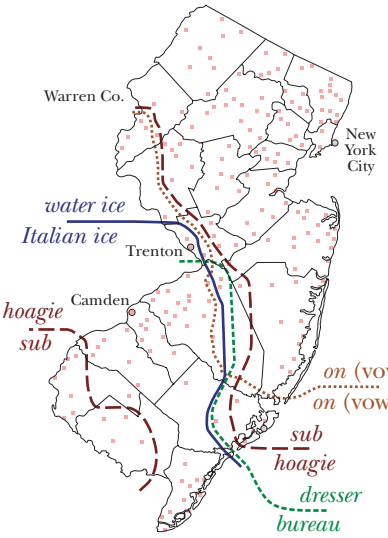
DRESSER/BUREAU. *Dresser* is preferred as far south as Atlantic City and Trenton (figure 7). There were scattered instances of *bureau* in this area, particularly along the boundary, usually from informants who used both terms. In South Jersey *bureau* was reported about half the time along with *dresser*, with many informants using both terms. In Cape May County, for example, 21 used *dresser*, 11 used *bureau*, and 10 used both.

HOAGIE/SUB/HERO. This is one of the variables that comes up first among students in New Jersey whenever north-south differences are discussed, but the survey showed that the division is not clear-cut. *Sub* (short for *submarine sandwich*) is the term of choice in most of North Jersey, while *hoagie* is preferred in the South, except along Delaware Bay in Salem and Cumberland counties, where *sub* is preferred with only a few examples of *hoagie* reported. The boundary extends north of Trenton into the counties on the northern Delaware River, where both terms may be found (figure 7). *Hero* was found only in the northeast, primarily in Bergen County (29%), alongside *sub*. *Hoagie*'s origin is obscure, but it is used throughout Pennsylvania in addition to South Jersey (*DARE*). *DARE* found *hero* primarily in the New York City metropolitan region, but not often in northeastern New Jersey. *Grinder*, used in parts of New England, was not reported at all.

ON (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *DON* OR *DAWN*).[8] Excluding those who merge *Don* and *Dawn* (see below), there is a clear division in the pronunciation of *on*, with informants from North Jersey reporting use of the vowel of *Don* and those in the south reporting the vowel of *Dawn*. Beginning

FIGURE 7
Boundary between North and South Jersey: Four Isoglosses

	Percentage of Informants					
	bureau	*dresser*	*Both*	*sub*	*hoagie*	*Both*[a]
Northern counties	3	90	7	94	5	1
Southern counties	23	59	18	15	85	0
Boundary counties						
Warren	3	90	7	40	46	14
Hunterdon	0	86	14	55	22	11
Mercer	10	84	6	42	58	0
Burlington	26	48	26	4	96	0
Atlantic	20	67	13	55	36	9



	on	
	Vowel of DAWN	*Vowel of* DON
Northern counties	9	91
Southern counties	92	8
Boundary counties		
Warren	38	62
Hunterdon	18	82
Mercer	54	46
Burlington	73	27
Atlantic	62	38

a. While "both" was not given as an option, some informants wrote it in or circled both forms.

at Atlantic City, where the vowel of *Dawn* predominates, the division line runs northwest to Trenton (also favoring the vowel of *Dawn*), then north along the upper Delaware, where informants were more evenly split (figure 7). Crossovers occur on both sides of the boundary, but these are a small minority in most counties.

This boundary appears to be fairly stable. Sixty years ago Thomas (1947) mapped a division line much like the one that exists today, with 91% of those in northern New Jersey using [a] or [ɑ] and 67% of those in southern New Jersey using [ɒ] or [ɔ]. However, Kurath and McDavid's work, based on even older informants, shows a slightly different pattern, with the eastern end of this boundary further to the north in Monmouth County, just south of Staten

Island (Kurath and McDavid 1961, map 138). The presence of /ɔ/ lingers there today, with, for example, 3 of 14 informants in Freehold reporting it (21%), but on the Shore further south (Ocean County) there were no examples of /ɔ/ in the coastal areas until Atlantic City.

This variable is one of the distinctive markers separating the North from the Midlands in the eastern half of the United States. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, map 14.2) show the boundary extending from the Jersey Shore to Trenton (where both variants were recorded), then across the northwest corner of Pennsylvania and west into Iowa, so that Scranton, Cleveland, Chicago, northern Illinois, and northern Iowa all rhyme *on* with *Don,* but south of that line it rhymes with *Dawn.* This distinction is only valid, of course, if /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ have not merged, as they have in western Pennsylvania.

GET A SHOWER/TAKE A SHOWER. This was a distinction suggested by students as a north-south shibboleth. The survey showed that nearly everyone in North Jersey uses *take a shower,* as do most from South Jersey (table 2). There were a minority in South Jersey and on the upper Delaware who use *get a shower* (about 10% for each county).

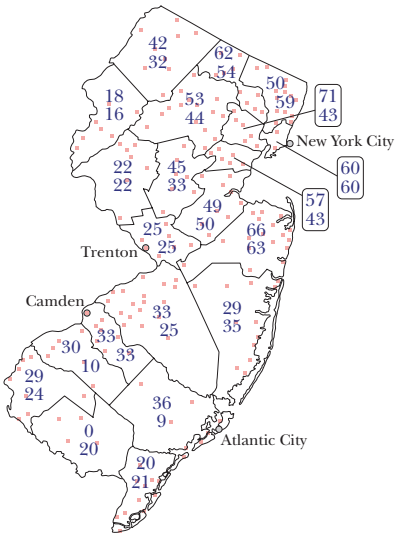
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE INFLUENCE OF NEW YORK CITY

CALM AND *ALMOND* (PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF /l/). Previous reporting on *calm* showed that the pronunciation with /l/ was the dominant form in the United States for college students born in the early 1970s, except in parts of the North, including the New York City region, where a majority retained the older, /l/-less pronunciation (Coye 1994, 269). The current study shows that the situation has not greatly changed since then in New Jersey (table 3). Both /l/-less and /l/-ful pronunciations are reported in every part of the

TABLE 2
Distribution of *get a shower* and *take a shower*

	Percentage of Informants	
	get a shower	*take a shower*
Northern counties	0	100
Southern counties	13	87
Boundary counties		
Warren	3	97
Hunterdon	11	89
Mercer	0	100
Burlington	13	87
Atlantic	11	89

FIGURE 8
Precentage of *calm* (top) and *almond* (bottom) without /l/



state, but in South Jersey and the Delaware Valley up to Warren County, the pronunciation with /l/ predominates, usually by about 2 to 1. However, in the counties bordering New York City, the /l/-less pronunciations are more common, but not by a wide margin. In a more distant band around New York City, from Sussex County in the north to the center of the state, usage is about evenly divided. There were slightly more examples of /l/ for *almond* than for *calm* in nearly every county (figure 8).

These /l/-ful pronunciations are examples of tremendously successful spelling pronunciations. *Calm*, *almond*, and other words of this sort (e.g., *balm*, *palm*) were pronounced without /l/ until the twentieth century. Kurath and McDavid (1961, 141–42) show no evidence of /l/ at all as they discuss *calm*, and *DARE* lists it as a variant without comment. Though *almond* with /l/ was given by a few informants in *DARE* from several locations, it is unclear how prevalent the /l/-ful pronunciation was in the past, but it would appear that proximity to New York City is a factor in staving off this change in both these words.

