# JIHOČESKÁ UNIVERZITA V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA ÚSTAV ANGLISTIKY

## BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE NEW YORK CITY ENGLISH AND ITS LEXIS

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Karolína Dvořáková

#### **Abstract**

This bachelor thesis investigates the lexicon of New York City English (NYCE) dialect, which results from the rich linguistic landscape of the city. Due to the fact that New York City has a long history of immigration, many exogenous words have found their way into the speech of its residents. In addition to words that have been introduced into the dialect by immigrants, the New York lexicon is also rich for words and phrases that were coined directly in the city. Previous research conducted on this topic indicated that some lexical devices used by New Yorkers are different from those used by speakers in the rest of the United States, and many of the dialect's characteristic traits remain unique to the area of New York City. To date there has been very little recent research done on the spread of the lexicon beyond the dialectal area and the actual use of this vocabulary among New Yorkers. This thesis has aimed to fill this gap. The spread and use of the lexicon was investigated by means of a questionnaire, targeted at three groups of respondents: New Yorkers, Americans living outside of New York City and people from other Englishspeaking countries. The data collected from each cohort were presented, analyzed, and interpreted. The survey results firstly confirmed that New Yorkers, in comparison with respondents from other parts of the United States and with respondents from other Englishspeaking countries, are generally more familiar with words that have roots in immigrant languages. New Yorkers are also more likely to use this NYCE lexis in their everyday lives. Secondly, as regards the expressions that were coined in New York City, the results revealed that many of these words remain to some extent restricted to the New York City area. Finally, the findings also indicate that some of the NYCE lexis surveyed is gradually disappearing from the speech of New Yorkers and remains known and used mainly by speakers belonging to the older generation.

**Key words:** lexicon, New York City, New York City English, dialect, immigrants, United States, English-speaking countries.

#### **Abstrakt**

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá slovní zásobou amerického dialektu New York City English, která je výsledkem bohaté lingvistické krajiny této metropole. Vzhledem k tomu, že město New York má dlouhou historii imigrace, do řeči jeho obyvatel se dostalo mnoho exogenních slov, pocházejících z přistěhovaleckých jazyků. Kromě výrazů, které do města přinesli přistěhovalci, je newyorské lexikum bohaté také na slova a fráze, které vznikly přímo ve městě. Předchozí výzkumy provedené na toto téma ukázaly, že některé lexikální prostředky používané Newyorčany se liší od těch, které používají mluvčí ve zbytku Spojených států, a mnoho charakteristických rysů dialektu zůstává pro oblast New Yorku jedinečných. Dosud však bylo provedeno jen velmi málo nedávných výzkumů týkajících se rozšíření lexika mimo nářeční oblast a skutečného užívání této slovní zásoby mezi Newyorčany. Cílem této práce bylo tuto mezeru zaplnit. Rozšíření lexika mimo oblast města a jeho užívání bylo zkoumáno pomocí dotazníku, který byl zaměřen na tři skupiny respondentů: Newyorčany, Američany žijící mimo New York a obyvatele ostatních anglicky mluvících zemí. Údaje získané od jednotlivých skupin byly prezentovány, analyzovány a interpretovány. Výsledky průzkumu nejprve potvrdily, že Newyorčané ve srovnání s respondenty z jiných částí Spojených států a s respondenty z ostatních anglicky mluvících zemí obecně lépe znají slova, která mají kořeny v jazycích přistěhovalců. Také se ukázalo, že tuto slovní zásobu používají častěji ve svém každodenním životě. Pokud jde o výrazy, které vznikly přímo v New Yorku, výsledky ukázaly, že mnoho z těchto slov zůstává do jisté míry omezeno na oblast této metropole. Zjištění také naznačují, že některé ze zkoumaných slov typických pro tento dialekt se z řeči Newyorčanů postupně vytrácejí a zůstávají známé a používané především mluvčími patřícími ke starším generacím.

**Klíčová slova:** slovní zásoba, New York City, Newyorská angličtina, dialekt, přistěhovalci, Spojené Státy, anglicky mluvící země

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## Introduction

Often called the capital of the world and the center of culture, New York City has become one of the most famous cities in the world. With over 8 million inhabitants, it is the most populous city in the United States. This densely populated area has also developed its own distinct dialect called New York City English (NYCE). According to linguist William Labov, New York dialect is one of the most recognizable dialects in the United States. The most well-known is the dialect's pronunciation system that has been made famous by popular culture. The accent has also been a subject of many studies dealing with NYCE. Some of these studies together with other works relevant for my research will be discussed in the literature review in Chapter 1. The general information about the dialect will be presented in Chapter 2. But apart from its unique phonetic properties, this regional variety of American English has also developed its own distinctive lexicon, which will be the main focus of this thesis.

Due to the cosmopolitan nature of the city, New York has become a melting pot of many different cultures and ethnicities, which has also had an influence on the development of the dialect. Consequently, the New York lexicon contains many words of foreign origin that have been brought to the city mainly by immigrants. To better understand the development of the lexicon, Chapter 3 of my thesis will be dedicated to the general history of the dialect and the immigrant history of the city. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the lexicon itself and the individual foreign influences in more detail. However, immigrants aren't the only sources of the dialect's unique lexicon. In the city's lexicon appear also the so-called New Yorkisms. According to I. L. Allen, "perhaps two thousand words and phrases of slang" (4) have emerged in New York City. These words were originally coined in NYC and many of them have spread throughout the U.S.

My own research aims to look into the use and spread of the New York City English lexicon. Since very little recent research has been done on the everyday use of the vocabulary by New Yorkers and the extent of the spread outside of the dialectal region, one of the main purposes of my study is to map the actual use of this vocabulary among New Yorkers and to map the spread of the lexis outside of the city to other parts of the U.S. and other English-speaking countries. The approaches taken to investigate the lexicon will be presented in Chapter 5. In this chapter the methodology of my research will be described. In Chapter 6 the data that was collected via a questionnaire will be presented

and analyzed. The final part of the thesis will be dedicated to the comparison and discussion of the results.

## 1 Literature review

This section of the thesis reviews the literature relevant for my research, which aims to examine the dialect of New York City English and its lexis. The main focus of my thesis is to present the lexicon of New York City in a social and cultural context. The aim of my research is to find out the extent of the use of NYCE specific lexis by New Yorkers and to track the potential spread of the vocabulary beyond the dialectal area. While there have been many studies on the phonology of the dialect (Babbitt 1896, Labov 1966/2006, Hubbell 1950, Trager 1940, etc.) there has been only a limited number of studies focusing on its lexicon. To fill the gap in existing research, my thesis will examine words and phrases used in New York City as well as the influence of various immigrant groups on the lexicon.

New York City English (NYCE) was first studied by Eugene Babbitt in 1896 in his short work "The English of the lower classes in New York City and vicinity." Here, Babbitt looked into the speech of working-class New Yorkers and immigrant children. Since then, the dialect of New York City has been a subject of several studies that emerged over the last 125 years. Although it was not until 30 years later after Babbitt's publication, that linguist George Trager examined NYCE in 1930 and 1940. His works "The pronunciation of short a in American Standard English" and "One phonemic entity becomes two: the case of 'short a'" dealt with the pronunciation of short-A split in New York City English. A notable study of NYCE was conducted by Allan Hubbell in 1950. In "The Pronunciation of English in New York City" Hubbell managed to give a comprehensive and very detailed account of NYCE phonology.

The greatest breakthrough in the study of New York City English dialect, however, was achieved by sociolinguist William Labov with his work *Social Stratification of English in New York City (SSENYC)* first published in 1966 but recently revised in 2006. SSENYC has become an important source for further research of this dialect and renewed interest in exploring its many aspects. Labov contributed with this work to the founding of the discipline of sociolinguistics and was among the first linguists to describe social variation in language. In his groundbreaking research he found out, that rhoticity in New York City depends on social status. For his experiment, he chose three department stores in NYC, each associated with a different social status. The most prestigious store was Saks Fifth Ave followed by Macy's being considered middle class and S. Klein being the store

with the lowest prestige. In each of the department stores, Labov asked the shopping assistants questions which he knew would result in them answering "fourth floor". The data he collected showed that shopping assistants at Saks tended to be more rhotic than those at Macy's or S. Klein.

Labov also briefly discusses the city's lexicon. He claims that "with very few exceptions, New York phonology and lexicon are confined to the city limits and the New Jersey cities Weehawken, Hoboken, Jersey City and Newark" (341). In his book, Labov also includes a questionnaire for American English Survey, which contains questions regarding the lexicon of New Yorkers, that are relevant for my thesis. In the survey he asks about traditional NYC lexicon, where he enquires about preferred words for everyday objects and concepts. Some of these concepts I have included in my own research.

Another very important work analyzing NYCE is *New York City English* by Michael Newman from 2014. This book will be one of the main sources for my thesis. Newman was the first to create a comprehensive account of the New York dialect. He analyzed the most important aspects of NYCE, which include phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax, as well as cultural and demographic factors that influenced this dialect. Since part of my thesis will be dedicated to immigration in New York City and the contributions of immigrants to the lexicon, the aforementioned demographic, and cultural factors, including the chapter about immigration and history of NYCE will provide a solid basis for the theoretical framing of my work. A particularly important section for my thesis is Chapter 6 in which he examines the lexicon of New York City. Newman focuses primarily on immigrant contributions that have found their way into the speech of the city's residents. Those are mainly Yiddishisms, Italianisms and some words from Spanish or Dutch. In addition to the lexical contributions from foreign languages he also focuses on words that have emerged directly in the city.

The most recent work dealing with New York City English dialect is *You Talkin' To Me? (The Dialects of North America)* by E. J. White (2020). In her book, White looks into the way New Yorkers talk, think, and express themselves. Like almost every work to date that has explored NYCE also here White devotes a part of her book to the pronunciation of the New York accent, based on Labov's studies. However most importantly, the author looks at how the New York speech community developed in relation to immigration, class, and culture, including New York music scene and media. Furthermore, White presents

examples of New York vocabulary, ranging from underworld slang, popular speech and phrases, colloquialisms and words that originated in New York. Like Newman (2014), White includes words and phrases brought to the city by immigrants.

A study dedicated purely to vocabulary of NYCE was written by Irvin Lewis Allen in 1993. *The City in Slang: New York Life and Popular Speech* is an extensive and rigorous lexicon of New York popular speech. Allen focuses mainly on older slang up to the 1950s, however in the last section of the book, he looks into the development of more recent lexis. The vocabulary is interwoven with the history and sociological developments of New York City as well as the origins of the words and phrases. Allen also discusses the origins and histories of the city's place names and words and phrases that were coined in New York but have spread around the world. Allen's detailed research is not only an account of the city's slang but also the most extensive attempt to map the history of New York City English in relation to the development of the dialect's popular speech (Newman 2014).

Another American linguist that looked into the history of the dialect was Richard W. Bailey (2012) in his book *Speaking American: A History of English in the United States*. Bailey devotes a chapter to the history of New York speech from 1850 to 1900 and takes a similar approach to that of Allen, as he too combines the history of the dialect with words that emerged during those times and became typical for the speech of New Yorkers. Bailey also briefly discusses the contributions of ethnic groups as well as words that emerged in the New York underground. In comparison to Allen (1993), however, Bailey focuses more on the history and other aspects of NYCE than on the lexicon.

Since my thesis aims to present the historical context of the dialect and explores the influences of immigrant groups and other languages that have had an impact on the lexicon, literature dealing directly with this subject is also relevant for my research. One of the books dealing with languages that can be found in New York City is *The Multilingual Apple: Languages in New York City* by Ofelia Garcia and Joshua A. Fishman (2002). The work deals with multilingualism in New York City and explores the city's sociolinguistic landscape, particularly the role of languages other than English. The languages in question are divided into different categories of ethnolinguistic groups according to the time of arrival in the city, from the earliest (Irish, Yiddish, German) to the most recent (Chinese, Indian languages, creoles).

Dealing with immigrant groups in the city are also works *One Out of Three (Foner 2013)*, "How Exceptional Is New York? Migration And Multiculturalism In The Empire City" (Foner 2007) and *Emerging metropolis: New York Jews in the age of immigration* (Polland et al. 2012). These books discuss the immigrant nature of NYC. Foner discusses in both of her works how different immigrant groups have affected the city's economic and cultural life and how the city has affected them. While Foner's work examines many different immigrant groups, Polland et al. look in detail the Jewish immigrant group. This group once played a big part in the city and helped shape the sociological landscape of the New York society.

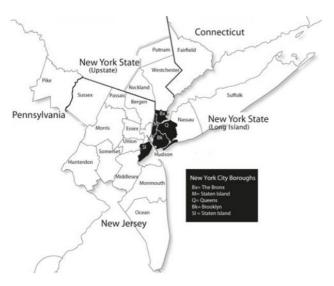
To conclude this discussion of NYCE research to date, the reviewed literature indicates that the lexicon of the New York dialect is full of contributions from other languages and also many expressions that appear to be mostly unique to the dialectal area. However, no recent study was conducted to determine the actual spread of the lexicon. The sources also suggest that although there are many immigrant groups in New York City, not every group has contributed to the NYCE lexicon. Most of the borrowings seem to have come from immigrants who arrived in New York City the in the first waves of immigration, especially Jews, Italians, and the Dutch. More recent immigrant groups such as the Chinese, Caribbeans, Indians etc. have not had any significant impact on the lexicon.

## 2 What is New York City English?

New York City English (NYCE) is a regional dialect of American English spoken in the city of New York. The definition of the term dialect, according to linguist W. Nelson Francis is "a variety of language spoken by the members of a single homogenous speech community." (qtd. in Bronstein 16) However, the homogeneity of New York speech community has been questioned, because of the dialect's complexity (Bronstein 17). In fact, New York City English is one of the most complex speech communities in the United States, which led many linguists to assume that NYCE is not a consistent linguist entity. (White 16) But since then it has been proven that New York City English is in fact a dialect, which has its own morphology, syntax, accent, vocabulary, and speakers who share linguistic norms. However, it is true that there is a high degree of variation which makes this dialect so multifaceted and almost impossible to generalize. This variation can be influenced by many different factors like age, gender, ethnicity, social class, place of origin etc. (White 16) But even though this speech community is not homogenous sociologically; economic, cultural, and social linkages bind it together as a single sociological entity (Bronstein 17).

New York City English also has its own dialectal area which is relatively small but densely populated. According to Labov et al., the dialect is mostly limited to the city borders and a few nearby cities in New Jersey, which is also one of the most interesting things about this dialect. The extent of influence of New York City on the surrounding area is surprisingly small (233).

Map 1: dialectal region of NYC metropolitan area as shown in Newman (13)



The reasons for this are mostly unknown, however one of the possible explanations according to Labov could be found in Raven McDavid's work where he claims that that the limits of the dialect coincide "with the limits of the occupation" of the city by "British troops in the war of 1812." (qtd. in Newman 13) Another reason for the lack of linguistic influence could also be the fact that New York City English (especially its accent) has a long history of stigmatization.

Moreover, the region has several subdialect areas, which influence the variation within the dialect as well. That means that many elements of the language can be heard in certain areas more regularly than in others. For example, some features have a tendency to be used less or disappear more quickly in areas such as Manhattan, some neighborhoods in Brooklyn or more peripheral fringes of the city (Bronstein 17). The reason why in the core of the city, many of the dialect's specifications tend to gradually diminish are mainly demographic changes that are happening much more rapidly in central parts of New York due to the influx of many people from other parts of the U.S. or even other parts of the world, which has significantly changed the composition of the population in these areas (Newman 19). NYCE and its distinct features have changed many times throughout the history, which stems from the rich and complex past of the dialectal area. These historical circumstances that shaped the dialect will be discussed in the following chapter.

# 3 History of NYCE and Immigration

New York City English is a result of the region's history that influenced and formed the dialect's unique traits. Many of the distinct traits most likely started to form in the colonial period. During those times, New York was settled by many nationalities that were coming to America. The first permanent colony was New Amsterdam (later renamed to New York), which was founded in 1625. The colony was inhabited by people from different countries and of different ethnicities, mainly the Dutch, English, Walloons, or European Jews (Sen 52). Especially the Dutch and English settlers arguably had the biggest influence on the early forming of the dialect. The English primarily influenced the phonology and morphosyntax of the dialect, while the legacy of Dutch influence can be seen predominantly in NYCE's lexicon and place names (Newman 133; White 78).

By the 18th century, eighteen languages and dialects were spoken in the city and by the 19th century, New York was inhabited by people of many different nationalities including Irish, Germans, French, Scotsmen, Jews etc. (Sen 52) In fact, at the beginning of the 19th century, there were more people of Irish and German origin in the city, than of English (Fishman, and García 21). Such influxes of immigrants continued in the following decades as well. The next big immigration wave happened from the mid of the 19th century to 1924. During these years, immigrants mainly from European countries came to the city, including Germans, Italians, Jews and the Irish. After that followed The Great Migration and La Gran Migración, during which African American immigrants from rural south and Puerto Ricans came to New York City. The most recent immigrant waves came after the 1965 Immigration act, which brought people from all over the world, as well as transplants, who have been coming into the city in the recent years from various parts of the U.S. (Newman 22)

As a result of this, one out of three New Yorkers are immigrants and one out of two are their U.S. born children. Such a large number of immigrants has made New York one of the most multicultural cities in the world and influenced its sociological as well as linguistic landscape. (Foner 2013, 1) Consequently, there are many languages mixing in the city's linguistic cauldron. These various foreign influences not only contributed to the emergence of some of the dialect's distinct features, but most importantly contributed many words to the city's lexicon.

## 4 Lexicon

New York City has always been a very productive region for the emergence of new words, slang, and popular speech. Due to the city's history, many exogenous words with origin outside of English have entered the lexicon of New York City English. But because New York is the leading cultural city in America, it has also left a great legacy of words that have developed through endogenous processes directly in the metropolis (Newman 199). This resulted in the emergence of the unique lexicon which will be discussed in the following sub-chapters.

#### 4.1. Yiddishisms

One of the most influential languages that contributed many words to the New York City lexicon is Yiddish. This is due to the fact that New York is home to many Jewish immigrants and their children. In fact, New York City has the highest concentration of Jews in the world after Tel Aviv, which means that in terms of Yiddish-language users, it is unlike any other city in America (Fishman, and García 93). This has led to the infiltration of countless Yiddish terms to the speech of New Yorkers. Already at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many Jewish and non-Jewish New Yorkers alike were familiar with dozens of words of Yiddish origin. (Polland et al. 262) Over time, Yiddishisms have become a famous and iconic part of NYCE's lexicon and are still actively used by many New Yorkers to this day. One such example of this is when New York governor Andrew Cuomo used the Yiddish expression *bubkes* without worrying that New Yorkers won't understand him. The close linguistic contact with Yiddish in New York leads to frequent borrowings from this language even by non-Jews (Newman 113).

Words of Yiddish origin are used to describe many spheres of life. For example, they are often used to describe social stereotypes such as *chutzpah* [to have audacity or utter nerve to do something], *klutz* [a clumsy person], *mensch* [a decent and honorable person], or *schlemiel* [a loser] (Bailey 133; Newman 115). A very popular derogatory term used by New Yorkers is *schmuck*, which is originally an obscenity in Yiddish, but in English it is a term to describe a detestable person or an alternative way to call somebody a jerk or a fool (Newman 15). Other typically New York words are for example *kibbitz* [to chat], *schlock* [something of inferior quality] *schlep* [to move slowly or with a difficulty] *schvitzing* [sweating] and *schmear* which is usually a portion of cream cheese or any other spread that is typically used as a bagel topping (Newman 115; "40 Common Slang

Terms"). Other popular Yiddishisms are for instance *spiel* [a lengthy speech] and *shtick*, which is a term for a comic routine or an act that was popularized mainly by Jewish comedians. It can also be used to describe someone's typical way of doing something. (Newman 115; Allen 255)

Some of these terms have spread throughout the United States thanks movies, TV, magazines, music, the internet or through the usage of New York media personalities and entertainers, however many of them remain associated with New York City, because New Yorkers are still more likely to pick them up during their lifetime even if they have non-Jewish background and use them more often than people in other parts of the U.S. (Newman 115; Polland et al. 262)

### 4.2. Italianisms

Another influential immigrant group besides the Jews were the Italians. Millions of Italians fled their country mostly because of poverty. The mass immigration of Italians begun in the 1860s and the number of immigrants continued to rise annually in the following years as well. New York City being the gateway to the U.S., has become in many cases also the place where many Italians decided to settle. (Fishman, and García 119-120) By the 1920s, over two fifths of the New York population was made up of Jewish and Italian immigrants. In the 1930s, the city's major Fiorello LaGuardia was using Italianisms and Yiddishisms in his speeches, thus bringing New Yorkers into contact with these immigrant languages (Foner 2007, 1003). Nowadays hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers have roots in Italy, which makes New York City a home to the largest Italian American community in the United States (Foner 2007, 1001-1002). All these circumstances most likely contributed to the infiltration of a number of Italian terms to the city's lexicon.