DRAWER/DRAW. Informants were asked if they used *drawer*, *draw*, or both.[9] As a check on rhoticity, informants were asked elsewhere on the questionnaire if they pronounced the /r/ in *farm*. All reported they did. *Draw* was used only rarely in South Jersey and was unknown in the Northwest, but was reported with great frequency in the area influenced by New York City from Mon-

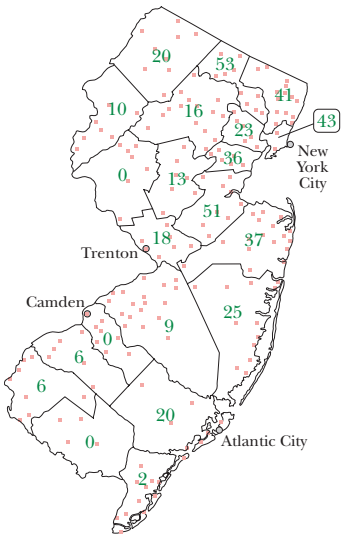
TABLE 3
Distribution of /l/-less and /l/-ful Pronunciations of *calm* and *almond*

	Percentage of Informants					
	calm			*almond*		
	/l/-less	*/l/-ful*	*Can't Tell*	*/l/-less*	*/l/-ful*	*Can't Tell*
Inner-Ring Counties						
Passaic	62	31	8	54	46	0
Bergen	50	38	12	59	41	0
Hudson	60	20	20	60	40	0
Essex	71	14	14	43	43	14
Union	57	43	0	43	57	0
Middlesex	49	43	8	50	48	2
Monmouth	66	24	10	63	37	0
Outer-Ring Counties						
Sussex	42	47	11	32	63	5
Morris	53	40	7	44	50	6
Somerset	45	55	0	33	67	0
Ocean	29	59	12	35	65	0
Most-Distant Counties						
Warren	18	72	9	16	75	9
Hunterdon	22	78	0	22	78	0
Mercer	25	66	9	25	75	0
Burlington	33	63	4	25	75	0
Camden	33	67	0	33	56	11
Gloucester	30	60	10	10	80	10
Salem	29	59	12	24	76	0
Cumberland	0	100	0	20	80	0
Cape May	20	78	2	21	79	0
Alantic	36	55	9	9	91	0

mouth and Middlesex counties north to the New York State border in Sussex County (figure 9). However, even in this area *draw* was usually not reported as frequently as *drawer*. *DARE*'s map for *draw* indicates that it is used in the northern United States from Maine to Washington State and in the South, but not in the Midlands. It was originally simply the nonrhotic pronunciation of *drawer*, which then spread into rhotic areas like western New England, Upstate New York, and points west. This would explain its pattern around the old nonrhotic epicenter in New York City (cf. *forward* below).

FORWARD (PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF FIRST-SYLLABLE /r/). Informants were asked if they pronounced *forward* as *FOE-ward*, *FORE-ward*, or both. As previously mentioned, all informants reported they pronounced /r/ in *farm*. How-

FIGURE 9
Percentage Using *draw*

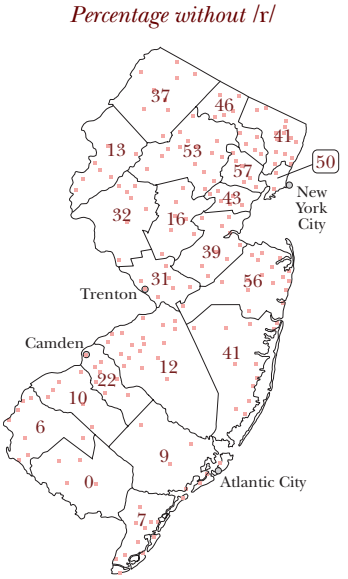


	Percentage of Informants		
	drawer	*draw*	*Both*
Inner-Ring Counties			
Passaic	47	42	11
Bergen	59	36	5
Hudson	57	43	0
Essex	77	15	8
Union	64	27	9
Middlesex	49	34	17
Monmouth	63	32	5
Outer-Ring Counties			
Sussex	80	17	3
Morris	84	10	6
Somerset	87	9	4
Ocean	75	22	3
Most-Distant Counties			
Warren	90	6	4
Hunterdon	100	0	0
Mercer	82	10	8
Burlington	91	6	3
Camden	100	0	0
Gloucester	94	6	0
Salem	94	6	0
Cumberland	100	0	0
Cape May	98	2	0
Alantic	80	20	0

ever, the first syllable of *forward* shows no /r/ through much of the state with a clear regional distribution. A small minority showed /r/-absence in South Jersey, the Delaware Valley, and the northwest, but those counties bordering New York City where postvocalic /r/-absence was once the norm, showed much higher rates of /r/-absence in *forward*, typically around 50% (figure 10).

GONE (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *DON* OR *DAWN*). As with *on*, the southern part of the state reports using the vowel of *Dawn*, and the northern part reports the vowel of *Don*. The difference in patterning between *on* and *gone* is that the latter's boundary is closer to New York City. In addition, the number of informants reporting the vowel of *Dawn* in the northern region is higher than was the case with *on,* perhaps owing to the influence from Upstate New York, where /ɔ/ is the norm (Thomas 1935, 72). If this change from /ɑ/ to /ɔ/ is in fact under way, proximity to New York City would seem

FIGURE 10
Percentage without /r/ in *forward*

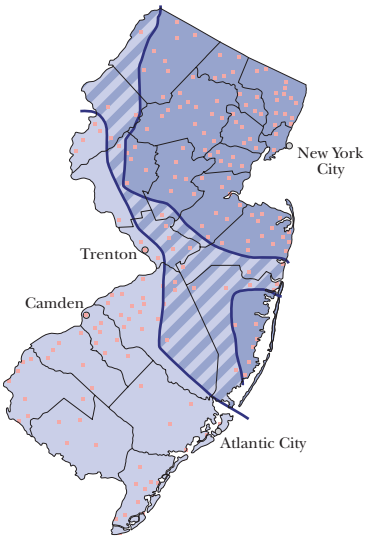


	Percentage of Informants		
	/r/-less	*/r/-ful*	*Both*
Inner-Ring Counties			
Passaic	23	54	23
Bergen	35	59	6
Hudson	25	50	25
Essex	57	43	0
Union	43	57	0
Middlesex	27	61	12
Monmouth	37	44	19
Outer-Ring Counties			
Sussex	32	63	5
Morris	35	47	18
Somerset	8	84	8
Ocean	23	59	18
Most-Distant Counties			
Warren	12	87	1
Hunterdon	22	67	10
Mercer	19	69	12
Burlington	8	88	4
Camden	22	78	0
Gloucester	10	90	0
Salem	0	94	6
Cumberland	0	100	0
Cape May	5	93	2
Alantic	0	91	9

to be slowing its adoption. In summary, *gone* and *on* with /ɑ/ is typical of the New York City region; *gone* and *on* with /ɔ/ is typical of South Jersey; and *gone* with /ɑ/ and *on* with /ɔ/ is found in a band from the central Shore northwest through the center of the state to the upper Delaware and into Upstate New York and northern Pennsylvania (figure 11).

WAIT ON LINE/WAIT IN LINE. *Wait on line* is a shibboleth of New York City speech, while in New Jersey it is restricted to the northeastern part of the state, with evidence of its use extending as far south as the Trenton suburbs, Monmouth County, and west to eastern Sussex and Hunterdon counties (figure 12). It was not reported at all on the upper Delaware and only very rarely in South Jersey, where the typical American *wait in line* is used. *On line* was strongest in Bergen County (78%), with the other counties bordering New York City selecting it by a two-thirds to three-quarters margin. As distance from

FIGURE 11
Distribution of the Vowels in *on* and *gone*

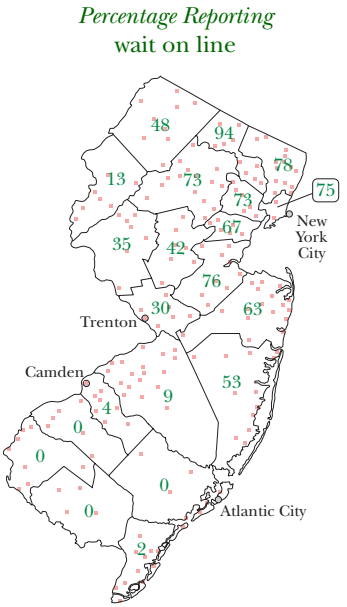


	Percentage of Informants *gone*	
	Vowel of DON	*Vowel of* DAWN
Inner-Ring Counties		
Passaic	84	16
Bergen	92	8
Hudson	75	25
Essex	80	20
Union	90	10
Middlesex	75	25
Monmouth	71	29
Outer-Ring Counties		
Sussex	83	17
Morris	79	21
Somerset	61	39
Ocean	69	31
Most-Distant Counties		
Warren	29	71
Hunterdon	58	42
Mercer	26	74
Burlington	29	71
Camden	4	96
Gloucester	6	94
Salem	33	67
Cumberland	20	80
Cape May	5	95
Alantic	8	92

New York City increases, the usage of *on line* diminishes. In addition, on the outer edge of the *on line* region, the numbers of informants reporting they used both forms increased. For example, Brick Township in Ocean County showed two using *in line*, three using *on line*, and seven using both.

The numbers using *wait on line* may dwindle rapidly in the future. Some informants reported that although their parents used *wait on line*, they themselves did not because of the newer meaning of *online* referring to the Internet. Negative pressure on *on line* may also be measured from tolerance levels. Informants were asked "How does the choice you DIDN'T pick sound?" Their choices were "OK" or "I don't like it." Southern and western New Jersey showed a great degree of intolerance for *on line* (91% rejecting

FIGURE 12
Percentage Using *wait on line*



	Percentage of Informants		
	on line	*in line*	*Both*
Inner-Ring Counties			
Passaic	69	6	25
Bergen	49	22	29
Hudson	25	25	50
Essex	36	27	36
Union	48	33	19
Middlesex	34	24	41
Monmouth	30	37	33
Outer-Ring Counties			
Sussex	17	52	31
Morris	40	27	33
Somerset	5	58	37
Ocean	12	47	41
Most-Distant Counties			
Warren	1	87	12
Hunterdon	14	65	21
Mercer	4	70	26
Burlington	6	91	3
Camden	0	96	4
Gloucester	0	100	0
Salem	0	100	0
Cumberland	0	100	0
Cape May	0	98	2
Alantic	0	100	0

it in the southern counties, 63% in Warren County), while in the counties bordering New York City, 82% reported they used both forms, or that the one they did not use was "OK."

ILLUSTRATIONS OF RECESSIVE FORMS

FLORIDA (PRONOUNCED *FLOOR-IH-DUH* OR *FLAH-RIH-DUH*). Older studies reported that New Jersey used the typical East Coast low-unrounded /ɑ/ before /r/ in words like *authority*, *historical*, *Morris*, and *forest*, where most of the rest of the country had a higher, rounded vowel /o/, today usually the same vowel as *floor*. Kurath and McDavid's (1961) map 54, *orange*, showed New Jersey using /ɑ/ with only scattered instances of /o/. Likewise, the results for *Florida*

in *The Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States* (1980, 161–62) show /o/ only rarely in New Jersey. Thomas's (1958, 200) research verified this finding, with words in this category pronounced with /ɑ/ on the entire East Coast, and he noted that /ɑ/ was perhaps more strongly predominant on the New Jersey coast than anywhere else in the country (1958, 223). For *Florida*, 89 out of 100 of his informants used the unrounded /ɑ/ (Thomas 1944). That pronunciation has lost an enormous amount of ground in the intervening generations. Though /ɑ/ is still found in all parts of the state, the majority of students in most regions reported using the rounded vowel of *FLOOR*-. The previously reported pronunciation with *FLAH-rih-duh* had its strongest showing in Monmouth County near New York City and Gloucester County outside Camden (both in the 70% range). It was weakest on the upper Delaware (12–14%) (figure 13).

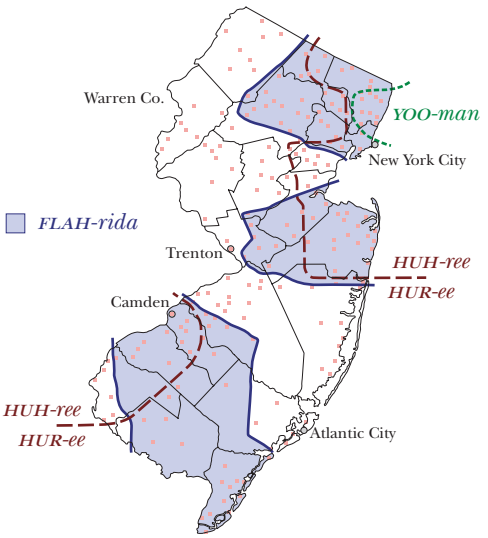
HUMAN (PRONOUNCED *HYOO-MUN* OR *YOO-MUN*). Thomas (1958, 138) reported that initial /j/ as opposed to /hj-/ was common in major cities, though "considered substandard." For the youngest generation today, the pronunciation *YOO-mun* is rare in South Jersey, with only 5% reporting this pronunciation. It was even rarer in the counties from Trenton to the upper Delaware (2%). It is more usual in the New York City region, with the highest concentration found in Bergen and Hudson counties (22%) (figure 13).

HURRY (PRONOUNCED *HUH-REE* OR *HUR-EE* [AS IN *FUR*]). Thomas (1946, 112–15) reported 90% of New Jersey informants using /ʌ/ in *hurry*. However, as was the case with *Florida*, this distinctive East Coast pronunciation is giving way to the form found in the rest of the United States, the vowel of *fur*. The survey found that the previously reported pronunciation (*HUH-ree* on the questionnaire) did appear in all counties, but was especially rare in the northwest (0 to 5 %) and along the southern Shore (8–9%). It was strongest in parts of the New York and Camden regions, approaching half the population in some of those areas (figure 13).