The most famous Italianisms that people are usually familiar with are of course food related because of the popularity of Italian cuisine, however due to the large Italian community in the city, New Yorkers tend to be more familiar even with other, less well-known Italianisms. Such examples are words like *agita* [a heartburn] or *gavone/gavoon*, which is a term usually labelling someone who eats a lot. Another Italianism that can be heard in New York is *goombah*. It comes from the Italian word "compare" and it means an old friend, companion, or someone who's like a family. (Lampos, and Pearson) Perhaps a quite surprising Italianism is the term *pie*. While elsewhere pie means for the majority of

people a sweet pastry, in New York, this word is used to refer to a whole pizza. The reason why New Yorkers call pizza "a pie" is because according to Newman "pie is a calque of the meaning of the Italian original" (116). Pizza was also referred to as a pie in an article from the New-York tribune, published on 6th December 1903, when pizza was still a novelty in America. The journalist, not knowing how to categorize this new dish referred to it as "a kind of a pie" that the Italians invented (5). This might have also helped to popularize this term and spread it among New Yorkers, who still use it to this day. Another interesting Italianism is scoumbaish, which means that when a person cooks, they should make sure that they have food for everyone and should not "scoumbaish" (Newman 117). Other words of Italian origin include shem, shongod and skeeve. Shem is a shortened version of the Italian slang word "shemanooda". It is a derogatory term describing a stupid person. Shongod is a name for someone who is slovenly or disheveled and skeeve is a verb, that means to "be disgusted" or "to dislike something". It comes from the Italian noun "schifo", which means disgust. (Lampos, and Pearson)

## 4.3. Other words of foreign origin

Other immigrant languages like Spanish, Dutch, German and Irish also contributed some words to the New York City English lexicon, although not to the same extent as Italian or Yiddish. For example, the Spanish speaking community is very sizeable in New York, yet the majority of Spanish terms remain restricted to the Latin community. An exception is the word *bodega*, which New Yorkers use to refer to a type of a small shop that is elsewhere called a convenience store (Newman 118).

Another foreign language that once had a big influence on the city's lexicon was Dutch, thanks to the Dutch settlement of the region in the past. Many of the distinctive vocabulary of the city were actually "Anglicized remnants of the Dutch vocabulary." (qtd. in Newman 119) However, the majority of them like ollicook [doughnut] and rolliche [little roll], were no longer in use by the 1960s (Newman 119). Some words that survived to this day are for example stoop, from the Dutch word "stoep", which refers to the stairway leading to the door of the apartment, or cruller, which according to Labov refers in a traditional NYC speech to a doughnut. Younger speakers, however, use cruller to refer to a different kind of slightly twisted doughnut (411).

There are also some German traces in the New York lexicon, due to the big number of German immigrants who settled in the city. One such example is the word weisenheimer, which became a popular name for wise guys in New York by the 1910s (Allen 238). There are also other words of German origin in use like katzenjammer [hangover] or schadenfreude, which describes the joy at the misfortune of others. (White 120) These words are however used in other parts of the U.S. as well, although New Yorkers are probably more likely to use them, due to the large number of Germans in the city. (Stein)

Similarly, the Irish left some linguistic traces in the city, although much smaller than the above discussed languages, despite being a very visible immigrant group. Irishmen came to the city in the first waves of immigration and established themselves as important ethnic voices of the city. The Irish presence gave rise for the most part to criminal slang and argot, (White 121) but they also brought another feature that makes New York City English to stand out. The use of *youse* as a plural form of "you" which is typical for Ireland and some parts of England and Scotland, only rarely appears in other parts of the U.S. outside the New York area (Newman 92).

### 4.4. New Yorkisms

Apart from lexical contributions from immigrant languages, New York City also produced lot of popular speech on its own. Arguably the most productive period for new coinages of lasting slang was from 1850 to 1950 (White 105). New York as a quintessential American city has left a rich legacy of slang, some of which remained unique to the city and some that spread beyond the city's borders. In fact, much of American popular speech was originally coined in New York City, but later spread throughout the rest of the country (Allen). Such examples are the words *traffic jam*, *subway*, or *rush hour*, which were originally New Yorkisms, but they became so popular that their association with New York is today virtually gone (Newman 120).

An important role in distribution of New York speech to other parts of the U.S. played various comedians, Broadway columnists, press agents, advertisers, and also the so-called Tin Pan Alley, which used to be a popular music-publisher's and songwriter's row in NYC that dominated the music scene of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Allen 17; 63). Later, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a similar role in the diffusion of the local

slang played and still plays the local hip-hop scene. Hip-hop music, which originated in New York City, quickly became very popular and consequently influenced the local speech (White 151). As a result of this, a large part of today's New York slang has origins in hiphop. Such example is the intensifier mad, which New Yorkers use in place of the more common "really" or "very". (Newman 130) Apart from hip-hop related slang there are also words that have much longer history and are more likely to stay exclusive to New York City. For example, the words sliding pond [a children's slide] and potsy [a game of hopscotch], probably date way back to the colonial times (Gold 19, 26). Other expressions like straphanger or rubbernecker, were coined in New York in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Straphangers refer to commuters in a rapid transit hanging onto the straps of subway cars and rubberneckers are either out of town sightseers or alternatively drivers, who slow down to see an accident (Allen 10; Newman 123). Other words original to New York are for example spaldeen, which refers to a rubber ball manufactured by the Spalding company (Newman 120), or skel which is according to Allen an old word that was recently revived and is used by many New Yorkers to refer to a homeless person (Allen 10). Other New Yorkisms are for instance *Johnny pump* [a fire hydrant] or *joint*, which was initially used in underground slang to refer to a meeting place of criminals, but around the 1950s it entered more general slang and now is commonly used to refer to almost any place, like a bar, restaurant, nightclub etc. (Allen 146) Lastly, hero which is a nickname for a sandwich, is another typical New York term. The reason why New Yorkers call a sandwich "hero" probably has its origins in local marketing, with some delis or pizza places claiming that their sandwiches are so huge that they are heroic, or that it takes a hero to finish them (Newman 131).

### 4.5. Phrases

There are also some phrases used in New York City that show local peculiarities. Perhaps the most well-known is the use of standing/waiting *on line* instead of *in line*. (Newman 92-93) In other parts of the U.S. using "on" in this context would probably generate confusion, but New Yorkers oftentimes prefer it to the more standard form. Another phrase which seems to be mainly unique to New York is calling coffee with milk *regular coffee* (Newman 119), while elsewhere when people say they want regular coffee, they usually get caffeinated coffee as opposed to a decaf or alternatively a black coffee. Another thing that New Yorkers say differently is when they go shopping, they sometimes use *food shopping* as opposed to *grocery shopping*, which is the more standard form used

in the rest of America (Sager). Some more phrases that are mostly unique to New York are for example the use of *good looks* as a way of thanking or saying *what's good* instead of how are you (130+ New York Slang). New Yorkers also use the adjective *brick*, when they want to say that something is very cold, or they *grill someone* when they stare at someone in a judgmental way ("40 Common Slang Terms").

# 5 Methodology

Questionnaire survey was adopted as a principal methodology to collect both qualitative and quantitative data regarding the NYCE dialect. The questionnaire was aimed at three groups of respondents – New Yorkers; Americans who live outside of NYC and people from other English-speaking countries. Data collected from these groups were subsequently analyzed, compared, and interpreted. The research design could be described as exploratory, not based on any pre-existing study. It fundamentally aimed to analyze the lexicon of New York City English from a novel and yet unexplored perspective.

## **5.1.** Purpose of the survey

The goal of the research was to map the use of lexis characteristic for the New York City English dialect. Due to the rich history of the city, the dialect has developed many unique traits, including a lexicon which contains words and phrases influenced by several immigrant groups and words and phrases that emerged in New York. This vocabulary appears to be predominantly confined to the New York City area, however, there has been very little recent research in terms of its actual use among the residents of the city and the spread of the lexicon outside the area of New York City. The survey therefore tried to look into the potential spread of the vocabulary outside of the dialectal area, specifically to other parts of the USA and other English-speaking countries. Further goal of the research was to map the extent of the everyday use of the lexicon among New Yorkers and to find out to what degree those expressions are actually unique to New York or whether some of them are used universally in other parts of the U.S. and other English-speaking countries.

## 5.2. Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was divided into six sections. The first section was designed to collect information about the demographic status of the respondents, particularly their age and gender. Other questions in this section were designed so that the respondents could be sorted according to their geographic location. Firstly, the respondents were asked from which English-speaking country they were. Those who answered that they were from the United States were then asked whether they lived in New York City. If they answered "yes", they were asked to answer in which borough they lived. If they answered "no", they were asked in which U.S. state they lived.

The following sections of the questionnaire focused on the NYCE vocabulary and were sorted into two key areas of inquiry. The first area of inquiry was dedicated to words that were brought to New York City by immigrant groups, namely Yiddishisms, Italianisms and words from other languages. The next section of the questionnaire contained the so called New Yorkisms that are original to New York City but weren't influenced by immigrants. In each of the sections the participants of the survey were asked whether they were familiar with the given words. The respondents were then inquired about whether they preferred these words to their more conventional English equivalents. If not, they were asked to write down other words they preferred to use. The next thing, which was being surveyed, was the frequency of use of the lexical items. The frequency was measured using a Likert scale. The items with explanations used for measuring the frequency are following: Often = several times a week or more; Sometimes = several times a month; Rarely = few times a year or less; Never = I don't use or don't know this word

The last area of inquiry focused on phrases. The respondents were asked to either answer whether they use the given phrases or in some cases were asked to choose between phrases that they prefer to use. The last question of the questionnaire was open-ended and directed at people who do not live in New York City. In the case of expressed knowledge of some of the vocabulary, the aim was to find out where the respondents knew them from (e.g., films, music, social networks, etc.) in order to determine the explanation for the potential spread of the lexis outside the dialectal area.

## 5.3. Lexical items used for the questionnaire

The lexical items used in the questionnaire were collected from various sources that deal with New York City English. The strategy for choosing the individual words was based on several factors. Firstly, the lexical items were selected to include words from the most prominent immigrant groups found in New York City. The quantity of the items selected for each section tried to reflect the occurrence of these words in New York. Thus, Yiddishisms have the most lexical items in the questionnaire, because they are due to the large Jewish community in the city the most prevalent in the speech of New Yorkers, compared to words from other immigrant languages.

The second largest section of words of immigrant origin are Italianisms, because of the role that this minority historically played in the city. The smallest section includes words from other languages, like Dutch, Spanish, Irish or German. The reason, why this category includes the smallest number of words, is due to the fact that they aren't that prevalent in the speech of New Yorkers, and there isn't enough of them to create a section on its own.

An additional factor that played a role in the selection of suitable lexical items for the survey, was relevance for people outside of New York, therefore words that make sense only in New York setting were left out. Instead, words and phrases that might be relevant for everyday life were chosen. In addition, excessive vulgarisms or words that could be offensive were avoided. This approach was also taken for New Yorkisms and phrases.

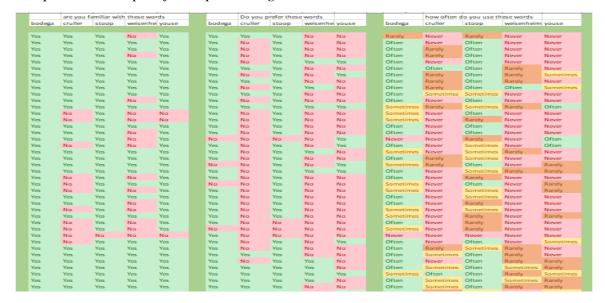
### **5.4.** Data collection

The data were collected in the time span of 67 days, from December 2021 to February 2022. The questionnaire was distributed to several online platforms. It was published on Reddit.com, Facebook.com and Poll-pool.com, with Reddit being the most effective form of recruiting participants from different parts of the U.S. The survey was reposted several times until the desired number of participants was reached. To reach more New Yorkers, an acquaintance from New York City was used to help send out the survey to their peers.

## 5.5. Data processing

To prepare the data for analysis, I downloaded the collected answers from Microsoft Forms and extracted them into an Excel file. I subsequently sorted the data into three main groups - NYC, USA, and other countries. For each group I created an overview of all collected data and color coded the answers to help me visualize the trends in each lexical category.

Graphic 1 – example of data processing



The coded data were then cleared of inconsistent and insincere responses which were eliminated from the study. Answers were discarded if respondents frequently stated that they preferred to use words for which they had previously answered that they did not know them or if they only ticked one type of answer throughout the survey. In this manner, a total of 4 responses were removed from the final analysis.

The next step was to calculate the percentages for each lexical item, which I did with the help of the Excel function COUNTIF. From the values obtained, I then calculated the percentages.

Graphic 2: Example of data processing 2

Y	res	Yes	res	res	Yes	res	Yes	Yes	INO	res		Uπen	кагеіу	Sometimes	wever	Sometimes
Υ	/es	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No		Often	Rarely	Sometimes	Never	Rarely
Y	/es	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes		Often	Rarely	Sometimes	Rarely	Sometimes
yes	43	32	42	27	40	39	11	39	9	11	often	29	2	21	1	3
no	0	11	1	16	3	4	32	4	34	32	sometimes	11	5	13	2	6
											rarely	1	12	8	12	10
											never	2	24	1	. 28	24
Yes %	100%	74%	98%	63%	93%	91%	26%	91%	21%	26%	often %	67%	5%	49%	2%	7%
No %	0%	26%	2%	37%	7%	9%	74%	9%	79%	74%	sometimes %	26%	12%	30%	5%	14%
											rarely %	2%	28%	19%	28%	23%
											never %	5%	56%	2%	65%	56%

Having sorted all the responses from the three main cohorts in this way, I was able to create several subgroups for each of the main groups depending on which aspect I needed to analyze, so for example I used the same method to calculate the percentages for all the boroughs, countries, U.S. states etc. The final results were entered into more concise tables which will be presented along with the analysis.

## 5.6. Participants

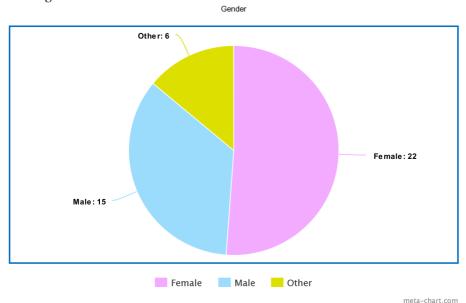
To be eligible to take part in the survey, the participants were required to be living either in New York City, the U.S. (outside of NYC), or any other English-speaking country. No age limit was imposed to curtail participation from the survey. The survey was also open to all genders and ethnicities. The total number of respondents was 137, with 46 being male, 80 female and 11 identifying as other genders.

Since one of the main goals of the research was to compare the use and knowledge of the selected lexicon between New Yorkers, Americans living outside of NYC and people from other English countries, the participants were divided into three respective groups. A sociodemographic description of each group is summarized in the following subsections.

### 5.6.1. New York City

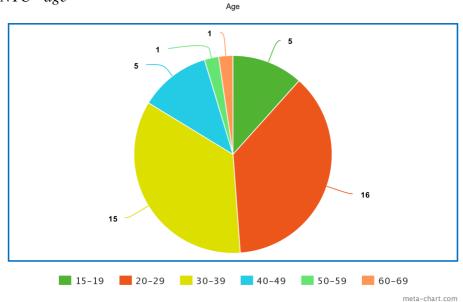
The first presented group totaled of 44 New Yorkers, who answered the questionnaire. One response was discarded due to inconsistent answers, so the final sample was 43 answers in total.

Chart 1: NYC - gender



The majority of respondents were women, followed by men and other, further unspecified genders.

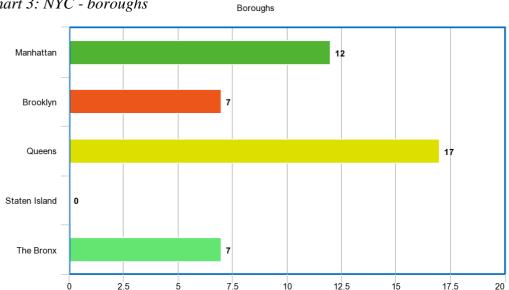
Chart 2: NYC - age



The age of the participants ranged from 15 to 62 years old. More than half of the respondents were in their 20s and 30s. Only two people were aged 50 and above. The average age of all New Yorkers was 30 years old.

Apart from gender and age, the respondents were also sorted according to the five boroughs of New York City that they live in, so that the differences in lexicon usage between the boroughs could be observed and compared later in the analysis.

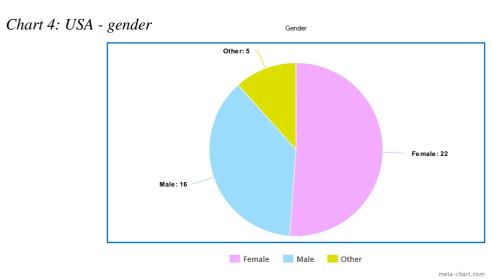
Chart 3: NYC - boroughs



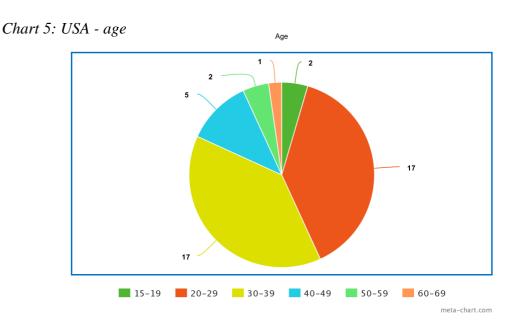
The majority of respondents were from Queens and Manhattan. There was only one respondent from Staten Island, who was, however, disqualified from the research, and as a result not included in Chart 3.

## **5.6.2.** United States (outside of NYC)

The second group of respondents consisted of residents of the United States, who lived outside of New York City. The total number of Americans who participated in the survey was 45. One response was eliminated due to inconsistent answers. The final sample of American respondents is therefore 44 persons.



Approximately half of the respondents were women. The rest identified as male and other genders.

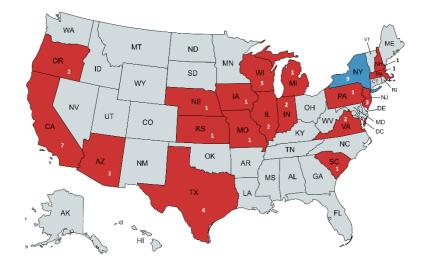


The youngest respondent was 18 years old and the oldest was 60 years old.

The majority of participants were in their 20s and 30s. The smallest age groups were people under 20 and people over 50. The average age of the U.S. cohort was 32 years.

To be able to see trends in the spread of the lexicon throughout the U.S., the respondents were also asked about the state in which they live. A map was used to get a better idea of the distribution of respondents and the distance of the states from New York City. One respondent from California wasn't included in the map due to aforementioned reasons.

Map 2: USA - states

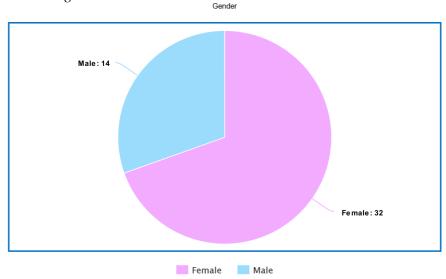


AZ	Arizona
CA	California
IL	Illinois
IN	Indiana
IA	Iowa
KS	Kansas
MA	Massachusetts
MI	Michigan
MO	Missouri
NE	Nebraska
NH	New Hampshire
NJ	New Jersey
NY	New York
OR	Oregon
PA	Pennsylvania
SC	South Carolina
TX	Texas
VA	Virginia
WI	Wisconsin
WI	Wisconsin

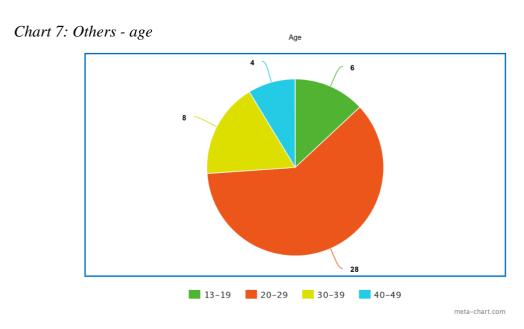
## **5.6.3.** Other English-speaking countries

The last group of respondents consists of people who are from other English-speaking countries outside of the U.S. The total number of the responses was 48, but two of them were not included in the analysis because of inconsistent answers, thus leaving 46 responses for analysis.

Chart 6: Others - gender



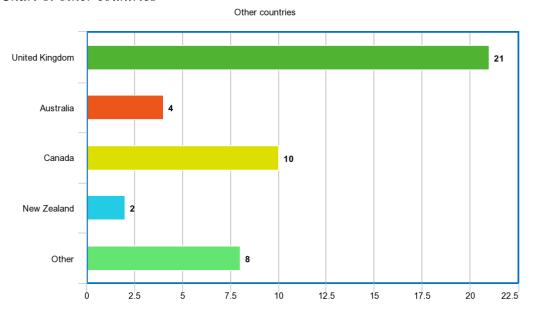
The vast majority of respondents identified as female. The rest of them identified as male.



The age of respondents ranged from 13 to 47 years old. The majority of participants were in their 20s.

The respondents in this group were also sorted according to the countries in which they live. Discarded responses were not included in the chart below. The majority of participants were from the United Kingdom. A large portion of them were also from Canada and from other unspecified English-speaking countries. The fewest respondents were from Australia and New Zealand.

Chart 8: other countries



# 6 Data analysis

This chapter presents the analysis of data collected from the three groups of respondents. The New York City cohort will be analyzed first, followed by the U.S. cohort and respondents from other English-speaking countries.

## **6.1.** New York City Data

The New York City cohort survey results will be presented under four categories of selected vocabulary, namely Yiddishisms, Italianisms, other words of foreign origin and New Yorkisms. To get a general idea of familiarity and use of these words among New Yorkers, I will present the overall knowledge of each group. A more detailed analysis of the individual words from each group and analysis of phrases will follow.

Table 1: NYC - lexical categories

	fam	iliar	pre	prefer how			v often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	74%	26%	48%	52%	13%	25%	20%	42%	
Italianisms	46%	54%	22%	78%	8%	11%	12%	69%	
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	17%	20%	37%	
New Yorkisms	53%	47%	30%	70%	12%	13%	17%	57%	

The first group of words that the participants of the survey were asked about were Yiddishisms. The majority of New Yorkers were familiar with Yiddishisms. Roughly half of them said that they preferred them to their more conventional English equivalents. 13% of respondents stated that they used them often and 25% used them sometimes. 20% stated that they used Yiddishisms rarely. The rest of the cohort reported to never use Yiddishisms in their everyday life.

The second surveyed category included words of Italian origin. 46% of respondents were familiar with Italianisms. 54% of respondents however did not know these words. Only 22% of them preferred Italianisms to the conventional English versions. Of the surveyed New Yorkers, 8% used Italianisms often, 11% used them sometimes and 12% used them rarely. The majority of the New York cohort stated that they never use words of Italian origin.

The third group that was surveyed included a mix of words of foreign origin. The vast majority of New Yorkers were familiar with these words. Only 14% expressed unfamiliarity with lexis from this category. Approximately half of the respondents

preferred these words to their more conventional English equivalents. About a quarter of respondents used these words often. 17% of New Yorkers used them sometimes and 20% stated that they use them rarely. 37% never used these words.

The last group of words that will be presented are New Yorkisms. 53% of respondents expressed knowledge of words in this category. The rest did not know them. Only 30% of respondents preferred New Yorkisms to the more conventional versions. As for the everyday use of these words, 12% used them often. 13% of New Yorkers stated that they use these words sometimes and 17% used them rarely. The rest of the respondents never used New Yorkisms.

#### 6.1.1. Yiddishisms

The first category which will be analyzed in detail are Yiddishisms. Table 2 shows familiarity with every word of Yiddish origin and whether New Yorkers prefer that word to the more conventional English version. The table also shows how often respondents used the given word.

Table 2: NYC - Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often							
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never				
chutzpah	77%	49%	5%	30%	21%	44%				
kibbitz	53%	21%	2%	14%	12%	72%				
klutz	91%	63%	19%	30%	30%	21%				
mensch	74%	40%	16%	14%	26%	44%				
schlemiel	47%	19%	0%	12%	14%	74%				
schlep	84%	63%	37%	21%	12%	30%				
schlock	47%	16%	0%	12%	21%	67%				
schmear	81%	60%	14%	35%	16%	35%				
schmuck	93%	63%	19%	30%	23%	28%				
schvitzing	63%	28%	9%	16%	19%	56%				
shtick	93%	74%	19%	42%	21%	19%				
spiel	91%	77%	21%	40%	26%	14%				

Yiddishisms that were the most familiar to New Yorkers were *klutz*, *schmuck*, *shtick*, and *spiel*. For these words, the familiarity rate was above 90%. Other words that were also highly familiar to most New Yorkers were *chutzpah*, *mensch*, *schlep*, and *schmear*. In this case, more than 70% of respondents knew these words. More than half of the respondents were familiar with words *kibbitz* and *schvitzing*. The least familiar words were *schlemiel* and *schlock*, which were known to only 47% of respondents.

As for the preference of these words to their more conventional English equivalents, New Yorkers mostly preferred to use *shtick* and *spiel*. These words were preferred by more than 70% of respondents. More than half of New Yorkers also preferred words *klutz*, *schlep*, *schmear* and *schmuck*. Yiddishisms which were preferred the least were *kibbitz*, *schlemiel*, *schlock*, and *schvitzing*. These words were preferred by less than 30% of respondents.

When the respondents answered that they did not prefer Yiddishisms, they were asked to write out other words they liked to use instead. For chutzpah, klutz, and spiel, the respondents usually preferred the expressions that were given as definitions in the questionnaire (see glossary). Instead of kibbitz the majority of New Yorkers preferred chat, talk or spilling the tea. One respondent preferred the expression ti palé, which is a Haitian creole for small talk. Instead of the word schlemiel, the respondents usually preferred expressions such as loser, asshole, or fool. Some people also preferred to use vagabond, freak, or schmuck instead. In case of schlep, one respondent preferred to use limp. The others usually preferred the given definition. For mensch, some people preferred to say a good person. Instead of schlock, the majority preferred to use garbage, trash, or cheap. Other interesting expressions that some people used were for example booty, wack or basura (Haitian creole for trash). Instead of schmear, some people preferred to simply say a portion of cream cheese or spread. For schmuck New Yorkers liked to use asshole, dick, or fool. Instead of schvitzing respondents often used sweating or soaked. In place of shtick, some people used the expressions gimmick, bit, or comic routine. Those who didn't write any specific words usually stated that they like to use more conventional English equivalents. There were also some respondents who said that they use African American English or southern vernacular.

Finally, the respondents were asked about the frequency of use of the given expressions. The most frequently used Yiddishism was *schlep*, which was used often by 37% of New Yorkers and sometimes by 21% of New Yorkers. Other words that were also used quite frequently were *shtick*, and *spiel*, which were both used either often or sometimes by 61% of respondents. About half of New Yorkers used the words *klutz*, *schmear* and *schmuck* in their everyday lives. The other half used them either rarely or not at all. Yiddishisms which were employed the least in the speech of New Yorkers were *schlemiel* and *schlock*. None of the respondents used these words often. Both of these expressions were used sometimes by 12% of respondents. The rest used them either rarely

or never.

### 6.1.2. Italianisms

The next category of words that were surveyed are words of Italian origin. The table below shows percentages of familiarity, preference, and frequency of use of these words.

Table 3: NYC - Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often							
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never				
agita	49%	33%	5%	23%	12%	60%				
gavoon	30%	9%	0%	7%	9%	84%				
goombah	60%	2%	0%	2%	14%	84%				
pie	100%	79%	49%	23%	16%	12%				
scoumbaish	26%	7%	0%	7%	7%	86%				
shem	14%	7%	0%	7%	2%	91%				
shongod	16%	5%	0%	0%	12%	88%				
skeeve	70%	37%	9%	21%	21%	49%				

At first glance it is obvious that Italianisms were not as common as Yiddishisms in the New York City lexicon, but there were still some words that New Yorkers liked to use. The most favorite word of Italian origin was the calque *pie*. 100% of New Yorkers were familiar with this term. Other highly familiar Italianisms were for example *skeeve* with 70% familiarity rate or *goombah* with 60% familiarity rate. On the other hand, words that not many people knew were *shem* and *shongod*. These expressions were known to less than 20% of respondents.

Italianism that New Yorkers mostly preferred to the more common version was *pie*, which was preferred by 79% of respondents. Expressions which were preferred by more than 30% of New Yorkers, were for example, *agita* and *skeeve*. The least preferred word was *goombah*, which was favored only by 2% of New Yorkers.

Those who did not prefer the given words usually liked to use more common English colloquialisms. Instead of *gavoon*, the majority liked to use *glutton*, *glut*, or *pig*. In place of *scoumbaish*, New Yorkers often used *cheapskate*, *inconsiderate* or *selfish*. For *shongod*, the majority preferred the terms *slob*, *unkempt*, or *hot mess*. However, there were also some more interesting expressions. For example, for the word *shem*, there were some instances where respondents preferred to use Yiddishisms *putz* and *yutz*, or other Italianisms such as *jabroni* and *jamoke*.

The frequency of use of Italianisms in the everyday life of New Yorkers was relatively low. The word that was used the most was *pie*, which was used often by nearly half of the respondents. Other words that were used often by at least some people were *agita* and skeeve. Other Italianisms were never used often by any of the respondents. The expressions *gavoon, scoumbaish* and *shem* were all used sometimes by 7% of New Yorkers. Italianisms *goombah* and *shongod* were used either rarely or in most cases never.

# 6.1.3. Other words of foreign origin

This section includes a mix of words that entered the New York City lexicon from other languages. The knowledge and everyday use of words of Spanish, Dutch, German and Irish origin will be analyzed below.

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
bodega	100%	91%	67%	26%	2%	5%		
cruller	74%	26%	5%	12%	28%	56%		
stoop	98%	91%	49%	30%	19%	2%		

2%

7%

5%

14%

28%

23%

65%

21%

26%

*Table 4: NYC – other words of foreign origin* 

63%

93%

weisenheimer

youse

All words from this category were familiar to majority of New Yorkers. The most familiar word was *bodega*, which was known by all respondents. *Stoop* and *youse* were familiar to more than 90% of New Yorkers. The least familiar word was *weisenheimer*, which was known to 61% of respondents.

The most preferred words were *bodega* and *stoop*. 91% of respondents chose to use these expressions rather than their English equivalents. Other words were on average preferred by around 20% of respondents.

Other expressions that New Yorkers preferred to use instead of the given lexis, were for example *deli* instead of *bodega* or *doughnut* instead of *cruller*. Furthermore, some people rather said *steps* than *stoop*. For *weisenheimer* the majority preferred to use the terms *wiseguy* or *smart ass* and sometimes *wunderkind*. Lastly, instead of *youse*, the majority preferred *you all*, *you guys*, or *y'all*.

The most frequently used words were *bodega* and *stoop*. Bodega was used often by 67% of New Yorkers and stoop by 47%. The rest of the terms were used often only

seldom. The least commonly used word among New Yorkers was *weisenheimer* which was used often by only 2% of respondents. 65% of New Yorkers stated that they never use this word.

# 6.1.4. New Yorkisms

The last category of words includes New Yorkisms, which are words that were originally coined in New York City.

*Table 5: NYC – New Yorkisms* 

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
hero	95%	72%	49%	21%	14%	16%	
johnny pump	16%	7%	0%	5%	9%	86%	
joint	93%	49%	16%	37%	23%	23%	
mad	95%	60%	40%	23%	26%	12%	
potsy	19%	7%	0%	2%	9%	88%	
rubbernecker	70%	56%	14%	21%	28%	37%	
skel	21%	9%	0%	7%	9%	84%	
sliding pond	21%	7%	0%	2%	12%	86%	
spaldeen	30%	7%	0%	5%	14%	81%	
straphanger	67%	21%	5%	9%	28%	58%	

New Yorkisms that most respondents knew were *hero*, *joint* and *mad*. These words were familiar to more than 90% of New Yorkers. *Rubbernecker* and *straphanger* were also highly familiar to the majority of respondents. On the other hand, words that not many people knew, were for example *johnny pump* or *potsy*, which were familiar to less than 20% of respondents.

The most preferred word from this category was *hero*, which was preferred by 72% of respondents. More than a half of New Yorkers also preferred the term *rubbernecker* or the intensifier *mad*. The least preferred words were *johnny pump*, *potsy*, *sliding pond* and *spaldeen*. All of these words were preferred by only 7% of respondents.

Other alternatives that some of the respondents liked to use were for example gawker instead of rubbernecker or sub instead of hero. Some people also preferred to say place or spot instead of joint. Instead of skel, the majority of respondents preferred to say homeless/unhoused person or bum. In place of johnny pump, many people rather used (fire) hydrant or hydrant pump. Additionally, many people also preferred to say slide or kiddie slide instead of sliding pond. Other New Yorkers often stated that they use more common English equivalents without further specifying which ones.

New Yorkisms, which were used the most by the respondents, were *hero* and *mad*. More than 40% of respondents said that they use them often and more than 20% said that they use them sometimes. Other relatively frequently used words included *joint* and *rubbernecker*. The least used words were *johnny pump*, *potsy* and *sliding pond*. These expressions were never used by almost 90% of respondents.

## **6.1.5.** Phrases

In addition to the individual words, the questionnaire also surveyed the use of several phrases that are typically used in New York City. The questions regarding the phrases that were chosen for the survey are following:

- 1 Would you use "good looks" as a way of thanking someone?
- When the weather is very cold, would you say "the weather is brick"?
- 3 Would you use "what's good" instead of how are you?
- 4 If you stared at someone in a judgmental way, would you use the phrase "to grill someone"?
- 5 When you use the term "regular coffee" do you mean coffee with milk or caffeinated one?
- 6 Do you prefer the term "food shopping" or "grocery shopping"?
- 7 When you wait in a queue, do you prefer the term "waiting on-line" or "waiting in-line"?

*Table 6: NYC – phrases* 

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	44%	51%	70%	60%
No	56%	49%	30%	40%

New Yorkers were most likely to use the phrase "what's good". 70% of respondents said that they would use this phrase instead of "how are you". Furthermore, 60% of New Yorkers would use the phrase "to grill someone". When the weather is cold, about half of the respondents would say "the weather is brick". Finally, 44% of New Yorkers would use "good looks" as a way of thanking someone.

*Table 7: NYC – phrases 2* 

Regulai	Regular coffee		Shopping	Waiting		
with milk	caffeinated	food grocery		interch.	on-line	in-line
42%	58%	19%	44%	37%	49%	51%

Firstly, New Yorkers were asked whether the phrase "regular coffee" meant coffee with milk or caffeinated coffee to them. 42% of respondents answered that they mean coffee with milk, when they say regular coffee. The rest said that this phrase means caffeinated coffee to them.

The next thing that was surveyed was whether New Yorkers prefer to say food shopping, grocery shopping or if they use these phrases interchangeably. 19% of respondents said that they prefer "food shopping". 44% of them would rather use "grocery shopping". The rest used these two phrases interchangeably.

Lastly, the respondents were asked whether they prefer the phrase "waiting on line" or "waiting in line" when they wait in a queue. 49% of New Yorkers prefer to say "waiting on line" and 51% said that they rather use "waiting in line".

# **6.1.6.** Comparison of boroughs

Since New York is a very diverse city, there are also quite significant differences between the boroughs in terms of the familiarity and use of the lexicon. In the following paragraphs I will analyze the most interesting differences between the boroughs Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx. Staten Island is not included in the analysis due to lack of data from this borough.

*Table 8: Boroughs – lexical categories* 

Manhattan	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often	
Mailiattaii	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	71%	28%	42%	58%	15%	22%	19%	45%
Italianisms	42%	58%	17%	83%	5%	8%	10%	76%
Other	80%	20%	53%	47%	23%	20%	17%	40%
New Yorkisms	53%	48%	23%	78%	8%	11%	19%	63%
Drooklyn	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often	
Brooklyn	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	94%	6%	63%	37%	12%	40%	33%	14%
Italianisms	55%	45%	21%	79%	7%	20%	16%	57%
Other	97%	3%	49%	51%	29%	17%	26%	29%
New Yorkisms	64%	36%	41%	59%	11%	19%	24%	40%
Queens	familiar		pre	efer		how	often	
Queens	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	73%	27%	50%	50%	13%	24%	18%	45%
Italianisms	46%	54%	28%	72%	10%	11%	12%	67%
Other	85%	15%	49%	51%	27%	14%	21%	38%
New Yorkisms	49%	51%	29%	71%	14%	11%	14%	61%
The Bronx	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often	
THE BIOLIX	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	64%	36%	36%	64%	13%	17%	13%	57%
Italianisms	41%	59%	20%	80%	7%	9%	9%	75%
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	20%	17%	37%
New Yorkisms	50%	50%	31%	69%	17%	13%	14%	56%

The table above shows the overall knowledge and use of the lexicon in the four boroughs. A borough that seemed to stand out above the rest was Brooklyn. At first glance it is apparent that the inhabitants of Brooklyn, tend to have a greater knowledge of the individual word groups than residents of other boroughs. Yiddishisms, for example, were much more popular in Brooklyn than in other parts of the city. 94% of respondents were familiar with them and 63% preferred them to the more conventional English equivalents. Only 14% of people in Brooklyn never used Yiddishisms, which was significantly less than in other boroughs, where more than 40% of respondents answered that they never use them. In fact, inhabitants of Brooklyn had above average results in terms of familiarity in other categories of words as well. For example, New Yorkisms were also much more popular in Brooklyn than in other parts of New York. But in terms of preference, for example, the people from Queens preferred to use Italianisms more than inhabitants of

other boroughs and people from Manhattan preferred to use other words of foreign origin more often than others. On average, the boroughs where residents showed the lowest percentage of familiarity and use of the selected lexicon were the Bronx and Manhattan.

To showcase the differences in the use of the lexicon throughout the city, I selected the most interesting examples from each category.

Table 9: Boroughs - Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often							
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never				
			Manhattan							
kibbitz	50%	25%	0%	17%	17%	67%				
mensch	83%	25%	17%	0%	50%	33%				
schlemiel	25%	17%	0%	8%	17%	75%				
schlock	33%	8%	0%	0%	25%	75%				
schvitzing	58%	8%	0%	8%	33%	58%				
Brooklyn										
kibbitz	86%	29%	14%	14%	29%	29%				
mensch	100%	86%	29%	57%	0%	0%				
schlemiel	71%	29%	0%	14%	29%	29%				
schlock	86%	14%	0%	29%	43%	43%				
schvitzing	86%	57%	14%	57%	0%	0%				
			Queens							
kibbitz	41%	18%	0%	12%	6%	82%				
mensch	71%	41%	12%	6%	24%	59%				
schlemiel	53%	24%	0%	18%	6%	76%				
schlock	47%	29%	0%	18%	12%	71%				
schvitzing	65%	35%	12%	12%	18%	59%				
			The Bronx							
kibbitz	43%	14%	0%	14%	0%	86%				
mensch	43%	14%	14%	14%	14%	57%				
schlemiel	43%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%				
schlock	29%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%				
schvitzing	43%	14%	14%	0%	14%	71%				

In case of Yiddishisms, it is interesting that words that were not well known in other parts of the city were used quite often in Brooklyn. The most striking differences showed the word *schlemiel*, which was familiar to 71% of respondents from Brooklyn, meanwhile only 25% of people from Manhattan knew this term. Another Yiddishism that showed similar tendencies was *schlock* which was familiar to 86% of residents from Brooklyn, whereas only 29% of Bronx residents and 33% of Manhattan residents knew this word.

Table 10: Boroughs - Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
			Manhattan					
gavoon	25%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%		
goombah	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
scoumbaish	17%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%		
shongod	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
skeeve	75%	33%	0%	25%	17%	58%		
			Brooklyn					
gavoon	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
goombah	100%	0%	0%	14%	43%	43%		
scoumbaish	57%	0%	0%	14%	14%	71%		
shongod	43%	0%	0%	0%	29%	71%		
skeeve	57%	29%	0%	29%	29%	43%		
			Queens					
gavoon	41%	12%	0%	6%	18%	76%		
goombah	71%	6%	0%	0%	18%	82%		
scoumbaish	24%	6%	0%	6%	6%	88%		
shongod	12%	12%	0%	0%	12%	88%		
skeeve	76%	53%	24%	18%	24%	35%		
			The Bronx					
gavoon	43%	14%	0%	14%	14%	71%		
goombah	43%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
scoumbaish	14%	14%	0%	0%	14%	86%		
shongod	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%		
skeeve	57%	14%	0%	14%	14%	71%		

Some interesting contrasts were also to be found in the category of Italianisms. For example, the term *gavoon*, was most known in the Bronx and in Queens, however none of the respondents from Brooklyn were familiar with this word. On the other hand, with the expression *goombah* were familiar all Brooklyn residents. The terms *scoumbaish* and *shongod* were also more familiar in Brooklyn than in other boroughs, however *skeeve* was more familiar in Queens and Manhattan. As for the frequency of use, Italianisms were the most actively used in Brooklyn and Queens.