MERRY, MARY, AND *MARRY*. The changing patterns in New Jersey are nowhere more evident than in the shifting low- and mid-front vowels before intervocalic /r/. On the long questionnaire, *merry, Mary,* and *marry* were listed, and informants were asked, "Which of these words are pronounced the same for you?" Four patterns were found (figure 14).

In pattern 1, the oldest of the four, all three words are distinct. Typically *merry* has the low-mid-front vowel /ɛ/ of *met, Mary* has a high mid-front vowel /e/ of *mate,* and *marry* has the low-front vowel /æ/ of *mat*. In southern New Jersey *merry* is also sometimes pronounced with a schwa-like sound, identified in Kurath and McDavid (1961) as [ɜ] or [ɚ].[10] This pattern was particularly

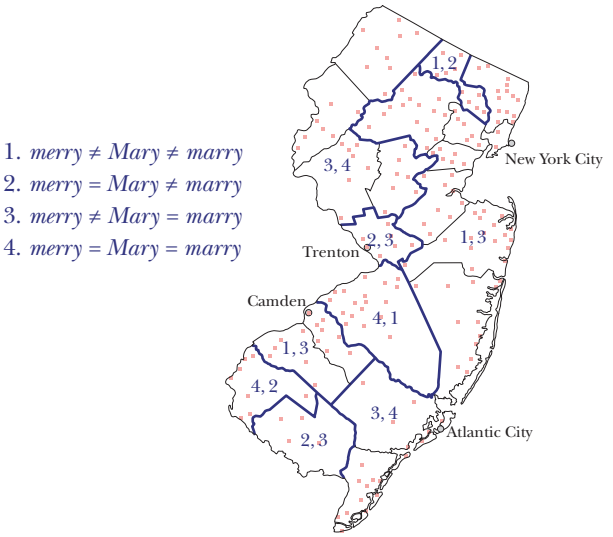
FIGURE 13
Retention of Previously Reported Pronunciations of *Florida*, *human*, and *hurry*



Percentage of Informants

	Florida		*human*			*hurry*	
	FLAH-	*FLOOR-*	*HYOO-*	*YOO-*	*Both*	*HUH-ree*	*HUR-ee*
Sussex	16	84	90	7	3	5	95
Warren	14	86	99	1	0	3	97
Hunterdon	12	88	93	7	0	0	100
Morris	33	67	94	3	3	19	81
Somerset	25	75	96	4	0	0	100
Passaic	38	62	90	5	5	15	85
Bergen	47	53	78	20	2	35	65
Hudson	20	80	78	22	0	60	40
Essex	57	43	84	8	8	14	86
Union	17	83	100	0	0	43	57
Middlesex	26	74	96	4	0	16	84
Monmouth	72	28	94	4	0	29	71
Ocean	17	83	92	5	3	20	80
Mercer	19	81	96	4	0	16	84
Burlington	21	79	97	3	0	14	86
Camden	44	56	92	8	0	44	56
Gloucester	70	30	100	0	0	20	80
Salem	17	83	84	7	7	28	72
Cumberland	40	60	100	0	0	20	80
Cape May	30	70	93	5	2	8	92
Atlantic	18	82	100	0	0	9	91

FIGURE 14
Principal Pronunciations of *merry*, *Mary*, and *marry*
(the two most frequently occurring patterns are given for each area)



	Percentage of Informants				
	None Same	*merry = Mary*	*Mary = marry*	*All Same*	*merry = marry*
Sussex	18	6	47	29	0
Warren	3	13	21	62	2
Hunterdon	11	22	33	33	0
Morris	29	24	29	18	0
Somerset	8	17	42	33	0
Passaic	46	31	23	0	0
Bergen	33	7	40	20	0
Hudson	75	0	25	0	0
Essex	57	14	29	0	0
Union	29	14	57	0	0
Middlesex	24	20	46	7	2
Monmouth	63	10	15	12	0
Ocean	38	6	50	0	6
Mercer	7	46	29	18	0
Burlington	25	12	17	46	0
Camden	33	0	44	22	0
Gloucester	70	0	20	10	0
Salem	0	29	14	50	7
Cumberland	0	40	40	20	0
Cape May	19	19	32	27	3
Atlantic	0	18	55	27	0

strong in the ring of counties around New York City (from 30 to 60%) and in the Camden region. It was very rare in the northwest, from the northernmost tip of New Jersey south to Trenton and in parts of South Jersey.

In pattern 2, *merry* and *Mary* are merged, while *marry* is distinct. This is the most common pattern around Trenton (46%), but occurs throughout the state. It makes its weakest showing in the area bordering New York City.

In pattern 3, *Mary* and *marry* are merged, while *merry* is distinct. This pattern occurred with some strength throughout the state, used by one-third to one-half of informants in most areas. Regional patterns are difficult to distinguish.

In pattern 4, *Mary*, *merry*, and *marry* are merged. This is the pattern for most of the United States, apart from the East Coast. It can be found in all parts of New Jersey but is rare in the New York City region and along the Shore. It is, however, the most common form in the Northwest and has a strong presence on Delaware Bay and in Burlington County in the South.

There were six informants scattered throughout the state who reported a fifth pattern, with *merry* and *marry* merged and *Mary* distinct.

Kurath and McDavid (1961) show much more uniformity in New Jersey based on their informants, who are four or five generations removed from these students. The most typical pattern at that time was the second, with *Mary* the same as *merry* but distinct from *marry* (125 and maps 49, 50, 51). The exception was the area influenced by New York City, which follows pattern 1. Thomas (1958, 199), however, reported that the New York City area had pattern 2, so it would appear that some of the shifts were well under way three generations ago. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, map 8.4) show that in the United States pattern 1 was strongest in New Jersey, New York City, and Philadelphia. In that survey, apart from pattern 1, there were a few examples of *Mary* and *merry* merging in New Jersey, but none for the merger of all three.

WOODCHUCK/GROUNDHOG. The *DARE* map shows that *woodchuck* is used in northern New Jersey, as well as in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, the North Central states, and is scattered through the Midlands and the South.[11] *Groundhog* was the predominant form in the southern United States and the Midlands and was also found in parts of the Northern states. *DARE* shows a solid presence for *woodchuck* in the northern part of New Jersey, while *groundhog* was reported in both North and South Jersey. The distinction goes back to the colonial period, when Benjamin Franklin reported the differences between New England's *woodchuck* and Pennsylvania's *groundhog* (*DARE*). The latter is apparently a calque from the Dutch *aertoercken* 'earth pig' and may owe its dominance in New Jersey and Pennsylvania to the early Dutch and German settlements there.

TABLE 4
Distribution of *woodchuck* and *groundhog*

	Percentage of Informants				*Percentage of Informants*		
	woodchuck	*groundhog*	*Both*		*woodchuck*	*groundhog*	*Both*
Sussex	0	95	5	Monmouth	0	92	8
Warren	2	90	8	Ocean	0	94	6
Hunterdon	0	89	11	Mercer	6	85	9
Morris	0	94	6	Burlington	4	88	8
Somerset	0	75	25	Camden	11	78	11
Passaic	8	92	0	Gloucester	0	100	0
Bergen	0	94	6	Salem	0	89	11
Hudson	0	100	0	Cumberland	0	100	0
Essex	0	86	14	Cape May	3	97	0
Union	0	71	29	Atlantic	0	100	0
Middlesex	4	92	4				

Young people today, however, have almost completely turned to *groundhog*, as opposed to the generations that produced *DARE*. There were only 11 (2%), mostly from the North, from both long and short questionnaires, who reported using *woodchuck*, and 17 (3%) used both. It is difficult to compete against a national holiday and a popular movie.