Table 11: Boroughs – other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often			
Other	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
			Manhattan					
cruller	58%	25%	0%	8%	25%	67%		
weisenheimer	50%	25%	0%	8%	25%	67%		
youse	92%	17%	8%	8%	17%	67%		
Brooklyn								
cruller	86%	29%	0%	14%	43%	43%		
weisenheimer	100%	14%	0%	0%	43%	57%		
youse	100%	14%	0%	14%	43%	43%		
			Queens					
cruller	76%	18%	6%	6%	29%	59%		
weisenheimer	59%	24%	6%	6%	24%	65%		
youse	94%	29%	6%	18%	24%	53%		
			The Bronx					
cruller	86%	43%	14%	29%	14%	43%		
weisenheimer	57%	14%	0%	0%	29%	71%		
youse	86%	43%	14%	14%	14%	57%		

Other words of foreign origin were also the most familiar to residents of Brooklyn. Both *weisenheimer* and *youse* were known to all respondents from this borough. However, although people from Brooklyn were the most familiar with these words, they did not use them as often in their everyday life as, for example residents of Brooklyn, where almost half of the respondents preferred them to their more conventional English equivalents, with the exception of the word weisenheimer, which was preferred mainly by people from Manhattan.

*Table 12: Boroughs – New Yorkisms* 

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
			Manhattan					
johnny pump	17%	0%	0%	0%	8%	92%		
joint	92%	25%	8%	33%	33%	25%		
potsy	33%	8%	0%	0%	8%	92%		
sliding pond	17%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%		
spaldeen	25%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%		
			Brooklyn					
johnny pump	43%	29%	0%	29%	14%	57%		
joint	100%	71%	14%	57%	14%	14%		
potsy	57%	29%	0%	14%	43%	43%		
sliding pond	43%	29%	0%	0%	29%	71%		
spaldeen	43%	14%	0%	14%	29%	57%		
			Queens					
johnny pump	12%	6%	0%	0%	12%	88%		
joint	94%	47%	12%	29%	24%	35%		
potsy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
sliding pond	18%	0%	0%	0%	12%	88%		
spaldeen	24%	6%	0%	0%	12%	88%		
			The Bronx					
johnny pump	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
joint	86%	71%	43%	43%	14%	0%		
potsy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
sliding pond	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%		
spaldeen	43%	0%	0%	0%	29%	71%		

In the last category of words, Brooklyn residents also demonstrated above-average knowledge of the selected New Yorkisms, in comparison to residents from other boroughs. They also preferred them to their more conventional versions more often than people from other parts of the city. The greatest contrast was seen in the words *potsy* and *sliding pond*. While in Brooklyn, potsy was familiar to 57% of respondents and sliding pond to 43% of respondents, in Queens and the Bronx, potsy was not known to any of the respondents. Sliding pond was familiar to only 18% of people in Queens and to 14% in the Bronx. The term *johnny pump* was also the most familiar and most used in Brooklyn, while, for example, in the Bronx, none of the respondents knew this word.

Table 13: Boroughs - phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone							
		Manhattan									
Yes	25%	42%	58%	50%							
No	75%	58%	42%	50%							
	Brooklyn										
Yes	71%	86%	57%	86%							
No	29%	14%	43%	14%							
		Queens									
Yes	41%	41%	82%	53%							
No	59%	59%	18%	47%							
		The Bronx									
Yes	57%	57%	71%	71%							
No	43%	43%	29%	29%							

There were also differences in the use of the phrases between the boroughs. The phrases "good looks" and "the weather is brick" were mostly popular in Brooklyn. "What's good" was mostly used in Queens and in the Bronx. Lastly the phrase "to grill someone" was popular in Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Table 14: Boroughs – phrases 2

Regula	r coffee		Shopping		Wa	iting				
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line				
Manhattan										
25%	75%	17%	67%	17%	42%	58%				
Brooklyn										
57%	43%	29%	14%	57%	86%	14%				
			Queens							
47%	53%	18%	53%	29%	35%	65%				
			The Bronx							
43%	57%	14%	14%	71%	57%	43%				

The phrase "regular coffee" meant caffeinated coffee to the vast majority of people from Manhattan, while to most Brooklyn residents it meant coffee with milk.

In case of shopping, the majority of people in Manhattan and Queens preferred the phrase "grocery shopping". In Brooklyn, respondents usually preferred to use "food shopping" and "grocery shopping" interchangeably. There was also the highest proportion of people using the phrase "food shopping". In the Bronx the majority of people used these terms interchangeably.

Big differences also appeared in the use of phrases "waiting on line" and "waiting in line". The vast majority of respondents from Brooklyn used "waiting on line". In the Bronx this phrase was also preferred. In contrast, people in Manhattan and Queens rather used the phrase "waiting in line"

# 6.1.7. Other influences on the use of the lexicon

From the previous chapter it is apparent that the familiarity and use of the lexicon depend a lot on the borough in which the respondents live. However, there are other factors which influenced whether the respondents knew the words and phrases and how often they used them. One of the most important factors seems to be the age of the respondents. New Yorkers who were 20 and below usually were not familiar with so many words as people who were older. In most cases, they also did not prefer these words to their more conventional equivalents and only rarely used them often. On the other hand, respondents who were 40 and older showed bigger familiarity especially with Yiddishisms and some New Yorkisms. They also tended to use them more often in their everyday speech. However, there were some exceptions, for example, younger New Yorkers used the intensifier *mad* more often than older New Yorkers.

Another factor that played a role in vocabulary use was how long the respondents had lived in the city, but interestingly, this did not have as much influence on the use of lexis as the age of the respondents. People who had lived in New York for less than 10 years were usually not as familiar with some New Yorkisms and phrases. However, even if they had not lived in the city that long, they were generally familiar with many words typically used in New York, but they used them less frequently than people who have been living in the city their whole lives.

# **6.2.** United States Data

The second analyzed group includes Americans that live outside of New York City. Firstly, the general knowledge and preference of the selected lexis will be analyzed, followed by more in-depth analysis of the individual words from each category.

Table 15: USA - lexical categories

	fam	familiar		prefer		how often			
	yes	no	yes no		often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	72%	28%	44%	56%	10%	22%	23%	46%	
Italianisms	31%	69%	14%	86%	4%	7%	8%	81%	
Other	77%	23%	31%	69%	9%	15%	29%	48%	
New Yorkisms	39%	61%	17%	83%	5%	8%	11%	76%	

The words from category of Yiddishisms were familiar to 72% of Americans and 44% preferred them to their more conventional English equivalents. Regarding the frequency of use of Yiddishisms, 10% of respondents stated that they use them often and 22% used them sometimes. The rest used them either rarely or never.

Italianisms were familiar to 31% of Americans and only 14% of them expressed preference of these terms to their English versions. The majority of respondents, however, did not use words of Italian origin in their everyday lives, as 81% of them answered that they never use them. Only 4% of the USA cohort stated that they use them often. 7% and 8% of respondents use them either sometimes or rarely, respectively.

Other words of foreign origin were familiar to the majority of Americans, because 77% of respondents expressed familiarity with words from this category. However, only 31% of them stated that they prefer them to their more common equivalents. 9% of the participants used these words often, 15% used them rarely and the rest (48%) stated that they never use them.

The last category of words that were surveyed are New Yorkisms. A total of 39% of surveyed Americans said they were familiar with terms from this category. The rest were not familiar with them. Only 17% of respondents preferred New Yorkisms to their more traditional counterparts. In terms of everyday usage, just 5% of Americans used these words often. 8% of New Yorkers said they use these terms sometimes, while 11% said they used them rarely. The majority (76%), however never used New Yorkisms.

#### 6.2.1. Yiddishisms

Table 16: USA – Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
chutzpah	82%	43%	5%	23%	30%	43%	
kibbitz	39%	9%	0%	9%	9%	82%	
klutz	100%	80%	18%	43%	30%	9%	
mensch	68%	18%	2%	14%	16%	68%	
schlemiel	27%	7%	0%	5%	11%	84%	
schlep	89%	57%	18%	18%	36%	27%	
schlock	45%	27%	5%	11%	14%	70%	
schmear	80%	41%	7%	14%	36%	43%	
schmuck	100%	70%	16%	34%	32%	18%	
schvitzing	41%	14%	0%	11%	11%	77%	
shtick	95%	75%	14%	43%	30%	14%	
spiel	95%	82%	32%	41%	16%	11%	

Americans were most familiar with the Yiddishisms *klutz* and *schmuck* since 100% of respondents stated that they knew these words. Other terms that most Americans were familiar with were *spiel* and *shtick* with a 95% familiarity rate, and also *schlep*, *chutzpah*, and *schmear*, which were familiar to more than 80% of Americans. On the other hand, terms that were unknown to the majority of survey participants were *kibbitz* and *schlemiel*, which were familiar to less than 40% of respondents.

When it came to choosing these terms over their more traditional English equivalents, over 80% of Americans favored *spiel* and *klutz*. More than 70% of respondents also preferred the terms *shtick* and *schmuck* to their more conventional English equivalents. Moreover, around 40% of respondents preferred to use the terms *chutzpah* and *schmear*. However, the Yiddishisms *kibbitz* and *schlemiel* were preferred by less than 10% of Americans.

Some more preferred words mentioned by the respondents were for example *talk*, *chat* or *gab* instead of *kibbitz*; *nerve* or *guts* instead of *chutzpah*; or *gig* and *bit* instead of *shtick*. Other interesting alternatives were for example *perspiring* or *melting* instead of *schvitzing* and *janky*, *junk* or *crummy* in place of *schlock*. Some people also mentioned expressions such us *slowpoke* or *lagging* in place of *schlep*. Other respondents usually stated that they prefer to use the words that were given as definitions.

When it came to the frequency of use of the given Yiddishisms, Americans used the word *spiel* the most. It was used often by 32% of respondents and sometimes by 41%. Other frequently used terms were *klutz* and *schlep*, both used often by 18% of participants. Approximately half of Americans also used the words *shtick* and *schmuck* either often or sometimes. Some seldomly used Yiddishisms were *chutzpah*, *mensch*, *schlock* and *schmear*. They were used often by less than 10% of respondents. Yiddishisms, that were used the least were *kibbitz*, *schlemiel* and *schvitzing*, which none of the surveyed Americans used often. The vast majority said that they never use these terms.

## 6.2.2. Italianisms

Table 17: USA – Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
agita	25%	11%	2%	7%	5%	86%	
gavoon	11%	7%	0%	2%	2%	95%	
goombah	32%	11%	0%	2%	9%	89%	
pie	91%	34%	14%	20%	30%	36%	
scoumbaish	7%	2%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
shem	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
shongod	7%	5%	0%	2%	0%	98%	
skeeve	73%	36%	14%	25%	14%	48%	

The vast majority of Americans were familiar with the terms *pie* and *skeeve*. These words knew 91% and 73% of respondents respectively. Quite familiar were also the words *agita*, which was familiar to 25% of respondents and *goombah*, which was known to 32% of Americans. On the other hand, terms which were unknown to the majority of survey participants were *scoumbaish*, *shem* and *shongod*. These words were familiar to less than 10% of respondents.

In terms of preference, 34% preferred to use *pie* and 36% preferred to use *skeeve*. *Agita* and *goombah* were both preferred by 11% of respondents. Italianisms which were favored the least by respondents from the United States were *scoumbaish* and *shem*. Only 2% of respondents stated that they prefer them to their English equivalents.

Other equivalents listed by the participants were for example *reflux* or *hearburn* for agita and *glutton* or *pig* for *gavoon*. The respondents also often mentioned *messy* or *slob* in place of *shongod*, or *dumbass*, *fool*, and *idiot* in place of *shem*. Instead of *skeeve* the majority of Americans preferred to use the expression *grossed out*. Finally, for *goobmah* and *scoumbaish* they preferred to say *mate* or *friend* and *underprepared*, respectively.

Italianisms that were used the most frequently were *pie* and *skeeve*. Both were used often by 14% of the respondents and sometimes by more than 20% of respondents. Generally, however, words of Italian origin were not employed in the everyday speech of Americans. The majority of Italianisms were almost never used by the majority of respondents. For example, *gavoon*, *scoumbaish* or *shongod* were never used by more than 95% of respondents and *shem* was never used by 100% of the surveyed Americans.

# 6.2.3. Other words of foreign origin

Table 18: USA – Other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
bodega	100%	43%	11%	16%	45%	27%	
cruller	68%	18%	5%	18%	27%	50%	
stoop	95%	70%	20%	27%	39%	14%	
weisenheimer	34%	11%	2%	5%	11%	82%	
youse	89%	14%	5%	7%	20%	68%	

The most familiar words were *bodega* with 100% familiarity rate and *stoop* with 95% familiarity rate. *Cruller* and *youse* were also generally familiar to Americans. 68% of them were familiar with *cruller* and 89% with *youse*. The least familiar word for Americans was *weisenheimer*. Only 34% of respondents knew this expression.

A word that was preferred by the majority of Americans was *stoop*. 70% of respondents stated that they prefer it to other English equivalents. The second most preferred word was *bodega* which was favored by 43% of Americans. The rest of the expressions were preferred by less than 20% of survey participants.

Other terms that Americans preferred to use instead of the given words were mostly convenience or corner store instead of bodega or porch and steps instead of stoop. As for the term cruller, a significant number of Americans said that to them, it meant a specific kind of twisted doughnut, not a regular doughnut. Other terms that the participants usually preferred to use instead of the given term were wiseguy, smartass or smart aleck instead of weisenheimer. Lastly, the majority of Americans preferred to say you all/ya'll, you guys or folks instead of youse.

The most frequently used term from the category of other words of foreign origin was *stoop*, which was used often by 20% of Americans and sometimes by 27%. Another term which was used quite frequently by the survey participants was *bodega*, which was

used often by 11% of respondents and sometimes by 16% of respondents. On the other hand, little used words included *cruller* and *youse*. These expressions were used often by 5% of Americans. The least used expression was *weisenheimer*, which was used often by only 2% of participants and never by 82% of surveyed Americans.

#### 6.2.4. New Yorkisms

Table 19: USA – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
hero	82%	18%	9%	7%	25%	59%	
johnny pump	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
joint	98%	39%	9%	18%	41%	32%	
mad	82%	20%	7%	14%	23%	57%	
potsy	2%	5%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
rubbernecker	91%	75%	25%	36%	16%	23%	
skel	2%	2%	0%	2%	0%	98%	
sliding pond	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
spaldeen	14%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
straphanger	16%	5%	0%	2%	7%	91%	

New Yorkisms with which Americans were most familiar were *joint* and *rubbernecker*. They were familiar to more than 90% of respondents. Other highly familiar terms included *hero* and *mad*, which were both familiar to more than 80% of respondents. *Spaldeen* and *straphanger* were also familiar to some Americans. Spaldeen was familiar to 14% of respondents and straphanger to 16% of respondents. Among the least used New Yorkisms was *Johnny pump*, which was familiar to 5% of respondents, and also *potsy, skel* and *sliding pond*, which were familiar to only 2% of all surveyed Americans.

In terms of preference, the most favored word was *rubbernecker*, which was preferred by 75% of Americans. The second most preferred New Yorkism was *joint*, which was favored by 39% of respondents. *Mad* and *hero* preferred less than 20% and 18% of respondents, respectively. The least preferred New Yorkism was *johnny pump*, which was not favored by any of the respondents. Other New Yorkisms like *potsy*, *skel*, *sliding pond* and *spaldeen* were preferred by less than 10% of Americans.

Other words that Americans preferred were for example *sub* or *sandwich* instead of *hero* or *fire hydrant* in place of *johnny pump*. Instead of *mad*, some other alternatives that were listed by the respondents were for example *hella*, *crazy*, *super*, *or wicked*. In place of *joint* the respondents usually stated that they would call it by the type of the specific

building, so for example coffee shop, bar etc. Another alternative was calling it *place* instead of joint. Some more preferred terms included *bum*, *hobo*, *vagrant* or *homeless* for *skel* and *slide* or *sliding board* for *sliding pond*. Instead of *rubbernecker* one of the respondents stated that they preferred to use *Looky Lou*. In other cases, the respondents usually preferred to use words that were given as definitions.

The most frequently used New Yorkism was *rubbernecker*. This term was used often by 25% of respondents and sometimes by 36% of respondents. *Hero* and *joint* were used often in 9% of cases. However, the majority of New Yorkisms were used either rarely or never. The least used words were *johnny pump*, *potsy* and *sliding pond*. These words were never used in 100% of cases. *Skel*, *spaldeen* and *straphanger* were also never used in more than 90% of cases.

# **6.2.5.** Phrases

Table 20: USA – Phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	7%	2%	52%	39%
No	93%	98%	48%	61%

Americans were most likely to use "what's good" instead of "how are you". More than half of the respondents said that they would use this phrase. "To grill someone" would use 39% of Americans if they stared at someone in a judgmental way. However, the phrases "good looks" and "the weather is brick" would not use the majority of participants. "Good looks" would use 7% of people and "the weather is brick" would use only 2% of the surveyed participants.

Table 21: USA – Phrases 2

Regular	coffee		Shopping			Waiting		
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery interch.		on-line	in-line		
9%	91%	2%	75%	23%	9%	91%		

For the vast majority of respondents, the term "regular coffee" meant "caffeinated coffee" as opposed to "coffee with milk". When it came to shopping, 75% of Americans preferred to use the phrase "grocery shopping". Only 2% of respondents used "food shopping". The rest (23%) used "food shopping" and "grocery shopping" interchangeably. Lastly, the majority of people (91%) said that they used "waiting in line". Only 9% of respondents used "waiting on line" in this case.

# **6.2.6.** Influences on the use of the lexicon

The extent of the use and familiarity among Americans was also influenced by whether they had any prior ties to New York City. For this reason, I have further divided the USA cohort into three different subgroups. The first group includes people who stated that they either live in the close vicinity of the city, have family in the city or respondents who originally come from New York City but now live elsewhere in the U.S. The second group comprises of people who come from New York State but do not live directly in New York City and the last group includes respondents who did not mention any prior ties to NYC. The general knowledge and use of the New York City lexicon among these three groups will be compared and analyzed below.

Table 22: USA comparison - lexical categories

	·		With N	IY influence					
	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	80%	20%	53%	47%	18%	31%	21%	30%	
Italianisms	50%	50%	26%	74%	10%	18%	8%	64%	
Other	89%	11%	40%	60%	11%	31%	20%	38%	
New Yorkisms	54%	46%	24%	76%	11%	11%	13%	64%	
			New	York State					
	fam	iliar	liar prefer			how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	71%	29%	46%	54%	10%	21%	27%	42%	
Italianisms	33%	67%	24%	76%	6%	8%	6%	81%	
Other	78%	22%	42%	58%	11%	20%	24%	44%	
New Yorkisms	36%	64%	24%	76%	4%	9%	11%	76%	
			Without	NY influence					
	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	69%	31%	40%	60%	7%	19%	21%	52%	
Italianisms	24%	76%	6%	95%	1%	4%	9%	88%	
Other	73%	27%	25%	75%	7%	7%	33%	53%	
New Yorkisms	34%	66%	12%	88%	3%	6%	10%	80%	

The table above shows that respondents who had some prior ties to New York City, were generally more familiar with the selected vocabulary and used it more often in their everyday lives than Americans who had no previous relationship with the city or even than respondents who lived in New York state. The biggest contrasts between the use and knowledge of the lexis were between respondents with NY influence and respondents without NY influence. For example, in case of Italianisms, people who mentioned some relationship to New York were more familiar with these words by 26% than people with no prior ties to the city and used them more often by 20%. Furthermore, respondents from New York state also had better knowledge of the lexicon than people from other parts of

America, however the contrasts with respondents without NY influence were not as big as with respondents with NY influence. On average, respondents from New York state were 4% more familiar with the lexicon than people with no NY influence.

Table 23: USA comparison – phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone				
		With NY influence						
Yes	22%	0%	67%	67%				
No	78%	100%	33%	33%				
New York State								
Yes	0%	11%	44%	33%				
No	100%	89%	56%	67%				
		Without NY influence						
Yes	4%	0%	48%	28%				
No	96%	100%	52%	72%				

In terms of phrases, the majority of them were more likely to be used by people with prior ties to New York City. An exception is the phrase "the weather is brick", which was concentrated only in New York State. Respondents with no prior relationship to New York were least likely to use the given phrases than respondents from the first two groups.

Table 24: USA comparison – phrases 2

Regular coffee			Shopping	Waiting					
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line			
With NY influence									
22%	78%	11%	67%	22%	22%	78%			
	New York State								
0%	100%	0%	44%	56%	22%	78%			
	Without NY influence								
8%	92%	0%	92%	8%	0%	100%			

The second set of phrases showed the same tendencies as the previous one, which means that phrases typical for New York City were most likely to be used by people with NY influence. For example, the term "regular coffee" meant coffee with milk mainly for NY-influenced Americans. Respondents from New York state and people without NY influence in the vast majority of cases stated, that for them it meant "caffeinated coffee".

Furthermore, respondents with no NY influence used almost without exception the phrase "grocery shopping" as opposed to people from New York state, who used "grocery shopping" in 44% of cases. The rest of respondents from New York state used "food shopping" and "grocery shopping" interchangeably. A preference of "food shopping" was found only among respondents with NY influence. Lastly, the phrase "waiting on line", which is typical for New York, was preferred by 22% of NY-influenced respondents and by New York state residents. Americans with no relationship to New York never preferred this phrase.

# **6.3.** Other English-speaking countries

The last group that will be presented and analyzed comprises of respondents from other English-speaking countries, specifically from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and from other further unspecified English-speaking countries.

*Table 25: Other – lexical categories* 

	fam	familiar		prefer		how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	4%	7%	14%	75%	
Italianisms	12%	88%	6%	94%	1%	2%	4%	94%	
Other	43%	57%	13%	87%	4%	4%	9%	83%	
New Yorkisms	23%	77%	8%	92%	1%	4%	6%	89%	

Yiddishisms were familiar to 40% of respondents and 24% preferred them to their more conventional English equivalents. When asked how often they used words of Yiddish origin, 4% said they used them often, 7% used them sometimes and 14% rarely. 75% of respondents however never used them.

Words of Italian origin knew only 12% of respondents and 6% preferred them to their English equivalents. The frequency of use Italianisms by people from other English-speaking countries was very low. Only 1% of respondents used them often and 2% used them sometimes. 94% answered that they never use Italianisms.

Other words of foreign origin were familiar to 43% of respondents. 13% of the surveyed people stated that they prefer them to other equivalents. The words from this category were used often in 4% of cases, and sometimes also in 4% of cases. 83% of respondents never used these words.

Words from the last category of New Yorkisms were familiar to 23% of respondents and were preferred by them in 8% of cases. In the vast majority of cases, New Yorkisms were never used by respondents from other English-speaking countries. Only 1% of the surveyed people answered that they use New Yorkisms often and 4% said that they use them sometimes.

## **6.3.1.** Yiddishisms

Table 26: Other countries - Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
chutzpah	37%	24%	0%	2%	17%	80%	
kibbitz	7%	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
klutz	91%	57%	7%	24%	30%	39%	
mensch	24%	7%	0%	0%	13%	87%	
schlemiel	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
schlep	26%	22%	4%	7%	9%	80%	
schlock	15%	13%	2%	4%	4%	89%	
schmear	41%	17%	2%	7%	17%	74%	
schmuck	87%	33%	2%	9%	35%	54%	
schvitzing	11%	11%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
shtick	65%	39%	9%	11%	24%	57%	
spiel	78%	63%	20%	24%	15%	41%	

The most familiar Yiddishisms for people from other English-speaking countries were *klutz* and *schmuck*. Klutz was familiar to the vast majority of respondents - specifically to 91%. The expression schmuck was familiar to 87% of the surveyed people. Other well-known Yiddishisms were for example *shtick* and *spiel*, which were familiar to 65% and 78% of respondents, respectively. The least familiar Yiddishism was *schlemiel*, which was familiar to 2% of respondents and *kibbitz*, which knew only 7% of the survey participants.

In terms of preference, the respondents mostly favored the words *spiel* and *klutz*. Spiel was preferred by 63% of respondents and klutz was preferred by 57%. *Shtick* and *schmuck* were preferred by more than 30% of respondents. Other Yiddishisms were seldomly preferred to their English equivalents. For example, *mensch* was favored in 7% of cases and *schlemiel* only in 2% of cases. A Yiddishism which no one preferred to the more conventional English equivalent was *kibbitz*.

Other words that the respondents preferred to use instead of the given Yiddishisms were for example *gall* and *ballsy* instead of *chutzpah*, or *loser*, *layabout*, *waster*, and *gourd* instead of *schlemiel*. Lot of interesting alternatives were also given for the word *kibbitz*. The respondents listed terms such as *gossip*, *buzzing*, *natter*, or *having craic*. Other alternatives that stood out from the more conventional ones were for example *dollop*, *daub*, *knob*, or *wad* for the word *schmear*. Moreover, instead of *schlep*, people preferred to use for example, *trudge*, *lag*, *haul*, *drag* or *limp*. In place of *schmuck* the respondents mentioned terms such as *gobdaw* or *gobshite*, *twat*, *berk* or *bellend*. And instead of shtick,

some respondents used *skit* or *persona*. For the rest, the participants of the survey mostly used translations offered in the questionnaire.

The most frequently used Yiddishism was *spiel*, which was used often in 20% of cases and sometimes in 24% of cases. Other words of Yiddish origin, that were occasionally used by the respondents were *shtick* and *klutz*. Shtick was used often by 9% of respondents and sometimes by 11% respondents, while klutz was used often by 7% of those surveyed and sometimes by 24%. The majority of Yiddishisms, however, were for the most part never used by the respondents. For example, *kibbitz*, *schlemiel* or *schvitzing* were never used by the survey participants in 98% of cases and *mensch* and *schlock* were never used in more than 85% of cases.

## 6.3.2. Italianisms

*Table 27: Other countries – Italianisms* 

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
agita	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
gavoon	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
goombah	7%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
pie	63%	7%	2%	7%	20%	72%	
scoumbaish	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
shem	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
shongod	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
skeeve	20%	15%	2%	7%	7%	85%	

The most well-known Italianism for people from other English-speaking countries was *pie*, which was familiar to 64% of respondents. One fifth of respondents was also familiar with the term *skeeve*. Other Italianisms were generally unknown to the majority of people. For example, the words *gavoon*, *scoumbaish*, and *shongod*, were not familiar to any of the respondents. Additionally, *agita* and *shem* were familiar to only 2% of survey participants.

The selected Italianisms were in most cases not preferred over their English equivalents. One expression, which was favored the most was *skeeve*. It was preferred by 15% of respondents. The majority of Italianisms were preferred by less than 10% of respondents and *shem* and *shongod* were not preferred by any of the survey participants.

Apart from the given translations, respondents mentioned other preferred words, like *greedy guts* or *glutton* for *gavoon* or for example *mate*, *bud*, and *buddy* for *goombah*. Some other terms included *clob*, *imbecile* and *dumbass* in place of *shem*, and *mess*, *grubby*, *slattern*, and *slob* instead of *shongod*.

Italianisms were almost never used in the everyday speech of the respondents. 100% of respondents stated that they never use the words *agita*, *gavoon*, *scoumbiash*, *shem*, and *shongod*. The only Italianisms which were occasionally used were *pie* and *skeeve*, although they were both used often only in 2% of cases and sometimes in 7% of cases. However, pie was used rarely in 20% of cases, which makes it the most frequently used Italianism by people from other English-speaking countries.

# 6.3.3. Other words of foreign origin

*Table 28: Other countries – other words of foreign origin* 

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
bodega	57%	9%	2%	2%	11%	85%		
cruller	22%	4%	2%	4%	7%	87%		
stoop	46%	17%	4%	7%	13%	76%		
weisenheimer	15%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%		
youse	78%	26%	13%	7%	13%	67%		

The respondents were most often familiar with the terms *youse* and *bodega*. Youse was familiar to 78% of people and bodega to 57%. Stoop was also quite familiar, since 46% of people stated that they know this term. On the other hand, *cruller* and *weisenheimer* were familiar to the smallest number of respondents. Cruller was familiar in 22% of cases and weisenheimer only in 15% of cases.

The most preferred term was *youse*, which was preferred by 26% of respondents, followed by *stoop*, which knew 17% of the surveyed people. *Bodega* and *weisenheimer* were favored in 9% and 7% of cases, respectively. The least preferred term was *cruller*. Only 4% of people said that they prefer this word.

Some more preferred words by the respondents were for example *corner* store/shop, convenience store or newsagents instead of bodega or smart-ass and smart aleck in place of weisenheimer. Instead of stoop, some people liked to use front porch, front steps or simply steps. In place of youse, some alternatives that were mentioned by the survey participants were for instance you, you guys or you lot.

The most frequently used word from this category was *youse*, which was used often by 13% of respondents and sometimes by 7%. The second most used word was *stoop*, which was used often in 4% of cases and sometimes in 7% of cases. *Bodega* and *cruller* were almost never used by the respondents, as over 80% stated that they never use these words. They were both used often in only 2% of cases. The least used word of foreign origin was *weisenheimer*, which was never used by 98% of respondents.

## 6.3.4. New Yorkisms

Table 29: Other countries – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often	
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
hero	24%	7%	0%	2%	2%	96%
johnny pump	2%	9%	0%	0%	2%	98%
joint	85%	17%	0%	15%	28%	57%
mad	78%	17%	9%	20%	17%	54%
potsy	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%
rubbernecker	39%	20%	2%	7%	9%	83%
skel	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
sliding pond	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
spaldeen	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
straphanger	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	100%

The most familiar New Yorkisms were *joint* and *mad*. Joint was familiar to 85% of respondents and mad was familiar to 78% of respondents. Another fairly known term from this category was *rubbernecker*. This word was known in 39% of cases. The majority of New Yorkisms though, were mostly unfamiliar to most people. For example, expressions such as *potsy*, *skel*, *sliding pond* and *spaldeen*, were not familiar to any of the respondents and *straphanger* and *johnny pump* were familiar only to 2% of the surveyed people.

A New Yorkism, which was preferred the most was *rubbernecker*. 20% of respondents answered that they would choose this term over other equivalents. The second most preferred terms were *joint* and *mad*. They were both preferred by 17% of respondents. By contrast, the least favored New Yorkisms were *skel*, *sliding pond* and *spaldeen*, which were not preferred by any of the surveyed participants.

Some other words that the respondents preferred over New Yorkisms were for example *barm*, *sarnie* or *butty* instead of *hero* and *rubber ball* or *bouncy ball* instead of *spaldeen*. Furthermore, respondents mentioned other alternatives like *nosy parker* and *curtain twitcher* for the term *rubbernecker* or *bum* and *tramp* in place of *skel*. In other cases, they usually preferred the provided translations.

As for the frequency of the use of New Yorkisms, these terms were almost never employed in the everyday speech of respondents from other English-speaking countries. For example, the words *potsy*, *skel*, *sliding pond*, *spaldeen* and *straphanger*, were never used in 100% of cases. Furthermore, the New Yorkisms *hero* and *johnny pump* were never used by more than 95% of respondents. The only expressions, which were used often at least by some people were *mad* and *rubbernecker*. Mad was used often by 9% of respondents and rubbernecker by 2% of respondents.

## **6.3.5.** Phrases

*Table 30: Other countries - phrases* 

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	2%	2%	33%	28%
No	98%	98%	67%	72%

The phrases "good looks" and "the weather is brick" would use only 2% of respondents. The most likely phrase to be used by people from other English-speaking countries was "what's good". 33% of respondents stated that they would use this phrase instead of "how are you". Furthermore, the phrase "to grill someone" would use 28% of respondents.

*Table 31: Other countries – phrases 2* 

Regular	coffee		Shopping	Waiting		
with milk	with milk caffeinated food grocery				on-line	in-line
46%	54%	43%	43%	13%	4%	96%

The question of whether "regular coffee" meant coffee with milk or caffeinated coffee, was by 54% of the survey participants answered that for them it meant caffeinated coffee and for the remaining 46% it meant coffee with milk. When it came to shopping, the phrases "food shopping" and "grocery shopping" were both preferred by 43% of respondents. Only 13% of people said that they used these phrases interchangeably. Lastly, in 96% of cases, the respondents from other English-speaking countries answered that they prefer to use "waiting in line" as opposed to "waiting on line".

# 6.3.6. Comparison of English-speaking countries

Some differences in use of the lexis appeared also between the individual English-speaking countries. The table below shows differences in the general knowledge and use of the New York City English lexicon between respondents from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and other English-speaking countries, which were not further specified.

*Table 32: Other countries – comparison* 

			Unite	d Kingdom					
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	36%	64%	23%	77%	2%	4%	12%	81%	
Italianisms	9%	91%	7%	93%	0%	2%	2%	97%	
Other	31%	69%	15%	85%	4%	1%	5%	90%	
New Yorkisms	21%	79%	8%	92%	1%	4%	5%	89%	
			C	anada					
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	often		
1	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	55%	45%	26%	74%	11%	13%	18%	58%	
Italianisms	16%	84%	1%	99%	1%	0%	6%	93%	
Other	63%	36%	14%	86%	8%	10%	20%	62%	
New Yorkisms	27%	73%	10%	90%	1%	7%	6%	86%	
			Australia	+ New Zealar	nd				
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	how often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	0%	10%	15%	75%	
Italianisms	13%	88%	0%	100%	0%	2%	6%	92%	
Other	53%	47%	7%	93%	0%	7%	10%	83%	
New Yorkisms	28%	72%	12%	88%	2%	7%	8%	83%	
		C	Other English-	-speaking cou	ıntries				
	fam	iliar	pre	efer		how	often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	35%	65%	24%	76%	2%	6%	16%	76%	
Italianisms	13%	88%	13%	88%	2%	3%	3%	92%	
Other	45%	55%	10%	90%	5%	3%	5%	88%	
New Yorkisms	19%	81%	0%	100%	0%	0%	5%	95%	

Words from the category of Yiddishisms were most familiar to Canadians. 55% of respondents from Canada said that they are familiar with them. On the contrary, respondents from other English-speaking countries were the least familiar with Yiddishisms, as only 35% of respondents expressed familiarity with words from this category. Canadians also preferred Yiddishisms the most in comparison to other countries and they most frequently incorporated them to their speech. 11% of Canadians said that they use Yiddishisms often. A country where Yiddishisms were used the least was United Kingdom. 97% of respondents from the UK said that they never use words of Yiddish origin.

The next category, which included words of Italian origin was the most familiar to Canadians as well. 16% of respondents from Canada were familiar with Italianisms, however, only 1% of Canadians preferred them to their English equivalents. Italianisms were the most preferred in other English-speaking countries, where 13% of respondents favored these terms over other English colloquialisms. Respondents from other English-speaking countries were also the most likely to use Italianisms in their everyday speech. On the other hand, respondents from the United Kingdom employed Italianisms in their everyday speech the least, for 97% of respondents stated that they never use Italianisms.

Other words of foreign origin were the most familiar in Canada, where 63% of respondents were familiar with them. In contrast, other words of foreign origin were the least familiar in the United Kingdom, where only 31% of respondents knew these terms. However, it is interesting to note that in the UK, words from this category were most likely to be preferred over their English equivalents. Regarding the frequency of use, Canadians employed other words of foreign origin the most in their speech, compared to the other listed countries. 8% of respondents stated that they use these words often and 10% used them sometimes. On the flip side, respondents from the United Kingdom used other words of foreign origin the least frequently, because 90% of them stated that they never use words from this category.

The last category, which included New Yorkisms, was the most familiar to respondents from Australia and New Zealand. A total of 28% of respondents from these countries were familiar with New Yorkisms. Australians and New Zealanders also preferred New Yorkisms the most in comparison to other countries. 12% of respondents said that they favor words from this category over the more common equivalents. They also employed New Yorkisms the most frequently in their speech. 2% of respondents from Australia and New Zealand said that they use them often and 7% used them sometimes. On the other hand, New Yorkisms were the least popular among respondents from other English-speaking countries. Only 19% of people were familiar with words from this category and none of them preferred them over their more conventional equivalents. These respondents also used New Yorkisms the least frequently, since 95% of them stated that they never use words from this category.

*Table 33: Other countries comparison – phrases* 

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone						
		United Kingdom								
Yes	5%	0%	23%	14%						
No	95%	100%	77%	86%						
	Canada									
Yes	0%	0%	50%	20%						
No	100%	100%	50%	80%						
		Australia + New Zealand								
Yes	0%	0%	50%	83%						
No	100%	100%	50%	17%						
	Other English-speaking countries									
Yes	0%	13%	25%	38%						
No	100%	88%	75%	63%						

The phrase "good looks" would use only 5% of respondents from the United Kingdom. Respondents from all the other countries stated that they would never use this phrase. The "weather is brick" would say 13% of respondents from other English-speaking countries. People from the other countries would never use this phrase. "What's good" would use 50% of respondents in Canada and also in Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand, in the UK, only 23% of people said that they would use this phrase. Lastly, the phrase "to grill someone", was most popular in Australia and New Zealand, where 83% of respondents answered that they would use it. In contrast, only 14% of respondents from the United Kingdom would use this phrase.

Table 34: Other countries comparison - phrases 2

Regula	r coffee		Shopping		Wai	ting				
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line				
United Kingdom										
64%	36%	77%	18%	5%	0%	100%				
	Canada									
10%	90%	0%	90%	10%	10%	90%				
		Aust	ralia + New Zea	land						
50%	50%	0%	67%	33%	0%	100%				
	Other English-speaking countries									
38%	63%	38%	38%	25%	13%	88%				

Regarding the second set of phrases, "regular coffee" meant for the majority of respondents from the United Kingdom, coffee with milk. The opposite was true in Canada. For 90% of Canadians, regular coffee meant caffeinated coffee as opposed to coffee with milk. When it came to shopping, 77% of survey participants from the UK said that they

prefer to use "food shopping". Only 18% preferred "grocery shopping" and 5% used food shopping and grocery shopping interchangeably. Respondents from other English-speaking countries used both "food shopping" and "grocery shopping" in 38% of cases. 25% said that they use these phrases interchangeably. Respondents from Canada and Australia and New Zealand stated that they never prefer "food shopping". For these respondents, the preferred variant was in majority of cases "grocery shopping". Finally, the majority of respondents from all countries preferred to say "waiting in line" instead of "waiting online". The second variant was preferred by only 10% of Canadians and 13% of respondents from Australia and New Zealand.

# 7 Comparison and discussion of the results

In the following paragraphs the three main cohorts that were presented in the previous chapters will be compared with each other and conclusions regarding the use and spread of the lexicon will be drawn.

Table 35: Lexical categories - comparison

·	•		New \	ork City		•		
	fam	iliar	pr	efer		how o	ften	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	74%	26%	48%	52%	13%	25%	20%	42%
Italianisms	46%	54%	22%	78%	8%	11%	12%	69%
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	17%	20%	37%
New Yorkisms	53%	47%	30%	70%	12%	13%	17%	57%
			Unite	d States				
	fam	iliar	pr	prefer		how often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	72%	28%	44%	56%	10%	22%	23%	46%
Italianisms	31%	69%	14%	86%	4%	7%	8%	81%
Other	77%	23%	31%	69%	9%	15%	29%	48%
New Yorkisms	39%	61%	17%	83%	5%	8%	11%	76%
		Othe	r English-s	peaking cour	ntries			
	fam	iliar	pr	efer		how o	ften	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	4%	7%	14%	75%
Italianisms	12%	88%	6%	94%	1%	2%	4%	94%
Other	43%	57%	13%	87%	4%	4%	9%	83%
New Yorkisms	23%	77%	8%	92%	1%	4%	6%	89%

In terms of general knowledge of the provided categories, Yiddishisms were most familiar and also most frequently used in New York City, although the differences between familiarity and use of Yiddishisms between New York and the rest of the United States were not as big as expected. On average, the differences between these two cohorts were around 3%. Respondents from other English-speaking countries were however much less familiar with words of Yiddish origin, compared to New Yorkers. In this case the familiarity of Yiddish terms was 34% lower.

As far as Italianisms are concerned, the differences between New York and the rest of America were bigger in comparison to Yiddishisms. While New Yorkers were familiar with Italian terms in 46% of cases and preferred them to their English equivalents in 22% of cases, the rest of Americans were familiar with them in 31% of cases and preferred them in 14% of cases. In other English-speaking countries, Italianisms were little known to the respondents and very rarely used. For example, only 1% of respondents from this cohort used Italianisms often, while 94% stated that they never incorporate them in their speech.

Other words of foreign origin were the most popular in New York and least popular in other English-speaking countries. A total of 86% of New Yorkers said that they are familiar with words from this category, while exactly half as many respondents from other English-speaking countries were familiar with them. Americans were more familiar with these words compared to respondents from other English-speaking countries, as 77% said that they know the terms from this category. New Yorkers also used other words of foreign origin much more frequently than other respondents. 51% of New Yorkers preferred these terms to other equivalents and used them often in 26% of cases, while Americans used them often in 9% of cases and respondents from other English-speaking countries only in 4% of cases.

Lastly, words from the category of New Yorkisms were naturally most familiar to New Yorkers. They knew them in 53% of cases. In contrast, they were the least familiar to people from other English-speaking countries, where only 23% of respondents expressed familiarity with these terms. Americans were familiar with New Yorkisms in 39% of cases. In terms of preference, New Yorkers favored these terms over their more conventional equivalents in 30% of cases. Americans preferred to use New Yorkisms in 17% of cases and respondents from other English-speaking countries in only 8% of cases. New Yorkers also used words from this category much more frequently compared to the rest of America and other English-speaking countries. 12% of New Yorkers used them often and 13% sometimes, while Americans used them often in 5% of cases and sometimes in 8% of cases. Respondents from other English-speaking countries almost never employed New Yorkisms in their speech, since 89% said that they never use these expressions.

Moreover, since one of the main goals of my research was to determine the extent of the spread of the NYCE lexicon beyond the city borders, it will be concluded based on the comparison, which of the selected words and phrases appear to be unique to New York City and which of them are used universally in other parts of the English-speaking world. The second goal was to find out the extent of the use of lexis typical for New York City among New Yorkers, which will also be discussed in the analysis below.