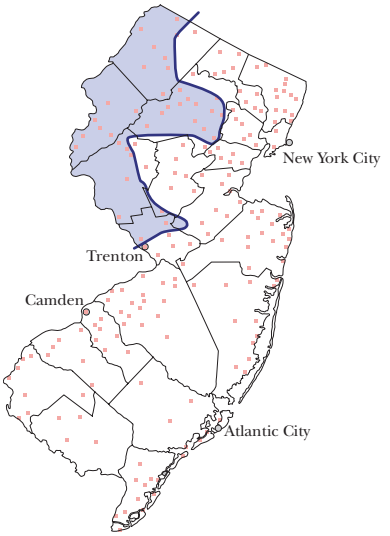
OTHER FINDINGS

MERGER OF VOWELS OF *DON* AND *DAWN*. Based on the responses to a question on the short questionnaire that asked if *lawn* and *Don* rhyme and to one on the long questionnaire that asked if *Don* and *Dawn* sound the same, the /ɑ/-/ɔ/ merger is gaining a solid foothold in New Jersey. The merger was found in almost every part of the state, but most commonly in the northwest, led by Sussex County, where 32% of informants reported no distinction between *Don* and *Dawn*. The next highest numbers were also in the north and west: Warren (31%), Morris (24%), and Mercer (23%) (figure 15). All other counties were under 18%, and two, Passaic in the northeast and Cumberland in the South, reported no evidence of the merger at all.

This spread of the merger would appear to be a fairly recent development. Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, map 9.1) show no evidence of merger in New Jersey, while map 9.2 shows a few instances of "transitional" use.

LOG (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *DON* OR *DAWN*). For those who distinguish between *Don* and *Dawn*, *log* with the vowel of *Don* is the predominant form throughout the state, with some exceptions: on Delaware

FIGURE 15
Distribution of the /ɑ/-/ɔ/ Merger



	Percentage of Informants	
	Vowels Same	*Vowels Distinct*
Sussex	32	68
Warren	31	69
Hunterdon	17	83
Morris	24	76
Somerset	4	96
Passaic	0	100
Bergen	5	95
Hudson	12	88
Essex	10	90
Union	5	95
Middlesex	3	97
Monmouth	7	93
Ocean	13	87
Mercer	23	77
Burlington	7	93
Camden	4	96
Gloucester	7	93
Salem	15	85
Cumberland	0	100
Cape May	11	89
Atlantic	15	85

TABLE 5
Log

	Percentage of Informants			*Percentage of Informants*	
	Vowel of DON	*Vowel of* DAWN		*Vowel of* DON	*Vowel of* DAWN
Sussex	80	20	Monmouth	81	19
Warren	56	44	Ocean	86	14
Hunterdon	100	0	Mercer	38	62
Morris	92	8	Burlington	72	28
Somerset	80	20	Camden	100	0
Passaic	89	11	Gloucester	100	0
Bergen	100	0	Salem	50	50
Hudson	67	33	Cumberland	25	75
Essex	75	25	Cape May	84	16
Union	75	25	Atlantic	60	40
Middlesex	89	11			

Bay and in Atlantic County the vowel of *Dawn* was reported by 40–75% of informants. There was also a strong presence in Mercer County and on the upper Delaware (table 5).

MISCHIEF NIGHT/GOOSEY NIGHT/CABBAGE NIGHT. The day before Halloween is referred to as *Mischief Night* everywhere in the state with two exceptions. *Goosey Night* is the term of choice in an area comprising Passaic County, the eastern half of Sussex County, and the northeast section of Morris County. *Cabbage Night* is found only in Bergen County (figure 16). *Cabbage Night* has been used as far back as c. 1915 in various places in the northern United States, including Wisconsin, Ohio, and Massachusetts (*DARE*). An online survey indicates that the term is still found scattered throughout the North, as well as in some isolated examples elsewhere in the United States, and is particularly common in Vermont and Massachusetts (Vaux and Golder 2004). The name comes from the practice of teenagers throwing cabbages or cabbage stumps against houses (*DARE*). The origin of *Goosey Night* is obscure.

PASSAIC (PRONOUNCED *PUH-SAYK* OR *PUH-SAY-IK*). Students from Passaic County were adamant that Passaic is pronounced *puh-SAYK*, that is, with two syllables, the second syllable rhyming with *lake*. The questionnaire showed the vast majority from that county reporting the bisyllable form, as well as significant numbers from neighboring counties in the north. The rest of the state used the trisyllabic variant (table 6).

FIGURE 16
Distribution of *Mischief Night*, *Goosey Night*, and *Cabbage Night*

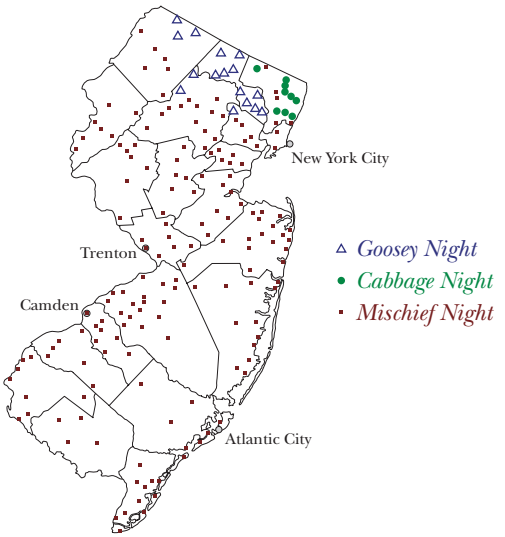


TABLE 6
Distribution of the Pronunciation of *Passaic*

	Percentage of Informants			*Percentage of Informants*	
	puh-SAYK	*puh-SAY-ik*		*puh-SAYK*	*puh-SAY-ik*
Sussex	26	74	Monmouth	2	98
Warren	11	89	Ocean	12	88
Hunterdon	0	100	Mercer	0	100
Morris	24	76	Burlington	8	92
Somerset	8	92	Camden	11	89
Passaic	58	42	Gloucester	0	100
Bergen	35	65	Salem	6	94
Hudson	40	60	Cumberland	0	100
Essex	43	57	Cape May	5	95
Union	14	86	Atlantic	0	100
Middlesex	9	91			

PLAY CATCH/HAVE A CATCH. An earlier investigation of this term (Coye 1994, 278) found *have a catch* limited in the United States to the Philadelphia and New York areas, with about half the informants from the New Jersey suburbs of those cities using this term. The current study found that in this generation, North Jersey overwhelmingly prefers *play catch*, the standard term throughout the United States. There are scattered instances of *have a catch* in the northeastern part of the state, but it is almost completely absent in the northwest. Its highest concentration in the north was in some of the New York suburbs (around 25%). *Have a catch* does much better in South Jersey, particularly around and between Trenton and Camden (31–68%). Another response was *throw the ball around*, which occurred occasionally throughout the state (table 7).