Table 36: Yiddishisms - comparison

					ľ	New York Cit	у					
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	77%	53%	91%	74%	47%	84%	47%	81%	93%	63%	93%	91%
Prefer %	49%	21%	63%	40%	19%	63%	16%	60%	63%	28%	74%	77%
					Fre	equency of ι	ise					
Often	5%	2%	19%	16%	0%	37%	0%	14%	19%	9%	19%	21%
Sometimes	30%	14%	30%	14%	12%	21%	12%	35%	30%	16%	42%	40%
Rarely	21%	12%	30%	26%	14%	12%	21%	16%	23%	19%	21%	26%
Never	44%	72%	21%	44%	74%	30%	67%	35%	28%	56%	19%	14%
					U	United State	s					
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	82%	39%	100%	68%	27%	89%	45%	80%	100%	41%	95%	95%
Prefer %	43%	9%	80%	18%	7%	57%	27%	41%	70%	14%	75%	82%
					Fre	equency of ι	ise					
Often	5%	0%	18%	2%	0%	18%	5%	7%	16%	0%	14%	32%
Sometimes	23%	9%	43%	14%	5%	18%	11%	14%	34%	11%	43%	41%
Rarely	30%	9%	30%	16%	11%	36%	14%	36%	32%	11%	30%	16%
Never	43%	82%	9%	68%	84%	27%	70%	43%	18%	77%	14%	11%
					Other Eng	lish-speakin	countries					
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	37%	7%	91%	24%	2%	26%	15%	41%	87%	11%	65%	78%
Prefer %	24%	0%	57%	7%	2%	22%	13%	17%	33%	11%	39%	63%
					Fre	equency of ι	ise					
Often	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	4%	2%	2%	2%	0%	9%	20%
Sometimes	2%	0%	24%	0%	0%	7%	4%	7%	9%	0%	11%	24%
Rarely	17%	2%	30%	13%	2%	9%	4%	17%	35%	2%	24%	15%
Never	80%	98%	39%	87%	98%	80%	89%	74%	54%	98%	57%	41%

Yiddishisms which appeared to be the most restricted to the New York City area were *kibbitz*, *mensch*, *schlemiel*, and *schvitzing*. These words were in comparison to other Yiddishisms much more familiar for New Yorkers than for people from America or other English-speaking countries. But most importantly, New Yorkers employed them much more in their speech compared to respondents from other parts of the U.S. and other countries. For example, while kibbitz was preferred by 21% of New Yorkers, it was preferred by only 9% of Americans and by none of the respondents from other English-speaking countries. Moreover, *chutzpah*, *schlep* and *schmear* were each most frequently preferred and used in New York City, but they were not restricted to New York to the same degree as the previously mentioned Yiddishisms, since they were quite popular in some parts of the U.S. as well.

Contrastingly, Yiddishisms that were more popular in other parts of the English-speaking world than in New York City were *klutz*, *schlock*, *schmuck*, *shtick* and *spiel*. All these words were more often preferred and more frequently used by respondents from other parts of America than by New Yorkers. For instance, klutz was preferred by 80% of respondents from America, while New Yorkers preferred it in 63% of cases. However, even though these Yiddishisms were used more often in the U.S. compared to New York, this was not the case with respondents from other English-speaking countries, where the frequency of use of Yiddishisms was still much lower than in New York.

Table 37: Italianisms - comparison

				<b>New York City</b>				
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve
Familiar %	49%	30%	60%	100%	26%	14%	16%	70%
Prefer %	33%	9%	2%	79%	7%	7%	5%	37%
			F	requency of us	e			
Often	5%	0%	0%	49%	0%	0%	0%	9%
Sometimes	23%	7%	2%	23%	7%	7%	0%	21%
Rarely	12%	9%	14%	16%	7%	2%	12%	21%
Never	60%	84%	84%	12%	86%	91%	88%	49%
				<b>United States</b>				
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve
Familiar %	25%	11%	32%	91%	7%	5%	7%	73%
Prefer %	11%	7%	11%	34%	2%	2%	5%	36%
			F	requency of us	e			
Often	2%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%
Sometimes	7%	2%	2%	20%	0%	0%	2%	25%
Rarely	5%	2%	9%	30%	2%	0%	0%	14%
Never	86%	95%	89%	36%	98%	100%	98%	48%
			Other En	glish-speaking	countries			
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve
Familiar %	2%	0%	7%	63%	0%	2%	0%	20%
Prefer %	4%	7%	7%	7%	7%	0%	0%	15%
			F	requency of us	e			
Often	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Sometimes	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	7%
Rarely	0%	0%	2%	20%	0%	0%	0%	7%
Never	100%	100%	98%	72%	100%	100%	100%	85%

Italianisms were much more restricted to New York City area than Yiddishisms, as the majority of these terms were generally not familiar for the vast majority of respondents who were not from New York City. Basically, the only term that has spread to other parts of the U.S and to some extent to other English-speaking countries, was *skeeve*. The preference and frequency of use of skeeve was comparable in New York and other parts of America. New Yorkers preferred this term in 37% of cases and Americans in 36% of cases. Respondents from other English-speaking countries, were much less familiar with skeeve and in the majority of cases did not use or prefer this term.

Another expression, which was also familiar in other parts of the English-speaking world was *pie*, which was familiar to 91% of Americans and to 63% of respondents from other English-speaking countries. However, even though pie was the most familiar Italianism for respondents from all cohorts, this word was in terms of use unique to New York. The vast majority of New Yorkers preferred to call pizza "a pie" and nearly half of respondents from New York used this term often. This was not the case in other parts of the U.S, where 34% preferred this term and 14% used it often. Respondents from other English-speaking countries preferred pie only in 7% of cases and in majority of cases did not use it in their everyday lives.

Other words of Italian origin like *agita*, *gavoon* or *goombah* were also quite familiar in New York City. For example, agita was familiar to nearly half of the respondents from New York and goombah was familiar to 60% of respondents, which was significantly more than in other parts of the U.S. or other English-speaking countries.

The least popular Italianisms in all cohorts were *scoumbaish*, *shem* and *shongod*. They were practically unknown for respondents from United States and Other English-speaking countries. But even though, these terms were not familiar to the majority of respondents from New York as well, New Yorkers still expressed familiarity with these Italianisms more often than people who lived outside of the city.

Table 38: Other words of foreign origin - comparison

	0 0	0 0	•		
		New Yo	ork City		
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse
Familiar %	100%	74%	98%	63%	93%
Prefer %	91%	26%	91%	21%	26%
		Frequen	cy of use		
Often	67%	5%	49%	2%	7%
Sometimes	26%	12%	30%	5%	14%
Rarely	2%	28%	19%	28%	23%
Never	5%	56%	2%	65%	56%
		United	States		
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse
Familiar %	100%	68%	95%	34%	89%
Prefer %	43%	18%	70%	11%	14%
		Frequen	cy of use		
Often	11%	5%	20%	2%	5%
Sometimes	16%	18%	27%	5%	7%
Rarely	45%	27%	39%	11%	20%
Never	27%	50%	14%	82%	68%
		Other English-sp	eaking countries		
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse
Familiar %	57%	22%	46%	15%	78%
Prefer %	9%	4%	17%	7%	26%
		Frequen	cy of use		
Often	2%	2%	4%	0%	13%
Sometimes	2%	4%	7%	0%	7%
Rarely	11%	7%	13%	2%	13%
Never	85%	87%	76%	98%	67%
			•		

All lexical items from the category of other words of foreign origin, were most familiar and most frequently preferred in New York, although some of them were more unique to New York while some of them were more widespread. For example, *bodega* and *stoop* were extremely popular among New Yorkers. Nearly all of the respondents from New York were familiar with these terms and in both cases, 91% of respondents preferred them to other equivalents. They also used these words very frequently. Bodega and stoop were almost nearly as familiar for other Americans, however, they did not prefer them or

used them nearly as often as New Yorkers. Respondents from other English-speaking countries were familiar with these terms on average in half of the cases and they preferred and used them quite rarely. *Weisenheimer* was another word that appeared to be mostly restricted to New York City. 63% of New Yorkers were familiar with this expression, while only 34% of Americans and 15% of respondents from other English-speaking countries knew this term.

Cruller and youse were a bit more widespread than the previously mentioned expressions. Cruller was familiar to 76% of New Yorkers and 26% preferred it, meanwhile Americans knew this word in 68% of cases and preferred it in 18% of cases. While it was still more popular in New York, respondents form other parts of the U.S. were not so far behind New York in terms of familiarity and use. This is however not true for respondents from other English-speaking countries, where this term was not very known or used. Youse on the other hand, was preferred in other English-speaking countries by the same amount of people as in New York. As already mentioned in Chapter 4.3, youse probably entered the speech of New Yorkers through the sizeable Irish community in the city. This expression was used in some parts of England as well, and since quite a large portion of respondents from other English-speaking countries were from the United Kingdom and presumably some from Ireland, this most likely explains why both New Yorkers and respondents from other English-speaking countries preferred to use it in 26% of cases. Respondents from other parts of the U.S. preferred youse in 14% of cases.

Table 39: New Yorkisms – comparison

					New York City					
	Hero	Johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	95%	16%	93%	95%	19%	70%	21%	21%	30%	67%
Prefer %	72%	7%	49%	60%	7%	56%	9%	7%	7%	21%
				F	requency of us	e				
Often	49%	0%	16%	40%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Sometimes	21%	5%	37%	23%	2%	21%	7%	2%	5%	9%
Rarely	14%	9%	23%	26%	9%	28%	9%	12%	14%	28%
Never	16%	86%	23%	12%	88%	37%	84%	86%	81%	58%
					United States					
	hero	johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	82%	5%	98%	82%	2%	91%	2%	2%	14%	16%
Prefer %	18%	0%	39%	20%	5%	75%	2%	2%	7%	5%
				F	requency of us	e				
Often	9%	0%	9%	7%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sometimes	7%	0%	18%	14%	0%	36%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Rarely	25%	0%	41%	23%	0%	16%	0%	0%	2%	7%
Never	59%	100%	32%	57%	100%	23%	98%	100%	98%	91%
				Other En	glish-speaking	countries				
	hero	johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	24%	2%	85%	78%	0%	39%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Prefer %	7%	9%	17%	17%	2%	20%	0%	0%	0%	4%
				F	requency of us	e				
Often	0%	0%	0%	9%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sometimes	2%	0%	15%	20%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Rarely	2%	2%	28%	17%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Never	96%	98%	57%	54%	100%	83%	100%	100%	100%	100%

When it comes to New Yorkisms, the spread of these expressions outside the dialectal area was the smallest in comparison to all the mentioned lexical categories. New Yorkisms that were the most restricted to New York area were *Johnny pump*, potsy, skel, sliding pond and spaldeen. These words were virtually unknown outside of the city. However, these words were not very popular among New Yorkers either. On average, about 20% of New Yorkers knew these terms and only a minority preferred them to their more conventional equivalents. The reason why New Yorkers did not use these words very often is probably because they are quite archaic. For example, sliding pond and potsy were discussed in an article by Gold (1988), where he mentioned that the most common names for children's slide and the game of hopscotch in New York City are sliding pond and potsy, respectively (17, 20). However, this no longer seems to be true, because the results of my research showed that the majority of New Yorkers were no longer familiar with these terms. Similarly, skel which was mentioned in Chapter 4.4, was according to Allen (1998), supposedly a recently revived word that is used by many New Yorkers, but according to my survey, this word is nowadays familiar to only 21% of respondents from New York.

Other words that appeared to be mostly geographically restricted to New York were *hero*, *mad* and *straphanger*. They were also in comparison to the previous New Yorkisms much more popular among the inhabitants of the city. Hero and mad were both familiar to 95% of New Yorkers. They were also in the majority of cases preferred over their more conventional equivalents and were very frequently used in their everyday speech.

These two expressions were familiar to the majority of respondents from the United States as well, however Americans preferred to use them significantly less often than New Yorkers. Respondents from other English-speaking countries were in most cases familiar only with the intensifier mad. 78% of respondents stated that they know this term and 17% preferred it to other equivalents. Hero, on the other hand, was known to only 24% of respondents, with 7% preferring it to other equivalents. Moreover, the term straphanger was familiar to 67% of New Yorkers and 21% of them favored it over other equivalents. This word was even more geographically restricted to New York City area than hero and mad, as only 16% of Americans and 2% of respondents from other English-speaking countries were familiar with this expression.

Finally, *joint* and *rubbernecker*, were New Yorkisms that have spread outside the dialectal area the most. While joint still remains most frequently used in New York City, it has also spread to other parts of the U.S. and in this case even to other English-speaking countries, although not to the same extent as in America. *Rubbernecker*, on the other hand is nowadays used more often in other parts of America than in New York City, even though it was originally coined there. While New Yorkers were familiar with this term in 70% of cases and preferred it in 56% of cases, Americans knew rubbernecker in 91% of cases and preferred it to other equivalents in 75% of cases. Respondents from other English-speaking countries, however, were not so familiar with this expression. Only 39% of them, knew this term and 20% preferred it over other English equivalents.

Table 40: Phrases - comparison

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone	
New York City					
Yes	44%	51%	70%	60%	
No	56%	49%	30%	40%	
United States					
Yes	7%	2%	52%	39%	
No	93%	98%	48%	61%	
Other English-speaking countries					
Yes	2%	2%	33%	28%	
No	98%	98%	67%	72%	

The last category to be compared and discussed are phrases, which were supposed to be typical for New York City. The first two phrases, "good looks" and "the weather is brick" were almost without exception used only in New York City. Americans who lived outside of New York and respondents from other English-speaking countries would almost never use these phrases. On the other hand, "what's good" and "to grill someone" were,

compared to the other two phrases, significantly more widespread. "What's good" would use around half of respondents from the U.S. and "to grill someone" would use 39%. Respondents from other countries used these phrases less, compared to people from the United States, but nonetheless still used them to some extent. But even though, "what's good" and "to grill someone" occasionally appeared in other parts of the English-speaking world as well, New Yorkers were still far more likely to use them.

Table 41: Phrases 2 - comparison

Regular coffee		Shopping			Waiting	
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line
New York City						
42%	58%	19%	44%	37%	49%	51%
	United States					
9%	91%	2%	75%	24%	9%	91%
	Other English-speaking countries					
46%	54%	43%	43%	13%	4%	96%

Large differences between the three main cohorts were also found in the preferences and use of the following phrases. For example, "regular coffee" meant for a large portion of New Yorkers and respondents from other English-speaking "coffee with milk", meanwhile for respondents from the United States it meant in the vast majority of cases "caffeinated coffee". Similarly, when asked about shopping, New Yorkers were far more likely to say, "food shopping" or alternatively use "grocery shopping" and "food shopping" interchangeably. The rest of Americans practically never used "food shopping". The majority of them rather preferred to use, "grocery shopping". Besides in New York, the phrase "food shopping" was also often used in other English-speaking countries. It was interesting to see that in both cases, New York City deviated from the rest of the U.S. and rather showed similar tendencies to other English-speaking countries. I have unfortunately not found any explanation for this phenomenon. Finally, regarding the preference of saying waiting "on line" or "in line", my research confirmed that "waiting on line" still remains concentrated mainly in New York City. Americans used the phrase "waiting on line" in 9% of cases and respondents from other English-speaking countries used it in only 4% of cases. Waiting "in line", thus remains the variant used by more than 90% of respondents from these two cohorts.

#### Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to investigate the lexicon of New York City English. The thesis mainly aimed to track the spread of the words typical for New York City to other parts of the United States and other English-speaking countries and to determine the extent to which New Yorkers employ these words in their everyday speech. Special attention was paid to lexical contributions from various immigrant groups, because New York is famously a city that is largely made up of immigrants. As a result, the New York lexicon is full of exogenous words, that originated in several immigrant languages, mainly in Yiddish and Italian but also in Dutch, Spanish, German or Irish.

The results of my research confirmed that New Yorkers are generally more likely to be familiar with words that have origins in the aforementioned immigrant languages than people who live in other parts of the United States or in other English-speaking countries. There were of course some exceptions, mainly in the category of Yiddishisms, where respondents from the United States showed similar levels of familiarity with many of the terms like respondents from New York. However, some Yiddishisms were identified not to have spread beyond the city's limits to the same extent as others and remained confined primarily to the New York area. Italianisms and other words of foreign origin, on the other hand, were found much more likely to remain unique to New York City. Respondents from the United States and other English-speaking countries were usually far less familiar with them and used them less frequently than New Yorkers.

In addition to the immigrant contributions to the city's lexicon, my thesis also aimed to investigate the spread and frequency of use of words and phrases that were coined in New York City. The survey results evidenced that the majority of selected New Yorkisms remain from a large part unique to the city. There were only few that have spread to other parts of the U.S. and other English-speaking countries. Interestingly, my research showed that some of the New Yorkisms were no longer familiar to many of the New Yorkers, because these words and expressions belonged to the repertoire of older generations. Younger New Yorkers were usually not familiar with them, while older inhabitants of New York were more likely to know and use these terms. It was also confirmed that phrases that were supposed to be typical of New York turned out to be, in most cases, really used primarily by New Yorkers.

Furthermore, I have discovered some variations regarding the familiarity and use of the lexicon in each of the cohorts, which depended on several factors. For example, in New York City, the most important factor that influenced the familiarity of lexis and frequency of use among New Yorkers, were the boroughs in which the respondents lived. In Brooklyn, the general familiarity and frequency of use of the selected vocabulary was in the majority of cases the highest of all boroughs. On the other hand, a borough, where the familiarity and use of the lexicon was the lowest, was Manhattan. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the reason why in Manhattan some features of the dialect were not so prevalent as in other parts of the city, is because the demographic composition in this borough is changing more quickly due to the large influx of people, who are not originally from New York. Other factors that played a role in the use of the lexicon were the age of the respondents and the amount of time that the respondents have lived in the city. The research showed that older New Yorkers and those who have lived in the city more than 10 years were generally more familiar with some of the lexis than the younger ones and those who have lived in the city only shortly.

In the USA cohort, the variation depended predominantly on the previous ties of the respondents to New York City. It was found out, that Americans, who have some relationship to the city, meaning those who either used to live there, live in a close vicinity, or have family and friends there, were on average the most familiar with words typical for NYCE. Furthermore, respondents, who were from New York State, but did not live directly in the city, had lower knowledge of the lexicon, and also used it less often than those with prior ties to the city. However, these respondents were still more familiar with the New York lexicon than Americans, who did not mention any prior relationship to the city. The survey indicated that these respondents were the least likely to be familiar with the NYCE lexis and least likely to use it in their everyday lives.

The last cohort, which included people from other English-speaking countries, also showed some variation, that depended on the individual countries from which the respondents were. For example, the analysis showed that Canadians were the most familiar with New York lexicon, compared to respondents from Australia and New Zealand, United Kingdom, and other, further unspecified English-speaking countries. The reason, why Canadians were more likely to be familiar with NYCE lexicon than respondents form other countries, is probably due to the relative closeness of Canada to the United States. Contrastingly, a country, where the respondents were the least familiar with the lexis

typical for New York, was United Kingdom. The reason for this could be relative distance of the United Kingdom to the United States.

The limitations of this research lie mainly in the lack of recent studies on New York City lexicon. Some of the sources dealing with the city's lexicon that this thesis was able to draw on are more than 20 years old, which resulted in some of the lexical items being quite archaic especially for the younger generation of New Yorkers. This finding has provided an insight into which of the words that used to be commonly heard in the city are gradually disappearing from the speech of New Yorkers. Through the survey I could witness aspects of the linguistic change as they are occurring in the Big Apple in the second decade of the 21st century.

Hence, the contribution of this work to the research of New York City English lies primarily in the fact that it deals with an aspect of the dialect that has not been a subject of many recent studies. The data collected for this thesis is very recent; thus, it can be deemed as representative of the current situation, regarding the use of the selected lexis among New Yorkers and the extent to which this vocabulary has spread beyond the city borders. Additionally, the data were collected from more than a hundred of respondents whose answers provided an insight into the use and spread of the NYCE lexis. The collected data also made it possible to create three numerically balanced groups, which could be compared without some of the cohorts being disproportionate to others. This comparative insight has provided yet another novel and fresh perspective on how New Yorkers use and understand selected English vocabulary and phrases.

Since one of the main goals of sociolinguistic research is to investigate how language is used in society, my thesis has achieved to generate its small contribution to the current debate on how the diverse population of New York influences the vocabulary used in the city. Specifically, it was found out, that due to the large number of immigrants and other ethnic groups who live there, New Yorkers are more likely to adopt words of foreign origin into their speech than people from other parts of the English-speaking world. Another important goal of sociolinguistics is to study how factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, etc. influence the language. The results of my research showed that these factors play a significant role when it comes to the usage of the NYCE lexicon.