POULTRY (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *PUCK* OR *POKE*). To my knowledge, dictionaries list only /o/ in the first syllable of poultry, but throughout New Jersey, in every county, there are speakers who use /ə/ or /ʌ/. The strongest showing for this alternate pronunciation was on Delaware Bay and in some of the suburbs of New York, where it was reported by one-quarter to one-half of the informants (table 7).

TOUR (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *DOOR*). Informants were asked if *tour* and *door* rhyme. Almost the entire state reported that they did. Only 12 of 427 informants said they did not, 11 of whom were in the north. In New Jersey the vowel before /r/ for both *tour* and *door* varies between a high-back rounded vowel /u/ and a lower vowel /o/, with the latter perhaps more common. Other pronunciations for *tour* outside of New Jersey include /aʊ/

TABLE 7
Distribution of *play catch* and *have a catch* and the Pronunciation of *poultry* and *tournament*

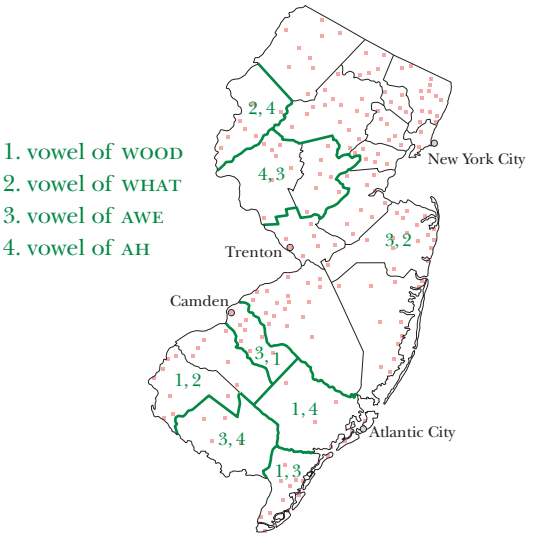
	Percentage of Informants								
	play catch/have a catch			*poultry*			*tournament*		
	play catch	*have a catch*	*throw the ball around*	*Vowel of* PUCK	*Vowel of* POKE	*Both*	*tur-*	*tore-*	*Both*
Sussex	87	11	3	13	74	13	12	76	12
Warren	87	3	10	16	74	10	8	78	14
Hunterdon	64	27	9	0	100	0	22	78	0
Morris	90	10	0	12	82	6	6	76	12
Somerset	71	21	8	8	84	8	9	73	18
Passaic	83	11	6	33	67	0	0	69	31
Bergen	71	22	7	13	80	7	18	82	0
Hudson	87	13	7	50	50	0	40	60	0
Essex	71	24	6	0	100	0	14	86	0
Union	83	9	9	14	86	0	0	100	0
Middlesex	70	23	8	15	83	2	12	76	12
Monmouth	74	17	9	29	67	4	7	78	15
Ocean	86	11	3	19	69	12	6	94	0
Mercer	55	36	8	13	81	6	28	56	16
Burlington	56	41	3	27	64	9	26	65	9
Camden	28	68	4	0	100	0	0	78	22
Gloucester	50	44	6	10	90	0	30	60	10
Salem	78	17	5	29	57	14	33	54	13
Cumberland	100	0	0	20	80	0	40	60	0
Cape May	57	35	8	23	72	5	15	75	10
Atlantic	47	40	13	9	91	0	9	73	18

and /ɔ/ (*DARE*), but most commonly it has the vowel /u/, while *door* is /o/ (see note 11).

TOURNAMENT (FIRST SYLLABLE *TUR-* OR *TORE-*). The vast majority of New Jerseyans report *TORE-* as the first syllable of *tournament*, which is consistent with their responses to *tour* (see above). The pronunciation *TUR-* was found most commonly in the southern Delaware Valley (from 26 to 40%) (table 7). To my knowledge, the pronunciation of *tournament* has not been investigated nationally, but one *DARE* informant suggested that the vowel of *turn* is used in the North and /or/ in the Philadelphia-Baltimore area (see note 11).

WATER (PRONOUNCED WITH THE VOWEL OF *WOOD*, *WHAT*, *AWE*, OR *AH*). There are four common pronunciations in New Jersey, and all four appear in all parts of the state, presenting a complicated picture (figure 17).

FIGURE 17
Principal Pronunciations of *water*
(the two most frequently appearing pronunciations are given for each area)



	Percentage of Informants				
	Vowel of WOOD	*Vowel of* WHAT	*Vowel of* AWE	*Vowel of* AH	*Vowel of* AWE/AH[a]
Sussex	11	33	39	11	6
Warren	14	44	15	19	8
Hunterdon	12	12	25	50	0
Morris	6	29	47	6	12
Somerset	0	17	33	50	0
Passaic	0	17	75	8	0
Bergen	6	29	65	0	0
Hudson	0	0	75	0	25
Essex	0	43	43	0	14
Union	0	57	43	0	0
Middlesex	10	25	54	10	2
Monmouth	10	38	42	5	5
Ocean	13	33	40	13	0
Mercer	22	31	22	16	9
Burlington	18	36	27	14	5
Camden	33	11	44	0	11
Gloucester	50	25	13	13	0
Salem	20	60	7	7	7
Cumberland	0	20	40	40	0
Cape May	50	15	18	8	10
Atlantic	27	18	18	27	9

a. These informants reported that they used the vowel in AWE or AH but elsewhere indicated that they merged /ɑ/ and /ɔ/.

1. The high-back rounded vowel of *wood* is found mainly in South Jersey, and is especially common in Cape May, where about half of informants reported using it. It is rare in the north.
2. The vowel of *what* is very common in all counties of the state, and is used by a majority in Salem County.
3. The vowel of *awe* is the most common form in the area influenced by New York City and is rarer in the southernmost counties, though it does appear strongly in the suburbs of Camden.
4. The vowel of *ah* appears throughout the state, but only rarely in the northeast.

There are also some cases of a rhotic vowel in the first syllable, making it equivalent to *wore*.

TABLE 8
Distribution and Attitudes toward *youse*

	Informant Uses		*Percentage of Informants In the Community*			*Opinion on Correctness*		
	you guys	*youse (guys)*	*Lots use it*	*Hardly anyone uses it*	*No one uses it*	*OK*	*Wrong*	*Not sure*
Sussex	100	0	6	29	65	0	100	0
Warren	95	5	5	42	54	18	64	17
Hunterdon	90	10	0	0	100	11	89	0
Morris	100	0	0	24	76	6	94	0
Somerset	92	8	0	9	91	0	100	0
Passaic	92	8	0	54	46	8	84	8
Bergen	88	12	0	57	43	14	79	7
Hudson	75	25	25	75	0	25	50	25
Essex	100	0	0	25	75	0	86	14
Union	86	14	0	50	50	0	33	67
Middlesex	72	28	47	34	18	42	45	13
Monmouth	98	2	10	57	33	12	76	12
Ocean	100	0	12	18	71	6	82	12
Mercer	97	3	9	16	75	3	97	0
Burlington	95	5	5	25	70	0	86	14
Camden	78	22	0	50	50	0	67	33
Gloucester	80	20	33	22	44	0	100	0
Salem	83	17	35	59	6	27	47	27
Cumberland	80	20	50	0	50	0	100	0
Cape May	98	2	35	30	35	18	72	10
Atlantic	73	27	0	50	50	22	56	22

Kurath and McDavid (1961, map 134) show /ʌ/ used in all parts of the state, and the sole pronunciation in Middlesex and Union counties near New York City. In all other areas /ɔ/ was used and was nearly universal in the northeast (163). /ɑ/ was found on the upper Delaware and along Delaware Bay. Kurath and McDavid (1961) do not indicate that /ʊ/ was used at all—perhaps this is a recent development from /ʌ/, with rounding from initial /w/.