To continue research of New York City English, this thesis can thus serve as inspiration for further studies examining the lexicon of the city, and the methodology employed could perhaps be replicated on a larger number of respondents or expanded to include more lexical items. Finally, as it was discovered that many of the works dealing with NYCE vocabulary are not very recent, a new research could be conducted to investigate a potential emergence of a more up-to-date lexicon.

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# **Appendices**

## Glossary of terms

<u>Yiddishisms</u> <u>Definitions</u>

Chutzpah utter nerve; audacity

Kibbitz to chat

Klutz a clumsy person

Mensch a decent and honorable person

Shtick a comic routine

Schlemiel a loser

Schlep to move slowly or with a difficulty

Schlock something of inferior quality

Schmear a portion of cream cheese

Schmuck a detestable person

Schvitzing sweating

Spiel a lengthy speech

<u>Italianisms</u> <u>Definitions</u>

Agita a heartburn

Gavone/gavoon someone who eats a lot

Goombah an old friend, companion

Pie a whole pizza

Scoumbaish not having food for everyone

Shem a stupid person

Shongod someone who's slovenly

Skeeve to dislike something/to be disgusted

Other languages Definitions

Bodega a convenience store

Cruller a doughnut

Stoop steps in front of an apartment

Weisenheimer a wiseguy

Youse plural of you

New Yorkisms <u>Definitions</u>

Hero nickname for a sandwich

Johnny pump a fire hydrant

Joint restaurant, bar, coffee shop etc.

Mad really, very

Potsy a game of hopscotch

Rubbernecker a driver who slows down to see an accident/sightseer

Skel a homeless person

Sliding pond a children's slide

Spaldeen a rubber ball

Straphanger a subway rider

## Questionnaire

Dear respondents,

I am a student at the University of South Bohemia, Czech Republic. For my bachelor's thesis I am conducting a sociolinguistic survey regarding the New York City English lexicon. My goal is to determine the extent of the use of selected New York City English vocabulary by New Yorkers and to track the potential spread of this vocabulary to other parts of the U. S. and other English-speaking countries. The questionnaire should take about 10 minutes to complete. The data collected will remain anonymous and the results will be used solely for academic purposes.

hank you for your participation!
. Age
. Gender
○ Male
○ Female
Other
From which English-speaking country are you?
○ United States
○ United Kingdom
○ Australia
○ Canada
O New Zealand
Other
Do you live in New York City?
○ Yes
○ No

5. What borough are you from?		
Manhattan		
○ Brooklyn		
O Queens		
O Staten Island		
○ The Bronx		
6. How long have you lived in NY for?		
7 In which II C State do you live?		
7. In which U.S. State do you live?		
Yiddishisms		
8. Are you familiar with these words?		
	Yes	No
Chutzpah (= utter nerve, audacity)	$\circ$	0
Kibbitz (= to chat)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Klutz (= a clumsy person)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Mensch (= a decent and honorable person)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schlemiel (= a loser)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schlep (= to move slowly or with a difficulty)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schlock (= something of inferior quality)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schmear (= a portion of cream cheese)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schmuck (= a detestable person)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schvitzing (= sweating)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Shtick (= a comic routine)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Spiel (= a lengthy speech)	$\circ$	$\circ$

9. Do you prefer thes	se words to their me	ore conventiona	l equivalents?	
		Yes		No
Chutzpah		$\circ$		$\circ$
Kibbitz		$\circ$		$\circ$
Klutz		$\circ$		$\circ$
Mensch		$\circ$		$\circ$
Schlemiel		$\circ$		$\circ$
Schlep		$\circ$		0
Schlock		$\circ$		$\circ$
Schmear		$\circ$		$\circ$
Schmuck		$\circ$		
Schvitzing		$\circ$		0
Shtick		$\circ$		$\circ$
Spiel		$\circ$		$\circ$
11. How often do yo	u use these words?			
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Chutzpah	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Kibbitz	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Klutz	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Mensch	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schlemiel	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schlep	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	0 0 0
Schlock	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Schmear	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Schmuck	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Schvitzing	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	0 0
Shtick	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Spiel	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$

## Italianisms

12. Are you familiar with these words?		
	Yes	No
Agita (= a heartburn)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Gavone/gavoon (= someone who eats a lot)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Goombah (= old friend, companion)	$\bigcirc$	0
Pie (= a whole pizza)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Scoumbaish (= not having enough food for everyone)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Shem (= a stupid person)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Shongod (= someone who's slovenly)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Skeeve (= to dislike something/to be disgusted)	$\circ$	$\circ$
13. Do you prefer these words to their more conventional e	equivalents? Yes	No
Agita	0	0
Gavone/gavoon	$\circ$	0
Goombah	$\circ$	0
Pie	$\circ$	$\circ$
Scoumbaish	$\circ$	$\circ$
Shem	$\circ$	$\circ$
Shongod	$\circ$	$\circ$
Skeeve	$\circ$	$\circ$
14. If you have answered "No" – What other word(s) do yo	ou prefer to use?	

15. How often do you us	e these words?  Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Agita	$\bigcap$			0
Gavone/gavoon	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Goombah	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	0
Pie	$\circ$	0	$\circ$	0
Scoumbaish	$\circ$	0	$\circ$	0
Shem	0	$\circ$	$\circ$	0
Shongod	0	0	0	$\circ$
Skeeve	0	$\circ$	0	$\circ$
Other languages				
16. Are you familiar with	n these words?			
			Yes	No
Bodega (= a convenience store)			$\circ$	$\circ$
Cruller (= a doughnut)			$\circ$	$\circ$
Stoop (= steps in front of	an apartment	)	$\circ$	$\circ$
Weisenheimer (= a wise	guy)		$\circ$	$\circ$
Youse (= plural of you)			0	0
17. Do you prefer these v	words to their i	more convention	al equivalents?	
			Yes	No
Bodega			$\circ$	$\circ$
Cruller			$\circ$	$\circ$
Stoop			$\circ$	$\circ$
Weisenheimer			$\circ$	$\circ$
Youse			0	0
18. If you have answered	l "No" – What	other word(s) de	o you prefer to use?	

19. How often do you use	these words?			
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Agita	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Gavone/gavoon	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Goombah	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Pie	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Scoumbaish	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Shem	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Shongod	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Skeeve	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
New Yorkisms				
20. Are you familiar with	these words?			
Hero (= nickname for a sa	ndwich)	Ye O		No O
Johnny pump (= a fire hyc	lrant)	$\circ$		$\circ$
Joint (= restaurant, bar, co	ffee shop)	$\circ$		$\circ$
Mad (= really, very)		0		$\bigcirc$
Potsy (= a game of hopsed	otch)	$\circ$		$\circ$
Rubbernecker (=a driver v slows down to see an accid		0		0
Skel (= a homeless person	)	0		$\circ$
Sliding pond (= children's	slide)	$\circ$		$\bigcirc$
Spaldeen (= a rubber ball)		$\circ$		$\circ$
Straphanger (= a subway 1	rider)	$\cap$		$\bigcirc$

21. Do you prefer the	se words to their r	nore convention	al English equivalent	ts?
Hero		$\circ$		$\bigcirc$
Johnny pump		$\circ$		$\circ$
Joint		$\circ$		$\circ$
Mad		0		$\bigcirc$
Potsy		$\circ$		$\circ$
Rubbernecker		$\circ$		$\circ$
Skel		$\circ$		$\bigcirc$
Sliding pond		$\circ$		$\circ$
Spaldeen		$\circ$		$\circ$
Straphanger		$\circ$		$\circ$
23. How often do you	use these words?	,		
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Hero	$\circ$	0	$\circ$	$\circ$
Johnny pump	$\circ$	$\circ$	0	$\circ$
Joint	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Mad	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Potsy	$\circ$	$\circ$	0	$\circ$
Rubbernecker	$\circ$	$\circ$	0	$\circ$
Skel	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Sliding pond	0	$\circ$	0	0
Spaldeen	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$	$\circ$
Straphanger	$\bigcirc$	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$

# Phrases 24. Pleas

24. Please respond to the four questions below.		
	Yes	No
Would you use "good looks" as a way of thanking someone?	$\bigcirc$	$\circ$
When the weather is very cold, would you say "the weather is brick"?	$\circ$	$\bigcirc$
Would you use "what's good" instead of how are you?	0	$\circ$
If you stared at someone in a judgmental way, would you use the phrase "to grill someone"?	0	0
25. When you use the term "regular coffee" do you mean coffee with mi	lk or caffeinate	ed
one?		
○ Yes		
○ No		
26. Do you prefer the term "food shopping" or "grocery shopping"?		
○ Food shopping		
○ Grocery shopping		
○ I use it interchangeably		
27. When you wait in a queue, do you prefer the term "waiting on line" of line"?	or "waiting in	
○ Waiting on line		
○ Waiting in line		
28. If you are not from New York and answered "Yes" to some of the que know where you picked up these words and phrases from? (e.g., movies, workplace, social media, music, other) Please specify.	•	u
29.		
O I agree that the data could be used for research purposes.		

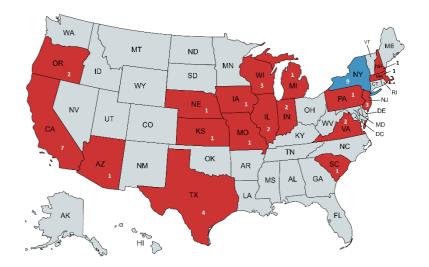
# List of figures and tables

## Maps:

Map 1: dialectal region of NYC metropolitan area as shown in Newman (13)



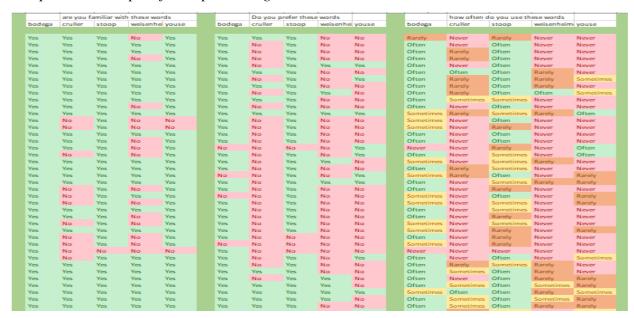
Map 2: USA - states



Arizona
California
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Massachusetts
Michigan
Missouri
Nebraska
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New York
Oregon
Pennsylvania
South Carolina
Texas
Virginia
Wisconsin

## **Graphics:**

## Graphic 1 – example of data processing



Graphic 2: Example of data processing 2

	Yes	Yes	res	res	Yes	Ye	es	Yes	Yes	NO	res		Uπen	кагену	Sometimes	wever	Sometimes
	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Ye	es	No	Yes	No	No		Often	Rarely	Sometimes	Never	Rarely
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Ye	es	No	Yes	No	Yes		Often	Rarely	Sometimes	Rarely	Sometimes
yes	43	32	42	27	40		39	11	39	9	11	often	29	2	21	1	3
no	0	11	1	16	3		4	32	4	34	32	sometimes	11	5	13	2	6
												rarely	1	12	8	12	10
												never	2	24	1	. 28	24
Yes %	100%	74%	98%	63%	93%		91%	26%	91%	21%	26%	often %	67%	5%	49%	2%	7%
No %	0%	26%	2%	37%	7%		9%	74%	9%	79%	74%	sometimes %	26%	12%	30%	5%	14%
												rarely %	2%	28%	19%	28%	23%
												never %	5%	56%	2%	65%	56%

### **Charts**:

Chart 1: NYC - gender



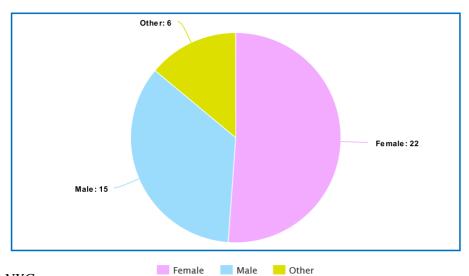


Chart 2: NYC - age



meta-chart.com

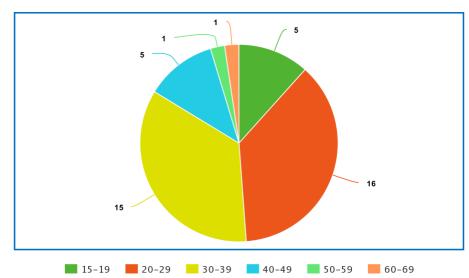
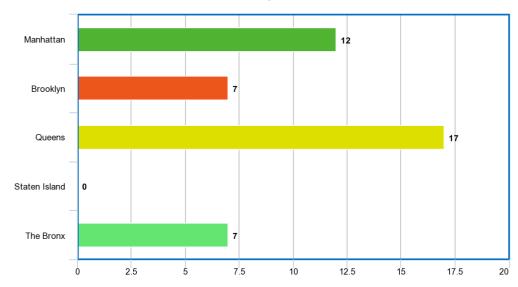


Chart 3: NYC - boroughs

Boroughs







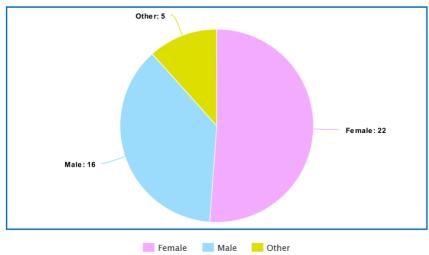


Chart 5: USA - age



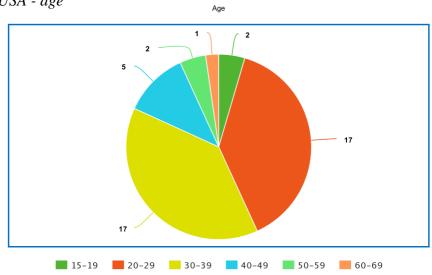
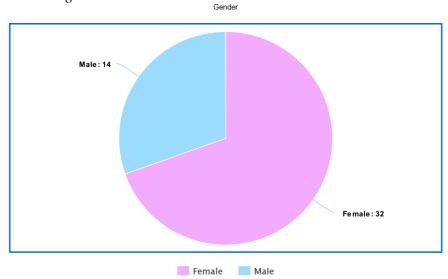


Chart 6: Others - gender

meta-chart.com



meta-chart.com

Chart 7: Others - age

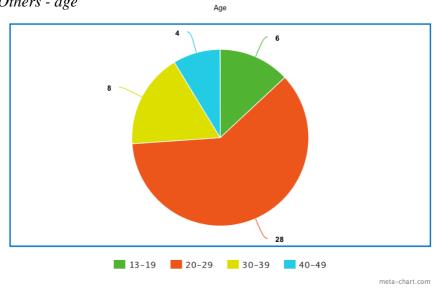
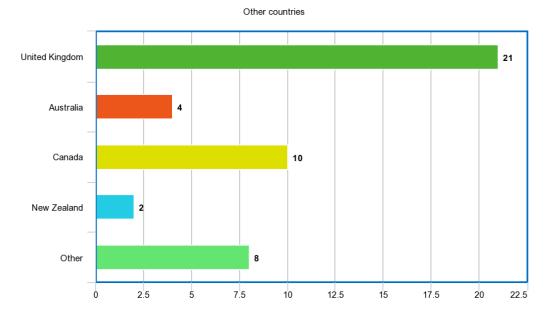


Chart 8: other countries



## **Tables:**

Table 1: NYC - lexical categories

	familiar		prefer			how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never	
Yiddishisms	74%	26%	48%	52%	13%	25%	20%	42%	
Italianisms	46%	54%	22%	78%	8%	11%	12%	69%	
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	17%	20%	37%	
New Yorkisms	53%	47%	30%	70%	12%	13%	17%	57%	

Table 2: NYC - Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often						
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never			
chutzpah	77%	49%	5%	30%	21%	44%			
kibbitz	53%	21%	2%	14%	12%	72%			
klutz	91%	63%	19%	30%	30%	21%			
mensch	74%	40%	16%	14%	26%	44%			
schlemiel	47%	19%	0%	12%	14%	74%			
schlep	84%	63%	37%	21%	12%	30%			
schlock	47%	16%	0%	12%	21%	67%			
schmear	81%	60%	14%	35%	16%	35%			
schmuck	93%	63%	19%	30%	23%	28%			
schvitzing	63%	28%	9%	16%	19%	56%			
shtick	93%	74%	19%	42%	21%	19%			
spiel	91%	77%	21%	40%	26%	14%			

Table 3: NYC - Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often						
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never			
agita	49%	33%	5%	23%	12%	60%			
gavoon	30%	9%	0%	7%	9%	84%			
goombah	60%	2%	0%	2%	14%	84%			
pie	100%	79%	49%	23%	16%	12%			
scoumbaish	26%	7%	0%	7%	7%	86%			
shem	14%	7%	0%	7%	2%	91%			
shongod	16%	5%	0%	0%	12%	88%			
skeeve	70%	37%	9%	21%	21%	49%			

Table 4: NYC – other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often						
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never			
bodega	100%	91%	67%	26%	2%	5%			
cruller	74%	26%	5%	12%	28%	56%			
stoop	98%	91%	49%	30%	19%	2%			
weisenheimer	63%	21%	2%	5%	28%	65%			
youse	93%	26%	7%	14%	23%	56%			

Table 5: NYC – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
hero	95%	72%	49%	21%	14%	16%		
johnny pump	16%	7%	0%	5%	9%	86%		
joint	93%	49%	16%	37%	23%	23%		
mad	95%	60%	40%	23%	26%	12%		
potsy	19%	7%	0%	2%	9%	88%		
rubbernecker	70%	56%	14%	21%	28%	37%		
skel	21%	9%	0%	7%	9%	84%		
sliding pond	21%	7%	0%	2%	12%	86%		
spaldeen	30%	7%	0%	5%	14%	81%		
straphanger	67%	21%	5%	9%	28%	58%		

Table 6: NYC – phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	44%	51%	70%	60%
No	56%	49%	30%	40%

Table 7: NYC – phrases 2

Regular coffee			Shopping	Waiting		
with milk	with milk caffeinated food		grocery interch.		on-line	in-line
42%	58%	19%	44%	37%	49%	51%

Table 8: Boroughs – lexical categories

Manhattan	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	often	
Mailiattaii	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	71%	28%	42%	58%	15%	22%	19%	45%
Italianisms	42%	58%	17%	83%	5%	8%	10%	76%
Other	80%	20%	53%	47%	23%	20%	17%	40%
New Yorkisms	53%	48%	23%	78%	8%	11%	19%	63%
Brooklyn	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	often	
БГООКІУП	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	94%	6%	63%	37%	12%	40%	33%	14%
Italianisms	55%	45%	21%	79%	7%	20%	16%	57%
Other	97%	3%	49%	51%	29%	17%	26%	29%
New Yorkisms	64%	36%	41%	59%	11%	19%	24%	40%
Queens	familiar		pre	efer		how	often	
Queens	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	73%	27%	50%	50%	13%	24%	18%	45%
Italianisms	46%	54%	28%	72%	10%	11%	12%	67%
Other	85%	15%	49%	51%	27%	14%	21%	38%
New Yorkisms	49%	51%	29%	71%	14%	11%	14%	61%
The Bronx	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how	often	
THE BIOTIX	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	64%	36%	36%	64%	13%	17%	13%	57%
Italianisms	41%	59%	20%	80%	7%	9%	9%	75%
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	20%	17%	37%
New Yorkisms	50%	50%	31%	69%	17%	13%	14%	56%

Table 9: Boroughs - Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often						
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never					
			Manhattan								
kibbitz	50%	25%	0%	17%	17%	67%					
mensch	83%	25%	17%	0%	50%	33%					
schlemiel	25%	17%	0%	8%	17%	75%					
schlock	33%	8%	0%	0%	25%	75%					
schvitzing	58%	8%	0%	8%	33%	58%					
	Brooklyn										
kibbitz	86%	29%	14%	14%	29%	29%					
mensch	100%	86%	29%	57%	0%	0%					
schlemiel	71%	29%	0%	14%	29%	29%					
schlock	86%	14%	0%	29%	43%	43%					
schvitzing	86%	57%	14%	57%	0%	0%					
			Queens								
kibbitz	41%	18%	0%	12%	6%	82%					
mensch	71%	41%	12%	6%	24%	59%					
schlemiel	53%	24%	0%	18%	6%	76%					
schlock	47%	29%	0%	18%	12%	71%					
schvitzing	65%	35%	12%	12%	18%	59%					
			The Bronx								
kibbitz	43%	14%	0%	14%	0%	86%					
mensch	43%	14%	14%	14%	14%	57%					
schlemiel	43%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%					
schlock	29%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%					
schvitzing	43%	14%	14%	0%	14%	71%					

Table 10: Boroughs - Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often						
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never					
			Manhattan								
gavoon	25%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%					
goombah	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%					
scoumbaish	17%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%					
shongod	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%					
skeeve	75%	33%	0%	25%	17%	58%					
Brooklyn											
gavoon	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%					
goombah	100%	0%	0%	14%	43%	43%					
scoumbaish	57%	0%	0%	14%	14%	71%					
shongod	43%	0%	0%	0%	29%	71%					
skeeve	57%	29%	0%	29%	29%	43%					
			Queens								
gavoon	41%	12%	0%	6%	18%	76%					
goombah	71%	6%	0%	0%	18%	82%					
scoumbaish	24%	6%	0%	6%	6%	88%					
shongod	12%	12%	0%	0%	12%	88%					
skeeve	76%	53%	24%	18%	24%	35%					
			The Bronx								
gavoon	43%	14%	0%	14%	14%	71%					
goombah	43%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%					
scoumbaish	14%	14%	0%	0%	14%	86%					
shongod	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%					
skeeve	57%	14%	0%	14%	14%	71%					

Table 11: Boroughs – other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often						
Other	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never					
			Manhattan								
cruller	58%	25%	0%	8%	25%	67%					
weisenheimer	50%	25%	0%	8%	25%	67%					
youse	92%	17%	8%	8%	17%	67%					
	Brooklyn										
cruller	86%	29%	0%	14%	43%	43%					
weisenheimer	100%	14%	0%	0%	43%	57%					
youse	100%	14%	0%	14%	43%	43%					
			Queens								
cruller	76%	18%	6%	6%	29%	59%					
weisenheimer	59%	24%	6%	6%	24%	65%					
youse	94%	29%	6%	18%	24%	53%					
			The Bronx								
cruller	86%	43%	14%	29%	14%	43%					
weisenheimer	57%	14%	0%	0%	29%	71%					
youse	86%	43%	14%	14%	14%	57%					

Table 12: Boroughs – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often				
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never			
			Manhattan						
johnny pump	17%	0%	0%	0%	8%	92%			
joint	92%	25%	8%	33%	33%	25%			
potsy	33%	8%	0%	0%	8%	92%			
sliding pond	17%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%			
spaldeen	25%	8%	0%	8%	0%	92%			
Brooklyn									
johnny pump	43%	29%	0%	29%	14%	57%			
joint	100%	71%	14%	57%	14%	14%			
potsy	57%	29%	0%	14%	43%	43%			
sliding pond	43%	29%	0%	0%	29%	71%			
spaldeen	43%	14%	0%	14%	29%	57%			
			Queens						
johnny pump	12%	6%	0%	0%	12%	88%			
joint	94%	47%	12%	29%	24%	35%			
potsy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%			
sliding pond	18%	0%	0%	0%	12%	88%			
spaldeen	24%	6%	0%	0%	12%	88%			
			The Bronx						
johnny pump	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%			
joint	86%	71%	43%	43%	14%	0%			
potsy	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%			
sliding pond	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	86%			
spaldeen	43%	0%	0%	0%	29%	71%			

Table 13: Boroughs - phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone					
		Manhattan							
Yes	25%	42%	58%	50%					
No	75%	58%	42%	50%					
Brooklyn									
Yes	71%	86%	57%	86%					
No	29%	14%	43%	14%					
		Queens							
Yes	41%	41%	82%	53%					
No	59%	59%	18%	47%					
The Bronx									
Yes	57%	57%	71%	71%					
No	43%	43%	29%	29%					

Table 14: Boroughs – phrases 2

Regula	r coffee		Shopping		Wa	Waiting		
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line		
Manhattan								
25%	75%	17%	67%	17%	42%	58%		
Brooklyn								
57%	43%	29%	14%	57%	86%	14%		
	•		Queens					
47%	53%	18%	53%	29%	35%	65%		
			The Bronx					
43%	57%	14%	14%	71%	57%	43%		

Table 15: USA - lexical categories

	familiar		pr	prefer		how often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	72%	28%	44%	56%	10%	22%	23%	46%
Italianisms	31%	69%	14%	86%	4%	7%	8%	81%
Other	77%	23%	31%	69%	9%	15%	29%	48%
New Yorkisms	39%	61%	17%	83%	5%	8%	11%	76%

Table 16: USA – Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
chutzpah	82%	43%	5%	23%	30%	43%	
kibbitz	39%	9%	0%	9%	9%	82%	
klutz	100%	80%	18%	43%	30%	9%	
mensch	68%	18%	2%	14%	16%	68%	
schlemiel	27%	7%	0%	5%	11%	84%	
schlep	89%	57%	18%	18%	36%	27%	
schlock	45%	27%	5%	11%	14%	70%	
schmear	80%	41%	7%	14%	36%	43%	
schmuck	100%	70%	16%	34%	32%	18%	
schvitzing	41%	14%	0%	11%	11%	77%	
shtick	95%	75%	14%	43%	30%	14%	
spiel	95%	82%	32%	41%	16%	11%	

Table 17: USA – Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
agita	25%	11%	2%	7%	5%	86%	
gavoon	11%	7%	0%	2%	2%	95%	
goombah	32%	11%	0%	2%	9%	89%	
pie	91%	34%	14%	20%	30%	36%	
scoumbaish	7%	2%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
shem	5%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
shongod	7%	5%	0%	2%	0%	98%	
skeeve	73%	36%	14%	25%	14%	48%	

Table 18: USA-Other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
bodega	100%	43%	11%	16%	45%	27%	
cruller	68%	18%	5%	18%	27%	50%	
stoop	95%	70%	20%	27%	39%	14%	
weisenheimer	34%	11%	2%	5%	11%	82%	
youse	89%	14%	5%	7%	20%	68%	

Table 19: USA – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often				
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
hero	82%	18%	9%	7%	25%	59%	
johnny pump	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
joint	98%	39%	9%	18%	41%	32%	
mad	82%	20%	7%	14%	23%	57%	
potsy	2%	5%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
rubbernecker	91%	75%	25%	36%	16%	23%	
skel	2%	2%	0%	2%	0%	98%	
sliding pond	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%	
spaldeen	14%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%	
straphanger	16%	5%	0%	2%	7%	91%	

Table 20: USA – Phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	7%	2%	52%	39%
No	93%	98%	48%	61%

Table 21: USA – Phrases 2

Regular coffee			Shopping	Waiting		
with milk	caffeinated	food grocery interch.			on-line	in-line
9%	91%	2%	75%	23%	9%	91%

Table 22: USA comparison - lexical categories

			With N	NY influence				
	fam	niliar	pre	prefer		how often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	80%	20%	53%	47%	18%	31%	21%	30%
Italianisms	50%	50%	26%	74%	10%	18%	8%	64%
Other	89%	11%	40%	60%	11%	31%	20%	38%
New Yorkisms	54%	46%	24%	76%	11%	11%	13%	64%
	-		New	York State				
	fam	niliar	prefer		how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	71%	29%	46%	54%	10%	21%	27%	42%
Italianisms	33%	67%	24%	76%	6%	8%	6%	81%
Other	78%	22%	42%	58%	11%	20%	24%	44%
New Yorkisms	36%	64%	24%	76%	4%	9%	11%	76%
			Without	: NY influence				
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how often		
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	69%	31%	40%	60%	7%	19%	21%	52%
Italianisms	24%	76%	6%	95%	1%	4%	9%	88%
Other	73%	27%	25%	75%	7%	7%	33%	53%
New Yorkisms	34%	66%	12%	88%	3%	6%	10%	80%

Table 23: USA comparison – phrases

			1 ./ 1						
	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone					
With NY influence									
Yes	22%	0%	67%	67%					
No	78%	100%	33%	33%					
New York State									
Yes	0%	11%	44%	33%					
No	100%	89%	56%	67%					
		Without NY influence							
Yes	4%	0%	48%	28%					
No	96%	100%	52%	72%					

Table 24: USA comparison – phrases 2

Regula	rcoffee		Shopping Waiting		iting					
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery interch.		on-line	in-line				
		V	Vith NY influenc	ce						
22%	78%	11%	67%	22%	22%	78%				
	New York State									
0%	100%	0%	44%	56%	22%	78%				
	Without NY influence									
8%	92%	0%	92%	8%	0%	100%				

Table 25: Other – lexical categories

	familiar		pr	efer	how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	4%	7%	14%	75%
Italianisms	12%	88%	6%	94%	1%	2%	4%	94%
Other	43%	57%	13%	87%	4%	4%	9%	83%
New Yorkisms	23%	77%	8%	92%	1%	4%	6%	89%

Table 26: Other countries – Yiddishisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often	
Yiddishisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
chutzpah	37%	24%	0%	2%	17%	80%
kibbitz	7%	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
klutz	91%	57%	7%	24%	30%	39%
mensch	24%	7%	0%	0%	13%	87%
schlemiel	2%	2%	0%	0%	2%	98%
schlep	26%	22%	4%	7%	9%	80%
schlock	15%	13%	2%	4%	4%	89%
schmear	41%	17%	2%	7%	17%	74%
schmuck	87%	33%	2%	9%	35%	54%
schvitzing	11%	11%	0%	0%	2%	98%
shtick	65%	39%	9%	11%	24%	57%
spiel	78%	63%	20%	24%	15%	41%

Table 27: Other countries – Italianisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often					
Italianisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never		
agita	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
gavoon	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
goombah	7%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%		
pie	63%	7%	2%	7%	20%	72%		
scoumbaish	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
shem	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
shongod	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
skeeve	20%	15%	2%	7%	7%	85%		

Table 28: Other countries – other words of foreign origin

Source	Familiar	Prefer	How often						
Other languages	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never			
bodega	57%	9%	2%	2%	11%	85%			
cruller	22%	4%	2%	4%	7%	87%			
stoop	46%	17%	4%	7%	13%	76%			
weisenheimer	15%	7%	0%	0%	2%	98%			
youse	78%	26%	13%	7%	13%	67%			

Table 29: Other countries – New Yorkisms

Source	Familiar	Prefer		How	often	
New Yorkisms	Yes %	Yes %	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
hero	24%	7%	0%	2%	2%	96%
johnny pump	2%	9%	0%	0%	2%	98%
joint	85%	17%	0%	15%	28%	57%
mad	78%	17%	9%	20%	17%	54%
potsy	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	100%
rubbernecker	39%	20%	2%	7%	9%	83%
skel	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
sliding pond	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
spaldeen	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
straphanger	2%	4%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Table 30: Other countries - phrases

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone
Yes	2%	2%	33%	28%
No	98%	98%	67%	72%

Table 31: Other countries – phrases 2

Regular coffee			Shopping	Waiting			
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line	
46%	54%	43%	43%	13%	4%	96%	

Table 32: Other countries – comparison

			Unite	d Kingdom				
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how o	often	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	36%	64%	23%	77%	2%	4%	12%	81%
Italianisms	9%	91%	7%	93%	0%	2%	2%	97%
Other	31%	69%	15%	85%	4%	1%	5%	90%
New Yorkisms	21%	79%	8%	92%	1%	4%	5%	89%
			С	anada				
	fam	niliar	pre	efer		how o	often	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	55%	45%	26%	74%	11%	13%	18%	58%
Italianisms	16%	84%	1%	99%	1%	0%	6%	93%
Other	63%	36%	14%	86%	8%	10%	20%	62%
New Yorkisms	27%	73%	10%	90%	1%	7%	6%	86%
			Australia	+ New Zealar	nd			
	fam	niliar	prefer			how o	often	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	0%	10%	15%	75%
Italianisms	13%	88%	0%	100%	0%	2%	6%	92%
Other	53%	47%	7%	93%	0%	7%	10%	83%
New Yorkisms	28%	72%	12%	88%	2%	7%	8%	83%
		(	Other English-	-speaking coι	ıntries			
	fan	niliar	pre	efer		how o	often	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	35%	65%	24%	76%	2%	6%	16%	76%
Italianisms	13%	88%	13%	88%	2%	3%	3%	92%
Other	45%	55%	10%	90%	5%	3%	5%	88%
New Yorkisms	19%	81%	0%	100%	0%	0%	5%	95%

 ${\it Table~33:~Other~countries~comparison-phrases}$ 

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone						
		United Kingdom								
Yes	5%	0%	23%	14%						
No	95%	100%	77%	86%						
Canada										
Yes	0%	0% 50%		20%						
No	100%	100%	50%	80%						
		Australia + New Zealand								
Yes	0%	0%	50%	83%						
No	100%	100%	50%	17%						
	Othe	er English-speaking coun	tries							
Yes	0%	13%	25%	38%						
No	100%	88%	75%	63%						

Table 34: Other countries comparison - phrases 2

Regula	r coffee		Shopping		Wa	iting			
with milk	caffeinated	food	grocery	interch.	on-line	in-line			
			United Kingdom	1					
64%	36%	77%	18%	5%	0%	100%			
Canada									
10%	90%	0%	90%	10%	10%	90%			
		Aust	ralia + New Zea	land					
50%	50%	0%	67%	33%	0%	100%			
		Other En	glish-speaking	countries					
38%	63%	38%	38%	25%	13%	88%			

Table 35: Lexical categories - comparison

,			New '	York City				
	fam	iliar	pr	efer		how o	ften	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	74%	26%	48%	52%	13%	25%	20%	42%
Italianisms	46%	54%	22%	78%	8%	11%	12%	69%
Other	86%	14%	51%	49%	26%	17%	20%	37%
New Yorkisms	53%	47%	30%	70%	12%	13%	17%	57%
	_		Unite	d States				
	familiar			efer	how often			
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	72%	28%	44%	56%	10%	22%	23%	46%
Italianisms	31%	69%	14%	86%	4%	7%	8%	81%
Other	77%	23%	31%	69%	9%	15%	29%	48%
New Yorkisms	39%	61%	17%	83%	5%	8%	11%	76%
		Othe	r English-s	peaking cou	ntries			
	fam	iliar	pr	efer		how o	ften	
	yes	no	yes	no	often	sometimes	rarely	never
Yiddishisms	40%	60%	24%	76%	4%	7%	14%	75%
Italianisms	12%	88%	6%	94%	1%	2%	4%	94%
Other	43%	57%	13%	87%	4%	4%	9%	83%
New Yorkisms	23%	77%	8%	92%	1%	4%	6%	89%

Table 36: Yiddishisms - comparison

	New York City											
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	77%	53%	91%	74%	47%	84%	47%	81%	93%	63%	93%	91%
Prefer %	49%	21%	63%	40%	19%	63%	16%	60%	63%	28%	74%	77%
	Frequency of use											
Often	5%	2%	19%	16%	0%	37%	0%	14%	19%	9%	19%	21%
Sometimes	30%	14%	30%	14%	12%	21%	12%	35%	30%	16%	42%	40%
Rarely	21%	12%	30%	26%	14%	12%	21%	16%	23%	19%	21%	26%
Never	44%	72%	21%	44%	74%	30%	67%	35%	28%	56%	19%	14%
					ı	United State	S					
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	82%	39%	100%	68%	27%	89%	45%	80%	100%	41%	95%	95%
Prefer %	43%	9%	80%	18%	7%	57%	27%	41%	70%	14%	75%	82%
					Fre	equency of u	ise					
Often	5%	0%	18%	2%	0%	18%	5%	7%	16%	0%	14%	32%
Sometimes	23%	9%	43%	14%	5%	18%	11%	14%	34%	11%	43%	41%
Rarely	30%	9%	30%	16%	11%	36%	14%	36%	32%	11%	30%	16%
Never	43%	82%	9%	68%	84%	27%	70%	43%	18%	77%	14%	11%
					Other Eng	lish-speakinį	g countries					
	chutzpah	kibbitz	klutz	mensch	schlemiel	schlep	schlock	schmear	schmuck	schvitzing	shtick	spiel
Familiar %	37%	7%	91%	24%	2%	26%	15%	41%	87%	11%	65%	78%
Prefer %	24%	0%	57%	7%	2%	22%	13%	17%	33%	11%	39%	63%
					Fre	equency of ι	ise					
Often	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	4%	2%	2%	2%	0%	9%	20%
Sometimes	2%	0%	24%	0%	0%	7%	4%	7%	9%	0%	11%	24%
Rarely	17%	2%	30%	13%	2%	9%	4%	17%	35%	2%	24%	15%
Never	80%	98%	39%	87%	98%	80%	89%	74%	54%	98%	57%	41%

Table 37: Italianisms - comparison

			,	New York City	,				
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve	
Familiar %	49%	30%	60%	100%	26%	14%	16%	70%	
Prefer %	33%	9%	2%	79%	7%	7%	5%	37%	
			F	requency of us	se				
Often	5%	0%	0%	49%	0%	0%	0%	9%	
Sometimes	23%	7%	2%	23%	7%	7%	0%	21%	
Rarely	12%	9%	14%	16%	7%	2%	12%	21%	
Never	60%	84%	84%	12%	86%	91%	88%	49%	
				<b>United States</b>					
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve	
Familiar %	25%	11%	32%	91%	7%	5%	7%	73%	
Prefer %	11%	7%	11%	34%	2%	2%	5%	36%	
			F	requency of us	se				
Often	2%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	
Sometimes	7%	2%	2%	20%	0%	0%	2%	25%	
Rarely	5%	2%	9%	30%	2%	0%	0%	14%	
Never	86%	95%	89%	36%	98%	100%	98%	48%	
			Other En	glish-speaking	countries				
	agita	gavoon	goombah	pie	scoumbaish	shem	shongod	skeeve	
Familiar %	2%	0%	7%	63%	0%	2%	0%	20%	
Prefer %	4%	7%	7%	7%	7%	0%	0%	15%	
Frequency of use									
Often	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	2%	
Sometimes	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	7%	
Rarely	0%	0%	2%	20%	0%	0%	0%	7%	
Never	100%	100%	98%	72%	100%	100%	100%	85%	

Table 38: Other words of foreign origin - comparison

New York City										
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse					
Familiar %	100%	74%	98%	63%	93%					
Prefer %	91%	26%	91%	21%	26%					
Frequency of use										
Often	67%	5%	49%	2%	7%					
Sometimes	26%	12%	30%	5%	14%					
Rarely	2%	28%	19%	28%	23%					
Never	5%	56%	2%	65%	56%					
		United	States							
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse					
Familiar %	100%	68%	95%	34%	89%					
Prefer %	43%	18%	70%	11%	14%					
Frequency of use										
Often	11%	5%	20%	2%	5%					
Sometimes	16%	18%	27%	5%	7%					
Rarely	45%	27%	39%	11%	20%					
Never	27%	50%	14%	82%	68%					
		Other English-sp	eaking countries							
	bodega	cruller	stoop	weisenheimer	youse					
Familiar %	57%	22%	46%	15%	78%					
Prefer %	9%	4%	17%	7%	26%					
		Frequen	cy of use							
Often	2%	2%	4%	0%	13%					
Sometimes	2%	4%	7%	0%	7%					
Rarely	11%	7%	13%	2%	13%					
Never	85%	87%	76%	98%	67%					

Table 39: New Yorkisms – comparison

					New York City					
	Hero	Johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	95%	16%	93%	95%	19%	70%	21%	21%	30%	67%
Prefer %	72%	7%	49%	60%	7%	56%	9%	7%	7%	21%
Frequency of use										
Often	49%	0%	16%	40%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	5%
Sometimes	21%	5%	37%	23%	2%	21%	7%	2%	5%	9%
Rarely	14%	9%	23%	26%	9%	28%	9%	12%	14%	28%
Never	16%	86%	23%	12%	88%	37%	84%	86%	81%	58%
					<b>United States</b>					
	hero	johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	82%	5%	98%	82%	2%	91%	2%	2%	14%	16%
Prefer %	18%	0%	39%	20%	5%	75%	2%	2%	7%	5%
				F	requency of us	e				
Often	9%	0%	9%	7%	0%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sometimes	7%	0%	18%	14%	0%	36%	2%	0%	0%	2%
Rarely	25%	0%	41%	23%	0%	16%	0%	0%	2%	7%
Never	59%	100%	32%	57%	100%	23%	98%	100%	98%	91%
				Other En	glish-speaking	countries				
	hero	johnny pump	joint	mad	potsy	rubbernecker	skel	sliding pond	spaldeen	straphanger
Familiar %	24%	2%	85%	78%	0%	39%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Prefer %	7%	9%	17%	17%	2%	20%	0%	0%	0%	4%
Frequency of use										
Often	0%	0%	0%	9%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Sometimes	2%	0%	15%	20%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Rarely	2%	2%	28%	17%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Never	96%	98%	57%	54%	100%	83%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 40: Phrases - comparison

	good looks	the weather is brick	what's good	to grill someone					
New York City									
Yes	44%	51%	70%	60%					
No	56%	49%	30%	40%					
United States									
Yes	7%	2%	52%	39%					
No	93%	98%	48%	61%					
Other English-speaking countries									
Yes	2%	2%	33%	28%					
No	98%	98%	67%	72%					

Table 41: Phrases 2 - comparison

Regular	r coffee		Shopping	Waiting					
with milk	caffeinated	food grocery interch.		on-line	in-line				
	New York City								
42%	58%	19%	44%	37%	49%	51%			
	United States								
9%	91%	2%	75%	24%	9%	91%			
Other English-speaking countries									
46%	54%	43%	43%	13%	4%	96%			