YOUSE. The second-person plural pronoun *youse* was reported in several areas of the state. Informants were asked whether they used it themselves and if they knew people in their age group in their community who used it. They were also asked whether they thought using *youse* was "wrong" or "OK." Though very few of these college students or college-bound students reported that they used it themselves, there were reports of frequent usage in some of their communities, especially in parts of the New York region, along Delaware Bay, and into the interior of South Jersey.

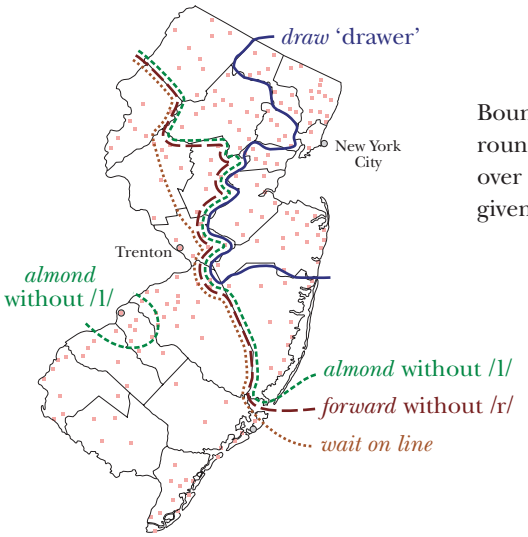
Many informants rejected this usage as "wrong" and reported no one used it in their communities. This was particularly true in a belt from Monmouth County running west and north through the center of the state in Somerset, Morris, and Sussex counties.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this survey supply new data on one of the major linguistic boundaries in the eastern United States. The first group of words shows that the boundary between North and South Jersey found by researchers in previous studies is still present in the youngest generation, but it appears to have moved to the south on its eastern end along the Shore, while in the western part of the state it shifts from the northwestern counties to the central part of the state near Trenton, depending on the variable in question.

There are other forces at play in the state, notably the influence of New York City, with counties closest to the metropolitan area exhibiting higher percentages of some variants than those lying further away. New York sometimes acts as a generator of change, with variants like *wait on line* or /r/-less *forward* spreading as the urban populations move further away from the metropolitan inner ring. On the other hand, it can also act as an obstacle to innovation. Newer forms found nationwide like *calm* and *almond* with /l/ have not penetrated as strongly into the areas closest to New York City. This is also the case with vowels before intervocalic /r/ in *hurry* and *Florida,* where resistance to the pronunciations used by the majority of Americans is stronger in the counties surrounding New York. Figure 18 shows those

FIGURE 18
Influence of New York City



Boundaries mark the areas surrounding New York City where over 33% of informants use the given variable.

areas where at least 33% of informants continued to use the older forms in *human*, *hurry*, and *Florida*. The suburbs of New York City and to some extent Philadelphia-Camden would appear to have slowed the acquisition of these newer pronunciations. This influence is further shown with the four variants in figure 18, some spreading out from New York (*wait on line*, /r/-less *forward*), and some resistant older forms (/l/-less *almond* and *draw* for *drawer*). The boundary is somewhat different for each, but the push and pull of New York is clear, with Mercer County, the Pine Barrens, and the counties along the northern Delaware marking the limit to that influence.

The data further provide a picture of how this youngest generation is adopting pronunciations that differ from some of the hallmarks of East Coast speech used by older generations. Vowels before intervocalic /r/ (e.g., *Mary*, *merry*, *marry*, *Florida*, *hurry*) have shifted dramatically, and whereas Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, 136) use absence of postvocalic /r/ as one of the prime features that mark the Metropolitan New York subregion, none of the informants in this study reported this pronunciation. The stigma associated with this accent would seem to have altered the pattern in this region, at least for this group of college-educated, "cultured" speakers. This shift away from older patterns is also demonstrated by the presence in nearly every county of the merger of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, where previous generations in New Jersey invariably distinguished these two phonemes.

In addition to roughing out the current boundaries for some of the better-known variables from earlier studies, the survey also shows that there are regional patterns to some underreported and unreported words and pronunciations, such as *water ice/Italian ice*, *have a catch*, *get a shower*, *bagel*, and *Passaic*. Doubtlessly others are waiting to be discovered.

Finally, the study once again demonstrates that questionnaires, despite their inherent weaknesses, can be useful instruments for investigating regional forms. Though not suitable for all types of dialectological inquiry, questionnaires can be used successfully and relatively inexpensively to map lexical variation, phoneme incidence, and even phonological patterning. Given the state of flux of some of the variables in this study—the spread of /l/ in *calm*, the merger of /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, and the unsettled state of the mid- and low-front vowels before intervocalic /r/—there are some significant changes in the offing in New Jersey. Hopefully, this survey will prompt other studies that will monitor these changes in future years, perhaps by forging links between academia and that resource Wenker found so invaluable, the school system.

APPENDIX A
Short Questionnaire

Name _____

Town, city where you were raised since age 4 _____

Education Level _____ Year of Birth _____

Male/Female Race _____

1. Do these words rhyme for you? LAWN DON Yes No Not sure
2. If they do not rhyme, which vowel does ON have? vowel of LAWN vowel of DON
3. Which vowel does GONE have? vowel of LAWN vowel of DON
4. How do you say these words?

EITHER	EE-thur	EYE-thur	I use both	
ENVELOPE	AHN-velope	EN-velope	I use both	
CRAYONS	CRAY-ahnz	CRAY-unz	CRANZ	CROWNS
HUMAN	HYOO-mun	YOO-mun	I use both	

5. What do you call the animal that gets into gardens and is brown and fat?

WOODCHUCK GROUNDHOG

6. You've got a baseball and want to throw it back and forth. How would you say it? "Let's _____."

   PLAY CATCH HAVE A CATCH THROW THE BALL AROUND
   other _____

7. Which would you say, "Come on guys! Let's _____ win today!"

   TRY TO TRY AND I use both

8. What do you call the piece of furniture you put your folded clothes in when you're not wearing them?

   DRESSER BUREAU I use both

9. What do you call the things that you slide out in that piece of furniture?

   A DRAWER A DRAW I use both

10. Which would you say? "I went to the movies last night, and we were waiting ___ line for half an hour."

    IN ON I use both

APPENDIX B
Long Questionnaire

Name _____ Year of Birth _____

Town, city you were raised from age 5 _____ County _____

Race _____ Sex _____

Circle all the answers you might use.

1. How would you refer to someone's mother's mother, as in: "That's a picture of her _____"?

   GRANDMOTHER GRAM-muh GRAM-mah GRAM-maw GRAN-mah GRAN-muh NANNA MOM-MOM GRANDMOM

2. How about if you were talking directly to your mother's mother, as in: "How are you, _____"?

   GRANDMOTHER GRAM-muh GRAM-mah GRAM-maw GRAN-mah GRAN-muh NANNA MOM-MOM GRANDMOM

3. How would you refer to someone's mother's father, as in: "That's a picture of her _____"?

   GRANDFATHER GRAM-puh GRAM-pah GRAM-paw POP-POP GRANDPOP

4. How about if you were talking directly to your mother's father, as in: "How are you, _____"?

   GRANDFATHER GRAM-puh GRAM-pah GRAM-paw POP-POP GRANDPOP

5. When you're sweaty and want to get clean, you might say "I'm going to _____ _____."

   HAVE A SHOWER GET A SHOWER TAKE A SHOWER

6. What do you call the night before Halloween?

   MISCHIEF NIGHT GOOSEY NIGHT CABBAGE NIGHT

7. What do you call that long sandwich usually filled with cold cuts and cheese?

   HOAGIE SUB GRINDER HERO

8. What do you call flavored soft ice?

   ITALIAN ICE WATER ICE

9. You've got a baseball and you want to throw it back and forth with your little brother. So you say: "Come on, let's _____."

   PLAY CATCH HAVE A CATCH THROW THE BALL AROUND

10. What do you call the piece of furniture you put your folded clothes in when you're not wearing them?

    DRESSER BUREAU I use both

11. What do you call the things you slide out in that piece of furniture?

    A DRAWER A DRAW I use both

12. You go the movies, and there are 20 people waiting in front of the ticket booth. You say, "Oh no, I can't believe we have to wait _____ line."

    ON IN I use both

13. How does the choice you didn't pick in 12 sound?

    OK I don't like it

14. What do you call that wild animal that gets into gardens and is brown and fat?

    WOODCHUCK GROUNDHOG I use both

15. If you were talking to two of your friends, you would say, "What are _____ doing?"

    YOU GUYS YOUSE YOUSE GUYS

16. a. Do you know people in your age group in your home community who use YOUSE?

    Yes, lots Hardly anyone No

    b. What do you think of YOUSE? OK Wrong Not sure

17. What do you think of this sentence: "Cars are so expensive anymore!"

    Sounds OK Sounds incorrect Not sure

18. What do you call that round bread with a hole in it that you spread cream cheese on?

    BAY-gul BEG-ul I say it both ways

19. Circle the words that are pronounced the same for you.

    MERRY MARY MARRY

20. In the word FARM: I say the R I don't say the R

21. The word HALF has a silent L, what about this word? CALM

    Silent I pronounce it Can't tell

22. What about ALMOND?

    Silent I pronounce it Can't tell

23. Say these two words: DON DAWN. Are they the same? Yes, same No, different
    a. If they are different, does ON rhyme with DON or with DAWN?
    b. If they are different, does GONE rhyme with DON or with DAWN?
    c. If they are different, does LOG have the vowel of DON or DAWN?
    d. If they are different, does WALLET have the vowel of DON or DAWN?

24. Do these words rhyme? DOOR TOUR Can't tell

25. How do you say these words? Circle the right answer for you.

TOURNAMENT	TUR-	TORE-	I use both		
CRAYON	CRAY-ahn	CRAY-un	CRAN	CROWN	
FORWARD	FOE-ward	FORE-ward	I use both		
HUMAN	HYOO-mun	YOO-mun	I use both		
POULTRY	1st syllable vowel of PUCK	or of POKE	I use both		
WATER	1st syllable vowel of WOOD	WHAT	AWE	AH	
FLORIDA	FLOOR-ih-duh	FLAH-rih-duh			
CHOCOLATE	CHAW-	CHAH-			
HURRY	HUH-ree	HUR-ee (as in FUR)			
PASSAIC	puh-SAYK	puh-SAY-ik			

NOTES

1. Georg Wenker mailed schools in the German Empire a questionnaire (or rather a series of questionnaires as revisions were made to the original and the areas investigated expanded) beginning in 1876 that became the basis for the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (1927–56). School officials were asked to gather the information based on their knowledge of the local dialect (Lehmann 1992, 118).
2. The U.S. Census Bureau reported Montgomery Township as the fourth fastest-growing municipality in the state between 1990 and 2000, behind three other once-rural townships: Greenwich in Warren County (130%) and two in Gloucester County, Woolwich (108%) and Harrison (86%).
3. Some of the items in the questionnaire might be susceptible to influence by race, including names for grandparents, or pronunciations of certain words. However, because the numbers are so small, it is difficult to determine from this survey whether there are any particular trends linked to race. For example, there are only 6 blacks in the southern region and 6 in the north. With one exception the results are reported without controlling for race. That exception is the pronunciation of *on*. The results from the survey showed that three of the four blacks in North Jersey who answered that question used the pronunciation more typical of the southern region, which may be a part of a racial trend. Consequently black informants and those who did not report race were excluded in that instance.
4. Informants who reported merging *Don* and *Dawn* were excluded because they do not distinguish between /ɑ/ and /ɔ/, the vowels in question. However, because rates of the /ɑ/-/ɔ/ merger sometimes differ before stops and nasals, it is possible that some of the excluded informants still distinguish between CHAH- and CHAW- in *chocolate* or that some of those included would not.
5. I include both questionnaires in the results reported here for *crayon* even though the target word on the short questionnaire used the plural form, *crayons*.
6. Results for the vocative not already mentioned: *Babah*, *Babcha*, *Babsha*, *Babushka*, *Beeba*, *Booby*, *Franya*, *Grammaw*, *Granno*, *Granny*, *Grannyma*, *Ma-ma*, *May-may*, *Mimi*, *Mondeau*, *Mumma*, *Nan*, *Nannimaw*, *Noni*, *Nonna*, *Oma*, *Tita*, *Unday*, and *Yaya*.
7. Vocative forms not already mentioned include: *Dedushka*, *Gimp*, *Gramp*, *Grampy*, *Grand*, *Grand-da*, *Grand-pajo*, *Jah-jo*, *No-no*, *Opa*, *Pa*, *Papa*, *Pa-pa*, *Papap*, *Peepay*, *Pop*, *Po-pa*, *Poppy*, *Po-pu-ay*, and *Zayti*.
8. Black speakers and those who did not report race were excluded from consideration for this variable. See note 3.
9. Because the questionnaire asked "What do you call the things that slide out . . . ?" instead of "How do you pronounce the word for the things . . . ?" the results may be skewed toward the standard spelling.
10. In parts of South Jersey, the vowel of *merry* (and *cherry*, *Jerry*, etc.) merges with the vowel of *Murray*. Labov, Ash and Boberg's (2006, 54) TELSUR interviews found that in the Philadelphia area *merry* and *Murray* were distinct for a third of the speakers, merged for a third, and nearly merged for a third.

11. I am indebted to the editor of *DARE*, Joan Houston Hall, for supplying me with the data on *woodchuck*, *tour*, and *tournament* from the forthcoming fifth volume.

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